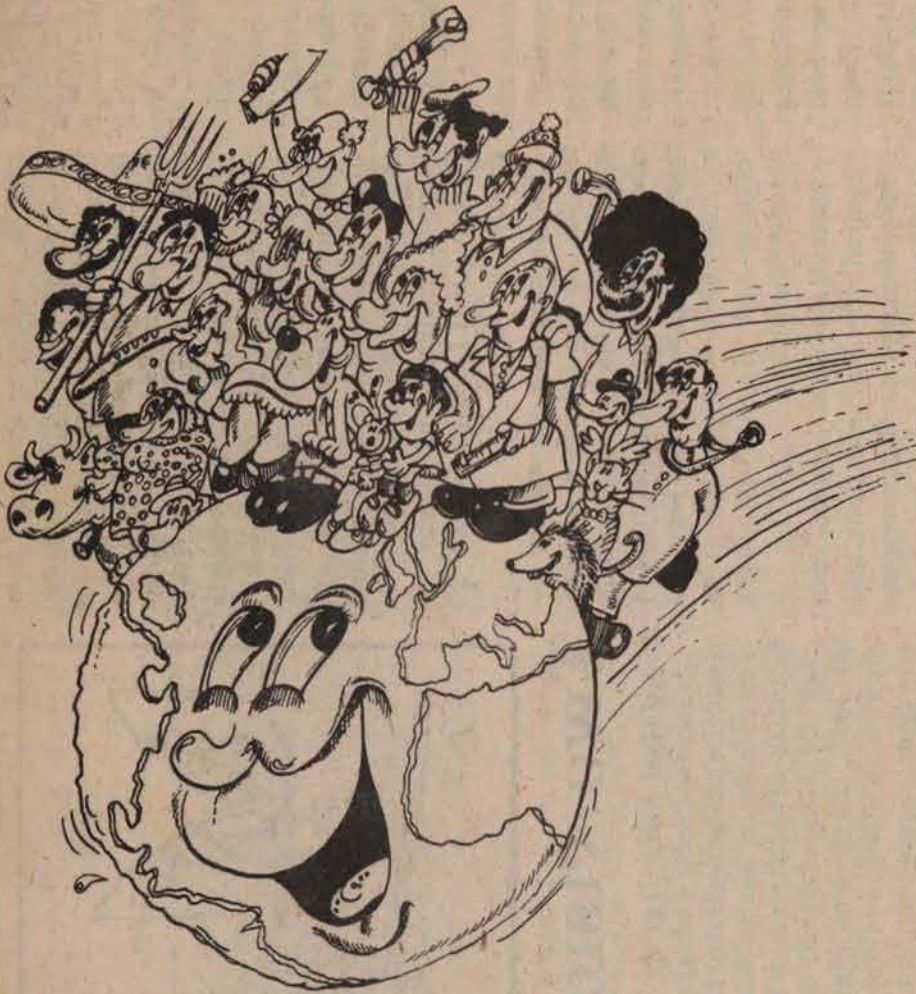


# KICK IT OVER

No. 5

50c



“We are perilously near to a new international anarchy. Such a trend must be reversed before once again we bring upon ourselves a global catastrophe and find ourselves without institutions effective enough to prevent it.”

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

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● Dead  
Kennedys!

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● Inside  
West Beirut!

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● Malatesta  
Speaks Out!

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● Socialism  
comes out!

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● Smashing  
the  
Iron Cage!

---

# When should anarchists fight?

At the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1914, many on the left found themselves taking sides with either the Germans or the Allies. Dismayed by how those who would oppose the state in the name of revolution in peace would support it for nationalistic reasons in war, the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta (1853-1932) called on anarchists and other socialists to return to their principles.

Today we find once again those on the left taking sides, this time over the crisis in Lebanon. Again nationalistic principles have moved to the forefront in the arguments both of supporters of the Jewish state and of the Palestinian homeland.

Undoubtedly, such principles are to be taken seriously. Historic and national ties are part of everyone's identity, and demand expression and recognition. But it is certainly not a given that the answer to these aspirations must be a state, and for that reason we feel it is timely to reprint excerpts from Malatesta's essay of 1914.



Errico Malatesta (1853-1932)

It is said that the present situation shows the bankruptcy of our "formulas"—i.e. of our principles—and that it will be necessary to revise them.

Generally speaking, every formula must be revised whenever it shows itself insufficient when coming into contact with fact; but it is not the case today, when the bankruptcy is not derived from the shortcomings of our formulas, but from the fact that these have been forgotten and betrayed.

Let us return to our principles. I am not a "pacifist". I fight, as we all do, for the triumph of peace and fraternity among all human beings. But I know that a desire not to fight can only be fulfilled when neither side wants to, and so long as men will be found who want to violate the liberties of others, it is incumbent on these others to defend themselves if they do not wish to be eternally beaten; and I also know that attack is often the best, or the only, effective means to defending

oneself. Besides, I think that the oppressed are always in a state of legitimate self-defence, and have always the right to attack the oppressors. I admit that there are necessary wars, holy wars; and these are wars of liberation, such as are generally "civil wars"—i.e. revolutions.

But what has the present war in common with human emancipation, which is our cause?

Today we hear Socialists speak,

just like any bourgeois, of "France" or "Germany" and of other political and national agglomerations—results of historical struggles—as of homogeneous ethnographic units, each having its proper interests, aspirations and mission. This may be true relatively, so long as the oppressed fail to recognize the injustice of their inferior position and make themselves docile tools of the oppressors. Then there is only the dominating class that counts, and this class, owing to its desire to conserve and enlarge its power, even its prejudices and its own ideas, may find it convenient to excite racial ambitions and hatred, and send its nation, its "flock", against "foreign" countries to release them from their present oppressors and submit them to its own political and economic domination.

But the mission of those who, like us, wish the end of all oppression is to awaken a consciousness of the antagonism of interests between dominators and dominated, between exploiters and workers, and to develop the class struggle inside each country, and the solidarity among all workers across the frontiers, as against any prejudice and any passion of either race or nationality.

And this we have always done. We have always chosen our friends, our companions-in-arms, as well as our enemies, because of the ideas they profess and the position they occupy in the social struggle, and never for reasons of race or nationality. We have always fought against patriotism, which is a survival of the past and serves the in-

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## A view from inside the West Beirut inferno

We are printing the following interview with a Palestinian woman from West Beirut because it is a first-hand account of recent events in Lebanon. This article is, however, no substitute for an in-depth analysis of the Middle East. We, of the Kick It Over collective, are of the opinion that both the Jews and the Palestinians have legitimate national aspirations, and that any statist solution to the 'national question' invariably leads to one nation becoming the oppressor of another. We hope to substantiate these points in future issues.

Can you describe people's reaction to the invasion of West Beirut?

If you want to get the reactions of the people, you have to consider whether you're asking someone from East Beirut or from West Beirut. If it's someone from West Beirut, it's not necessarily a Palestinian Muslim, it could be a Lebanese Christian — not necessarily a Maronite.

