

North American ANARCHIST

50¢

The Newspaper Dedicated to Direct Action

El Salvador: Another Popular Front

What about Revolution?

By Lazarus Jones

The desperate so-called "final offensive" of the Salvadorean guerrilla movement has ground to a halt in the face of the bitter resistance of the junta's forces. The guerrillas had hoped to catch the ruling junta off-guard and bowl it over before Ronald Reagan could assume the American presidency and, as widely expected, resume shipments of U.S. arms to the beleaguered junta. To their chagrin the guerrillas discovered that "human rights" or not no American government was going to stand idly by and watch another Central American "domino" fall. Shipments of "non-lethal" material were immediately resumed despite the American commitment to suspending aid until a commission of inquiry into the murder of four American nuns completed its work. This "non-lethal" material included jeeps, trucks and transport helicopters, items that are indispensable in a guerrilla war in which the state must be able to rapidly move and deploy its "lethal" forces to counter guerrilla initiatives. When the guerrillas scored some early successes all pretense was dropped and \$5 million in emergency "lethal" supplies, including M-16 rifles, M-79 grenade launchers and four more combat helicopters, were immediately shipped to the junta. With this aid the Salvadorean army

was able to defeat the guerrilla offensive and inflict heavy casualties.

Ideologically the guerrilla movement in El Salvador is a dog's dinner of Marxist-Leninist factions with a few insignificant Trotskyite grouplets desperately trying to break into the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU) big time. The DRU is a coalition of the four major Marxist-Leninist guerrilla armies the largest of which is the Forces of Popular Liberation (FPL) under the leadership of Salvador Cayetano Carpio who split from the Moscow line Salvadorean CP in 1969 over the issue of armed struggle. The attempts by the various left factions to unite both among themselves and with reformist elements has produced a particularly disorienting brew of Marxist alphabet soup. The latest manifestation of this recipe for "revolution" is the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) under whose umbrella the "final offensive" was launched.

The aim of the various factions of the FMLN is to set up a "democratic revolutionary government" uniting the leftist guerrillas, Social Democrats and Christian Democrats. Ferman Cienfuegos, a spokesman for the FMLN, made a point of emphasizing that this government will not be "socialist" and that "the property rights of capitalists will be guaranteed." So, as in



Nicaragua and elsewhere in the Third World, the Marxist-Leninists aspire to the mantle of a discredited comprador bourgeoisie. In a bastardized version of Trotsky's theory of "Permanent Revolution" the Marxist-Leninists seek to incorporate the most progressive elemen-

ts of the national bourgeoisie in a strategy of primitive capital accumulation and state-building under the euphemism of "a government of

national re-construction." The guerrillas hope that their monopoly of armed force in a post-Revolu-

tionary situation will ensure that they maintain the whip hand.

Even in this extremely limited "revolutionary" goal the guerrillas face a formidable task. The Salvadorean bourgeoisie is incomparably

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Special
Kronstadt
Supplement

Gay Rage In Toronto

By NAA Collective

On Feb. 7 police repression against Toronto's gay community provoked the most militant demonstration this city has seen since just after Kent State massacre. Over 3000 demonstrators, mostly gay, assembled at midnight on a downtown intersection in response to raids earlier in the week on four bathhouses frequented by local gays. Some 250 had been arrested, almost all as 'found ins', in the biggest mass arrest in Canada since the use of the War Measures Act in 1970.

The demonstrators listened enthusiastically to several angry speeches denouncing the raids. When the speeches were over the highly charged crowd proceeded down Toronto's Yonge St., chanting denunciations of the police and chants for gay rights the marchers headed for a large downtown police headquarters some distance away. En route there were minor clashes with the cops and some windows were broken. At the head of demonstration two people took turns carrying an anarchist black flag.

When the march reached its objective there were nearly 300 police forming a ring around their headquarters to hold people back. While the crowd vented its anger against Toronto's finest the self-appointed leaders of the action began to make

more speeches. Now concerned with keeping control their words were considerably less militant than they had been not even an hour before. Their speeches also stood in stark contrast with the actions of the crowd which had shown considerable spontaneity since the beginning of the march.

The problems this spontaneity posed for the organizers became even more evident when the demonstration moved to the Provincial Parliament Buildings. There several hundred people tried to rush their way in but were contained by a mass of police. All the while the area was surrounded by police cars and paddy wagons. In retrospect, it is surprising that the sudden appearance of a police riot squad did not occur. The confrontation continued with much fighting on the buildings' steps for about half an hour then the situation wound down.

It is not difficult to understand the degree of rage which manifested itself in the action. The raids represented a continuing process. Police harassment, repression and the frustration of gay aspirations have been long-standing phenomena in this city. Particularly since the attempt to smash the Body Politic, Toronto's Gay Liberation

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Gays fight back

For Starters



Taking care of business. The article **Against Death Technology** in our last issue should have been credited to Arthur Miller. We regret the oversight. Due to a typesetting error a page of the manuscript for **Right-Wing Atheism** was not typeset. Anyone who would like a copy of the complete article can write to: David Sonenschein, 612 Pressler, Austin, TX 78703, USA.

At the Seventh ACF conference in Champaign, Illinois, it was decided that the NAA will accept paid advertising in order to help alleviate our financial problems. We will, of course, exercise discretion in deciding what advertising to accept. If Exxon wants to reach the anarchist market segment they'll have to do it without us. A schedule of rates for display and classified advertising can be found elsewhere in this issue.



In order to facilitate the distribution of Cienfuegos Press titles in North America the ACF has established (please enclose sufficient postage) to: **Cienfuegos Press (Canada)**, P.O. Box 3254, Station D, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 6H8. Or, **Cienfuegos Distribution**, 3512 12th Ave. So., Minneapolis, MN 55407.

Response to our financial appeal, with one notable exception, has been disappointing. Very little in the way of financial contributions from the NAA readership has come in although subscription sales have picked up quite a bit. We've taken a gamble by investing several hundred dollars in an advertising campaign (**Mother Jones**, **In These Times** etc.) but unless financial donations and subscriptions sales increase dramatically we're going to be in a lot of trouble after NAA 10.



We've also been informed by the Post Office that the postal code we have been using, M4B 2B0, is the postal code for Postal Station 0 as a whole. Apparently our little box has its very own code, M4A 2M8. Please adjust your records accordingly.

We'd like to remind our readers about the NAA Readership Survey published in the last issue of the NAA. We have not exactly been inundated with replies but they have been coming in steadily. We are very pleased with the response so far and hope that as many readers as possible take the time to fill one out and send it in. Please address all correspondence to:

The North American Anarchist
P.O. Box 2, Station O,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada,
M4A 2M8.

language and politics and try and answer his picture of what relativism leads to.

In Solidarity
Ivan Neigum,
Saskatoon, Canada

Sociobiology Supporter

Dear Comrades,

As an anarchist (without qualification) and a sociobiologist I was pleased to see the insightful column **Anarcho-Technology** (Nov-Dec 1980) on the relation of evolutionary theory to anarchist ideology. It is unfortunate that so many comrades sheepishly follow the overly simplistic approach of the authoritarian left (Murray Bookchin is a tragic case in point with his hysterical polemics in your Jan-Feb '81 Letters section).

I certainly cannot adequately explain my enthusiasm as an anarchist for sociobiology in a brief letter. Suffice it to say that all of the critics of sociobiology overlook the fact (if indeed they are aware of it) that the latter discipline is much more likely to become an exposé of authoritarian social systems than a "justification" of the status quo.

In particular I would ask my feminist comrades to look carefully at sociobiology. As a scientist, I see in it the irrefutable demonstration that sexism is the ultimate root of reactionary ideology. Such an insight can only be derived from an understanding of the social ecology of power relationships derived from atavistic pre-human cultural adaptations involving exploitation of women and males who had subordinate status. Economic exploitation is just the tip of the iceberg! Ultimately, exploitation is derived from the genocidal tendencies of ALL ruling classes and their statist lackeys. Sociobiology can supplant narrow ECONOMIC historical materialism with an ECOLOGICAL perspective on hierarchical societies and their role

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ACF Declaration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Adopted July, 1980,

at the Sixth Conference of the

Anarchist Communist Federation of North America

ACF AFFILIATES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MEMBERSHIP PROCEDURES

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

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

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LETTERS

Sociobiology

Dear NAA,

I feel that I should add something of an addendum to my sociobiology article. Of the letters I have received personally all have been well thought out, whether pro or con, and even polite. I must say that I am pleasantly surprised. A few comments in relation to them:

•One correspondent with a deeper familiarity with linguistics than I have has pointed out that Chomsky was not the originator of the ideas of deep structure, etc. for which he has become famous. I stand corrected on this point.

•Another correspondent points out that the ecological aspects of sociobiology are at least as important as the genetic ones. This is true, and I hope that people who can accept sociobiology's radical potential will look into this matter as well.

•The **Fifth Estate** says that they believe that human sociobiology supports a political position that is against "technology". While I feel that they suffer from a lack of well defined terms, I will say that I "have a feeling" (ie I am not 100% certain) that human sociobiology will give us a picture of an optimum society that 1) involves a 'tribal' unit of society of a certain maximum size, 2) involves the necessity of certain trans-tribal connections (ritual and practical i.e. by trade) to mitigate a certain genetically based xenophobia/fear of strangers that our tribal evolution has built into us. Most tribal societies have, in fact, evolved such controls culturally. It is up to us to consciously plan such ritual play and practical work to reduce the opportunity for aggression between libertarian communities/tribes to a minimum. Incidentally, from a different per-

spective, I think that the American Indian Movement (AIM) has a lot to say, in their own way, about an optimum libertarian society, and we should look at what they say (critically of course), and 3) will preclude certain types of work organization as detrimental to the human species. How this connects with technology is, in my mind an open question. It would be good to hear from the **Fifth Estate** on certain 'specific' technologies rather than technology in the abstract.

•Another correspondent points out that my article rests on a certain philosophical basis i.e. a belief that the scientific/empirical method can produce verifiable knowledge. I will freely confess to this. To borrow from Winston Churchill, the empirical method is the worst method except for all the others. One of the motivations behind my article was to get at the illogical, mendacious habits of group-think so common among the left at a particularly vulnerable point. I would very much like to rehabilitate the idea that there *are* objective independent criteria for judging an opinion as this is all that stands between us the the totalitarian habits of thought made infamous by the Marxist competition. As it stands the vast majority of leftists are so confused by the absolute relativism that the left holds as gospel that they have no criteria for judging a matter besides whether everyone else is mousing it or not. I need hardly point out examples of the nonsense that has become fashionable in various waves among the Western left over the past 20 years. Everyone knows a story of silliness from their own experience. I would like to prevent such silliness in the future. I would also suggest that any critics of "objective criteria" read Orwell's 1984 and his other essays on

The Price is Is Right!

As prices increase and workers find themselves with their backs to the wall they join together and simply refuse to go along

By Harry Haller

With the wolf of world-wide inflation howling outside our doors, more and more people are facing up to the fact that something needs to be done. As prices rise, so do tempers - and rightly so. Price increases have brought about the revolts of the Polish workers, and have created threats of outbursts in other Eastern European countries. In North America the middle class has found out it was really only middle income and that their income is fast slipping in value, which has caused such wild grasping at straws as Milton Friedman's "back-to-basics" economics and the election of Ronald Reagan as US President. But, what is more interesting, and from an Anarchist-Communist standpoint more positive, is a movement existing throughout Western Europe called self-reduction.

It is obvious, if one does some thinking, that the main task for any society is to reproduce itself, or in other words, keep itself going. In all our actions today, and every day, we help perpetuate this society — from selling our labour to our bosses and buying food, to the money spent on our "playtime" — we help this society survive another day. And this scene is repeated daily throughout the world, whether in a "free" country or one of the so-called "socialist" or "communist" countries. But what if people refused to go along?

Even with the working class 'helping' in the above manner, the world economic system is still having problems keeping itself going. This has been caused by a decline in the amount of money (capital) available for re-investment in the economy to keep it stable. In North America this has brought about inflation, due to excess borrowing (ever wonder why interest rates are so high?), a roll back in wages (ask the workers at Chrysler, 'their' union refused a wage increase to keep the company going) and a push by capitalist governments to cut "non-essential government services", that is social services, to provide for corporate tax cuts. Everywhere the working person (employed or unemployed) is getting hit, everytime we turn around, and we're getting hit hard. But, once again, what if we refused to go along with it?

Humans are, by nature, social animals. By social we mean our individual and collective needs are naturally carried out by a social group, in the past such groups have been tribes, villages and families. But in modern society as created by capitalism, we are forced to become anti-social, relying on ourselves as individuals. To overcome our collective problems the working class must take collective or social action, not individual action.

Since World War Two in Western Europe there has been a fluctuating but growing movement of working people who, working together, refuse to go along with capitalism's need to reproduce itself in spite of their needs. This "self-reduction" movement has been especially strong in Italy, France and Spain,

with out-growths in other European countries. As prices increase and workers find themselves with their backs to the wall, they join together, as a neighborhood, workplace, industry, town or region and simply refuse to go along with the latest price increase or collectively take what they need. By doing this they have refused to reproduce the economic system and, if carried far enough, such actions could be the beginnings of a social-revolution.

demand that the old fares be reinstated, and that in the mean time the substitute bus tickets be accepted. After a few days of pressure, the Bureau ordered a suspension of the new fares." (from Zerowork)

In Vancouver, Canada a number of anarchist groups around *Open Road* magazine formed the Coalition Against Fare Increases (CAFI) to fight local bus fare increases. Through a series of stickers, leaflets and a parody of the

credit account" with the bus company instead of paying the extra fare. This tactic carried added strength when the bus driver's union decided to accept the coupons. CAFI also formed "flying squads" to board buses and talk to the other passengers about the fare resistance and anarchism — while refusing to pay.

Other anarchists in one major US city have had a continuing project of producing forged bus-passes and

factory committees formed to refuse to pay the additional cost. Even the electric company's workers joined in the struggle by refusing to disconnect people's electricity. In the US there are advertisements for various by-pass methods for obtaining free water, gas and electricity. And, of course, the Yippies! (their exclamation point not ours) and their sub-group TAPS always have neat ways of avoiding payment of phone bills. In North America many people have taken up collective gardening to help fight the high cost of food. In Europe there have also been occasional outbreaks of 'collective shopping', in which a large group of people will collectively shoplift for mutual aid and protection. As Emma Goldman once said, "If you are unemployed, ask for jobs. If they won't give you a job, demand bread and if they won't give you bread — steal it."

While these trends can be viewed as positive by Anarchist-Communists, we must not refrain from criticism. The major failing of the Self Reduction movement is that while self reduction is a good means of fighting back against price increases it does not go beyond this and question the entire system. In fact, the basic relationship of capitalism, labour based on wages, is not even called into question. But production (work) is the other half of consumption, so if self reduction is to work in the long run, if it is to be revolutionary, it must attack the whole and abolish both wage labour and prices.



The following are some examples of actions already taken:

1) **Squatting:** Throughout Western Europe there are serious shortages of available housing, but not a lack of it. Housing seems to be unprofitable to bring on the market. "In Amsterdam alone there are some 53,000 people waiting on housing lists while many habitable buildings are destined for self reduction, demolition or kept empty by real estate speculators. An estimated 10,000 people have now squatted some 5000 of these buildings" (*Open Road*, No. 11, Summer 1980). In England thousands of people have taken up unused housing for themselves. Throughout the continent squatters' organizations have sprung up — coordinating actions and setting up networks of people who are willing to help protect squats from the police. In Copenhagen, Denmark, over 700 people took over an abandoned 17th century fortress in 1971. When the government tried to evict the residents of "Christiana Free Town" in 1976 over 30,000 people turned out and successfully protected the town from the police and army troops (*Open Road*, No. 6, Spring 1978).

2) **Transportation:** "When on a Monday in August 1974 hundreds of commuting workers found out that their bus fare from Pinerolo to Turin had been increased by almost 30%, few people would have predicted that such a relatively insignificant event could provide the spark for a new wave of struggles. To these commuters, the fare increase — decided by the bus line during the two week summer shut-downs — sounded like an act of cowardly provocation. It took only a few days to organize some action and mobilize the commuters travelling on that line. The following Monday the plan of action was ready. Workers set up tables near the Pinerolo bus terminal with signs all around saying "Refuse the fare increases!" But more importantly, they issued substitute weekly bus tickets, selling them at the old price . . . The bus company responded by shutting down its operations, so hundreds of Pinerolo workers did not go to work that morning and continued their mobilization. In the afternoon they sent a delegation to the Regional Bureau of Transportation to

bus company's news bulletin, the passengers were encouraged to refuse to pay the additional 15%. CAFI also printed thousands of "Deferred Payment Slips" and distributed them to other passengers so they too could "open a

tickets, producing several hundred a month.

Other tips for Self-Reduction include utility by-pass and collective 'shopping efforts.' In Italy, when electric rates were raised by 33%, hundreds of neighbourhood and

Franco's Revenge

By Lazarus Jones

Even from beyond the grave ex-dictator Francisco Franco continues to claim victories. On January 19, in Paris, France, the last of the trials arising from the anti-Francoist resistance began. The 10 people involved are charged with "complicity" in the 1974 kidnapping of the director of the Bank of Bilbao in Paris. The Spanish resistance group GARI claimed credit for the kidnapping demanding the release of political prisoners in Spain in exchange for the director.

The links between the 10 people charged and the GARI are extremely tenuous. The French police have been unable to either arrest or even identify anyone who was actually involved in the kidnapping. The only "connection" between the kidnapping and the individuals charged with "complicity" is that all 10 people were loudly and publicly involved in anti-Francoist campaigns. In the case of Octavio Alberola charges were not formally laid until three years after the incident and only now, on very short notice, has the trial of the 10 (2 Spaniards, 1 Scottish woman, 5 French women and 2 French men) been scheduled. The French police have used the long interval to weave a web of circumstantial evidence and subjective interpretations of events that should be all too familiar to students of conspiracy/complicity trials.

