

SHARING THE WORLD WITH ANIMALS

By Lynn Landstreet

A series of events, thousands of people—middle class liberals, young anarchist punks, Hare Krishnas, older radicals, and many others—fill Nathan Phillips Square in Toronto in the first animal rights demonstration here in recent memory, and release thousands of black helium balloons, one for every animal that died in laboratory experiments during the rally. In England, militant groups such as the Animal Liberation Front raid laboratories to liberate animals and smash equipment, and sabotage commercial products to

protest their being tested on animals. In the States a radical vegetarian group holds a "puke-in" at McDonald's. The animal liberation movement seems to be growing throughout the world. However, although some anarchists, especially young punks, are getting involved, many still refuse to extend their political awareness beyond their own species. This article is an attempt to explain why, in my view, animal liberation is an essential part of anti-authoritarian politics.

The basis of anti-authoritarian politics is an awareness of, power in,

the sense of "power-over": the super-powers have power over other nations, the state has power over the people, men have power over womyn, etc. Some view the economic power of one class over another as the most basic, some state power, and some patriarchal power, but historically it seems that the

dominant form of food production tend to be very violent, hierarchical, and male dominated. Male power in pastoral societies stems partly from the fact that work with animals is usually seen as men's work, so when the majority of food comes from animals, men are in control of food production and womyn

Defending the cradle of life

Activist Australian environmentalists have discovered ways of using the environment they want to preserve in a direct action campaign to protect what is possibly the oldest virgin forest in the world from commercial development in the tropical Daintree rainforest in the northern Australian state of Queensland.

In efforts to halt construction of a development road through an ecosystem that has been undisturbed for over a hundred million years, protesters locked themselves high up in trees, buried themselves up to their necks in the path of the bulldozers, their feet anchored to concrete slabs at the base of the hole, and suspended themselves from trees marked for felling. Police had to employ rescue equipment to dig protesters out of the ground and to swing through the trees in order to make arrests.

After the arrests, work on the road ceased, despite police threats to return with helicopters and reinforcements within six hours. There has been no work done on the road for six months, and sixty to eighty environmentalists have set up log blockades and camps at both ends of the proposed road's route.

At stake is a tropical rainforest that may have been the birthplace of flowering plants on earth, containing some of the most primitive flowering and fruiting plants, and which serves as a refuge for the rare and endangered Bennett's tree kangaroo, which is unique to Daintree, as well as rare tropical butterflies, bats, pigeons, cockatoos, possum, bandicoot and the amethystine python, to name only a few of the species to be found in an environment that has remained undisturbed by volcanic activity or incursions of the sea since before continental drift broke Australia apart from Antarctica, South

America and Africa.

The forest is threatened by plans by the Queensland forestry department to log virgin timber as the road makes it accessible, and there is a possibility that nearby tin-mining and real estate operations will also be expanded into the area. Although the national government of Australia has listed Daintree as a "national heritage" and the International Union of the Conservation of Nature has identified tropical forests as the world's conservation priority, the Queensland state government has reserved the only 10-15% of the area for national parks, and even within these areas road construction and other development have violated the integrity of the ecosystem. The road the protesters seek to block has been funded with \$100,000 from the Queensland government and is to pass through a national park.

The environmentalists want the whole of Daintree to be designated a national park and for it to be preserved for natural history study and outdoor recreation. Their month-long blockade of the road resulted in 40 arrests, but delayed the bulldozers long enough for the heavy tropical rains to commence, flooding the area and making further work on the road impossible. The chains the protesters used to bolt themselves to trees or to the ground are still there, ready for use.

The Daintree protest requires support and is seeking to bring international pressure to bear on the Australian and Queensland governments. Anyone interested may write the Rainforest Information Centre, Box 368, Lismore, New South Wales, Australia. Donations may be made to the Australian Conservation Foundation, 672B Glenferrie Road, Hawthorn, 3122, marked "Daintree Account".



"original oppression" was the power of humyns over nature.