Over here on the news they say 'Moslem West Beirut' or 'Palestinian controlled West Beirut' and they don't say anything about the Lebanese who live there or the Christians — Christian Lebanese and Christian Palestinians. Besides the Palestinians who are fighting you have the Lebanese nationalists who are fighting with the Palestinians. They (Lebanese Nationalists) really control West Beirut with the Palestinians; it's called the Nationalist movement.

A lot of people in West Beirut were outraged that their capital was being hit and they saw it not as the fault of the Palestinians; they felt it was a hit on the whole leftist movement in Lebanon. Remember this is the year of elections in Lebanon. There's a move to get some kind of solution to go along the basis of Camp David, have Israel sign a peace treaty with Lebanon. But to do that you have to get rid of the Nationalist movement, impose a strong rightist government on all of Beirut.

In this case the Palestinians were the scapegoat because they had radicalized the Lebanese over the last few years of the civil war. It's all an excuse — hit the Palestinians and you solve the problems but that's not true because you still have the left Lebanese who don't want a rightist imposed solution or an Israeli imposed solution.

So those who are aware of the political conditions see it's not the Palestinians fault; they were going to get his anyway — if not by the Israelis then by the rightists.

What was it like living in West Beirut?

On ordinary days, when I was there, the first thing we'd wake up to was Israeli planes at 5 o'clock in the morning. (Later they started going on all night). So after waking up in this way we'd try to figure out whether we should leave our businesses. This is when we were still at home in



Mazra (Ed. note — a residential section of West Beirut) since it wasn't safe anymore. So we moved to the Hamra area near the American University Hospital. But then there was the problem of securing water, electricity, food. Even in the good times it's not always available and if there is no electricity you can't pump water. And then there was the fear of going out on the streets.

The shops used to open until 11:00 or 12 noon. People used to rush to the stores, get a few things they might need and then rush home — panic on everybody's faces. Garbage collected in the streets.

You were always hearing ambulances. People shooting in the air to let the ambulances through. Sounds of Israeli planes hitting a car bomb somewhere or another.

Then by 12 o'clock it would be like a deserted town.

If you needed anything after 12 o'clock the only people you'd see were the armed people rushing around in jeeps, with their weapons. It was really scary. Then the planes and the bombs and the explosions right after each other, into the night.

I was staying at the American Hospital during the last few days — and we started smelling something we couldn't place. There was a stink pervading the whole hospital. It turned out to be the morgue. They didn't have a place to bury all the people.

Can you describe some of your initial impressions during the beginning of the bombing of West Beirut?

The bombing started before Ramadan which is a fasting period. I remember the first day of Ramadan, when you break your fast around sunset. That's exactly when Israel came to hit. And I thought, what is this Israel that always says we respect different religions? Why at that time? A lot of doctors on duty at the hospital, some of them are Muslim, were trying to go down to have their dinner. Suddenly, "All stations. All doctors to stations," they'd start broadcasting in the hospital. Then they'd start bringing them in, all these people who were injured. Most of them were civilians. A lot of them hit by bombs which are only supposed to

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# Cold mocha

Julia Glenn Doucette

I knew I had to look at it. I clumsily traced the outline of a lambda with my sore finger as I gazed, paralyzed, at the print beneath the headline. The headline: 'GRF Meeting Sat. Oct. 4'. As the words and their meaning slid past me I was hit with an acute feeling of mixed agony and dread. I felt ripped away from the creature comforts I'd hoarded for so long — thrown violently into the cold of reality. Oh Esme...

On that cold fall day of last November — that was when it really started. With a wall. At school. Nothing any of the clique-ish girls who frequented the nearby mirrors would have noticed. Just a small heart, scrawled in pen, inscribed with something hard to make out. But to me, that something was everything — and nothing at all, so I told myself. 'Esme F. loves Bradley Pierson'. That, just that, was when I first felt that tangle of emotions I can only call arcane. A word I picked up from, stole, from Esme. Arcane. Fear, rage and hurt. A morbid jealousy. Of whom? I couldn't understand. Didn't want to. Jealous and angry at Bradley. No, not Esme. Don't kid.

After school that day, at Esme's locker. Like always. This time doesn't feel like always, and we both sensed it. When she finally turned around, as if asking what was wrong, that's when I asked her. 'Who the hell is Bradley Pierson?' My voice wobbling, giving way. Esme gave me a quizzical look. Then I started — crying and sobbing, trying to tell her something I couldn't with my nonstop flow of words.

She led me into the same washroom I'd been in before last class. I pointed to the graffiti — she just laughed. At me? I sobbed even harder. Then she did what only Esme would've done. Her arms around me in seconds, telling me what her voice couldn't. 'Oh Simone, stop. Don't you know... a dumb guy, one I've never even met. How could I even like him when you — oh, come on. I love you, Simone. And more.'

Oh no. But her words, so warm and — right. She felt it, too. Now I could let myself feel it, comfortably acknowledge its existence. But sort of scary and thrilling in a tightrope way — all the people. Words coming out faster than I thought them — a prerehearsed speech? What? 'Oh, Esme, me too, in reverse, to you. I love you.'

Waves washing over me, breakers cleansing me of secrecy. But still a rock up ahead. Sharp. 'Gay'. Needing subliminal approval before I said it. 'Does that mean — I guess I'm, or we —'

Breaking point. Esme pulled a kleenex from her bag and wiped my eyes dry. Soaking up my fears, the fences, the outside world. 'I don't know. I mean, it's been on my mind for — oh hell, why hide. I am. So I guess...' Esme looking up at me. Her eyes, for one of the first times I'd ever seen, scared. Scared as hell.

Me on the other side. Jump the fence. 'Esme, I know so. Me too. It all doesn't matter, out there, I mean', pointing to the washroom door. 'Doesn't hurt, does it?' A look between us, a transfer of all my falling strength to her. Warm. Her eyes. Esme shaking her head so softly, slightly. Kissing me then, whole. Whole. Soft. Warmth I could fall into forever. Never need to climb out. I could. But no.

GRF. I guess it started then. Esme's idea. Meetings in a greasy spoon. Strangers warmer than friends I knew. News-

letters, articles, 'conferences'. Protest marches, trashing stores, fighting together. But now it's just like something to read about in the papers. Like how it was before Esme. Ink on paper. Smooth, flat, white paper. One dimensional. No sides, no reality — slipped away. Those times weren't just me and Esme. A black snake in the big clear ocean, making us scared to swim at times, keeping us on edge. Watching out for our feet, our lips, our embraces.

Now at the old restaurant, standing in front of me, glaring at me. Cold. Subhuman. Laughing at this paranoia. Of mine. Not the warm cosiness of then; Esme, hot mocha and warm hands. And yet not the cool, crisp numbness of the House and Garden photos on my walls. We were going to live together. A little apartment, downtown.

Oh well. I can walk fast.