In a letter requesting international support Octavio Alberola declares that the charges of "complicity" in the kidnapping are completely false and that the only basis for the charge is "our beliefs and ideological persuasion." Alberola further states that the 10 plan to use the trial as a platform to expose the complicity of the French police in actively supporting the former fascist regime of Franco and their continuing support of Spanish neo-fascism. The 10 also plan to expose

the role of Francoist agent Inocencio Martinez in the frame-up. Martinez was allowed to slip quietly out of the country by the French police.

Alberola's letter points out the "grotesque paradox" involved in this trial. This is the last of the trials arising out of the anti-Francoist resistance, a trial taking place over five years after the death of the dictator. It occurs at a time when all the individuals involved in anti-Franco actions within Spain have long since been amnestied and what is even more paradoxical it will take place under the direction of the same French authorities who hailed so loudly the advent of "democracy" in Spain.

Alberola also notes that regardless of the outcome of the trial he faces deportation to Spain and asks that anyone who writes to protest the trial also demand that he be allowed to remain in France. Alberola asks that concerned individuals

and groups draft letters and telegrams of protest stressing that the 10 individuals charged are "anti-Francoist militants caught up in a police frame-up devised by the French police and Franco's police at a time when Franco was still murdering those who were fighting on behalf of the freedom of the Spanish people. Such letters of protest should be addressed to the French president: M. Giscard d'Estaing Palais de l'Elysee, 75008 Paris, France.

Alberola also suggests that letters or telegrams sent under the letterhead of unions or cultural organizations are particularly effective. Copies of all such letters should be sent to: Cerle Garcia Lorca 15 Rue Gracieuse, 75005 Paris, France.

The timing of the trial leaves very little time to build an international protest. Please help.





Anarchism in North America: Cult or Movement?

By Frank Stevens

There are many who believe that the coming decades will witness a resurrection of revolutionary ferment and upheaval in North America. Among anarchists, many hope that we will play a crucial role in that upheaval — placing a libertarian stamp on emerging struggles and reviving the old dream of a stateless and classless society as a real historical possibility. It may be that things will really work out this way, but for my own part, I'm beginning to feel quite pessimistic.

I don't see how it could be denied that the existing anarchist movement is weak, fragmented, and permeated with many aspects of . . . a cult. Weakness and fragmentation can be overcome in time, but what can one do with people who would rather believe than think?

Perhaps this seems to you excessively gloomy or even harsh. You may be right. But I've just finished reading all the "replies" to *Theological Ecology* in the last issue of the NAA, and I must admit the finding of considerable grounds for gloom and harshness.

Daniel Ledford accuses me of trampling on the hopes and dreams of the lonely, alienated, and dissatisfied. To him I've become some kind of monster without love, understanding or compassion.

Mr. Bookchin, as expected, contented himself with thunderbolts of rhetoric ("moral cesspool", "odious filth", etc.). Unable to repudiate his own gospel, he can only damn those who take his words at their face value. His concern

with moral hygiene is appropriate — that has always been a traditional concern of theologians.

Ron Linville considered the article an act of character assassination and an attempt on my part to gain ideological primacy in the anarchist movement. He also says that there really is a "spiritual dimension" to human existence . . . fortunately, he doesn't go into details.

If you are wondering what connection all this has with the ideas that were attacked and defended in *Theological Ecology*, so am I. Indeed, these kinds of responses strike me as characteristic of a believer who's been told that the god don't exist. One says, in effect, that without faith there can be no love. Another hurls thunderbolts at the unbeliever. Still another chimes in to the effect that the unbeliever seeks to dethrone the gods only to replace them with himself.

And, before proceeding to more substantive responses, I do not want to pass over in silence the act of *Librairie Alternative* in refusing to sell the issue of the NAA which contained *Theological Ecology*. I was unaware that this anarchist bookstore in Montreal had its very own index of prohibited works, but, as always, I consider it an honor to be on the list.

LET THEM EAT BEANS

This was one of the three substantive pieces on ecology in the last issue of the NAA and the only one which was not written as a reply to *Theological Ecology*. The author is attempting to outline in rough form

a possible scenario for the development of rational agriculture in a post-revolutionary society. So far, so good.

But every such scenario contains assumptions, some implicit, some explicit. Let's look at some of these assumptions:

The current practice of feeding large herds of beef cattle on grain and on prime land is a major cause of much of the world's people living in hunger.

Where most anarchists (I think) would say that existing class relationships are responsible for (among other things) hunger, the author shifts the cause to existing agricultural practices . . . and with uncomfortable implications. One of them is that the earth can only grow so much grain and that steak dinner you're enjoying came at the price of starving peasants. Another is that the earth is already growing as much grain as it can . . . and again each hamburger you eat means someone died from privation.

Well, given class society, it's true. But the author kind of skips over that given. The idea that the fullest application of present and future technology to agriculture could result in enough steak for everybody does not occur to the author. The idea that such a solution could only be implemented by a classless society is even further from the author's mind. Instead of exploring the agricultural question as one of unlimited abundance for all, the author accepts the limits of the partial and uneven application

of technology (an application determined by the profit motive) and simply tries to figure out how to parcel out the shortages in the fairest possible way.

Basically the importance of meat has been grossly exaggerated both nutritionally and gastronomically . . . the westerner's love of meat dishes is due to marketing strategies.

And so we leave the realm of reason and enter the realm of faith. Marketing strategies? Why not just blame the devil?

What the author overlooks is that in every culture there is a diet consumed by the ruling classes and a diet consumed by everyone else. Ruling class diets feature meat dishes heavily; what the lower classes eat depends on how technologically developed that particular society is. But in every society, everyone (or nearly everyone) wants a ruling class diet . . . and marketing strategies don't have anything to do with it. Ruling class diets taste better! Is that so difficult to understand? ? ?

Well, the author goes on to advocate less mechanization and more human labor in agriculture. The author wants us to learn to enjoy the traditional peasant cuisine of Europe. The author wants us to cut down the energy used in processing foods and learn to cook from scratch. In short, work harder and receive less.

If someone wishes to take voluntary vows of poverty, my reaction is that, well, that's their problem. When someone says that we should present anarchism to the working

class of North America as a collective vow of poverty, my reaction is that this is a person who wants anarchism to be a cult, not a movement.

Why not ruling class diets for all . . . at the touch of a button! (or as technologically close to that as we can get.) Why not smash the state and pass the champagne!

ECOLOGY AND REVOLUTION

This piece is essentially a presentation of the "orthodox" anarchist tradition regarding urban decentralization and rural development. In fact, the author goes to considerable lengths to demonstrate his orthodoxy: quoting from the ACF "Basis of Affiliation" at the beginning of his piece and then adding his own postscript at the end reaffirming his conformity to the "Basis" and attacking my "distorted" perception of what anarchism is striving for." Presumably, the implication is that I had better recant lest I be driven forth by the flaming sword. As you might imagine, I'll take my chances on the sword.

In a cult, of course, the demonstration of one's orthodoxy is of the highest importance. If one wishes to build a movement, however, other criteria assume greater relevance. Political traditions become a subject for critical re-examination . . . especially after a century of unsuccessful struggles. We can go on repeating sacred formulas or we can look at the real world and try to figure out how to get it right next time.

Urbanization has proven to be an unmitigated horror for millions of people throughout the world. The huge urban areas grow like proliferating cancer cells; they devour all that is within reach and bind the entire economic system to support them.

One would think we were ruled by cities rather than by capitalists and bureaucrats. (!) Although I admire such vivid writing, I have to ask a few obvious questions: why does the Chinese Government have to herd young people out of the cities at gunpoint and why do these kids sneak back to the cities at the first opportunity? Why can't the Vietnamese Government get people to leave Saigon? Why are the "Sun Belt" cities in the U.S. growing even faster than the older northeast cities are declining? ?

The vast majority of us move to the city for the simple reason that that is where the jobs are.

It is not the result of the free decision that this is where we want to live our lives. It is the result of the decisions of ruling class institutions of where they want to invest their capital.

Well, yes, that's true as far as it goes. But why do ruling class institutions invest their capital in cities and not somewhere else? For greater profit, of course, but why is it more profitable to invest in cities? What happens when large numbers of people are concentrated in a small area that causes capitalists to invest more capital creating more jobs attracting more workers from the countryside? The answer ought to be obvious: diversity and specialization. Rural societies are characterized by a small number of available occupations; there are only a limited number of ways you can survive in an agricultural society. But the possibilities of human endeavor open up in the cities; you might become almost anything. Now it's true that this is often a false promise in class society; whatever the rhetoric of choice, there are powerful social forces still operating to crush the aspirations of the working class.

But it is not altogether a false promise; I have only to look out my window to see the gay people who have moved to San Francisco from all over the United States . . . to be free to be themselves. It is a narrow, constrained freedom they've found,

true, but it is far more than they've ever known in their little towns and cities.

What else happens when a large number of people gather in a city? Why, stimulation and cross-fertilization of ideas. The monotony of rural existence promotes (for the most part) dullness of thinking and conservative modes of thought. Religion, racism, patriarchy, etc. thrive in a rural context; they wither in the cities. That doesn't mean you can't have reactionary forces operating in an urban context; it just means an urban context in the long run is unfriendly ground for reaction. And it doesn't mean you can't have revolutionary forces operating in a rural context; it just means that a rural context in the long run is unfriendly ground for revolutionary forces.

Industrial and urban decentralization is an ecological and social imperative. So much so that it is a process already underway.

No and no. The first statement is just the assertion of an article of faith without anything but the ecological equivalent of hell and damnation to back it up. The second statement is a distortion; there is some industrial decentralization taking place, but the real growth is taking place in new urban centers. Given the realities of class society, the old cities probably will be abandoned or sharply reduced in size. But cities have declined only to come back greater than ever... it could happen again (or, ever hear of a place called Rome?).

What then should an anarchist movement advocate? Why, that the cities shall fulfill the promise of freedom. That they be rebuilt to provide the comfort, pleasure, and full freedom of choice that they've always promised but seldom delivered. That agriculture be fully automated, no one shall live in toil and monotony for the benefit of others. That life is to be enjoyed to the fullest; not to be spent in the equitable distribution of suffering.

And if this be contrary to the "Basis of Affiliation", then make the most of it!

AGAINST DEATH TECHNOLOGY

This cheerful little piece invites us to make a distinction between the state and its "death technology" and anarchism with its "natural technology".

Now the various states around the world do waste enormous sums of money and natural resources in the production of technology that has as its sole purpose the massive destruction of humanity. Nuclear weaponry and chemical-biological weaponry clearly deserve the name of death technology.

But the author goes much further. He includes the petrochemical industry, which he says has murdered thousands of workers and is the world's worst polluter. He's probably right about that, but what about the other side? Maybe you could get by without all the plastic goodies that surround us, but if anything happened to our petroleum supply right now, food would rot in the fields while millions starved in the cities. The author doesn't say he wants that to happen; but it seems to me to be a bit extreme to call the petrochemical industry an example of "death technology" at the very time when it is keeping most of us alive. And even if there is not much good that can be said for nuclear power, it is a fact that radioactive isotopes do have some beneficial medical uses; I can't see that having a few small reactors for the production of such useful isotopes would constitute surrender to "death technology".

Yet, once again, what could be a disagreement among reasonable

people turns into a shouting match between a believer and an atheist.

As North American anarchists we must realize that we will not be able to continue the lifestyle that is currently dominant in our modern society. This lifestyle exists through the exploitation of other lands causing hunger, disease and poverty.

In other words, repent, ye sinners, for the Kingdom is at Hand! Cease your offerings to the false gods of material well-being lest ecological judgment overtake you! And so on, blah, blah, blah!

The naked appeal to guilt is probably the most disgusting aspect of this kind of sermon. What kind of inhuman monsters are we that we fill our bellies with tasty goodies while tens of millions starve? What vile turds we must be with our dope and stereotypes and flashy amusements, concerned with a handful of people dear to us while the third world groans out its misery.

Does it do any good to plead that we did not establish class society but were born into it? That our puny energies have been devoted, at least in part, to the overthrow of this social order? That we would have it (if we could) that all humanity would enjoy what we have now but what we could have if the chains of profit were broken? The stern Judge is unmoved at our appeals; only the willingness to reduce our standard of living will suffice to remove the stain of guilt, the mark of sin.

You can't "argue" with this kind of thing; you either accept the will of the cult or you leave. I suggest it is about time that those of us who want to build an anarchist-communist revolutionary movement leave those people who want to preserve and embellish an anarchist cult to their own devices. And I further suggest that if this separation does not take place, the next revolutionary upsurge will take place without anarchists and totally outside the context of the anarchist tradition... for better or for worse!

AND SO IT GOES

As bad as these examples are, the problem is not limited to a few cultists. The repetition of a simple-minded formula is always easier than trying to examine a social problem with a fresh viewpoint.

In the last issue of NAA, Ivan Neigum wrote a pretty sensible piece called *India-the Failure of Alternate Technology*. But the cultish formula is too difficult to resist:

The basic question is this-will a given technology increase the control that ordinary people have over their own lives? Or will it merely substitute one form of corporate and government domination for another?

In the context of a class society, the introduction of any given technology will be guided by a ruling class attempting to maintain control of that given technology and will be resisted to a greater or lesser extent by a working class attempting to wrest that given technology from the control of the ruling class.

In other words, guns don't shoot people, people shoot people. The amount of control ordinary people have over their own lives depends on the amount of control they're willing to fight for (as a first approximation), modified by the resistance of the ruling class to that struggle (as a second approximation). The use of certain technological developments that were constructed for the purpose of suppressing rebellions could increase the ruling class's ability to resist the working class (this would be a third approximation).

But the great bulk of modern

technology would essentially fall outside the equation of class struggle altogether. Power stations do not conduct ideological quizzes of their operators; pull the right switch and it goes to work. Since the bulk of modern technology is operated by workers on a daily basis, it seems obvious that it will work just as well for self-managed workers as it does for boss-managed workers.

So, the "basic question" turns out to be just noise. Why did Neigum put it in? Because one of the tenets of the theological ecologists (anarchist variety) is that some technology is authoritarian by its very nature and other (usually small) technology is libertarian. So even though Neigum's own article points out how "small" technology administered by the ruling class is just as authoritarian as "large" technology, the cultish formula gets in anyway.

Another example: even when I disagree with him, I have to admit that Lazarus Jones is one of the clearest and most rational writers on the NAA staff. His reply to my reply on the "Televisionariat" was mostly a summary of sober arguments. But as I was reading his reply, suddenly up leaped another piece of cultish nonsense:

Even with the best of intentions, "electronic democracy" would be a travesty of the anarchist project. Self-management, participation and control need face-to-face human contact and interaction. The television medium cannot in any way substitute for this contact.

Self-management is to be understood in the same way as faith healing—the laying on of hands is required. Or as we were taught in school, direct democracy is only possible in small, preferably Greek, city-states.

When we have to figure out how to self-manage an entire planet (probably with some nearby space colonies in orbital attendance), the mind reels at the deliberate rejection of the one piece of technology that would make face-to-face (or electronic image to electronic image) consultation, debate, and decision-making possible.(!)

And so it goes. It is painful to see a movement formed to strike the chains from humanity begin to forge its own chains. To see those who held the best hopes of humanity now able only to offer humanity's despair. A once mighty and soaring ideal of freedom and equality is shrunk into a mean and pitiful caricature of itself, crawling in the dirt and hoarding sacred pebbles.

Surely, it does not have to be so. The resurrection of anarchism-communism as a mass revolutionary movement is not impossible. True, we'd have to abandon all the cultish garbage we've accumulated. True, we'd have to act like the founders of anarchism and communism, taking nothing for granted, looking at the world with a fresh and critical eye. True, we'd have to admit how incredibly much we really don't know and then we'd have to begin to learn again.

But perhaps, to be honest about it, this is asking too much. It could very well be that all or nearly all of the anarchists alive today prefer a cult. Copying the sacred texts in dead languages doesn't appeal to me; but the tastes of others often differ from mine.

And should this gloomy assessment prove accurate, well, it's not the first time it's happened that way. The project of human liberation has been invented many times only to be lost. Yet it has never failed to be re-invented once again. Many generations have risen from the dust to storm heaven... and fallen back into the dust in defeat.

But one day, heaven will fall.

Anarcho-Technology

"SCIENCE SHOPS"—AN ALTERNATIVE?

Critics of modern science have pointed out many, many deficiencies in the "set-up" of this enterprise. Scientific decisions—what to investigate, how much money for what projects, scientific manpower decisions, etc.—are made by industry and the State. This has led many to claim that science is nothing but a tool of the powers that be. The mysterious aura surrounding the scientist, the impenetrability of scientific jargon, the institutional need of science to, like any large institution, expand to fill the space available have led some to view science and technology as a juggernaut out of control, as a master rather than a tool. Often these two contradictory attitudes are held at once. The result has often been rejection of all technology as evil—a mindless anti-scientism—and a return to superstition and the occult.

Is there an alternative? Can we democratise the scientific enterprise? One attempt is the Dutch "science shops". In Amsterdam the Science Shop is part of the University, and it may be used by individuals or groups who meet three criteria: inability to pay, having no commercial aims and ability to use the results. The workers in the Science Shops arrange a meeting of clients and investigators interested in the client's question.

The Science Shop itself is run by an advisory committee consisting of 12 university members (staff, students and faculty) and 12 members from major client groups (trade unions, Environmental League, the Urban Renewal Group, feminist organizations, the socialist broadcasting network, teaching associations and Third World groups). On major decisions the advisory committee must consult the general assembly of the various faculty groups and working committees of the Science Shop. An attempt is made to integrate the activities of the Science Shop into the regular teaching programs by undertaking projects with "project groups" of students and faculty.

Trade unions supply the Science Shop with questions about innovations in industry, health and safety at work and the impact of technology on the workforce. The Ames test facilities of the University have been used to check potential carcinogens—circumventing the plodding government "watchdog" agencies. The Amsterdam Science Shop was set up in 1977 and by Sept. of 1979 had received 546 inquiries. Other Science Shops have since been set up in other Dutch universities.