The earliest humyn societies generally lived by hunting and gathering. These people for the most part lived in harmony with nature, eating a wide variety of plants and/or animals so that no one species was depleted, and not altering their environment significantly. Hunter-gatherer societies also tended to be peaceful, co-operative, non-territorial, and relatively egalitarian (although there was usually a division of labour, with men hunting and womyn gathering, the work of both sexes was valued). Some had no words for war or property. These cultures account for over 90% of humyn history. However, most of them eventually "evolved" to pastoralism (the keeping of domestic animals) and/or agriculture. With the development of agriculture (considered by many to be the beginning of civilization as we know it), people's relationship with the Earth changed to one of control. Rather than living within the environment, they changed it to suit them, often burning whole forests to make way for planting crops, thus destroying the natural ecosystem of the area. Also, the concept of property began to develop, starting with "user-right", people having the socially-recognized right to use a certain piece of land for a time, and developing into the actual ownership of land. Of course, once land could be owned, it usually had to be defended, and war became a more major part of life. And, when wars are frequent, force is legitimized, military leaders become prominent (leading to a hierarchical society) and some societies come to dominate others.¹

Pastoralism transformed other living creatures into things to be controlled and owned. Animals were "domesticated", forced into dependency on humyns, and became property. This too contributed to militarism; in fact, societies in which pastoralism is the

are forced into dependency, and partly from the logical extension of pastoral thought: that if one type of living creature (i.e. animals) can be transformed into a commodity, then others (i.e. women) can be similarly objectified. Because womyn are more visibly involved with natural processes such as menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, and lactation, we are identified in most cultures with nature, and when nature is a thing to be dominated and controlled, so are womyn. In most pastoral societies, womyn are viewed as property, and are often traded for animals.

The connection between womyn and nature seems virtually universal, making patriarchy the oldest form of oppression of humyns. This connection is still evident in our culture. We hear of Mother Earth, Mother Nature, virgin forests, the rape of the Earth. Womyn are called chicks, foxes, birds, fillies, kittens, vixens, bitches, cows, dogs, fish, pieces of meat. A pimp has a "stable" of womyn. There is a porn movie called "The Woman Hunt" whose advertising posters bear the caption "Women were made for men—to hunt!!". Other pornographic images include womyn in dog collars, leashes, harnesses, chains, cages, and being fed into a meat grinder. In dog shows and beauty pageants the contestants are paraded before judges to show off their artificially-induced "beauty" and to perform tricks that they've been taught. One feminist writer has noted the similarity between the basic strategies used in domesticating womyn and animals and calls them the club, the yoke, and the leash. Wild animals and womyn who step out of line are subdued by the club—direct violence, such as hunting, rape, and battering. Others are domesticated and controlled by either the yoke, as in the case of farm animals and working womyn (both inside and outside the home), or the leash, as with pets and sex object womyn.²

Continued on Page 2



★ ★ ★ KICK IT OVER ★ ★ ★
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Our heartfelt thanks to all the people who sent donations or letters of encouragement. Without your material and spiritual support, we would not have been able to continue publishing. Thanks also to the people who donated rummage and helped at the sale. We have raised \$900. (of which approximately \$300 came in response to our fundraising letter). At the conclusion of this issue, we are roughly \$250. in debt.

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What We Believe

- The Kick It Over Collective is opposed to all forms of hierarchy and domination, whether right or left.
- For us, revolution is a process not an event—a process, moreover, rooted in the transformation of everyday life.
- Rather than make a principle out of violence or non-violence, we believe in judging actions on their own merits.
- We are not a mouthpiece for the "official" anarchist movement. Instead, we are interested in drawing out and popularizing those implicitly radical values and lifestyles which we believe are pointing in the direction of freedom.
- Since we are interested in the creation of a politics of everyday life, we avoid dealing primarily with the stock issues which make up the "left agenda."
- We do not identify with the "official left," which seeks to establish itself as a new ruling group. We identify with and seek to give voice to the largely unarticulated anti-authoritarian tendencies within society.
- We are committed to avoiding rhetoric. We believe that one should not have to be familiar with standard leftist buzzwords to read our magazine.
- We are committed to quality of content, and we hope to remain open to contributions of new writers and artists.
- We are committed to the collective process of putting out a quarterly magazine, and see that as our main function.
- Above all, we are committed to spontaneity, by which we mean the triumph of life over dogma. Hence, we believe that freedom is in need of constant redefinition.

ANIMALS . . .