Passing by 'Rhinestone'. Esme's favourite. A second-hand clothes shop. We

used to lose ourselves. Discovering treasures among the junky bins. Revelling in the non-acceptance of us by all the Yorkville trendies, the cliquey sluts at our school. A private school, my God. Strong, overcoming all that, and them. A filling gladness. Thighs. Memories that spear the distorted image of myself. No — I've built up my armour too hard, too carefully. Melt it down. No — go away. It was too much work. Shattered defense. Go away: I was so warm, safe from the hurt — my retreat.

Slipping my arm 'round Esme's broad shoulders, on loving impulse, as she winked at me. Knowingly. Me too. Don't we? Like Boyfriend and Girlfriend. Girlfriend and Girlfriend. Girl Friend and Girl Friend. Girl and Girl. Woman and Woman. Or Girl and Woman? Or Boy and Boy — NO. Silly thought.

Walking quickly across cold pavement. An empty winter sidewalk, steel sky, arms full of junk from stores. The stores. Our stores. Bags of 'neato' stuff. Now to Hoffman's for hot mocha. Our own little corner booth. Warm at the thought of it.

Almost there. Nearly reached the curb — that wink. Bright light. A blow to my side. Noise and Esme falling. Something throwing me back against the brick wall.

Julia Doucette is 15 years old, and is involved in the production of a fanzine entitled 'The Last Thing'.

## A women's issue

Margaret Atwood

The woman in the spiked device that locks around the waist and between the legs, with holes in it like a tea strainer is Exhibit A.

The woman in black with a net window to see through and a four-inch wooden peg jammed up between her legs so she can't be raped is Exhibit B.

Exhibit C is the young girl dragged into the bush by the midwives and made to sing while they scrape the flesh from between her legs, then tie her thighs till she scabs over and is called healed. Now she can be married. For each childbirth they'll cut her open, then sew her up. Men like tight women. The ones that die are carefully buried.

The next exhibit lies flat on her back while eighty men a night move through her, ten an hour. She looks at the ceiling, listens to the door open and close. A bell keeps ringing. Nobody knows how she got here.

You'll notice that what they have in common is between the legs. Is this why wars are fought? Enemy territory, no man's land, to be entered furtively, fenced, owned but never surely, scene of these desperate forays at midnight, captures and sticky murders, doctors' rubber gloves greasy with blood, flesh made inert, the surge of your own uneasy power.

This is no museum. Who invented the word *love*?

## UP FROM THE ASHES

- Introducing Up From the Ashes
- Is Anarchism Obsolete? (excerpts from Murray Bookchin's "Ecology of Freedom")
- Jay Moore on Leninism, Social-Democracy and the "Co-ordinator" class.

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# Taking the revolution out of the closet

The following is a slightly edited letter of resignation from Scott Tucker to the Solidarity Network (of Socialist-Feminists) in the United States. Solidarity was born from the disintegration of the New American Movement (NAM), an organization which wielded some influence on the political scene, and with which Noam Chomsky was once affiliated. Recently, the majority of its members voted to merge with veteran social-democrat Michael Harrington's group, to form the Democratic Socialist Alliance. Peter Drucker and Paul Socolar (mentioned in the text) are leaders of Solidarity. Scott Tucker is a gay activist and frequent contributor to periodicals such as 'Gay Community News' and 'Toronto Body Politic'.

I'm resigning from membership in Solidarity, and an explanation is in order. When I joined Solidarity I believed I was helping to build a specifically socialist-feminist tendency; I believed that the majority of Solidarity members were seeking a revolutionary alternative to both social-democracy and Leninism. When Solidarity took the trajectory of 'left regroupment', I asked 'Is our goal, first and foremost, to regroup with the existing (or expiring) left, or is it to reach the vastly greater rebel forces who may be entirely ignorant of socialism?'

At one end of Solidarity's political spectrum stands a minority of members who are neo-Leninists; at the other end stands a minority, myself included, who are quite consciously anti-Leninist; and the bulk of members may be said to be non-Leninists who have either not made their views clear, or are trying to clarify their views. Presumably Solidarity's critique of social-democracy is strong enough to keep it from repeating NAM's drift towards the Democratic Party; but Solidarity's critique of Leninism is so weak that it may be

submerged in a future fusion of sects, even should it emerge intact as a socialist-feminist group for the time being.

I notice that many women in Solidarity seem to be abstaining from this particular debate, at least in print. I, too, would prefer to abstain from it and have now will to pursue it within Solidarity after this last protest. As I see it, feminism is incompatible with Leninism. Feminism means more than taking up The Woman Question and 'answering' it with reproductive rights, childcare, and a dozen other necessary reforms. It means more than than looking to women as beasts of burden most strategically blessed for the task of revolution. More than adding 'women's issues' to the left laundry list, and using women as a fulcrum to move a mass, It means taking the personal and social experience of women seriously in its entirety; and it's impossible to do that without also making a radical inquiry into power itself as it is used and abused throughout history and throughout the world.

The Bolshevik Central Committee included only one woman, Alexandra Kollantai; her revolutionary feminism was no more to Lenin's liking than her criticism of the Bolshevik bureaucracy. Isolated and finally exiled, she finally made her peace with Stalin. As long as the engine of revolution is built on the Bolshevik model, it will make no difference if future Central Committees practice affirmative action; it will make no difference if women have the power to isolate, exile, or even execute opponents. Rosa Luxemborg wrote, 'Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the members of one party — however numerous they may be — is no freedom at all. Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who



thinks differently.' Castro did not deviate from Leninism when he raised an essentially totalitarian slogan: 'Within the Revolution, everything; outside the Revolution, nothing.' The gay people inside Cuban prisons to this day are presumably outside the Revolution.

Peter Drucker, with the help of Paul Socolar, presents us with the clearest formulation so far of the neo-Leninist tendency in Solidarity. 'I am not a Marxist-Leninist', Drucker wrote in the last bulletin. 'But many people in Solidarity have a knee-jerk anti-Leninist attitude that short-circuits discussion. We have to recognize that only the Leninist tradition has stressed the issue of revolutionary organization.' On the contrary, what we have to recognize is that Leninists are often as expert at public relations as Madison Avenue; they do their best to monopolize revolutionary socialism, demoting all other contenders as social-democrats. In 1982 it makes no sense to choose between the Second or Third or Fourth Internationals. To hell with them all. Revolutionaries who have made other choices have often been silenced or submerged, but the capacity for choice does not die. Murray Bookchin, an anarchist, communist, and ecologist, wrote, 'No sizeable radical movement in modern times had seriously asked itself if organizational forms had to be developed which promoted changes in the most fundamental behavior patterns of its members. It is to the lasting credit of Spanish anarchism — and of anarchism generally — that it posed this question.' This very question was also posed by feminists and gay liberationists, who often took care to form action/affinity groups on a human scale.