So how does this enterprise look from an anarchist point of view? The experiment does provide access to scientific expertise for groups that are usually excluded from it. It gives experience in democratic work arrangements to both faculty and students. On the other hand, it is still the University that pays the piper and ultimately calls the tune. This means that, because of a decision by the University, only University personnel are allowed to work on the projects. While it is obviously impossible to walk into a lab and become fully knowledgeable about a science in say 3 months, there is a wide field in which the 'action' of science could be deprofessionalized. This the Science Shops fail to do, and, like many other good reforms in the 'professional services' area, cannot do until they are financially independent.

For more information about the Amsterdam Science Shop write Science Shop Committee, De Wetenschapswinkel, Sarphatistraat 133, Amsterdam, Holland.

TALKING BACK TO TALKING HEADS

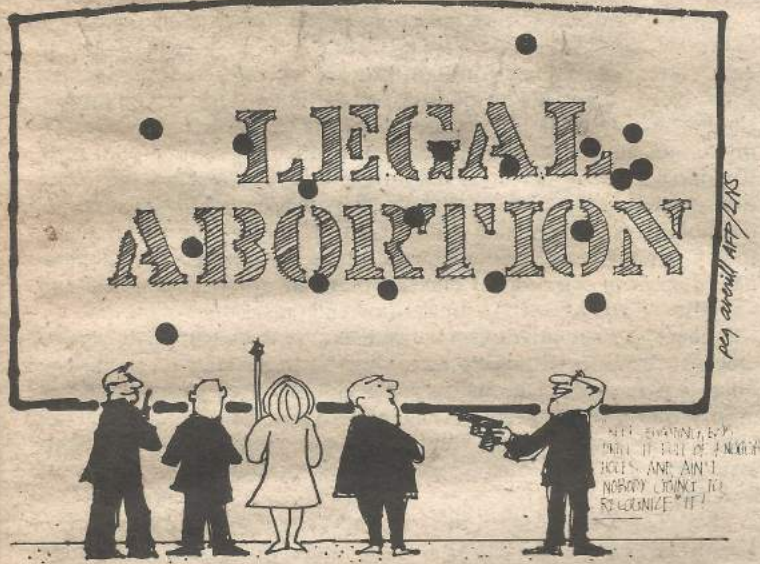
While "two-way TV" is something only promised to southerners, the Inuit (formerly called 'eskimos') of the Eastern Arctic already have it. The network, called Inukshuk is run by the Inuit for an exclusively Inuit audience in their own language, Inuktituk, 16-1/2 hours per week.

All programming is transmitted from Frobisher Bay on Baffin Island via satellite to ground stations in six Arctic communities. Visual program material from the outlying settlements, on film or videotape, is shipped by air to Frobisher for broadcast, but viewers in the other five communities can talk back and forth to each other simply by gathering in their local community halls equipped with large TV screens and microphones plugged into Inukshuk's two-way audio system. There they can hold "collective meetings of the air". People who don't go to the community hall can see and hear it all on home TV sets, though they can't join in. Thanks to the new hookup, Josia Kadlutsisk of Igloolik's Hunters and Trappers Association recently called a meeting of all six settlements to discuss ways of setting hunting quotas for polar bears and narwhals.

Recently people have become critical of the use made of the network. If a meeting is called they insist on an agenda; they want to be prepared and not waste time. A series on land claims developments is in the works. As reported in other media the Inuit land claims promise to be a major struggle. The Inuit, as well as their Dene brothers and sisters of the western arctic are seeking independence and self determination and claim the right to veto development that is harmful to the arctic ecology or otherwise not in their own interest.

Project Inukshuk was first proposed and is now operated by the Inuit Tapirisat (council) of Canada (ITC), which represents the cultural and land claims of the northern people. "We knew television was in the north to stay," says ITC's John Amagoalik. "We wanted to use it to look at ourselves, to see where we came from, to understand the present, to understand the world from our own perspective." It is the hope of the writer that two-way TV will serve to unite the Inuit across vast distances and facilitate their liberation.

Anarchist Feminist Notes



'Right to Life' Offensive

A woman, writing recently, in a local Canadian paper bemoaned the fact that the 'rights of the unborn' were not being advocated in the Canadian constitutional debates going on at this time. Her muddle-headed argument, of why she wants the rights of the unborn protected, drew letters of praise which the newspaper printed all week long. No letters outlining a dissenting view were published.

In the U.S. there are fears that the anti-abortion groups might be successful in enacting a constitutional amendment banning abortion and declaring a fertilized egg a human person. Abortion would therefore be classified as murder and women's bodies, health and lives would be subordinated to fetal survival.

A strict interpretation of the proposed amendment would permit no exceptions, not even for the life of the pregnant woman, nor in cases of pregnancies resulting from rape, nor in cases where the pregnant woman is carrying a deformed or brain-damaged fetus.

Already, the right to a safe legal abortion has been destroyed for millions of women, particularly poor women dependent on Medicaid funds for their health care. The justification for this crime is the state's sanctioning the preservation of fetal life at the expense of these women. On the same premise, legal abortions may be eliminated entirely.

What are the motives of the people involved in this anti-abortion campaign? If you ask them, they will tell you their concern is only for human life. They believe that at the instant of conception, god endows a soul upon the fertilized egg. The fetus is a sacred, innocent ensouled human being and therefore abortion is murder. This argument is just religious mystification and to enshrine 'human life before birth' rights in the law would be to force a particular religious belief upon everybody.

Also, there are two pieces of evidence to suggest that the abortion foes are insincere in their explanation. If they are so sure that human life begins at conception and abortion is murder then they would do everything in their power to prevent the occurrence of an unwanted pregnancy so that a pregnant woman would not be forced to seek an abortion, legally or otherwise. Their campaign would emphasize good sexual education and promote the use of contraceptives. However there are very few such organizations and those that do exist all seem to suffer from a lack of funds, while the abortion foes unfortunately do not. These are the same people who attack sex ed. in school because they think it encourages sex.

The other tell-tale characteristic of an anti-abortionist is his (and I say his because most are male) outrageous lack of concern for human life outside the womb. These people don't care for the lives of all the women who will be forced to resort to kitchen-table abortions. In fact, they don't care for the aged, the sick, the poor, or the oppressed.

It is quite obvious that the driving force behind the anti-abortion movement is its misogyny. The laws that they are pushing for are meant to control women's reproductive function and hence their lives. Fetal protection could become an excuse for excluding women of child-bearing age from heavy work or work that might endanger a fetus (man's work, no doubt) and for regulating the lives and routines of pregnant women. A woman who experiences a spontaneous abortion might have problems finding medical care if abortion is classified as murder.

To subordinate the rights, needs and interests of women to that of the fetus gives the state enormous power over women's lives. Letting biology become destiny under law is one of the most effective ways to maintain the status-quo. All women must unite and actively resist the ideal of women as baby machines. A concept very popular in Nazi Germany. There are many ways women can show their disapproval of the anti-abortion forces. Specifically marches, rallies, forums and centres set up to promote reproductive freedom that women help organize can also help organize women. Generally women have to fight the pattern of oppression that they are locked into in modern industrial society by subordinating the family form it expresses. In that way the basis and form of misogyny is eroded.

Revolutionary Evolution

By Sue Kabaleusky

Darwin's theory of evolution has been under attack since 1859 from religious fundamentalists who insist that we are directly descended from Adam and Eve. Darwin's theory has also faced some criticisms from the scientific community mainly due to the model's failure to explain many evolutionary puzzles. However, neo-Darwinist scientists are managing to explain these puzzles without changing Darwin's basic premise all that much.

Darwin and subsequent scientists proposed that nature 'selects' certain traits. The mechanism of natural selection determines which traits survive and thus explains how life evolves. Therefore some members of a species are better adapted than others to their environment. The ones with the adaptive traits are more likely to produce offspring that survive to sexual maturity and reproduce.

Most peoples' understanding of Darwin's theory is limited to the buzz words 'survival of the fittest', a phrase coined up by one of Darwin's followers and the vague notion that human beings are descendants of apes. The 'survival of the fittest' term is misleading but it does embody the spirit of Darwin's theory and the theories of the social Darwinists.

The idea of competition is central to the theory of evolution. The struggle for existence, the survival of the fittest and natural selection convey the idea of animals and plants competing between species and among individuals of one species for the limited raw materials of life.

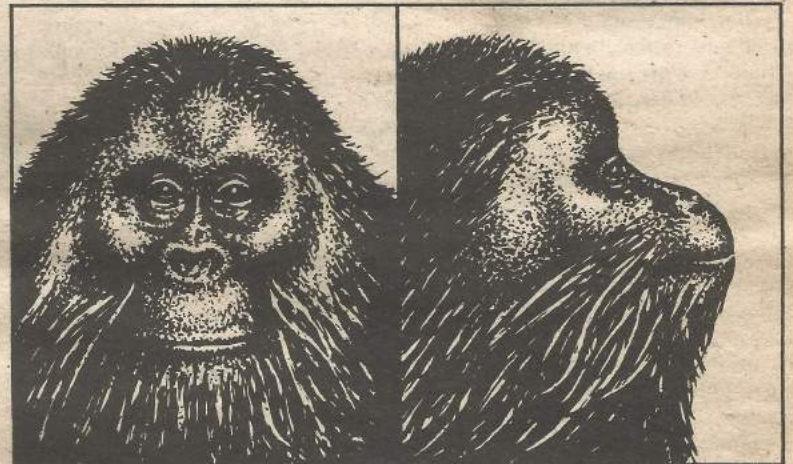
It is no wonder that Darwin's theory of evolution has been embraced by the bourgeoisie. Darwin has taken their ideology, their obscurely felt feelings about their role in human society and legitimized them with all the authority of science. The law of the jungle in the city street, the spiritual animal kingdom, the free market and the free businessman in the free strike, the struggle for existence and the war of all against all now have a natural base.

From nature these competitive concepts have been brought back into society by the social Darwinists.

winists. Almost all of the displeasing aspects of social existence can be explained in terms of extensions of Darwin's theory. War, racism, sexism, patriarchy, exploitation and capitalism therefore become just natural phenomena.

However, lately evidence has been pointing to an idea that co-operation, not competition has been the mechanism of evolution.

Some new research and observation in the world in biology has focused on the phenomena of symbiosis. Originally a Greek word meaning 'life together', symbiosis may have been powering evolution all along.



Most people are aware of several classic examples of symbiotic relationships from their school books. The African crocodile is often pictured with its mouth agape, birds hopping among its teeth. The croc gets his teeth cleaned while the birds get a meal.

The relationship between flowering plants and bees is another example. The bees get food, the plants get fertilized and they both benefit.

The above examples are of mutualist symbiosis. In some relationships the species are so highly interlocked that one can't survive without the other. They have lost their independence but they have gained a co-operative association that enables both to accomplish together what neither could do alone.

Lichens — a combination of a fungus and a algae living together in mutualist association — are often regarded as the ultimate symbionts. The algae, like other green plants

produces food by symbionts. The algae, like other green plants produces food by photosynthesis. The fungus obtains the food from the algae and in return provides the supporting structure and keeps the algae from drying out. Together they form an efficient combination capable of living in inhospitable areas like rocks and tundra.

Other symbiotic relationships are commensal, where one species uses another without benefitting or harming its hosts. The remora fish attaches itself to a shark and while the shark captures its prey the remora gets some of the leftovers. The shark doesn't seem to mind or

even notice its hitch-hiker.

Parasitism is a one-sided symbiotic affair in which one organism benefits at the expense of another — tape worms in a human intestine for instance.

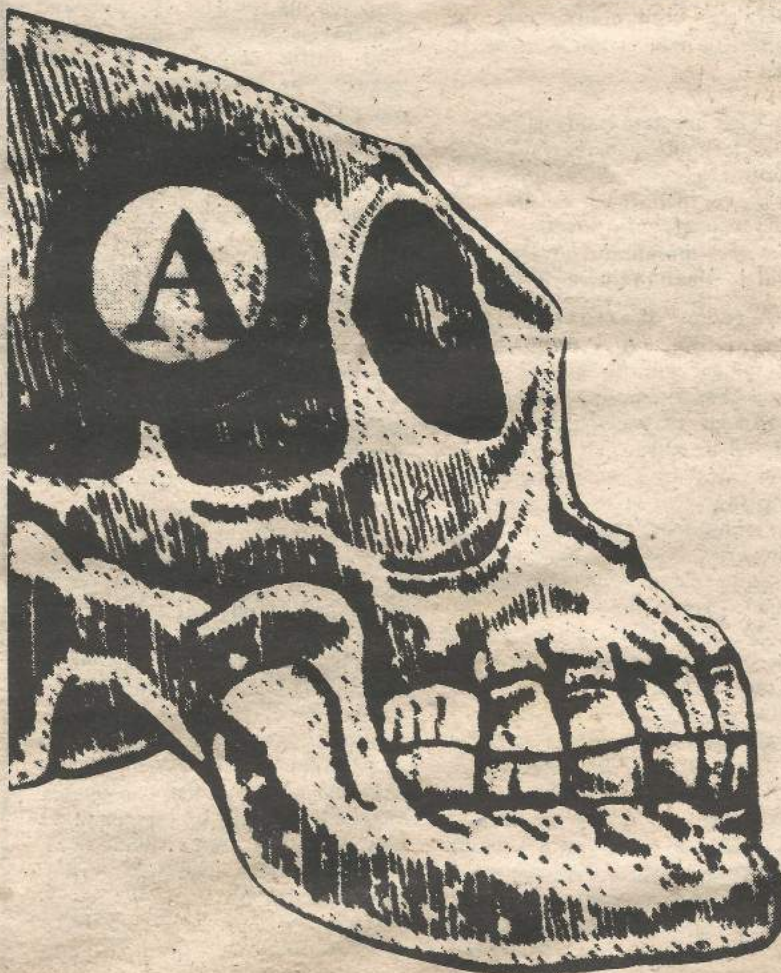
Organisms simply do not live alone. There are countless other examples from protozoa to people. There are many unlikely alliances in the natural world and the dynamics of these alliances involve complex interactions and often extraordinary adaptations. Among many species, symbiotic relationships have altered not only the life cycles but even the anatomy of organisms.

The most striking instances of symbiotic relationships occur between most living organisms and the billions of microscopic bacteria and protozoans. It is through her studies of these tiny creatures and plants that Lynn Margulis, a prominent microbiologist concluded that nature abhors pure cultures and single individuals.

She proposes that the cells of living bodies — our bodies — may have evolved through a series of ancient symbiotic relationships between bacteria. This theory is now gaining increasing acceptance among biologists.

According to the symbiotic theory of evolution, certain organelles — the mitochondria and plastids where the cell's basic work of energy conversion occurs — are symbiotic descendants of bacteria that once living in symbiotic partnership with their host cell. As time went by these symbiotic bacteria lost their independence, evolved increasingly intimate symbiosis and eventually formed the more complex cells that we have in our bodies.

The strongest evidence for symbiotic origin is for the plastids, such as the photosynthesizing chloroplasts in plant cells according to Margulis. Plastids have their own DNA, their own messenger and RNA and their own transfer RNA. They have their own enzyme systems to make their own material and they divide. Margulis says that the plastid RNA is more similar to a free-living bacterium than it is to the RNA of the cell it is sitting in. Similarly, in animal cells some of the mitochondrial proteins are much more similar to the proteins



The Rise of Militarism

The Question is Survival

By Sharon Grisor

The very survival of the species may depend on our ability to put an end to the forces of destruction that threaten us not merely with the atrocities of war but with total annihilation. The Iran-Iraq war, the election of Ronald Reagan, the reinstatement of draft registration and an all-time high military budget of \$170.5 billion should all serve to warn us that the system of legal murder called war is a real possibility for the 1980's.

That this situation is the logical conclusion of past policies should be painfully clear. For had the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) been passed, would much have changed? There would still have remained an American strategic arsenal of 10,000 warheads. Weapons manufacturers, in fact, had been assured by negotiators at the time of the media splash on SALT II last year that weapons programs already in progress, which are expected to add thousands of new warheads to the U.S. arsenal, would go on uninterrupted. This is not to mention conventional arms sales, particularly for the export market, which in the decade after Detente have reached the level of \$14.4 billion per year.

First Strike Means Never Having to Say You're Sorry

With the continuing accumulation since 1953 of nuclear weapons, first strike has once again become America's key military strategy. Up until the recent past the U.S. claimed its stockpile was for one purpose only — retaliation against enemy attack. The concept of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) was supposed to serve as a deterrent to aggression for both super-powers.

But, as Mother Jones pointed out in a recent issue on the arms race, the U.S. has entered "... a new, more dangerous phase" of the arms race, since "Both the form of the weapons and the announced intentions behind them seem to be shifting in a significant way." The recent appearance of Presidential Directive (PD) 59, which advocates the strategy of limited nuclear war, only goes to confirm this.

New missile technologies also are clearly aimed at this. Intercontinental

Ballistic Missiles (ICBM's), which in the 1950's could land no closer than 5 miles from their targets, can today reliably drop warheads within a 750 foot radius. Such accuracy can be meant only for someone else's missile silos. The Missile-X (MX) system, recently approved, and the Trident II submarine missile system, now in flight test, are both being produced at full capacity and are even more deadly accurate.

Meanwhile, the Trident system is working to produce even more accurate and longer-range missiles. It is projected that 30 may be built by the mid-1990's.

While the U.S. submarine-launched ballistic missile system is already the granddaddy of nuclear weapons, America may soon be the king of anti-submarine warfare. According to Robert Aldridge, former Lockheed engineer turned anti-war activist and author of *The Counterforce Syndrome*, improvements in the Navy's network of super-sensitive underwater listening posts, known as the Sound Surveillance System (SOSUS) should make it possible by the mid-1980's for the U.S. Navy to know where every Soviet submarine is and to sink them as well. This would be a pre-requisite for an American first strike, which Aldridge argues is the real rationale for the huge American nuclear arsenal, and not to maintain a "balance of terror" with the USSR.