There is no space here to repeat Lenin's arguments for centralist revolutionary organization; read him for yourself. 'Lenin's argument', Drucker writes, 'has proven its validity whenever a country has faced the possibility of revolution.' Has it? Was Lenin, in fact, the leader or the usurper of the Russian Revolution? In 'The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control', Maurice Brinton writes, 'During the middle of 1917 Bolshevik support for the Factory Committees was such that Mensheviks were to accuse them of 'abandoning' Marxism for anarchism.' By 1921, of course, the slogan 'All Power to the Soviets' had long been suppressed; in the same year, Trotsky's army put down the Kronstadt Commune. Whenever workers and peasants have formed communes, soviets, councils, and unions in countries like Spain, Russia, Hungary, and Poland, it has been the Communist Parties who have played a repressive and counter-revolutionary role. Are we to believe that the uprising in France in May of 1968 would have been a true revolution if only the French Communist Party had been truly Leninist, and thus truly revolutionary?

'Let us speak plainly', Luxemborg wrote. 'Historically, the errors committed by a truly revolutionary movement are infinitely more fruitful than the infallibility of the cleverest Central Committee.' We know that Lenin lies embalmed in Red Square, like a pharaoh, whereas Luxemborg was dumped into the Landwehr Canal. Her death was only one of many fateful events which marked The Road Not Taken for international socialism. Yet the capacity for revolutionary choice remains as alive in 1982 as in 1917.

'Revolution', Drucker writes, 'is nowhere happening in the U.S., of course. Solidarity is not the revolutionary organization; nor is it a nucleus that by growing could become the revolutionary organization.' That expresses a very singular, and Leninist, perspective. I have no desire to build 'the' — one and only? — revolutionary organization. Revolution begins wherever and whenever we act as revolutionaries, though as Gustave Landauer wrote, 'Revolutionaries exist in masses only when there is a revolution.' Let a thousand revolutionary nuclei flourish, multiply, polemicize, and join forces. Drucker writes that Solidarity is committed to bottom-up democracy, feminist process, and building movements against capitalism and patriarchy. 'But our reason for existing', he explains, 'is to submerge ourselves in something greater.' A dive in the ocean should satisfy our urge to submerge. There's no good reason why groups formed by elective affinity should submerge themselves in any oceanic entity, vanguard or otherwise. Let them emerge and federate. As long as we have no unity of spirit, any unity in action will be a tyrannical affair: a coup d'etat rather than a revolution.

Drucker writes, 'We are not building a new, immaculate, social-feminist left; we are building the left that exists.' By 'the left' we surely don't mean tin weather-vanes like the DSA, tilting with the breeze, which are only forces for confusion. And if by 'the left' we mean the various vanguard parties and 'pre-party formations', each more 'scientific' than the others — then the left that exists is not worth building. Let it die. If we are not building a new, socialist-feminist left (and the word 'immaculate' should intimidate no one), then why should Solidarity itself exist at all? It would then make sense to disband and merge back into broader activist movements. Isn't our vision of socialism worth a fight — and celebration? 'Socialism', in the theory and practice of social-democrats and Leninists, has often not only ceased to be progressive; it has not only become conservative; it is now reactionary. We can judge this not only by the convergence of 'socialism' with patriarchal populism, but also by the multitude of questions which are suppressed in leftist discourse.

Continued on page 7



# The only good Kennedy is a Dead Kennedy !!

The Dead Kennedys are one punk band which has remained true to the hard-core punk sound and to anarchistic ideals long after many others turned in their guitars for synthesizers and their commitment for record contracts.

At the Concert Hall in Toronto, on a sweltering late July night, hundreds of punks in leather and boot-black hair bounced off each other and dived on and off the stage as lead-singer Jello Biafra took the DKs and the crowd to the edge of chaos and back.

Throughout it all the Dead Kennedys made sure the audience knew what kind of rebellion they were promoting; at one point, a Nazi flag was thrown on stage, to be trampled on by Biafra, clawed and chewed apart by the stage crew and, what was left of it, burnt by the audience. And where gestures were not enough, there were lyrics:

*You still think swastikas look cool*

*The real nazis run your schools*

*They're coaches, businessmen and cops*

*In the real fourth reich you'll be the first to go*

*Nazi punks, Nazi punks, Nazi punks — Fuck off!*

There was more to the message than differentiating anarchist rebellion from fascism. The night before the concert, I spoke with Jello Biafra about music, politics and the punk movement today.

**KIO:** Does the Dead Kennedys consider itself a punk band?

**Biafra:** We're closer to punk than to anything else. Basically, we try to take the punk attitude to its experimental extreme in order to break new ground.

**KIO:** What would you say is the punk attitude?

**Biafra:** The punk attitude

is getting under the skin of those who one feels are oppressing you via trying to enforce their rules of normalcy upon you. You take those people and attack them through culture.

There's more and more people who are catching on to it, and some people who are only picking up on the superficial aspects of it, the thrill aspect. Overall I think it's more dangerous than it's ever been, and one way to measure that is the way the normaloids are fighting it.

**KIO:** What kind of resistance do punks face?

**Biafra:** Resistance in the form of police harassment at punk shows and punk venues, especially in San Francisco and Los Angeles, inability to get halls large enough to accommodate our audience in a lot of east coast American cities, like New York and Boston, where the cut-throat promoters have more or less a stranglehold on the local scene, their being the kind of people who hire bouncers to beat up kids, and run shows like a Roman gladiator spectacle or something.

One of the ugliest forms it's taken is in Orange County, outside Los Angeles, where the local police department, if they stop somebody dressed like they think a so-called punk should dress, if nobody's looking they'll get out and beat the shit out of them, at the very least they'll take their picture, get their name and put it in their so-called "Punk File". And then when anybody is robbed, or raped or beaten, the first file they go to or the first line-up they get to pick from is the "Punk File".

**KIO:** But isn't punk just a matter of fashion for a lot of people?

**Biafra:** That's one way people originally get into it.

But if you adopt a stereotypical punk look as fashion, you're going to get into a lot of trouble from your local jocks and red-necks, meaning it takes a certain amount of commitment, and once you've committed yourself, it's very hard to go back.

Not only that, but once you've committed yourself you also find it fairly easy to meet other punks, or other people who share similar viewpoints who also have fairly strong opinions, meaning you get to learn a lot fairly quickly. So there isn't really, ideally, a conformist thrill attitude that's only superficial. It means a lot more than that.

There are people who shave their heads and want to force their rules upon everyone else rather than moving beyond the need for rules entirely. But the whole movement should not be judged on the basis of those who misinterpret it.

**KIO:** If you're concerned with putting across a message with your music, as you seem to be, why are the lyrics so hard to make out?

**Biafra:** That is a sign of the times. The days of polite folk singers being noble and singing out their convictions to a polite, hand-clapping audience in coffee houses, well those days are over.

People have much more inner rage now because they haven't been given as much of an outlet for it. They don't know where to focus it. I think it's a sign that things have got more polarized and more extreme, that people would wait for something as gut-level and as body level as this to reach their minds.

**KIO:** But gut-level rage by itself can take either a fascist or an anarchist direction. The rage is there in the music, but obviously that's not enough. Or why do you have lyrics?

**Biafra:** That's why we print them with our records. There's nothing wrong with knowing how to read, and you'd be surprised how many of the people who go to the shows either know the words or at least know what we're talking about.

We can't expect to reach every single person in the room every time we play. But if one person walks out of the show with their school-damaged attitudes split open and their minds open to free thinking again,



then fine, we're getting something done.

Ideally, you can't capture the essence of the energy of hard-core punk if you turn down the amplifier so the lyrics are crystal clear. The lyrics come through on other forms. They are shouted rather than soft-spoken. A lot of people do hear the words. The communication is there, I'm confident of that, or I would take another approach.

Venting rage is very basic, but it is an important step number one, because when people get a chance to let out their feelings, they're less likely to turn into tomorrow's John Hinckley Jr.s, and more likely to do some constructive fighting against the forces that are pushing them under the rug. The way to get beyond the venting of rage is through our lyrics and through the things we say from the stage, taking stands, stating our opinions and saying what we believe in.

**KIO:** Why do you play punk in 1982?

**Biafra:** We enjoy it, this is what we are fans of, this is our favorite kind of music. One thing we want to avoid is this division that's opening up. On the one hand, you have the really narrow-minded, pseudo-hard-core, heavymetal bands, like the Exploited in England, who just want to make punk a one-dimensional ritual.

On the other hand, you have the people who made up the original scene over there turning up their noses, saying, "Oh, well,

we're adults now, we've done that, we're beyond that, and now we're going to do something different", and trying to replace their punk energy with something totally boring and meaningless. Electro-pop, synthesized disco or total crap, like New Order, which is desecrating Joy Division's good name.

I don't think punk and post-punk have to be that far apart. We try to take punk to its experimental extremes, do new things with the music but keep the punk energy, because that to us is the ultimate energy and the energy we relate to. We want to break new ground with it, but not fall into the pit of adulthood.

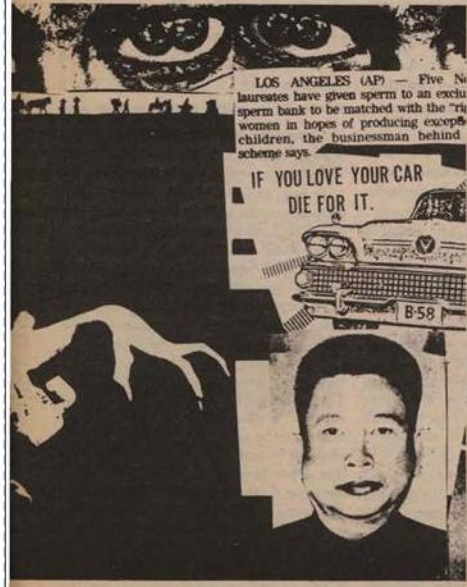
**KIO:** Is irritation part of the message?

**Biafra:** Absolutely! The way to get through to people who are set in their ways is to irritate them so much that they get mad and their brains start to function again and they start to think. It may not hit them right away, but in a month or two they may realize that there was something very important going on that they should be aware of.

**KIO:** Isn't there the risk that this approach will just turn off some people? So that they simply ignore it?

**Biafra:** Some of them do, but if they do then maybe they really do deserve a life-sentence in some plastic suburb. I'd like to think not, though.

**KIO:** In 1977, punk was a great shock, to the music establishment, to society



at large. Has punk lost a lot of its impact?

**Biafra:** The musical establishment is as scared of punk more now than it was then. No matter how hard they've tried to fight it, it's grown and grown, and now it's hitting younger kids, who are the ones they wanted to keep selling red-neck, heavy-metal, cock-rock to. Instead, slowly but surely they are abandoning that and looking for something with more substance.

Granted, some of the lustre is gone, the "we can conquer the world" mystique that was there in 1977 was gone by the end of 1978. Those people who just caught on to a pose or a fashion fled the scene at that point, and those were really committed stayed on.

**KIO:** But in a way, isn't punk just another genre now, with its own group of fans, just like disco, or Eurobeat or New Wave?

**Biafra:** I think there is a very conscious effort on the part of bands like us to make sure that doesn't happen. We enjoy irritating people enough and we're bothered enough by the way society behaves that to not stay fighting would be suicide for us. Because the fight is so much fun!

**KIO:** You guys seem to criticize just about everything. Is there anything you can get behind?

**Biafra:** We can get behind anarchy of the mind, personal anarchy as opposed to collective anarchy. We make that distinction because some people write an A with a circle on it on

whole ball of wax right now would be pretty ridiculous. But at the same time, we get deep gratification from striving for our goal.

**KIO:** What kinds of things can we strive for now?

**Biafra:** The basic attitude we take, especially toward audiences, is just the idea that you shouldn't be ashamed to be intelligent and have a mind of your own and your own views and not be afraid to express them. People are taught from a very early age in school not to speak up for fear they might be labelled a "brain" or a "weirdo", or something like that.

And so right now, what we're pushing is just step number one, people being able to think for themselves, decide for themselves, weigh our opinions against others' opinions and make up their own, rather than just letting other people, or billboards, or teachers, or football coaches, or police officers or churches tell them what to do.

We like to bring back the joy of discovery, rather than being spoon-fed everything. One thing schools in America try to destroy from day one is natural curiosity. They want you to sit there and be fed useless things like mathematical equations you'll never use in real life, moving onward to sitting in front of a videogame rather than wandering around the streets and seeing what's in the stores and in people's eyes.

**KIO:** Punk is fairly heavy, hard sound. Do many women respond to it?

**Biafra:** It reaches more women on the west coast than on the east coast, or so it seems. There's far more women on the scene and far more female thrashers and stage-divers (in the audience) on the west coast than you'd find out here.

On the west coast the barrier between performer and audience is growing thinner and thinner, which is fine by me, as in the audience doesn't just come there to stand and gaze at god doing a jig on stage, they become part of the action.

There's many women getting involved; there aren't as many women actually involved in the bands as there used to be. I don't think I think that's about to reverse.

**KIO:** What about your song, *Too Drunk to Fuck*? I can't see how women could relate to that song.

*You give me head*  
*It makes it worse*  
*Take out your fucking retainer,*  
*Put it in your purse.*  
*I'm too drunk to fuck*  
*Your too drunk to fuck*  
*Too drunk, too drunk,*  
*too drunk, too drunk to fuck.*

**Biafra:** We made a conscious effort to avoid sexism in that song, just simply talking about sex doesn't make it sexist.

**KIO:** But it is strictly from a male point of view

**Biafra:** It's from a male point of view because I'm a male and I write the words! It would be more authentic to speak from the male than from the female experience. There's nothing wrong with someone coming up with the opposite point of view. Or not the opposite, but a female point of view.

**KIO:** What led you to do *Nazi Punks Fuck Off*?

**Biafra:** It's not really directed against people who wear swastikas for shock value—who does that besides Ronald Reagan anyway these days?—but it's directed against people who are fascists in the head,

By Bruce Baugh

meaning people who bring red-neck attitudes, jock attitudes, racist attitudes, macho-tough-guy attitudes into a punk show where it doesn't belong. What we're trying to put across in that song is that we don't agree with that, we don't have any interest in catering to people who come to our shows especially to bash heads.