RDF — America's Foreign Legion

Involvement in the war between North and South Yemen over a year and a half ago was a visible sign that the U.S. was ready for new military adventures in the Middle East, if only to be followed up with Col. Beckwith's intrepid band getting tangled up in the Iranian desert. A Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) has been long sought by the U.S., should perhaps 'oil-gouging' require the seizing of the Arab oil fields. It was first proposed in the late 1950's by Henry Kissinger and unsuccessfully pushed by Lyndon Johnson in the 1960's.

These plans were first put into motion during the war in Yemen, soon after the fall of the Shah left the U.S. without a policeman in the Persian Gulf. From there Secretary

of Defense Harold Brown almost immediately took to the bases of Oman, Somalia and Kenya, seeking to enlarge America's presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. This area has been virtually unguarded by Western military forces since 1969, when Britain withdrew its military forces east of Suez.

However, an RDF in the Persian Gulf would be totally inadequate to meet a major Russian military challenge, given the some 200,000 Soviet troops stationed adjacent to the region. Over time, the Soviet Union has increased the rapid mobility potential of its troops in the region far beyond the potential of American military deployment so far from the shores of the U.S. Once conventional warfare proves inadequate, one military response remains — a gradual escalation into 'tactical', that is nuclear weapons.

What a RDF in the Middle East will do is increase political tensions and the possibility of war. Existing rivalries that would have remained 'local' will be stepped up — the Iran Iraq war, already in danger of expanding, could easily become a major confrontation between the superpowers if an American intervention occurred.

Not only is American intervention militarily insane in the Middle East but politically impossible as well. The logistics of securing the oilfields intact, not to mention transporting the oil, is at variance with the political climate of the region. Guerrilla tactics would sabotage, if not completely destroy those fields long before oil ever flowed out of the Gulf.

Worse and More Of It

Much more expensive and elaborate, and for that matter more fearful, are America's long term plans for a new naval force in the Indian Ocean some time in the 1980's. It will be the largest ever to be established in the area, and will cost many billions to produce. The planned 5th Fleet will exist in addition to the powerful 3rd, 6th, and 7th Fleets already in the Mediterranean and the Pacific.

Even more frightening is their visions of war beyond just bombs and bullets. Plans to transfer the battlefield into outerspace are slated for the end of the decade.



Boys and their murderous toys.

The war of the future will be carried out by computers that will be pre-programmed to respond instantly to military crises. Lethal directed-energy beams will be guided by television camera which can home in on targets by matching them with pictures in the computer memories.

Such developments are colorless however, in comparison to testing at Wright Patterson Air Force Base where the telescopic camera has been eliminated. Researchers there are toying with tiny laser beams that will reflect off the eyes of the pilot who will speak to an on-board computer, saying something like 'fire', while scanning the sky for targets. Other more futuristic researchers are talking about actually controlling the pilot's mental responses to visual instrumentation. The Air Force is experimenting with rapidly flashing lights and clicking sounds to force the human brain to emit waves at regular intervals.

The Race for Power

But what good is superior hardware without threats? A campaign to re-sell the 'Soviet menace' has been on the drawing boards of the Pentagon for some time. Long before the hyperbole and hysteria of Iran and Afghanistan, intentions of a new military adventure became visible in the 1976 defense budget, less than a year after the loss in Vietnam.

Since the end of 1968, the total national defense budget had been de-escalating at about \$4-\$7 billion per year. From 1976 up to the last year of Carter's reign, however, it has instead escalated at a similar rate. The fiscal 1981 budget (begun Oct. 1, 1980) contains a grand leap of over \$30 billion.

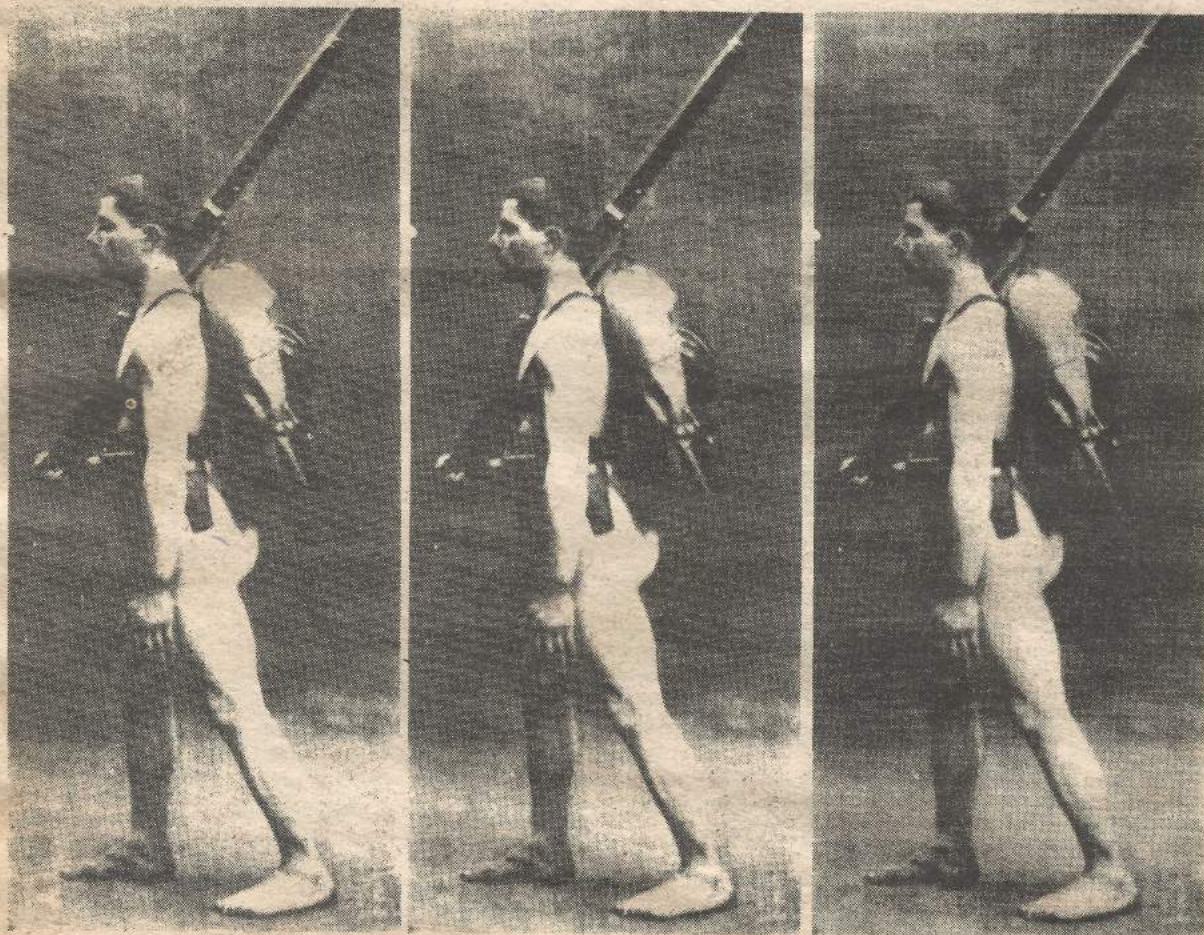
Similar developments in Soviet

military spending seem to show that the 2 powers are on a collision course which is beyond the control of either. Yet today's leaders openly thrive in their schizophrenic 'reality'. The successful drive for draft registration last year was used to "play tough", it's true, but more so was a means for ducking a fundamental question — what kind of war does the U.S. want to fight, besides a conventional European one?

The answer is shockingly clear. The strategists no longer whisper about nuclear warfare behind closed doors. Secretary of Defense Brown admits that 'tactical' Weapons are being considered in the Indian Ocean. Vice-President George Bush claims that if a nuclear war were waged we would come through it.

As the U.S. moves toward a direct military alliance with China, American involvement in a major war at the Soviet-Chinese border could occur. In light of an inadequate American military response, the motivations of the huge Soviet build-up are clearly no less defensive than those of the U.S. If so, when will the placement of a million Soviet troops near the Chinese border at this moment? Could not the Russians, during a political upheaval in China, attempt to capture undeveloped mineral and oil resources in Sinkiang and in other outlying provinces, as they have already done in Afghanistan?

Clearly then, the threat of nuclear war is omnipresent. So long as an escalating arms race, competition over scarce natural resources needed for a modern industrial economy, and a general struggle for world domination exist, none of us is safe.



Christie, Class War and Terror



The Christie File

Stuart Christie, Cienfuegos and Partisan Press, 1980, 370 p.p., illustrated, \$8.95

It might seem presumptuous for a man barely 34 years old to be writing his memoirs, a possibility Stuart Christie acknowledges in *The Christie File's* final pages. The book was originally commissioned in 1975 by a major British publishing house at a time when Cienfuegos Press was in dire need of some quick cash. Apparently, however, the finished product was not exactly what they had in mind and they regretfully declined to publish only adding that they hoped "a more courageous publisher could be found." So the manuscript for *The Christie File* languished on the shelf until a small radical publishing house, Partisan Press of Seattle, expressed an interest in publishing the book as a joint venture with Cienfuegos Press. We should be grateful they did because *The Christie File* is quite simply one of the best books to come out of an anarchist publishing house in many a year.

Stuart Christie has managed to cram an amazing amount of activity into his brief 34 years. When he was just 18 years old he was sentenced to 20 years in a Spanish prison, of which he served three, for his part in an assassination attempt on the life of Generalissimo Franco. He is the co-founder of the Anarchist Black Cross, an organization dedicated to helping anarchist class war prisoners, and is one of the

driving forces behind its paper *The Black Flag*. In the early Seventies, after years of police harassment, he was arrested in connection with the activities of the Angry Brigade and spent 18 months on prison, on remand, until he was finally acquitted of all charges. Frustrated members of Britain's Special Branch let it be known that if he didn't get out of London the frame-up would be handled "more efficiently next time." Taking their advice he moved to Sanday Island in the Orkney's where he established Cienfuegos Press which quickly grew into one of the most influential anarchist publishing houses in the world.

Christie tells his story in a very informal and readable style that is totally without affectation. In the book's early pages he relates an amusing anecdote about how he first came into contact with the dread word 'anarchist.' As a member of the First Glasgow Scout Troop he and some friends were camping on a local duke's land. One morning they held an informal boulder-throwing contest and at exactly the wrong moment a large red limousine passed along the laneway above which Christie and his friends were tossing their boulders. Boulder and limo met with a resounding crunch and the thoroughly frightened driver, who turned out to be the duke, sped off in a cloud of dust. The next morning the duke appeared to complain of the incident to the scoutmaster claiming that in his fright he thought he had been under attack by a band of murderous anarchists. After the incident had been sorted out and the duke had left Christie describes how he "went to the troop leader asking for an explanation of the word. Anarchists," the scoutmaster intoned "were wicked people who went about trying to remove kind, decent people like the duke who had let us camp on his land even though his ancestors had fought for it. There were some humorous remarks later that evening among my circle of friends that maybe it would not be a bad idea if we were to fight him for it. But apparently only ancestors were allowed to do things like that."

Christie then details how his political development led him first into a brief flirtation with the Orange Lodge and then into the Young Socialists, the youth wing of the British Labour Party, where he came into contact with the Solidarity Group. Christie became increasingly disillusioned with both the Labour Party and the bickering Trotskyites within it and came to sympathise more with the libertarian socialism espoused by the Solidarity Group. He found, however, that they were too reflective for his taste. "I wanted

action," he writes, "not just to understand the capitalist system but to fight against it. This is how I began to move towards anarchism."

Christie became involved in demonstrations against Franco's fascist regime in Spain and when word came of renewed oppression in the Asturias region, scene of numerous libertarian revolts in the past, he decided that the time had come to do more than just demonstrate. Through his contacts within the Spanish resistance movement he learned of a planned attempt to assassinate Franco and readily offered his help. Christie's mission was to carry explosives into Spain and then deliver them to a contact. The mission ended in disaster as the British police, despite their lip-service to anti-fascism, tipped off the Francoist secret police. Christie was sentenced to 20 years in prison for his part in the attempt. Almost immediately a massive international campaign was launched to secure his release which resulted in success after three years of determined effort. He arrived back in London in a storm of publicity, well described in the book, which quickly established him as "Britain's most notorious anarchist."

That notoriety plus his immediate return to activism made him a prime target for police harassment. This harassment intensified when the Angry Brigade began launching attacks on Spanish property in the early Seventies to protest against the Franco regime. Christie was placed under constant police surveillance and every means, both legal and illegal, were tried to tie him into the activities of the Angry Brigade. Finally, by pure luck, they succeeded. In need of money to repair a friend's car he had damaged Christie dropped by a friend's apartment. As he describes it:

"To my surprise, the furniture in the front room had been removed, and at the far end a man was sleeping by the window with a copy of the *Daily Express* over his chest and his feet up on one of the remaining chairs.

"I walked over and shook the sleeper. 'What's going on here?' I demanded. He nearly fell off the chair with surprise. It was Detective Constable Daniels of the Special Branch. I looked around as the door creaked behind me. There was Detective Constable Jeal. The time. The place. And the desired one. A quarter of a million pounds worth of Special Branch expenditures was about to be justified."

Christie's friends had just been swept up in a police raid in connection with the Angry Brigade, they were later convicted of "conspiring to cause explosions," and

his fortuitous arrival on the scene was a piece of luck the Special Branch could not pass up. Detonators and other evidence of "terrorist activities" were planted in his car and the frame-up, clumsy as it was, resulted in 18 months imprisonment before a jury cleared him of all charges. After his acquittal Christie moved to Yorkshire, in the north of England, where he was again placed under police surveillance. Tiring of this constant cat and mouse game, Christie and his wife Brenda, finally decided to move to Sanday Island in the Orkneys. Even there the police refused to leave him in peace and they made a prodigious effort to tie him into the recent 'Persons Unknown' anarchist trial (the charge again was "conspiracy" to cause explosions). Through it all Christie has been able to preserve his sense of humour, which comes through beautifully in the book, as well as maintaining an enviable level of revolutionary activity.

The Christie File is a joyous and exuberant book which gives the reader an in-depth overview of the British anarchist movement in the Sixties and Seventies as seen through the eyes of a man who was at the centre of many of the activities described. I highly recommend it. *The Christie File* is available from: Cienfuegos Press (Canada), P.O. Box 3254, Station D, Ottawa, K1P 6H8.

Lazarus Jones

The Voice of Terror: A Biography of Johann Most

Frederic Trautmann, Greenwood Press, 1980, 313 p.p., illustrated, \$25.00 h.b.

It's one of history's ironies that Johann Most, one of the most fiery defenders of propaganda by the deed, is best remembered today for the incident in which Emma Goldman horsewhipped him at a public meeting for condemning Alexander Berkman's attempted assassination of Henry Clay Frick. Throughout his turbulent career as a revolutionary agitator Most wrote and spoke in his native German, his few attempts at public speaking in English were greeted with derision, and the lack of readily available translations of his work has generally relegated him to an undeserved obscurity. With the publication of Frederic Trautmann's *The Voice of Terror*, the first English language biography of Most, the full scope and intensity of his lifelong dedication to the anarchist cause has been made available to English readers.

Most was born in Augsburg, Bavaria, in 1846. His childhood was a bleak succession of beatings and casual cruelties.

When Most was sent sick to bed where he contracted a twisted mouth and a twisted mind. Finally, in desperation, Most's face and neck were operated on, leaving him with a twisted mouth and a twisted mind even after he was to cover the worst.

Most was a natural antipathy to him in trouble with the law. He was expelled from student strike to ways of a particular. His furious father bookbinder in the world would "pou of him." It was no organizing strikes his dismissal and that would carry many, Austria, E America. In Austria, founding a Marxist ty. He helped spar that drew over 6 Austrian parliar freedom to organi high treason for hi sentenced to five outraged working demanding his rele three days in jail amnesty.

Upon his release once more into or The commissioner him and, in a v indignation, declare "You agitate, y violence and revol nesty with ingratit be deported foreve "Forever?"

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"That's big tall will last forever?"

"Most," the co "you have five d country. Forever."

Most's comme The Austrian emper twelve short years. Most returned was elected to the speeches that sh burghers of the S (SDP), and re-elec tuents. Disgusted dice Most devoted

Class War Comix No. 1
Cliff Harper, Kitchen Sink Enterprises, P.O. Box 7, Princeton, Wisconsin 54968, \$1.00

Class War Comix No. 1 is the first installment of a graphic novel which is projected to run for six issues. The first three are to describe an anarchic society in a rural context, the last three will deal with the conditions of urban life in a post-revolutionary society. Historically the situation in the comix is parallel to the situation in Russia in the years 1917 to 1921. A political revolution has occurred in which the present ruling class has been deposed. A Socialist bureaucracy has risen almost as repressive as the one it replaced. The workers continue to struggle for their freedom. Councils and co-operatives have been spontaneously organized.

The later issues promise to focus on an industrial community the size of Belfast or Liverpool, (the author is British), and will describe factory councils, tenant's and street councils taking over housing, garbage collection and street cleaning.

Since the work is basically a pictorial representation of people involved in day-to-day life, (as it must be, given the comix medium), it offers a much needed look at a vision of concrete details instead of what we have so much of, endless abstractions and polemics emanating from all-too-many-and-various-castles-in-the-sky. Utopian it is, but a better propagandising tool you just can't find, not in the learned pages of the N.A.A. not anywhere.

What we have here are pic showing real people, in real problems. Like all utop more a reflection of the art construction. In the words o

"In 1972, after four years began drawing this comix. active in squatting, so it wa was finished. It was intende ds who were turning their b politics to form rural comm development seemed crucia back it appears pretty irrelev Primarily, the comix is drawings before writing drawing the balloons before after drawings were comple kind of story line..."

The story line is somewha work is superb. The totally can mentally say to him or h be here. I would like to be in anarchical society. I do not l

Unfortunately only this, t yet been published. The pul after sufficient revenue has of issue No. 1 can produ projected five further issues.

This work is the reflection journey through rural escap return to urban action. Thi prologue of that journey.