Some people have accused us of being preachy and telling people what to do and how to think with that song. That's not what we're doing at all, we're expressing a very strong felt opinion. And if you've got a better opinion, fine, come and tell us, we're always ready to learn. If you've got a better one, at least think about what we say.

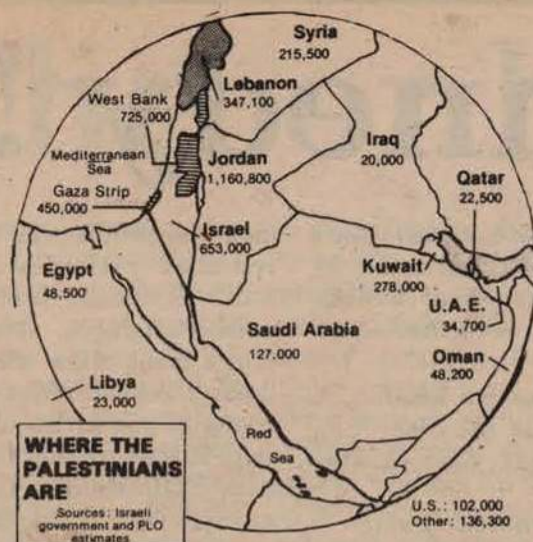
As well as being lead singer for the Dead Kennedys, Jello Biafra is also one of the hosts of Maximum Rock and Roll, a program on music and politics syndicated from KGFA, Berkeley, California. The program airs tapes by unknown bands, even cassettes and interested musicians should contact Maximum Rock and Roll, Box 288, Berkeley, CA, USA. Those interested in finding out more about the Dead Kennedys can write them at Alternative Tentacles, P.O. Box 11458, San Francisco, CA 94101, USA.



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be used for defensive purposes — phosphorous bombs, cluster bombs. Ambulance after ambulance of people who were ripped apart, torn up.

All these stories. I didn't want to go to the emergency room but I'd hear about it. Someone had been out on the street, or near their house or running to a shelter and a cluster bomb would explode; they'd be hit. Their body would be ripped open. Someone would run out to save them. Another bomb would explode, they'd be hit. A couple of ambulances would arrive from different hospitals. Families would be split.

I'd see them coming into the hospital screaming, "Where's my husband? Where's my son?" Are they buried under the rubble, in another hospital? You can't tell anyone.

Then the doctors would try to hide from them if someone was killed. A woman came in — her husband was killed on the spot, one son was in emergency, another was operated on, a baby daughter was killed. They just don't know how to tell a family.

*Has Israeli shelling been selective?*

When it first started, it was selective in the sense that the areas which were known to be refugee camps or ammunition dumps were being targeted and hit. There is no such thing as a completely Palestinian area. Even these refugee camps contain a lot of Lebanese civilians; they're usually in the poorer parts of the city. In fact, West Beirut contains a large Christian Lebanese population. But it stayed at this stage only very, very briefly.

You didn't have time to say they're going to hit a known area, when they started hitting left and right. In West Beirut there is one area called the Palestinian area and the rest is called the residential area. We lived just on the side of the residential area. When the attacks first started we'd hear the planes fly overhead and drop bombs just across the main street from us. But later on when they started bringing their gun boats around they started hitting residential areas (which you didn't hear about until the Canadian ambassador started talking).

They were hitting areas where the embassies were located and the richer Lebanese and Palestinians lived. They were hitting the UNESCO area — the Lighthouse.... These are main residential areas.

When I crossed over to the East side late in June, we heard they were bombing and saw the smoke rising. We heard that they had hit a cemetery and the bones of the dead people were flying up into the air. I felt sick. I said, "These people are dead. What are they hitting them for?" Dust and smoke and dead bones. There aren't any camps, ammunition dumps, nothing — just open space and tombstones.

*\* We're getting reports that hospitals are being hit. Would you like to comment on this?*

These aren't only Palestinian hospitals. One excuse they gave is that there are Palestinian information bureaus in the

hospitals. Alright, fine, some of them do. Some of them don't. But what about those other hospitals, Berbir Verbeer, Beirut Hospital, American University Hospital, Majjar (which received nine direct hits), Naqassed and others. What do they have to do with it? The Red Cross building was hit too as were mosques, orphanages and a mental institution.

*How do you see the U.S. involvement in this and their apparent change in policy towards Israel?*

I don't know whether there really is a change in policy. I think the U.S. knew very well that the Israelis were going to invade. They said they didn't know. I really panicked when, after Begin addressed the United Nations and met with Reagan, it was announced on the radio that the American embassy in West Beirut was going to close up and all its people were to move to East Beirut along with all foreign nationals. Immediately I thought, "This is the death sentence for West Beirut." I think they knew very well what was going to happen.

To the extent that there is a change in policy, I think it's because it's dragged on so long. They probably thought Israel could sweep the country in a week before the world knows about it; wipe out the PLO in a short time before the world is aware of what is going on — before they're aware of human suffering. Before they're aware that civilian targets are the real victims. And the U.S. can get away with saying they didn't know anything about it and it's done an 'ipso facto' solution. But now because of coverage the U.S. is faced with world opinion saying, "You can't solve the Palestinian problem by destroying Palestinians."

Meanwhile the Israelis are saying 'It's peace for Galilee', 'We're only going in forty miles.' 'We don't want Lebanese territory.' 'We're not invading West Beirut.' And their actions are contradicting every statement they're making.

*Would you comment on what you think the importance is of resolution 242?*

When they were talking about resolution 242, and the American congressman went into West Beirut and got a paper from Arafat saying that he accepted all U.N. resolutions, Israel and the U.S. started saying that the main resolution Arafat has to accept is 242, which has to do with recognizing the state of Israel's existence. There are two things I'd like to say about this.

First, I'd like to comment on the extent to which Israel mocks the resolution of the U.N. The day after this incident the Israelis came in and bombed West Beirut at 2:42 p.m.

Secondly, the Israelis are making an issue of 242 now when it was really an issue in 1967 after the invasion or the occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai, and the Golan, in the June war. That's when the U.N. passed resolution 242. In the main, it calls for two things. It calls for the withdrawal of Israel from territory acquired in the war because, according to all international law, it is illegal for a nation to keep territ-

*KICK IT OVER is published by an anarchist collective. Members of the collective include: Bruce Baugh, Sam Wagar, Eric Schryer, Alexandra Devon, Julia Sorel, Ronald Haley, Anna Elizveta Prokhorova, Christopher Alice and occasional others. We can be reached by writing to: Kick It Over, P.O. Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1P2.*

## Anarchists Against the Cruise

Any anarchist who wishes to join an anarchist contingent in the October 30th demonstration against the Cruise in Ottawa please contact:

A.A.C. c/o AAPA P.O.B. 6531, Sta. A  
Toronto, Ontario

ory seized in war. So they have to return all land acquired, which means the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai, Golan Heights. Under 242, all have to be returned.

Another thing this resolution says is that you repatriate the refugees. Fine, it does say the word 'refugees' and not Palestinians, but, at the time of the 1967 war, the people who were kicked out of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan heights, were Palestinian refugees that went to different parts of the world, escaping that war. They had to be repatriated under this resolution. Then, after these two stipulations have been met, the resolution recognizes the right of all states to exist in peace.

Okay, this was in 1967. At that time, the PLO had just been created two years before; it hadn't started any of its so-called terroristic activities. If Israel or the United States had fulfilled the conditions of 242 then, the refugee problem would not have turned into a Palestinian problem. You wouldn't have a PLO that is now fighting for its survival, if the refugees had been repatriated and gone back to the West Bank. We would have had our Palestinian state. Then we wouldn't need to fight Israel. We wouldn't need these 'terroristic' actions, as they are called. They're

accusing us of not recognizing Israel when, in fact, their refusal to recognize 242 created the PLO.

In fact, in Jerusalem at that time, Palestinian youths were protesting peacefully after the June war — saying 'Return the West Bank' and 'Repatriate the Palestinians'. And they were taken to Israeli jails because they were protesting, trying to urge Israel to recognize 242. Now 16 years later, they (Israel) are accusing Palestinians of refusing to accept 242. So because of Israel's intransigence, refugees have been turned into freedom fighters. That's inevitable. It's like they're (Israel) saying, 'We have the right to take your homes, to be aggressors, to kick you out, and you — only to remain refugees. You don't have the right to resist. You don't have the right to organize to fight back. We're the aggressors and we're legitimate, and you're refugees and must accept your status as such.'

It's going to happen again. Israel is not going to live in peace until we get our nation back — a Palestinian state — even if we don't all go back there. We're not going to threaten the right of Israel to exist. But we want to have the chance of a normal life, to have a nation — not to be refugees, and not to need to be freedom fighters.

## Malatesta (cont'd)

terests of the oppressors; and we are proud of being internationalists, not only in words, but by the deep feelings of our souls.

I understand that circumstances may arise when the help of all is necessary for the general well-being: such as an epidemic, an earthquake, an invasion of barbarians who kill and destroy all that comes under their hands. In such cases differences of social standing must be forgotten, and common cause must be made against the common danger, but on condition that these differences are forgotten by both sides.

If, when foreign soldiers invade the sacred soil of the homeland, the privileged class were to renounce its privileges and act so that the "homeland" really became the common property of all the inhabitants, it would then be right that all should fight against the invaders. But if kings wish to remain kings, and the landlords wish to take care of their lands and their houses, and the merchants wish to take care of their goods, and even sell them at a higher price, then the workers, the Socialists and Anarchists, should leave them to their own devices, while being themselves on the look-out for an opportunity to get rid of the oppressors inside the country, as well as those coming from outside.

In all circumstances, it is the duty of the Socialists, and especially of the Anarchists, to do everything that can weaken the state and the

capitalist class, and to take as the only guide to their conduct the interests of Socialism; or if they are materially powerless to act efficaciously for their own cause, at least to refuse any voluntary help to the cause of the enemy (i.e. the state) and stand aside to save at least their principles—which means to save the future.

All I have just said is theory, and perhaps it is accepted, in theory, by most of those who in practice do just the reverse. How then could it be applied to the present situation? What should we do, what should we wish, in the interests of our cause?

In my opinion, it is most probable that there will be no definite victory on either side. After a long war, an enormous loss of life and wealth, both sides being exhausted, some kind of peace will be patched up, leaving all questions open, thus preparing for a new war more murderous than the present. The only hope is revolution.

I may, of course, be mistaken in appreciating the true position. But what seems to me elementary and fundamental for all Socialists (Anarchists, or others) is that it is necessary to keep outside every kind of compromise with the government and the governing classes, so as to be able to profit by any opportunity that may present itself, and, in any case, to be able to restart and continue our revolutionary preparations and propaganda.

E. Malatesta  
London, 1914

## Book review:

## Closing the iron cage

By Ronald Hayley

*Closing the Iron Cage*, Ed Andrew, Black Rose Books, 1982, 183 pages. \$6.95.

**Important Contribution**

In writing a book dealing specifically with the relationship between work and leisure, Ed Andrew has performed an important service. It's odd that so little is written on this, a topic so obviously central to the libertarian reconstruction of society. Thus, Andrew's book performs two functions: 1) it helps fill an important gap in libertarian literature, 2) it provides an in-depth (and, in part, empirical) refutation of bourgeois ideology on this important question.

Andrew first seeks to develop a suitable definition of leisure by criticizing and synthesizing existing definitions. He then shows how the strict opposition between work and leisure is a product of industrial society. Next he traces the origin and development of the scientific management of work and its effort to encroach into the field of leisure—its ultimate failure in managing either—and, finally, the syndicalist alternative, both historically, and as formulated by Andrew himself.

**Work and Play**

In writing this book, Andrew has practiced what he preaches—that is, he has integrated work and play by making this book entertaining and aesthetically pleasing to read. As he notes:

"... today, no heaven exists in the unremitting earnestness of those scholarly works whose utility is in inverse relation to their ability to compel attention. To expect wit in contemporary treatises on industrial relations is like expecting to find a string quartet on an assembly line." (p. 25)

Andrew specifically takes as his target the "leisure-as-compensation" thesis: the view advanced by ideologues on both the right and left that work is necessarily stultifying—at best, a "necessary evil"—and that one should seek to compensate for its effects by promoting satisfying and stimulating leisure. This is the point of view held by Marcuse, for example. Even Marx himself was rather ambiguous on this, as Murray Bookchin has pointed out. Passages of his writings can be used to defend both the leisure-as-compensation point of view as well as its opposite.

Andrew shows quite forcefully that work and leisure are a unity of opposites—each influencing the character of the other, and that to think one can mechanically divide them is a view which is theoretically untenable and unsupported by empirical data. As Andrew writes:

"The primary characteristics demanded of industrial workers

by scientific management are promptness, diligence, and a willingness to follow directions. These characteristics do not prepare workers for initiative, responsibility and 'inner-directness' in their time off work." (pgs. 50-51)

Indeed, it is precisely for this reason that "scientific managers" in both capitalist and "socialist" countries have attempted to assert control over, or influence the character of, workers' leisure time, and why the leisure-as-compensation thesis is patently false. The "realm of necessity" must colonize the "realm of freedom". Andrew quotes Mannheim to the effect:

"The worker can hardly be expected to put up with the ugliness of an outmoded factory and unsatisfactory work conditions if during his leisure he learns to appreciate beauty and the art of self-expression." (p. 140)

Though Andrew does not examine the Freudian dimension, Marcuse has remarked that a lifetime of labour presupposes that people be subjected to a psychic castration or self-administered repression of their own needs and instincts. It's obvious that the internal logic of scientific management demands that leisure time be moulded to shape and reinforce the psychic structure required for a lifetime of toil. Hence, the premium placed on group sports, "good, clean fun", and other "wholesome" recreative activities. This—the essence of the scientific management of leisure—has proceeded furthest in the state-capitalist countries of Russia and China "where the state, in fulfilling the role of the bourgeoisie in Western countries, has (more efficiently—R.H.) proletarianized the population." (p.54)

For the most part, the strategy opted for in the Western nations (where the necessity and possibility exists for providing a higher level of material consumption) has been one of "controlled de-sublimation", fostering a sort of collective schizophrenia in which

"individuals must cultivate two contradictory character traits, and daily demonstrate the corresponding modes of behaviour—rigidity, classic authoritarianism and anti-sexuality at work; 'relaxation', objectless fetishisms and 'apparent' sexuality in free time." (quoted in Bruce Brown's *Marx, Freud, and the Critique of Everyday Life*, pgs. 158-159)

Indeed, one of the weaknesses of Andrew's book is that it doesn't deal with "consumption-as-compensation" as the central element in modern capitalist leisure.