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tation. Of parliament he declared, "I care
nothing for that puppet show." His
notoriety made him a prime candidate for
persecution when Bismark enacted the
Anti-Socialist Law after several attempts
on the life of the emperor. Fleeing to
London he established a journal, **Freiheit**,
through whose pages he castigated
the timorous socialist leadership. Most
was well on his way to anarchism. In
1880 he was formally expelled from the
SDP, a move that prompted him to con-
temptuously sneer, "What toothless
snarls the party emits, like an old cur
wheezing its last!"

Most called for bloody revolution and
when Czar Alexander II was assassinated
Freiheit celebrated the event with a red-
bordered article and the headline "AT
LAST." Most's celebration of regicide
strained even England's fabled tolerance
and he was sentenced to sixteen months at
hard labour. Upon his release he tried to
re-establish **Freiheit**, even attempting to
enlist the aid of Marx and Engels, failing
in this he decided to emigrate to America
where the prospects for a revived **Freiheit**
seemed brighter. It was in America,
through the pages of **Freiheit**, and from a
thousand podiums, that his reputation as
the most indefatigable anarchist militant
of his time was made.

The Voice of Terror is well researched
and written in a lively readable style. The
structure of the book, however, leaves
something to be desired. Trautmann
divides Most's life into three periods each
of which is divided by theme: Personal
and Private; Positions and Persuasions;
Public and Polemical; and, Penalty and
Punishment. Each of these sections is fur-
ther sub-divided and Trautmann treats
each sub-section chronologically. As a
result the book can be confusing and
frustrating at times as Trautmann jumps
backwards and forwards in time telling
Most's story. On the whole, however, **The
Voice of Terror** is a valuable and timely
addition to the growing literature on the
development of anarchism in North
America.

Lazarus Jones

New And recommended

Bakunin on Anarchism, Sam Dolgoff ed.,
Black Rose Books, 1980, 465 p.p., \$7.95.

A new edition of Sam Dolgoff's classic
anthology of Bakunin's writings. "This
selection provides access to the thinking
of one of the most remarkable figures of
modern history. I read it with great
pleasure and profit." Noam Chomsky.
Available from: **Black Rose Books**, 3981
St. Laurent Blvd., 4th Floor, Montreal,
Quebec, Canada, H2W 1Y5. Bulk rates
available.

The First Mayday, The Haymarket
Speeches 1895-1910, Voltairine de Cleyre,
Ciñfuegos Press, Libertarian Book Club
and Soil of Liberty, 1980, 55 p.p.,
illustrated, \$3.00.

A collection of de Cleyre's speeches on
the Haymarket tragedy with an introduc-
tion by Paul Avrich. Available in North
America from either **Soil of Liberty**, P.O.
Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, Min-
neapolis, MN 55407, or **Libertarian Book
Club**, GPOB 842, New York, NY 10001.

Energy Catalog, Food For Thought
Books, 1980, 32 pp., illustrated, 50¢ post-
paid.

Food For Thought has just released a
new energy resources catalog, a fully
illustrated guide offering access to over
300 books, pamphlets, periodicals, but-
tons and bumper stickers. Each is given a
descriptive and sometimes critical review,
resulting in an in-depth view of the best
resources. More than just a catalogue, this
is a highly effective educational tool in it-
self. Available from: **Food For Thought
Books**, 325 Main St., Amherst, Mass.
01002, USA.



9-to -5 Blues

By Clara K. Struggle

Being a clerical worker myself, I was
intrigued with the idea of taking
revenge on one's boss, the premise on
which the movie **9 to 5** is based.
Clerical work's exploitative aspects are
common knowledge, and the movie's
creators recognized this. However, the
option to organize politically and
economically, to take serious action on
behalf of clerical workers as a class fac-
tion, is not considered at all. The
potentially radical subject of three
clerical workers seeking to wreak
havoc on their abusive boss dissolves in-
to a giddy comedy, going only as far as
Hollywood standards will allow.

The tone is funny and cute, the ac-
tion revolving around the main ac-
tresses: Lili Tomlin, who portrays an
ambitious, efficient, yet resentful Ad-
ministrative Assistant who's been with
the company for over a decade. Jane
Fonda plays a secretary in her first job
after housewifery, a role replete with
dizziness and awkward naivety. And,
Dolly Parton, an ample Girl Friday,
completes the trio.

The empathy I had for the charac-
ters fluctuated. For example, I didn't
feel sorry for Parton's character when
she's sexually harassed by the boss —
she seems equally responsible. Sexual
harassment is portrayed as amusing,
and worse yet, harmless. In another in-
stance, the Fonda character's inepti-
tude with the copier machine invites
ridicule. When the boss comments,
"Even a moron could work it!" we
tend to agree. Lili Tomlin's role con-
sists of a competent veteran clerical
worker, able to handle phones skill-
fully among other tasks, who is due for
a promotion. Her ambition, and hence,
compromise in her hateful feelings
(in other words, ass-licking for per-
sonal gain) I found repugnant. This
was unfortunate, because her role had
genuine spunk. The characters had
their sympathetic qualities, but I dis-
trusted their motives. What were they
really after? They wanted to turn the
tables on the boss but it seemed they
also wanted to take his place, leaving
the inequalities in power unchanged.

Sure, the boss is a bastard; there's
no doubt about that. However, the
reason is not because he is a boss, but

because he hates women. He is also a
racist, shoots animals for pleasure, is
strict with office regulations, and has a
condescending attitude towards his
employees. In other words the implicit
message is why can't he be a little *nicer*
and more liberal, instead of, why can't
he be gotten rid of totally? This limited
scope reminded me of movies of two
decades ago. Certainly, kidnapping
and threatening one's boss is in the
realm of pure fantasy. On the other
hand, organizing around office condi-
tions, though difficult, is *possible*. The
movie is a fantasy and nothing more. It
never enters into political relevance.
When Fonda gets up while a worker is
being fired unfairly, and says, "It's so
unfair . . . we've got to do some-
thing!", one gets a distinctly apathe-
tic feeling and the definite impression
that Fonda herself might have added
the scene as an afterthought, a feeble
attempt to add some political signifi-
cance to the movie. It doesn't work.

The most timely aspects were the
concepts of Women's "Lib" (women
desiring men's power roles), and that
Capitalism can be improved by
providing cosmetic concessions to the
workers. This point is brought home in
the last scene, after the boss is secretly
released from captivity, in which the
Chairman of the Board congratulates
him on the new office reforms. These
reforms — carried out by the three
women in his absence — increased
productivity by over 20% and there-
fore, the profits of the company. Of
course, he gets all the credit. But,
there's a catch; he is relocated to a
long-term job in Brazil, and they never
see him again. Their office improve-
ments included job sharing plans, flexi-
time, a day care center on the premises,
the removal of the time clock, alcoho-
lic rehabilitation programs, increased
pay (the one reform the Chairman
didn't care for), handicapped and
minority employment, and renovations
making the office more cheery. What
is odd is that instead of communing
with the other clerical workers, the
women barricade themselves in the
bosses former office and drink cham-
pagne, toasting their supposed seizure
of power.

I can't deny the movie's intrinsic en-

tertainment value, for it was quite
high. But, I was expecting more. It is
quite true the clerical field is notably
unorganized and is a typically apoliti-
cal area, and the movie has no new in-
sights and doesn't attempt to challenge
this situation in the least. The limits of
"what is possible" (the hegemony) is
in full force. No rousing union hall
scenes in this one folks. Strictly slap-
stick whimsy.

One witty part of the movie is when
the three women fantasize about how
they'd each like to kill the boss. Tom-
lin's fantasy involves poisoning his
coffee, and after he dies, a dungeon is
pictured in which the clerical workers,
chained to their cobweb covered desks,
are liberated through a huge door that
emits a blinding light into their dark
lives as they stagger out in joyful
shock.

What complicates the plot is the
Tomlin character really does poison
the boss's coffee. What results is a
series of comic scenes that lead us far
afield from anything remotely resem-
bling politics. The crucial fact is that
she feels *guilty* for accidentally poisoning
his coffee, *very guilty*! All her hate
seems to vanish! Incredible! She isn't
even allowed to despise the man, with
all the animosity *expected* of an ex-
ploited employee.

They chain him up in his own home
to keep him from talking, and, (to
quote) from "putting the bitches in
jail." While he is being held captive,
they discover he's been keeping a ware-
house empty that should've been filled
with inventory, and they plan to charge
him with embezzlement and fraud. In
an unbelievable plot twist he finds a
nail file, gets loose, and orders the
warehouse re-filled at the last minute.

It was idealistic of me to expect that
a mainstream movie would treat
clerical work and it's problems realisti-
cally. Rarely does a glimmer of leftist
politics show through most examples
of North American cinema. The
message spoken through the heavy veil
of comedy, was that workers' condi-
tions can be upgraded and therefore
also their feelings about their work.
But, the essential power relationships
of capitalism remain unchallenged.

Part One: On Class and Culture

By: B. Newbold

Perhaps one of the most significant ways in which the problem of modern culture expresses itself is the gap between science and society. It is not news that technology has conferred benefits on society. But the point of these benefits remains to be seen. Especially when, for example, electricity is as easily used to power an MX missile guidance system as to light up a room. If we cannot explain what good science is then the full scope of society remains beyond understanding. Yet in such a predicament there is no distinction between innocence and cruelty. The difference between nature and society is obscured. Concentration camps take on the same significance as the laughter of a clown.

The dilemma under consideration is not only a general or theoretical one though. It necessarily has practical aspects as well. No one could fail to notice the inadequacy of family arrangements which have reduced love to a contract between sexual organs. Narcissism is epidemic. So too, therefore, is the general lack of emotional affection among friends. Look at the prevalence of mongamy and the emphasis on fidelity for instance. The dominance of patriarchy reduces love to the legitimization of heirs.

Another case which underlines the importance of the project undertaken here is the routine and restrained objectivity of mainstream journalists especially those employed by chain newspapers. Acting as foot-soldiers of fortune for the daily press, they are mercenaries, ever ready with the formula story and the stock phrase. It is not surprising that their writing takes on a stilted and artificial cast. News and information become a litany of uniform comment on standardized issues. Conventional chatter about convention. Philosophy by the light of nature. Just examine *The Spectator*, a typical chain newspaper located in Hamilton, Canada. It is nothing more than a transmission belt for the wire services. It does no concrete investigative reporting.

Observe the integrity of the legal profession too. The general predictability of court decisions is legend. With little attention to the particulars of the cases at hand a vast body of precedents has grown up. Judgements are mechanically cranked out under the injunction to let the decision stand (*stare decisis*). This rationalistic consistency renders authority a dead corpse. A ruling showing this positivist phenomenon is the case in Canada of Robertson and Rossetani vs. The Queen in 1963 before the Supreme Court of Canada where it was held that the Bill of Rights is a statement of the law in general which went before it. The trial of postal workers' president, Jean-Claude Parrot, was also conducted in line with this strict constructionist interpretation.

Balance Sheet

Calculation permeates the military sphere as well. *The Pentagon Papers* were very revealing in this regard. The Vietnam war is depicted like a balance sheet. Operations are evaluated by the kill-ratio and cost-effectiveness techniques. How many of 'them' and how many of 'us' bought the big one in other words.

What about religion? In its main lines the tendency is clear enough. It is surrounded by a sober and rational ethos. Unlike the pagans modern society worships a god who dies. Hence the notion of a 'calling.' When 'the words became flesh' the way of living acceptable



to god was not the transcendence of worldly morality in monastic asceticism, but solely the fulfillment of obligations imposed upon the individual by the world. And that obligation is a tangible thing as it consists in the treasures a calling piles up in this world and not the next. The opulence of, say, Notre Dame Cathedral in Montreal, Quebec, bears witness to this 'reformation.'

Today even the psyche is progressively reified into a fixed constant at the higher circles of society. Individuality is confined within personal boundaries. Like an automobile with its control lever stuck in one gear the modern corporate personality cannot shift attention to other than immediate vistas of human experience. This type of individuality is instead dogmatic and obsessed. The lean and puritanical kill-joy is becoming an all too memorable profile of the age. Who is not familiar with this very masculine, sadistic, hyper-emotional, moral and intellectually keen character. However we may be more accustomed to referring to this condition as the guilty conscience where pleasure is associated indifferently with denial. Need I point out the popularity of 'mud-wrestling.'

It's been said that you can judge a society by how it treats women. If that is the case then current civilization could get a life term. Take the cases of novelists like Steven King or Barbara Cartland for instance. The woman hatred they express in their writings by depicting any signs of autonomy by women as threatening implies that conventional wisdom would reduce women to baby machines. The current crop of horror films could just as easily be used to demonstrate this tendency as could the 'human

life' amendment, which is being proposed in the United States, to declare the fetus a legal person. So could rape.

The vaunted impartiality of bureaucrats is a study of the contradiction in social affairs as well. The client is just a number. With cheerful inconsistency a formalism with which very few actual situations correspond continues automatically and unabated like a grey blob which soaks all the colours from life. Have you heard about the automatic twenty-five percent (25%) cut-off rate that was established by the Canadian Unemployment Insurance Commission for benefits control officers in Canada at least until 1979? It's that kind of inflexibility which paralyzes the agencies of social control.

Mathematization

It seems clear enough that the most general and abstract principle of urban society is ruthless calculation. Daily life is typified by a plodding, predictable, uniform quantification. But the mathematization of the world also rests on very specific circumstances. There is nothing wrong per se in this condition. What is objectionable is the complete lack of social awareness about the particularity of such a condition. And yet the general principle of rationality or value is the specific lynch-pin of political economy and reveals modernity as a social formation in which production has mastery over human beings. Use no longer matters. Time is degraded to space. The bottom line is that this society speaks the language of commodities. And that is why the subject of history is the working class. For without wage-labour commodity production could not

be universal. A look at politics will confirm this because an account of the distinction between power and wisdom also describes modern civilization.

Politics in itself is customary and mired in the traditional foundation of domestic labour. Externally, politics, as that lawful conduct which subordinates all others to its caprice, is the province of the state. One implies the other. And the special armed bodies that comprise the state authority are the guarantee of its supremacy. So it's been said that power rests with the people and wisdom is the authority of the state. This ruse of reason or cunning by the state consists in allowing free rein to the self-interest of others. Thereby this medley of arbitrariness generates universal characteristics by its own working; and this apparently scattered and thoughtless sphere is upheld by a necessity which automatically enters it. To discover this necessary element is the object of political economy, a science which is a credit to society because it finds laws for a mass of accidents.

It is an interesting spectacle to see all chains of activity fall into groups, influence others, and are helped or hindered by others. The most remarkable thing here is this mutual interlocking of particulars, which is what one would least expect because at first sight everything seems to be given over to the arbitrariness of the individual. But since these individual interests are arbitrary they call for regulation. With the extension of individual interests the regulation and control of the state is likewise increased. The centralization of the state authority is intensified by the proliferation of individual interests. The state is the organ of regulation and control of all these conflicting interests; it has no interest as such being an abstraction. Those in control of the organs of the state apply them in their collective private interest.

It is the ruling class in whose interests the agencies of the state are engaged because their content is society's surplus labour whereas the other interests in society maintain both themselves and the ruling class interests (by adding to the nation's wealth or security). These other interests are those engaged in direct production and this is why they have no immediate interest in the state. This relation between necessary and surplus labour in universalized in the form of value by the wage system which requires unemployment so as to convert workers into a commodity for sale on the market in order to accumulate capital. Since you can't sell what you consume a surplus of labourers is required. As a result all labour is not only or even primarily useful but a condition of increasing wealth too. This transformation of the social relations between human beings at work into material relations between people and social relations between things is the origin of the conflict in the ideology and practice of the bourgeoisie. As the personal owners of capital each is committed to particular courses of action without regard to the material implications involved. The production of the wealth on which all these different interests depend is at best an incidental concern to them. Work appears as the limit of their consciousness. The proletariat, on the other hand, sees beyond what seems rational in everyday life because its standpoint is that of production not merely capital which doesn't advance beyond the laws of the market place. But when the proletariat comes to market it sells its labour-power for wages and not at the cost of its

labour product. So there is a basic injustice in modern industrial society. That is to say the distribution of wealth is not proportionate to membership in the class of producers. So workers have created organs of workers' power to combat the capitalists. By means of combination the working class has tried to fight wage-labour and rationality. This explains why capitalists as a class have attempted to prevent mass strikes by limiting freedom of association since around 1914 through patriotic wars.

Restructuring

This period of social restructuring by means of war was inhibited in the late 1960's by the emergence of an international anti-war movement which accompanied an upturn in the global class struggle. Some of the decisive influences in this turn of events include the demise of populism, occupational shifts in the work-force and the proletarianization of women and youngsters.

The conversion of agriculture to the rural branch of the factory system has decreased by the proportion of the population engaged in agricultural labour. In Canada, for example, this proportion fell from 26 per cent in 1941 to 16 per cent by 1951, to 10 per cent by 1961, and to 6 per cent by 1971. On the other hand, the evidence shows that the decline in agricultural labour did not produce a corresponding rise in the size of the labour force employed in secondary production. They went instead mostly into service occupations. These occupations are usually known as white collar jobs. They include such jobs as proprietors, managers, professionals, technicians, clerks and sales personnel. Most of this employment is in the state bureaucracy, trade, real estate, finance and insurance enterprises.

The burgeoning expansion of white collar occupations which are often equated with 'knowledge work' is believed to have created a vastly heightened demand for highly educated people. Several kinds of evidence can be looked at to show that this belief is wrong. First, most white collar people are employed in jobs at the lower levels of this category. In 1971, six out of every ten white collar workers were in clerical and sales jobs. The overwhelming majority of these jobs are neither complex nor challenging. In addition, a large majority of individuals designated broadly by Statistics Canada as 'professionals and technicians' are not engaged in knowledge work. The percentage of individuals in the professional and technical stratum who are sub-professionals, semi-professionals, or technicians is about 70 per cent and this is a conservative estimate. Much could be said of this information. We will confine ourselves to two remarks. The depopulation of the countryside and the subordination of farm life has stripped away a traditional populist heritage and rural small town habits in Canada and elsewhere. On the other hand the proletarianization of formerly rural inhabitants in Canada has led to a marked increase in the length of strikes in trade, finance and service employment since at least 1950.

The destruction of the petit bourgeoisie has in turn sharpened the division and conflict of class as all of society is increasingly polarized between the social extremes of wage labour and capital. This experience has been especially notable in Quebec where landed property in-



Gay Rage

Continued from Pg. 1

newspaper, through the courts about two years ago the justified animosity of gays towards the police has been a fact of life here. So too have been the individual incidents of police harassment.

General hostility to the police by oppressed minority groups has also grown particularly with last year's acquittals of the police in two cases where cops gunned down local blacks. A no less important factor in the general situation has been the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan, which recently set up a public office here in Toronto.

Stonewalled

Central to the frustration of gay activists has been the complete failure of their attempts to struggle for elementary human rights through the established political process. Even the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) has completely abandoned gay rights. Recently, when the Provincial Conservative government introduced a new human rights code the NDP refused to press for the inclusion of an amendment protecting the right to one's sexual orientation. This despite the fact that the NDP had previously made support for such a measure official party policy and also despite the fact of the considerable support it has received from gay activists to date.

Consequently, gay support for the NDP is disintegrating.

Needless to say, there remains only one real option left open to gays in Toronto and across Ontario. Namely, relying on their own means.

Since the demonstration the level of gay activism in this city has increased dramatically. This is especially crucial as many of the demonstrators were new to open political activity. Their energy and militance should be encouraged in order to intensify the ongoing struggle.

Furthermore, the gay movement must ally itself to the struggles of all oppressed people in this city. Naturally one of its strongest links must be to the women's movement and International Women's Day this year should be a manifestation of active unity. In addition, despite the very real barriers, the same holds true for the workers' movement. In short, for any social force pitted against the repressive arsenal of the state.

This will be especially critical as the trials of the arrested gays approach. Not one person must be convicted and the fullest possible support has to be mobilized in the short term. In the long term, the current struggles must be viewed as bases for the realization of the ultimate goal of gay liberation through social revolution.

Class and Culture

Continued from Pg. 10

terests were only recently subjugated to industrial capital's interest. The role of the Catholic church in Quebec is key to understanding this process of industrialization. After 1774 the church served the British conquerors as a social centre preserving authoritarian family structures and promoting qualities like obedience and suffering. It was as much a cultural tool as the family and promoted class collaboration, anti-socialist viewpoints and a repudiation of industrial unions. These policies helped to maintain a large pool of cheap labour and high unemployment. On the other hand as the church itself was rationalized by urbanization pressures which complicated its health, education and welfare institutions its influence among the Quebecois was modified by bureaucrats in the state agencies. Nationalism was a useful cause for these bureaucrats to plead in order to carry out this change. Through a new model of the nation as an industrial, urban society mental labourers could project their ideals as those of the community as a whole. However answers to the national question are not unitary and many workers see it as a demand for economic, as well as political, independence. This has

IMPORTANT!

Notice To Bulk Distributors

Sometime during the mailing of NAA8 the master mailing list for NAA bulk distributors was lost. We have been able to re-construct most of the list from various sources but some distributors, especially the most recent, have been lost. If you didn't receive your bundle of NAA9's please get in touch with us as soon as possible.

At the same time we would like to mention that we are always interested in new distributors for the NAA. Bulk rates for the NAA are 30¢ per copy for 5 to 25 copies and 25¢ per copy above 25 copies. Please address all inquiries to NAA Distribution, P.O. Box 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4A 2M8.

El Salvador

Continued from Pg. 1

more unified and cohesive than was Somoza's clique in Nicaragua. The Salvadorean bourgeoisie will also have the unconditional military backing of the U.S. as well as help and support from their increasingly nervous neighboring dictatorships. El Salvador recently patched up its quarrel with Honduras, which arose out of the farcical four-day "soccer war" of 1969, to ensure better policing of their border areas. The Mexican daily, *Excelsior*, has also reported that the armies of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala have approved a joint military operation known as "Operation Sandwich" designed to annihilate the Salvadorean guerrilla movement and possibly to invade Nicaragua as well.

In light of this Nicaragua's self-righteous denials of aiding the Salvadorean insurgents are pathetically shortsighted. Undoubtedly Nicaragua is aiding the guerrillas in some slight way and hopes to avoid American wrath by keeping this aid

to an absolute minimal level placing the burden of proof on the Americans. If it is not already clear to the Sandinistas that such "proof" will if necessary be manufactured and that a U.S. backed Central American war to crush the left and restore "business confidence" in the region is almost inevitable then undoubtedly it will not be long before Ronald Reagan and Alexander Haig wrench them back to reality. The U.S. will use indigenous troops if possible but direct involvement of U.S. forces is by no means out of the question.

The first line of defense will, of course, be the Salvadorean army loaded down with American military equipment and well staffed by U.S. "advisors." There will be no 11th hour cut-off of supplies to El Salvador and given a national bourgeoisie willing to fight to the death the future does not look bright for the Salvadorean people. They are caught between a vicious ruling junta that is little more than a

"respectable" facade behind which the death squads of the bourgeoisie mete out death and retribution to anyone who dares dissent and a fractured and authoritarian left whose only "socialist" vision is a state-capitalist monopoly to benefit "all the people."

There is little in El Salvador, or in any of the Third World "national liberation" struggles, for anarchists to cheer about. Vicious, thuggish regimes are overthrown only to be replaced by equally vicious, if somewhat less thuggish, Marxist regimes and the vicious circle is completed. The only hope for revolution in El Salvador, Nicaragua or the rest of the Third World is a victorious social revolution in one or more of the advanced industrial societies. Only then could meaningful international solidarity and aid be extended in the true spirit of proletarian internationalism. Until then El Salvador and the rest will merely be pawns in the geo-political and ideological conflicts of the Marxist and capitalist super powers.



been based on a meeting of two major dynamics which are the national oppression which has kept many french-speaking workers locked in the job ghetto of the civil service and the rapid industrialization of that branch of employment.

Domestic Labour

At the time that capitalism had become the dominant mode of production women had been essentially defined out of the labour-force and confined to domestic labour. However, the increased cost of living and the expansion of service industry has put more women on the job market. In Canada wages for women are less than men's on average because the labour market is segregated by sex. But as well this is because the family, not the individual, is responsible for the reproduction of workers. So women's wages in modern society are likely, at best, to be equal to the maintenance of their labour-power within the nuclear family since women are considered secondary labourers earning an extra income not a necessary one.

Young people's job opportunities are also restricted under the conditions in modern capitalistic societies. They are, like women, considered to be only a secondary class of wage-earners, regardless of their actual family situation. And firms such as MacDonal'd's find their operations profitable precisely because of their basis on this cheap labour pool of young workers.

All these new sections of the industrial working class serve to confirm the main thesis of the present discussion which is that capital rules the world. The substance of this

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Swedish Social Democracy: Who's kidding who?

The myth that Sweden has developed into a socialist society must be shattered if it is not to side track the real issues and areas of struggle: that is, the direct struggle between the haves and the have nots.

In today's world of intense capitalist crisis many working people are looking for alternatives to capitalism. Some look to the supposed "communist" countries of Eastern Europe while others look to China or Yugoslavia as models of a particular brand of socialism. Still others, trade union bureaucrats like William Winpisinger (International Association of Machinists), and Doug Fraser (United Auto Workers), and radicalizing workers, view British, Israeli, Swedish and German social democracy as models of a more humane and practical socialism — devoid of party dictatorships, rigid lifestyles and state-controlled trade unions. In the case of the latter models, "democratic socialism" is viewed by many not so much as an ideology or a social movement capable of replacing capitalism but as a mode of thought and action that is only capable of creating an extended welfare state. In this context it has a certain appeal at this point in history for many Americans.

Since the democratic socialist model tends to appeal to many the main thrust of this article will be an examination of Swedish social democracy. I will attempt to show that during its over 40 years in power the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SDP), which is now in opposition following its electoral defeat, did not radically alter the relations of production or consumption. It is also my intention to make it clear that industrial democracy is not, and cannot be, synonymous with state control, bureaucratic centralization or with "practical socialism" (i.e. the left wing of the supposedly "possible"). The myth that Sweden has developed into a socialist society must be shattered if it is not to side track the real issues and areas of struggle: that is, the direct struggle between the haves and the have nots.

Capitalism

For so-called "democratic socialists" the basic premise for a workers' controlled economy is the nationalization of basic industries and services. Yet in Sweden, while certain inroads have been made in the process of nationalization — although not the direct, non-bureaucratic workers' control of society by the workers' community and consumer organizations — it is perhaps interesting to note that over 94 per cent of Swedish industry is privately controlled. After the 40 plus year rule of the SPD "Sweden is still controlled by a small elite whose wealth is relatively more concentrated than in most countries including the United States" according to Martin Schiff in his article

Sweden's Social Welfare System (Current History, March, 1976).

Rather than curtailing the further accumulation of capital on the part of Sweden's capitalists the supposedly socialist state apparatus allowed corporate and family empires to grow. The state even provided the incentives for such growth. For example, 50 private corporations employ nearly 50 per cent of Sweden's industrial workers and produce over half of Sweden's goods. The most powerful of the capitalist families, the Wallenbergs, control nearly one third of Sweden's financial market and one third of Sweden's vital export trade.

The whole theoretical basis of social democracy is the gradual elimination of capitalism through state orchestrated reforms rather than the direct confrontation between capital and labour. This sort of outlook on the part of the Swedish social democrats manifests itself in the form of "socialist tax policies." Such policies were intended to equally redistribute the nation's wealth. Yet, during the closing years of SDP power the top 10 per cent of the population controlled close to 40 per cent of all social assets. The top 25 per cent of the population controlled 56 per cent.

Need to expand

Like any other capitalist nation Sweden's monopoly economy has led it to become imperialist in outlook. Contrary to many misconceptions, Sweden, under SDP rule, was not merely interested in developing its economy within the framework of its own borders, rather, it increasingly needed to expand into the world market shedding the flimsy facade of being a "neutral" country.

According to *Fortune* magazine's list of the largest multi-national's outside the USA, 13 out of 300 multi-nationals are Swedish based. Sweden's laws have allowed foreign profits to return untaxed. Nearly one quarter of Sweden's Gross National Product and half of its industrial output are sent to foreign markets.

Sweden's foreign interests, at the same time, are often dressed up as models of "international cooperation". In 1975 Sweden became the first western nation to earmark one per cent of its GNP for "foreign aid". At the bottom of this rhetoric however, there remains a network of foreign trade and investment relations to promote the multi-national interests of the Swedish ruling class. Under the social democrats extensive ties were developed with Africa and Sweden is the second largest investor in Libya after the US. Sweden's "friendly attitude" had nothing to



A Swedish Social Democrat

do with working class internationalism. It was based solely on the need for oil and greater profits for the Swedish ruling class.

Like other advanced capitalist countries, Sweden has developed a highly complex military-industrial establishment. The development of such an establishment serves a dual purpose. First and foremost it stimulates the domestic economy which has suffered from constricted markets and requires massive subsidies. Secondly, Sweden's military production supported its role as a pro-western "junior partner."

Rather than reducing military spending and converting military industries for social use the social democrats actually increased military spending. On a per capita basis Sweden has (and still has) the fourth largest military budget in the world topped only by the USA the USSR and Israel. In 1975, 4 per cent of its GNP and 12 per cent of its national budget went into military production and instead of a mere self-defense force compulsory conscription supports a sizeable armed forces for a country of its size.

If Sweden was a worker-controlled society it would not have to be "a major producer of armaments and a leading trader of military goods" as Paul Stevenson described it in *Monopoly Capital and Inequalities in Swedish Society (Insurgent Sociologist, Fall 1974)*. Nor would it have sold military equipment to fascist and racist countries such as Spain or South Africa. Such an outlook has nothing to do with the international interests of the working class. The same holds true for Sweden's vast spy network.

Party of business

At the Social Democratic Party's 27th Congress ex-Prime Minister Olaf Palme's former Minister of the Economy was asked by the Jamaican delegate: "Do you still regard Sweden as capitalist after more than 40 years of social democratic government?" The unequivocal response was "Yes." Or, more pointedly, in the words of Ola Virin (head of the Swedish Industry Federation) as quoted in *Fortune* magazine: "The Socialist Party is the party of business."

Thus it can be argued that the SDP has never made any sort of attempt, putting aside the SDP's

rhetoric, to radically change the nature of Swedish society. While Sweden is looked upon as a model of "democratic socialist" structural and economic change it is also viewed by the capitalists internationally as a nation where capitalism has been made to "work" without the sort of problems found in the US or Western Europe. Throughout the mid to closing years of the 1970's the capitalist press and politicians in the US had nothing but praise for the modified brand of Swedish capitalism. Readers of the prestigious capitalist press were told that teach Great Britain and even the United States a few lessons in capitalism." (*Wall Street Journal*, June 1975).

The late Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, a devout defender of capitalism, told his colleagues in the Senate in October of 1976 that: "There's a widespread misconception that Sweden is a 'socialist country', but I do not find that to be the case... Sweden is clearly a capitalist country, and I might add, it has a flourishing economy."

And to add the frosting to the cake *Fortune* magazine, the most prestigious of the capitalist magazines, wrote in March of 1976 that "Sweden's socialist government (had) preserved a system of corporate taxation that might have been drafted by a company treasurer."

For those not weighed down by the ideological baggage of social democracy it should now be clear that Sweden is not, and never was, evolving towards an equalitarian society. The management of the state apparatus under the SDP operated no differently than it would have under an openly capitalist party. The only tangible difference is that the social democrats were able to manage Swedish capitalism efficiently, which is, by the way the basic thrust of "democratic socialist" theory. Rather than decentralizing and democratizing the economic and social system by means of workers' associations, unions or workers councils, citizen's associations, tenants councils, neighborhood assemblies and non-party controlled cooperatives as anarcho-syndicalists would — the SDP and

their labour partners the LO (*Landsorganisationen i Sverige*, the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions) retained the centralized state, union, party and corporate structures.

Under the SDP the social democrats attempted to maintain a rational capitalism only intervening at points where capitalist economies periodically break down. What this amounted to was a concerted effort to support the growth and expansion of privately controlled industry when mismanaged by their owners. This was done to offset or absorb capitalism's tendency to overproduce which in turn floods the market.

Rather than socializing the means of production lock stock and barrel the social democrats favoured a policy of "socialist tax" structures. These structures were able to promote wide-spread capitalist investment and expansion and these structures generally paid off han-

structures generally paid off handsomely for capitalism. Tove Browaldh chairman of Sweden's second largest bank once remarked that: "It sounds peculiar for a social democratic country but the tax laws... are about the best in the world for corporations." On the same theme, Hans Werten, head of the Swedish multi-national Electrolux, said that "no businessman could deny that the socialists... made good tax laws for companies."

Basic theory

In essence the "philosophy behind this" Browaldh said, "is that you cannot finance reforms and raise real wages unless you invest all the time and money in new machinery and plants." To simplify matters, the basic theory is that capitalism is at its healthiest point when levels of capitalist investment are at their peak. Therefore the social democrats' tax program was designed to suit corporate expansion rather than to curtail it.

While we don't support the nationalization of industry by the state, it should be noted that this is one of the basic points of the social democratic program. And while American social democrats sometimes point to the "fabulous" job the Swedes have done supposedly curtailing private profits and supposedly institutionalizing industrial democracy the fact still remains that only 5 per cent of the economy is state controlled and another 5 per cent is jointly managed by the state and private industry. "In practice, nationalization of private firms has been almost absent from Swedish post-war policy" noted Assar Linbeck a University of Stockholm economist. This policy has been pursued so as to allow the capitalist apparatus to remain intact and to allow greater growth in the private sector.

It is also worth pointing out that all major economic decisions regarding the industrial sector — both state-controlled and jointly controlled — were more often than not reached on the capitalist's terms. "Economic policies (were) determined by class-biased economic theories. The goal of maximum production irrespective of what is to be produced or under what kind of working conditions... provided the basis for a tacit understanding between social democrats and the business community" wrote Lars Erik Karlsson in *Industrial Democracy in Sweden* an essay in the book *Workers' Control*. (Gerry Hunnius ed., Vintage Books, 1973).

Although it can not be denied that the SDP, during their stay in power, were able to bring about cer-

ACF Conference

The 7th conference of the **Anarchist Communist Federation of North America** was held on the weekend of January 2-4 in Champaign, Illinois. Twenty-one delegates and one observer were present representing most of the ACF collectives.

Following the pattern agreed upon a year earlier in Milwaukee this winter's conference focussed primarily upon administrative decisions and was shorter than last summer's meeting.

It opened with discussion about those affiliates whose status was in question as a result of their membership dropping temporarily below three people, the necessary minimum. The outcome was the re-admission of **Regina ACF** into the federation and a request for the **Syndicalist Alliance** to re-apply. Procedures for the listing of applicant groups and contacts were decided after an intense discussion.

Considerable attention was given to the ACF's Internal Discussion Bulletin. Disagreements over the performance of the IDB group were expressed and some changes in procedure enacted. These included measures to cut the IDB's rising

costs.

Finances were a key problem. The solution agreed upon was a 50% increase in the ACF's modest group dues. Member affiliates were encouraged to contribute more when possible.

In respect to the serious problems the ACF has had with pamphlet production a decision was made to delegate **Regina ACF** to coordinate the tasks involved. Regina's delegate moved swiftly to clear away existing obstacles but with limited success.

The other main pre-occupation of the first day was the **North American Anarchist**, the Toronto delegate gave a report on the financial problems the NAA faces. It was stressed that support of the paper both monetarily and editorially from the ACF itself left much to be desired.

Decisions made included one to allow some advertising and some others related to finding more revenue. The need to expand our subscription base was seen as urgent. Perhaps the most important step taken at the conference was the start of a vote on whether we should change the name of the newspaper. As not all of the collective were

present the final outcome is still pending.

The last day of the conference first finished up some left over business. Consequently, a new procedure was adopted to provide an alternative mechanism to accept new groups into the ACF where the present procedure is impractical. The final wording of an introduction to the pamphlet **You Can't Blow Up A Social Relationship** was written and a vote on it was begun.