**Fallacy of Marx and Lenin**

By showing the deleterious effect

of modern industrial production on the subjectivity of the worker, Andrew inadvertently shows the fallacy of Marx's argument that the centralization and rationalization of production would enhance worker solidarity and combativeness. If anything, it has had precisely the opposite effect. This, combined with the material bourgeoisification of the Western proletariat, helps to explain its relative passivity.

Scientific management makes strange bedfellows. Its advocacy by "reactionary" Taylor, by the "reformist" Webbs, and the "revolutionary" Lenin shows the near universal hegemony of productivist values. For each of them, it was axiomatic that the division of labour between those who administer and those who produce (and the domination of the latter by the former) was the last word in efficiency. Experience has proved otherwise. Sixty years of technocratic "socialism" have certainly driven home that "the existence not merely of some ... but of any ruling class at all ... has become a hinderance to development."<sup>1</sup>

**Weaknesses**

As for the weaknesses of the book, I would only mention his tendency to project historical trends towards

automation and working class leisure time into the future in neglect of the extremely serious economic crisis which is plaguing all major Western (and Eastern) capitalist countries (this same neglect renders 'idealist' his suggested "minimum program" for labour).

In addition, the fact that, in any future society, the revolutionization of work will be a key part of revolutionizing the whole environment does not, in my opinion, lead to the conclusion that the workplace is the central arena for revolutionary activities now. Indeed, the working class in the advanced capitalist countries has demonstrated that it lacks sufficient internal bases to make it the leading revolutionary class. To the extent that it has become radicalized, this is mainly as a result of its "contamination" by outside elements who accept neither alienated work nor the "realm of necessity". The fact that scarcity will once again become a significant social question in these countries makes it all the more necessary that a post-scarcity perspective be kept firmly in the fore-front.

<sup>1</sup>This remarkable statement from Engels' book *Anti-Duhring* (International Publishers, p. 308) unfortunately contradicts much of his other writings.



## Two visions of socialism

Continued from page 3

Is socialism really a struggle for state power? Do human needs exist for the sake of the economy, or does the economy exist for the sake of human needs, as Reich once asked? Do children and youth deserve sexual, social, and economic independence? Are socialists willing to advance this struggle against opposition from parents, teachers, priests, and 'the left'? Are child labor laws, as now formulated, an obstacle to this struggle? What's the difference between the socialist family and the capitalist family? What's the difference between socialist and capitalist assembly lines? Are families factories? Is a demand like wages for housework revolutionary or reactionary? If we only demand more of the same jobs and housing, will we ever imagine and create good work and humane architecture? Shouldn't revolutionaries read Frank Lloyd Wright with same care that they read the three volumes of *Capital*? Is socialism an ideal, or is it a science? Is Marxism more scientific than ecology?

Is ecology more revolutionary than Marxism? Since our economy prostitutes all of us, why are certain 'feminists' joining forces with Vice Squads which harass hard-working whores and raid gay baths? Shouldn't Solidarity take a stand against Women Against Pornography? 'Pornography is the theory, rape is the practice'—do socialist-feminists believe such a line makes logic? Aren't such questions more urgent than 'left regroupment'?

Members of Solidarity may challenge me to struggle for my views and raise such questions within the group. No: I've had my say, and now I want to write poetry, less polemics. It's enough that I make my views known in the gay movement, in the Lavender Left, and in discussions with friends and strangers: it's too much to campaign for 'utopian' socialism within Solidarity also, and in the left at large. Others will have to take up the task; in any case, Solidarity members have my best wishes, and I hope I have theirs.

— Scott Tucker.

Autonomous activity threatens the employment level, generates deviance, and detracts from the GNP; therefore it is only improperly called 'work'.

# WORKERS OF THE WORLD... **RELAX!**

(WORKERS AGAINST WORK has received the following communique, signed "D.B. Cooper, Land of Cockayne.")

FELLOW LUMPENS:

WORK is what makes the System — work. Anybody who isn't revolting against work is working against revolt. To get the System out of our systems we need to shirk, not work. (As our Polish comrades proved when they got tired of being treated like kielbasa — and that's no Polack joke.)

SOME PEOPLE SAY we need full employment. I say we need full unemployment.

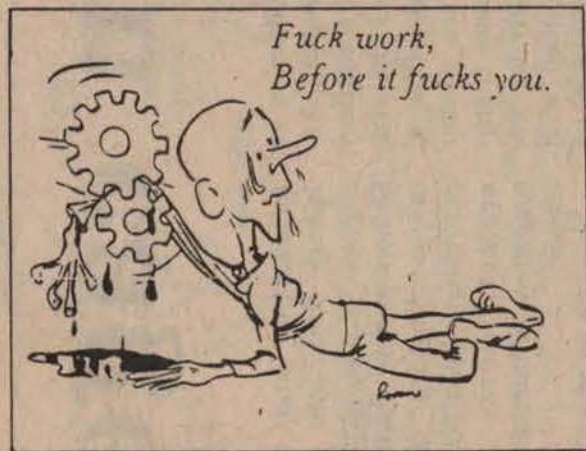
SOME PEOPLE SAY "anarchy won't work." That's not an argument against anarchy; that's an argument against work.

SOME PEOPLE SAY, "Sure, work sucks, but at least you get some free time afterwards." Well, the only reason they call it "free time" is that the boss doesn't have to pay you for it.

LIVING and earning a living are as different as capital punishment and the punishment of capital.

ON BEHALF of the working wounded everywhere, I hereby issue the following non-negotiable demands:

- FIRST, it's time to commute the sentences of everyone sentenced to commute;
- SECOND, it's time to stop paying and start playing!



D.B. COOPER SAYS:  
"PLAY FOR KEEPS!  
SELF-HELP MEANS  
HELP YOURSELF!"

## Never Work



I'm going to stay where you sleep all day,  
Where they hung the Turk that invented work,  
In the Big Rock Candy Mountains.

# TAKE IT EASY... BUT TAKE IT!