The ACF Solidarity Fund was given attention. Despite the limited monies in it a unanimous decision was made to send \$100. to **Cienfuegos Press** to aid them in their financial crisis.

One of the last subjects was the progress of theoretical work in the ACF. Sharp lines of disagreement were evident which to a degree were a continuation of the differences revealed at the previous conference. Overall, the outcome was inconclusive although theoretical work wasn't intended as a priority given the limitations of time.

Lastly, debate followed on the time and location of the summer conference. The question was partially settled with the matter of the location remaining to be finalized.



Love & Rage

Love & Rage, Entries in a Prison Diary, by Carl Harp, is now available from **Pulp Press**, Box 3868, MPO, Vancouver, B.C. The diary covers a period from August, 1979 to November, 1980 while Carl was a prisoner in San Quentin, California; and Walla Walla, Washington.

About his diaries Carl has said: "I recorded mainly for myself what I honestly felt, thought, heard and saw on a daily basis in this cage. I hope, if it is published, it is of value to the struggle for human rights and justice all over the world, and not just in prison, for none of us can be free until we are all free."

The book can be ordered from **Pulp Press** for \$3.95, plus 50¢ or so for postage. Part of the proceeds goes to Carl's defence fund. Also available are six pen and ink drawings by Carl Harp, available from the **Prisoners' Solidarity Collective**, P.O. Box 5052, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1W4. The prints are on heavy stock and are \$10 a set for individuals and \$15 for institutions. Proceeds from the sale of these prints goes to Carl's defence fund in Seattle, Washington. Carl is expecting to be returned to Walla Walla from San Quentin for another civil suit around treatment and conditions in the penitentiary's segregation unit in 1976-77. Besides the moral support of letters from friends on the outside, Carl also needs our financial support. Donations can be made directly to the **Carl Harp Defence Fund**, 15827 9th Avenue S.W., Seattle, Washington 98166. You can write to Carl Harp at P.O. Box C-7100, Tamal, California, 94964.

Justice Day, Black Dragons And the Politics of Crime

Tentative plans are being formulated for a continental prison justice day to be held sometime late this summer. This would be a day of solidarity involving prison activists on both sides of the concrete walls. August tenth has been held as a day of fasting, work-stoppages and outside vigils in Canada in memory of all who have died in segregation and the struggle for prisoners' rights since 1975. We would like to see the idea spread this year. If you have any suggestions or are interested please write to **Bulldozer's** latest and permanent address, P.O. Box 5052, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1W4. The second issue of **Bulldozer** will also be available soon. Please write to the above address for your copy.

The newest issue of **The Anarchist Black Dragon**, an anarchist prison journal will be in print by the time you read this. Write for a copy to the **Solidarity Committee**, P.O.B. 2, Station La Cite, Montreal, P.Q., Canada. Copies are free for the asking but donations are always useful.

In the spirit of taking what is useful and rejecting the rest, anarchists will find **The Politics of Crime** by Ed Mead, formerly of the George Jackson Brigade to be a very precise and insightful analysis of street crime and prison organising even though it is of a decidedly marxist bent. Copies, at \$1.50 are available from **The Patrick Arguello Press**, 55 Sutter St. San Francisco, CA 94140, USA.

New Rules For Militants

In keeping with the well established Canadian tradition of complete disregard for "legal rights", the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) is formulating a policy of preventative detention for "potentially violent" prisoners in the super maximum security Special Handling Units (S.H.U.s) at the Millhaven and Laval institutions. Previous to the institution of this new program, prisoners had to be convicted of a specific act of violence, attacking a guard, taking a hostage, killing a fellow prisoner or murdering a police officer on the outside. Under this newest policy 200 to 250 prisoners will be segregated on the basis that they may commit such acts in the future. At this point there has been little action in this regard. The S.H.U.s already contain more prisoners than ever due to the high level of violence over the past year. But prisoners in the maximums are awaiting the "knock in the night" during a possible major round up this summer of activists and militants.

Pen Pals

Prisoners who wish to correspond with people on the outside are invited to use this column to get in touch. Please keep submissions short.

To real people: "They imprisoned my body but my spirit still soars. I wish to communicate with all who reply. Lets be friends. Timothy Cinque Crayton, P.O. Box 608, Dorm 6-25, Tehachapi, CA 93561, USA.

Paul Stevenson it is still "as rigid as any other industrialized capitalist nation."

Under SDP rule the Swedish bourgeoisie had a strong commitment to cooperation between classes and was willing to make significant concessions to preserve that arrangement. But this only reflected its belief that social democracy was the best form of social control and its main hope for avoiding a sharpening of the class struggle.

The key to maintaining the class structure was to contain working class action within the framework of social democracy. Rather than

letting the class struggle take its natural course and allowing new forms of working class action and organization, the SDP in cooperation with the bourgeoisie, institutionalized the struggle. Instead of direct confrontation, the SDP and the LO carried out a policy of the "brotherhood (sic) of capital and labour" thereby waylaying any sort of serious struggle.

Next Issue: The role of Sweden's trade union centres in integrating the workers into capitalist/social democratic society.

B.C. Social Strike

By: Micro

British Columbia Telephone officials described as "near anarchy" the occupation of B.C. Telephone centers across the western province of British Columbia the week of Feb. 9 by B.C. Tel workers.

Operating with Touch-Tone precision, union workers fanned out at the main B.C. Telephone centers throughout the province, and a few hours later the company was in their hands. While B.C. Tel officials fumed and threatened to invoke "The full force of the law", hundreds of men and women of the 11,000 strong Telecommunications Workers Union (TCW) bedded down for the night, vowing not to move until they had a new collective agreement. They also declared that

they would keep the telephone system running "even better" than under supervision.

The occupation was the result of months of skirmishing between the parties. Only once in the past twelve years has a contract been settled without arbitration and past disputes have been marked by picket line violence and sabotage. This years occupation marks a major change of tactics among B.C. workers. Tensions run high during these disputes due to the fact that B.C. Tel has 2800 supervisors able to maintain adequate service. Since customers continue to pay their bills, the company can actually profit by a strike.

The tactic of occupation and operation reflects a departure from the earlier tactics of picketing and

sabotage. The new tactic will undoubtedly be more popular with the public and therefore has a greater chance of success.

The strike went into effect late in the week of 8 Feb. after a TWU member was sent home for wearing an anti-company T-shirt. If police move in the workers plan to be "passive and non-resistant". A. B.C. Tel spokesman retorted "We no longer have control of our telephone system." The last B.C. Tel strike lasted three months.



The American Labor Movement: A New Beginning



A new anthology of writings by Sam Dolgoff, including: **Ethics and the Unions**, **The Labor Party Illusion**, **Revolutionary Tendencies in American Labor**, and **Notes for a Discussion on the Regeneration of the American Labor Movement**.

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Sweden

Continued from Pg. 12

tain social reforms — all social benefits however are heavily paid for by the workers through taxes — the fundamental class structure of Swedish society did not change. Rather certain segments of society became more integrated into the functions of the state apparatus. Sweden is still a class society characterized by major divisions in income and group influence. According to

More Letters More Letters More

Continued from Pg. 2

in maintaining genocidal socio-economic policies.

Needless to say this would not sit well with authoritarians regardless of their self-appointed status as "spokesmen" for "democracy" (bourgeois or otherwise). ALL ruling classes are threatened by a sociobiologically based libertarian bio-ethics and class analysis of power AND economic imbalances.

Sociobiology offers the hope of being able to identify the precise motives and goals of ruling classes, regardless of their rhetoric, through the understanding of the role of coercion, in our evolutionary past, in maintaining authoritarian policies and their genocidal consequences.

The only rational and humane result of a scientific explanation of human cultural biology will be a clear conception of the transcendent nature of the human mind in overcoming our savage past. In addition, within the anarchist movement itself, sociobiology offers the hope of a showing that the concept of mutualism, as expounded by Kropotkin, is compatible with both.

Your paper is remarkably undogmatic in its approach despite the fact that its humane libertarian communist principles are so explicit. Keep up the good work!

Howard Olson
Canberra, Australia



Into The Mystic

Dear NAA,

Your Oct/Nov article on *Theological Ecology* reveals how even the most ultra of the Left remain wedded to the worldview of the ruling class. Perhaps dogmatic materialism had an historically progressive function two hundred years or so ago, when people were struggling to throw off the shackles of feudalism, which included the church hierarchy. It is an error, however, to persist in 18th century

materialist rationalism—a philosophic heritage which you seem to share with the most orthodox Marxist-Leninists.

No one can doubt that religion has been used countless times to bolster reactionary regimes and movements. That does not mean that all religion is reactionary per se, but that it can be frozen into dogmas and used to justify an authoritarian social structure. Just like Marxism or syndicalism!

The religious impulse does not arise purely out of fear or ignorance, as if the clear light of rationalism will reveal all and put us in command of the universe. Scientific rationalism and modes of perception based on three-dimensional materiality do not reveal all there is in parapsychology indicate that ordinary sense perception and materialist concepts are extremely limited in grasping the interconnected fields of energy all around us. Mind and matter exist in a continuum, and social reality is as much a creation of collective thought processes as it is a "reflection" of physical constraints and conditions.

Our main enemy today is not the black-robed clergy but the highly rationalist and materialist technocracy which administers advanced industrial society in the West and East. Whether in league with corporate or "socialist" overlords, this technocracy treats human beings and the natural environment as objects of manipulation and exploitation within a mechanistic framework. They aim at the complete reduction

of human beings to quantitative variables within an ultimate cybernetic utopia. Their quantitative and narrowly empirical style of rationalism strikes at the very heart of the human capacity to envision qualitatively different ways of thinking and living.

To the extent that we identify with that materialist rationalism we undercut the subjective basis of our revolution: it is difficult to conceive of human liberation if we see ourselves as merely physiological mechanisms within a strictly physical-causal process. Nor can we hope to inspire people to a total revolution if we are simply aiming at the more thorough-going exploitation of nature and a more equitable distribution of materials goods produced in a new economy which elevates inner-factory planning to the societal level.

Instead, we must break with the narrow rationalism and "scientific single vision" of the technocratic society. We cannot overcome the exploitation of labor without challenging the ends to which labor is exploited. We must join with the best elements of the counterculture in going beyond a set of values and human psychology geared completely to material goods and gratifications. We have to reclaim dimensions of experience and social relatedness which are less object-centered or utilitarian. These are the more ineffable moments of being and social threads which we may call "spiritual" and which you mock because they can't be pointed to and classified like physical objects—wake up, visionaries!

Do you take your stand with Skinner, Pavlov, and all the other behaviorists/materialists who would reduce us to robots? And are you willing to admit that there may be limits to scientific rationalism, and to industrial expansion and the mangling of the natural ecology?

Now is the time for all revolutionaries to forge a synthesis of science and mysticism, and of socialism and the counterculture. We need the vision of a new society—a decentralist society

based on appropriate technology, voluntary simplicity, and an anarchocommunist spirituality. Let us resurrect the revolutionary tradition of mystical anarchism, of Gustav Landauer who wrestled with these very questions in the opening decades of this century, and who points the way that we may survive into the next century.

With fraternal greetings,
David Langlois
Mystical Anarchist
Chicago, Illinois

There are few things more discouraging than the spectacle of someone with pretensions to being a revolutionary imperiously throwing the god of Abraham, Moses or Mohammed out the front door, along with their "black-robed clergy," only to allow a pack of stunted, little gods, in the back door under the catch-all phrase of the "spiritual." But, as Langlois correctly points out, vulgar materialism is almost as objectionable as a vulgar idealism which claims that social reality is "as much a creation of collective thought processes" as it is of material conditions. Anarchism, if it is to have any validity as a theory of social change, must be rooted in the material conditions of society and the existing tendency of the working class towards self-activity. This does not mean we are guilty of the hoariest sin that idealists have accused materialists of committing—that of reducing human beings to the status of "robots." Surely the anarchist movement in North America has not degenerated to such a point that we must re-fight the battles both Marx and Bakunin fought against idealism in the 19th century? Bakunin admirably summed up the basic anarchist position on materialism thusly: "We designate, by the word material, everything taking place in the real world, within man as well as outside of him, and we apply the word ideal exclusively to the products of the cerebral activity of man; but since our brain is wholly an organization of the material order, its function being therefore also material like the action of all other things — it follows that what we call matter, or the material world, does not by any means exclude, but, on the contrary, necessarily embraces the ideal world as well." In other words matter is primary. If Langlois disputes this his connection to working class anarchism is "mystical" indeed.

Lazarus Jones

Fifth Estate For Me

Dear NAA,

I agree on the need for the sort of paper you're striving for. However, I don't think the ACF is at present politically capable of such a project, mainly due to your capitulation to (identification with?) Leftism, evident in your concern for Leftist pseudoproblems, expressed in NAA8 by the alarmist tone of Jones' "anti-Reagan" lead article and your expressed desire to climb on the "anti-fascist" bandwagon. Even more obvious is your uncritical adaptation to Feminist ideology, even though it is self-evidently incapable of addressing in a revolutionary way the specific oppression of women and the general repression of human sexuality. Most disturbing of all is your pronounced tendency to defend technocracy, "self-managed" of course. Stevens' hatchet job on Bookchin, while perhaps not quite "odious filth," does exemplify the extreme, unprincipled (in a libertarian sense) nature of High-Tech worship. These tendencies shouldn't be excluded, as long as



they remain at least nominally anarchist, i.e., anti-statist. But in the case of *Theological Ecology* especially, why must you editorially defend such crap, taken as either polemic or theory.

For these reasons I feel that, for the present, my limited ability to contribute to a libertarian press would best be used if concentrated in support of the *Fifth Estate*. That paper represents a libertarian politics that goes well beyond the predominant views of your paper, which manages to be both eclectic and doctrinaire. Further, FE does not seek to be a Party Organ, as I suspect some "program" enthusiasts would like the NAA to do. Most importantly it combats in a frank and principled fashion the bourgeois ideology both of feminists and the fetishists of high technology and scientism.

Yours,
Jesse McCoy
Seattle, Washington



A Plea For "Unity"

Dear NAA:

I like your paper and always find something good to read in it and I also like what little I saw of the ACF's 6th conference but I wonder why the paper "dedicated to direct action" seems more and more recently the paper dedicated to attacking other anarchists. I understand that these attacks may be some steps on your part to establishing "a correct line" but I think you could define yourselves without resorting to snide and sarcastic denunciations of other comrades you might better hope to express solidarity with. It would be helpful to the growing anarchist movement to stress what we have in common instead of inflating the small points that tend to divide, even if this means sacrificing the satisfied vanity of several admittedly clever and intelligent writers.

What you off-handedly refer to as "an anarchist conference in New England" was an important event, the largest anarchist conference in North America in 100 years but you didn't mention any of that. Now that was important news that should be covered by a paper that calls itself THE North American Anarchist.

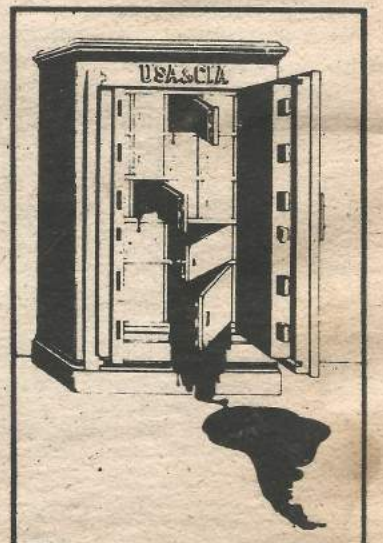
Another thing, specifically Lazarus Jones, if you don't think Abbie Hoffman based his political activity on any kind of class analysis where have you been keeping your head? Abbie has been and still is a community organizer who now faces five years in jail. Whether he was a hippie or a yuppie or clown is beside the point. He was a civil rights activist and a strong voice during the anti-war struggle.

According to the NAA's writers then: "Bookchin's an ass", the *Fifth Estate's* "just plain weird", the Yippies and Abbie Hoffman "nothing but a bunch of clowns", and then that so generous encouragement you mustered for the Direct Action at Seabrook last May: "...We wish them luck. They're going to need it..." If all this elitist posing on your part has been willed to help you establish your "correct line" then you really deserve what you're going to get: a tiny, irrelevant sect operating in a vacuum. And I believe the ACF has too much going for it to dead-end like that.

I believe theory comes from struggle, theory grows out of action. There are already too many papers published by revolutionary vanguards and I seriously doubt that the anarchist movement will accept one that seeks to elevate itself by putting down other comrades. That's a world better left to the Leninists.

Finally, I hope to stay interested in the ACF and to keep reading the NAA which is a desperately needed paper we can't afford to do without. May you hopefully put some of that arrogance on the shelf in the new year.

For anarchist solidarity,
Christopher Cooper
Washington DC





Libertarian Notes

THE GREEN BRIGADES

Neruous Italian Businessmen are investing heavily in Canada these days, over \$12 million in Ontario alone in 1980, building up a stake in case they need a bolt-hole to run to. Vito Giovanetti, president of the Canadian Italian Business and Professional Association, says that Italy's wealthy are increasingly uneasy about political instability, a shaky economy and urban terrorism. In order to hedge their bets the scum of Europe are setting up businesses in Canada to make it easier to gain landed immigrant status should they decide to run for it. The Italian businessmen have found the Canadian government to be very cooperative. Investors are given a code number which is used in all dealings with the Canadian embassy in Rome to ensure that the bashful bourgeoisie don't run afoul of Italy's strict laws concerning the export of capital.

The phenomenon is not new. The rich and powerful of Europe have been quietly moving assets to North America for quite some time now. Often the transactions are in the form of objects d'art that are consigned to Canadian and U.S. galleries on long-term loan. Not only does the "benefactor" get free storage and insurance but he also builds up a grub-stake in case he has to leave the ancestral home "travelling light" as they say. In the event of a major social upheaval or Russian invasion watch the skies for the European "jet-people."

SAS EXECUTION SQUAD

It didn't get nearly as much coverage in the papers as the spectacular Special Air Service (SAS) assault on the Iranian embassy in London last May but the trial of Fowzi Nejad, the only surviving member of the group that took the embassy, has revealed that the SAS cold-bloodedly gunned down three of the dissident Iranians. Ron Morris, one of the hostages, was quoted as saying that the three had dropped their weapons and given up as the SAS broke in. Morris said he informed the SAS that the three Iranians had surrendered at which point one of the SAS gunmen screamed "who are the terrorists?" Morris refused to answer but one of the

other hostages pointed the men out and the SAS instantly shot them down. Two other members of the group were killed in other parts of the embassy.

The six Iranian Arabs had seized the embassy to demand the release of 91 political prisoners in the oil-rich Iranian province of Khuzestan. Before the assault they had killed two of their hostages and were reportedly threatening to kill more.

THAT'S LIFE THAT'S WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY

The trial of the Gang of Four (and Mao makes Five) has mercifully come to a close and the verdicts have been handed down. Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao were give suspended death sentences, which means they have two years to "mend" their ways or die. Of the other two Gang members, Wang Hongwen received life imprisonment and Yao Wen-yuan 20 years in prison. In a bizarre epilogue to the trial several bourgeois feminist media-hounds, including Gloria Steinem and Bella Abzug, labelled the verdict on Jiang "sexist" claiming that she was being punished for the crimes of her husband. They also claimed that the sentence meted out to Jiang, life imprisonment in solitary confinement—if she's lucky, was only handed down because she is a woman. They conveniently forgot about poor old Zhang Chunqiao who got almost exactly the same sentence.

Jiang Qing's crimes against the Chinese people were vast enough to send her to the gallows a hundred times over and the workers of the world will shed no tears over her fate. But, of all Jiang's crimes the only one that really counted in the eyes of the "people's Court" was her failure to prevail in the faction fight over who would get to ride herd on the Chinese people after Mao's death. Good riddance.

OH TIE A YELLOW NOOSE AROUND THE OLD AYATOLLAH

It was probably inevitable that the release of the 52 American hostages would be turned into a sickening display of "patriotism" at its jingoistic worst. They hostages played their parts well, no trace of the 'Stockholm Syndrome' here,

one even ventured the comment that the only way he'd go back to Iran would be aboard a "B-52." With America's current mood Ronald Reagan will have little trouble re-establishing the interventionist policies that have been kept in mothballs since the Vietnam debacle.

After suffering through the Algerian welcome, the Wiesbaden welcome, the U.S. welcome, the return to the hometown welcome and innumerable renditions of that hideously banal tune "Tie A Yellow Ribbon" we can only echo the sentiments of a bumpersticker spotted in New York City—"Forget the Hostages!"

Lost in the shuffle of this outpouring of nationalistic sentiment is another, much larger, group of people who suffered for the sins of American capital—the Vietnam veterans. In Indianapolis a bitter group of veterans denounced the media-orchestrated hostage madness as "a circus" and contrasted to it the treatment handed out to the Vietnam veterans. One unemployed veteran, despondent over the hero's welcome given the hostages, took out a rifle and started shooting at a tree in his back yard. When the police arrived he refused to drop the gun and was promptly shot twice and killed. Welcome back to freedom.

WANTED: DEPUTY FOREIGN SECRETARY NO EXPERIENCE REQUIRED

It seemed like a routine day for the Senate foreign relations committee as they sat down to question William Clark, nominated by Reagan as Haig's Number Two man at the State Department. But routine quickly became laugh-riot as Clark declared during preliminary questioning, "I'm sorry, I've had no formal training in foreign policy." The incredulous senators gleefully peppered Clark with questions:

Who is the Prime Minister of South Africa?

"I don't know," Clark replied sheepishly.

Who is the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe?

"I wouldn't want to venture a guess," he replied with a giggle.

Could he name which European allies are reluctant to have nuclear weapons on their soil?

"I think I'd rather pass on that one," Clark mumbled.

Seeking a question the hapless Clark could answer senator John Glenn asked Clark what the basic thrust of American foreign policy was towards the Soviet Union.

"I'm not in a position to say," Clark replied quietly.

"Then tell me," Glenn beseeched, "what is the *general* rule of U.S. foreign policy?"

Perking up Clark looked the committee straight in the eye and proudly declared: "Peace through strength."

Despite his farcical performance the Republican majority on the committee ensured Clark's appointment. The committee vote now goes to the full Senate where the Republican majority is expected to confirm the appointment. Bonzo lives!

Poland

Continued from Pg. 16

The most volatile scenes of struggle continue to be centred around primarily local issues although these often overlap with controversies which are much wider in scope. They also seem to be the basis of a developing trend.

The actions taken have included wildcat strikes and strikes only authorized by local branches of Solidarity. In the cities of Jelenia Gora, Rzeszow and Bielsko Biala there have been crippling general strikes.

At Bielsko Biala the general strike lasted over ten days. It involved some 200,000 workers employed in 120 factories in the city and surrounding area. The workers were after the removal of the Provincial Governor and other local officials who they said were corrupt. They succeeded in toppling the Governor and three of his deputies.

Significantly, Solidarity's leadership has frowned upon strikes over this type of demand. At Bielsko Biala Walesa appealed for an end to the general strike without success. Only the direct intervention of the Church, acting in a third party role which included involvement by the Pope, brought a settlement.

Moderation Rejected

The Pope's action came about roughly three weeks after Walesa made a pilgrimage to him in the Vatican. It was a visit which provided the world with the pathetic spectacle of Walesa groveling before his hero. Walesa then returned to Poland to promote the Pope's support of moderation.

However, neither the strike-prone workers nor even the more

militant members of Solidarity's leadership proved to be very impressed. In fact, instead of showing a desire for moderation they defied him by staging warning strikes he opposed.

These acts of defiance marked an important advance for the struggle. They indicate a willingness to rebuke privileged bureaucrats like Walesa and the wishes of the reactionary Catholic Church which is taking a clear stand against the autonomous strike movements. So, in effect, large numbers of Polish workers are showing greater determination to conduct their own struggles as they see fit. We must enthusiastically support them.

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Many thanks from the NAA collective with a special tip of the collective hat to our anonymous benefactor. Please address all contributions to and make cheques and money orders payable to: **The North American Anarchist**, P.O. Box 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4A 2M8.

Solidarity For Social Revolution, the journal of the British Libertarian Communist organization **Solidarity**, has a special supplement on Poland in its latest issue. For copies write Solidarity, c/o 123 Lathom Rd., London E6, England. Please include a donation.

The **IWW General Defence Committee** is being resurrected and support for the Polish workers will be a top priority. For information contact **The GDC**, c/o Arthur J. Miller, 3525 Gravier St. New Orleans, Louisiana 70119, USA.

CLASSIFIEDS Announcements

Communities United for Freedom (CUFF) is an anti-fascist organization based in Eugene, Oregon. We are putting together a nationwide communications network with the ultimate goal of establishing a mass-based united front. Initially the network can serve to spread information ignored or distorted by the mass media and provide contacts and support for those groups and individuals involved. Contact **CUFF** c/o Cathi Beavers, 2298-2 Patterson Drive, Eugene, OR 97405, USA.

Graffiti Crimes Karin Kramer publishers are on the lookout for people in Europe, The U.S. and other countries interested in submitting examples of their own local brand of graffiti and wall art. This is Karin Kramers second publishing project, the first dealt with Berlin and West German graffiti. Colour slides preferred but b/w acceptable. **Karin Kramer Verlag**, 1000 Berlin-Neukolln (44), Postfach 106, West Germany.

Evolution

Continued from Pg. 6

of free-living bacteria than they are to the rest of the cell they're in.

It is possible that all living things carry the descendants of ancient bacteria in our cells. The development of complex life came about through symbiosis among very small but chemically complicated microorganisms. It may be that symbiosis and other forms of cooperation are more important

than competition in powering evolution.

We do not create nature so we cannot expect to understand it. However we do interpret nature and this interpretation often says more about our society — which we do create — than about the nature we are studying.

It is therefore reassuring to note that good, sound scientific theories about the natural world can be postulated that would intrinsically agree with an upcoming, bold, new social order.



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Subscription rates are \$5 for individuals for one year (six issues) and \$10 for libraries, institutions and funded organizations. Overseas subscriptions (outside North America) are \$7 per year. **The North American Anarchist** will be sent free to prisoners on request.

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Chrysler Freeze

By Brian Amesly

The plight of North American autoworkers has taken a new turn for the worse. As if the accumulating misery of massive layoffs isn't bad enough we are now experiencing a direct assault upon the wages of those of us who are still working. This at a time of chronic double digit inflation.

The acceptance of the re-negotiated Chrysler contract is an enormous setback of historic significance. The UAW's \$622 million hand-out, featuring a two year wage freeze, will be costing Chrysler workers nearly \$70 a week each. In effect, the Chrysler Corporation, with the consent of the UAW bureaucracy, has succeeded in nothing less than blackmail.

Chrysler has been able to get away with this because it knows it's workers are scared. The workers, seeing the company totter near bankruptcy in the worst crisis in the history of the auto industry and when unemployment in general is high, gave in. But just barely. In a number of locals the workers voted the agreement down and prior to the vote the leading bureaucrats in the UAW were generally worried about the outcome.

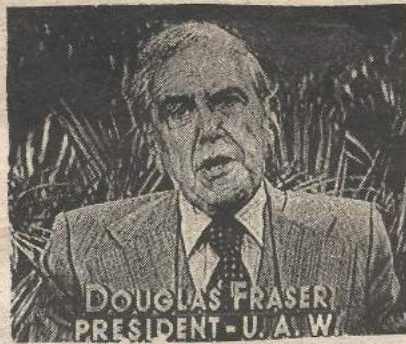
Clearly, the relative closeness of the vote shows widespread sentiment in favour of a fightback. The potential for spontaneous resistance

undoubtedly exists. What could touch it off would be the successful merger of the Chrysler Corporation with another company as this would shatter the justifications made for sacrifices.

More profound in its implications is the wider threat posed by the settlement. GM and Ford have made no secret of their distaste for an agreement which effectively gives Chrysler a 'competitive edge' through a two-tier wage structure. Certainly, both companies can be expected to continue to apply added pressure for concessions from their workers via the UAW bureaucracy. So, by its capitulation, the UAW is opening a breach which will make it 'open season' for all of the auto giants to attack our living standards.

While GM and Ford aren't going to get anything immediately they will definitely go on the offensive with the approach of next year's contract negotiations. Since between now and then the auto turnaround can only expect to be partial at best both companies can be counted upon to employ Chrysler's successful intimidation tactics.

We should have no illusions. The effectiveness of these tactics will remain high as long as job insecurity continues to be a mass phenomena. Given the prospects of never-ending recession, the



DOUGLAS FRASER
PRESIDENT - U.A.W.

robotization of production lines and the change-over to capital intensive small car production we can expect nothing else.

Even so, we still have at our disposal our main line of defence; the strike. During both of the last two contracts it was barely used and we are still suffering the consequences. Next year must be different.

In the meantime, the onus is on us to fight for the rights of autoworkers on layoff, to resist any further production cutbacks and fight all attempts to erode the limited protection offered by the present contract. And, most importantly, these things must be done with an eye to solidifying our unity in 1982 or once again we will suffer the consequences.

Brian Amesly is an autoworker currently on educational leave-of-absence.

Pope Intervenes: Workers remain defiant

By Brian Amesly

In the face of continuing economic crisis and the persistent external threat from the armies of the Warsaw Pact the struggle in Poland rages on. So far this year there have been four major focal points of struggle each broadening the dimension of the challenge to the Soviet-client state.

The battle for a five day, forty hour work week involving millions of workers has been the largest. Not satisfied with a state decree making work compulsory on two Saturdays a month workers staged a series of warning strikes and mass refusals to come to work on any Saturdays in January.

These actions led to a compromise agreement whereby the workers will work one Saturday per month and the state promises to remain committed to the eventual realization of no working Saturdays. Significantly, this struggle was an indication of a much more profound problem. That being the anger of the workers over the failure of the state to live up to most of the terms of the Gdansk agreements.

Rural Solidarity

The drive by peasant farmers with private plots to legally establish Rural Solidarity as a union to defend their interests represents the newest force in the Polish struggle. The achievement of their demand remains very unlikely although a compromise cannot be ruled out. If it were achieved it would not only force more economic concessions from the state but would represent another ideological compromise of the power of the bureaucratic ruling class and undermine its power by creating a rival power based in the agricultural sector of the economy.

Nonetheless, from the vantage point of the interests of the working class their struggle deserves something less than the full support that the workers and Solidarity have been giving it. While there must be recognition of there being just, long-standing grievances against the state and of the fact that the peasants actively support the workers' struggles one still has to



Walesa and his hero.

consider where these demands lead.

Essentially, the end result would be a strengthening of private agriculture. Free enterprise capitalism would be enhanced. Furthermore, the ideological hold of the Church is strongest in the rural areas. This is crucial considering its encouragement of private family farms. Clearly, in relation to the workers the peasant struggle is centred around a different set of class interests.

However, recognition too must be given to the peasants for the severe repression they endured when the Stalinist Bierut regime tried to institute forced collectiviza-

tion of agriculture in the early 1950's. And, most importantly, the right of the peasants to control their own lives must be upheld.

Elsewhere, student agitation is growing. Students in Lodz, Poznan and two other cities have waged protracted struggles. Two of their key objectives have been the abolition of compulsory courses in Marxism and increased student-faculty control over university administration. The students have also thrown their weight behind the popular demand for a general relaxation of censorship in Poland.

See Poland Pg. 15

Labour Pains

What about Solidarity with CUPE?

Few people are not aware of the recent wild-cat strike by the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) non-medical hospital workers in the province of Ontario, Canada. These workers who include hospital cleaning, maintenance and support personnel, clerical staff and registered nursing assistants raised a general demand for quality health care by their job action at 65 hospitals during the week of January 26. By pointing out the amount of sick-time they require due to the work-overload and substandard wages and benefits they have indicated how patient well-being is undermined. And what do they have to show for their concern? Nothing but the abuse and harassment heaped on them by agencies of the state.

A hospital at Sudbury has laid off 18 workers for an indefinite period in Toronto, Queensway, North York General, Toronto General, and Western Hospital local union officials and stewards are being fired. Perseley Hospital is also laying off strikers indefinitely in Ottawa. From Hamilton to Oshawa 40 more strikers are expected to be fired. Hospital staff in Owen Sound and Peterborough will probably experience similar intimidation tactics as well. And the threat of jail terms and fines for the walk-out still exist too.

According to the union health care cannot be guaranteed unless their wages are increased by \$1.50 an hour over two years and no roll backs in benefits are permitted. As well job posts need to be re-evaluated with an eye to reducing the work load. Even the government has admitted as much.

In 1974 a government commission concluded that hospitals are seriously understaffed and required more financial resources. But the state has refused to act on these recommendations to date relying instead on the outdated and unconstitutional Ontario Hospital Disputes Arbitration Act which has prohibited strikes by hospital employees since 1965. It is worth noting too that since this act was passed the number of hospital employees victimized by compulsory arbitration has increased from three per cent to sixty-nine per cent in 1978. There has been a steady decline in the use of voluntary agreements and hence in the freedom of association by workers.

What seems to be necessary in this case therefore is an end to vacillation by CUPE on the question of organizing a successful hospital strike in Ontario. That won't happen until union divisions in the workforce are subordinated to the need for an effective all-in strategy which brings the power of the whole labour movement to bear for workers on strike in different branches of industry. This can only be accomplished by cutting dues to the national offices of unions and fostering local autonomy of union affiliates. There does not seem to be any other way of making a genuine labour congress in this writer's opinion.

The Gloves are Off in British Columbia

Things are heating up on the labour front in British Columbia, Canada. In addition to the fight at B.C. Telephone more than 10,000 municipal workers are striking in the region of Vancouver. The workers at the five major cement factories in the province are also on strike. And the same goes for employees at Nabob Foods Ltd., who have been out for five months as of February, as well as the bus drivers who conduct the commuter service between Burnaby, Westminister, and Vancouver; they are on a wild-cat. Expected to join these ranks of strikers are lower mainland fire fighters and Insurance Corporation employees who just backed strike action in early February. The main issue appears to be wages which are falling far behind the cost-of-living in general and housing prices in particular.

However the strikes so far are just the tip of the ice berg. Over 85,000 workers in the public sector and almost as many again in the private sector are bargaining in 1981. The trend-setter for much of this negotiation will be the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) contract dispute because that should indicate how pulp and paper industry and forestry unions will proceed to bargain for their demands. They are expected to be insistent. All told we are witnessing a fundamental realignment of labour organizations in B.C. If the story to date is any indication the days of labour-management collaboration are over there.

2001: A Work Odyssey

A phone call at 4:00 am.

Ring!

Hello?

Hello, Dave. This is HAL 9000, Acme Shipping's Dispatch Computer. Recent analysis predicts that there will be heavy receiving activity at Dock 9 for the next 72 hours. Your work schedule is no longer 0900 til 1700, but 0600 till 1400 hours. See you in two hours. Bye. Click.

No, this isn't dialogue from Stanley Kubrick's "2001". Presently research is going on at the Urbana campus of the University of Illinois on how to computerize operations at truck loading docks. The growth of multi-product chain stores like K-Mart, Osco-Jewell, etc., has brought the rise of giant central shipping facilities to co-ordinate shipping to entire regions. Not surprisingly, these facilities have been plagued by monumental management problems. Shipping managers must juggle loading schedules at 10 to 200 dock doors in a truck terminal, routes for hundreds of drivers, store hours at hundreds of outlets, and special handling requirements for thousands of items. Their tiny managerial brains are breaking under the strain.

Never fear, researchers at the university's Department of Mechanical and Industrial Engineering are designing computer programs to solve all of management's headaches... at warehouse workers' expense. Once computerized management becomes a reality, workers can expect to have their work schedules changed on a weekly or daily basis by the computer to meet changes in shipping volume. If the workers don't like it, management simply blames it on the computer. You can't fight progress. But then again, maybe the problem could have been solved just as easily by doing away with corporate chain stores and centralized shipping facilities. Unfortunately, the university is doing no research along these lines.