Within the current capitalist-industrial society, the exploitation of animals, like the exploitation of everyone and everything else) has been expanded and institutionalized almost beyond belief. Millions die daily for food, leather, fur, and research experiments. Animals raised for meat in factory farms are often imprisoned in boxes so small that they are unable to turn around, injected with hormones and other chemicals to speed their growth and tenderize their meat and finally killed, one after another, on a conveyor belt. Dairy animals are treated similarly; their milk or eggs taken by machines, but are denied the mercy of an early death, living out their entire lives in these conditions. Wild animals trapped for fur in leghold traps may lie in agony for days until they either die or escape by gnawing their own legs off. Animals used in research may undergo unimaginable types of torture before being "sacrificed" (killed). Contrary to what many believe, the majority of these experiments are not done for medical purposes but are performed either by corporations to test commercial products, or by the state to test the effects of radiation or chemical or biological warfare agents or even to explore the use of the animals themselves as weapons of war. The LD50 test in which animals are force-fed a substance or chemical until half of them die, is the standard method of determining toxicity of household products and food additives. To test the effects of the neutron bomb on soldiers' capacity to endure a forced march, the U.S. government exposed a group of animals to neutron radiation, then placed on a treadmill and used electric shocks to force them to run until they died. In another U.S. military experiment, pigs were cut open and bombs sewn into their stomachs so that they could be released near the enemy and the bombs detonated from a distance.

It is my view that, as anarchists and anti-authoritarians, we must oppose the exploitation of animals. If we oppose sexism, racism, classism, and heterosexism, we must also oppose speciesism. Animal liberation must be a part of both our vision of the world to come and our awareness of the world we live in. Animal liberation does not mean placing animals above humans or ignoring human needs. It does mean questioning some very basic assumptions about the Earth, the creatures we share it with, and our place in nature. It

means rejecting the concept that other creatures are resources for us to use, that we are somehow ordained to rule over them. However, for those who claim to reject the concept that anyone is fit to rule over anyone else, this should not be too difficult.

But unfortunately, there are still many so-called anarchists who ask why we should concern ourselves with the problems of animals when there are so many problems facing our own species. Why indeed? Why should men think about patriarchy when there are so many problems affecting their own sex? Why should white people concern themselves with racism when there are so many problems affecting their own race? Why should straight people attempt to deal with homophobia? Why should the middle class become aware of the problems faced by the poor?

Why should anyone care about the many ways in which they are constantly oppressing others?

NOTES

1. In trying to give a very brief capsule view of human history I have had to oversimplify things somewhat and make generalizations that of course do not hold true for every society. There are hunter-gatherer societies which do not have any division of labour by sex, such as the Pygmies of Africa, and agricultural societies that were fairly peaceful and co-operative, etc. such as the Hopi Indians. It is important to remember that I am describing tendencies among certain kinds of societies, not hard and fast rules, and that there are exceptions to virtually every generalization.

2. This was in an article entitled "The Club, the Vase, and the Leaf," which appeared in *Mac* magazine. Unfortunately I have not been able to find the issue that I read the article in so I can't provide the author's name or which issue it appeared in. My apologies for any inconvenience this may cause anyone.

FOR FURTHER READING:

- Animal Liberation**
by Peter Singer
Woman and Nature: the Roaring Inside Her
by Susan Griffin
Pornography and Silence: Culture's Revenge Against Nature
by Susan Griffin
Reclaim the Earth
edited by Leonie Caldecott and Stephanie Leland
Reweaving the Web of Life
edited by Pam McAllister
Patriarchy as a Conceptual Trap
by Elizabeth Dodson Gray
Green Paradise Lost
by Elizabeth Dodson Gray

SOME ANIMAL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS:

Ark II, 542 Mt. Pleasant Rd., Suite 102, Toronto, Ont., Canada M4S 2M7, 487-4881. Very active in Toronto recently.

Action Volunteers for Animals, 338 Jarvis St., Toronto, Ont. Canada M4Y 2G6, 461-1836.

Greenpeace, 427 Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ont. Canada M5S 1X7, 922-3011. Long history of direct action on all ecology issues.

Lifecover, P.O. Box 3117, Main P.O., Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6B 3X6, (604) 434-8682.

Boycott McDonald's Coalition, 7202 Trescott Ave., Takoma Pk. Md. USA 20912, (301) 276-3444. Seeking endorsements from all kinds of groups and individuals.

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), P.O. Box 56272, Washington, D.C., USA, 20011, (202) 726-0156. Supports the A.L.F. and produces great t-shirts, buttons, stickers, etc.

Student Action Corps for Animals (SACA), 423 Fifth St. SE, Washington, DC, USA, 20003, (202) 543-8983. Youth-oriented with suspected anti-authoritarian leanings. Producing benefit hardcore record featuring Atrocity and Subtle Oppression. Write for info.

Trans-Species Unlimited, P.O. Box 1351, State College, Pa., USA, 16801, (814) 238-0792.

Louise Michel, the grandmother of Anarcha-Feminism

WHAT IS ANARCHA FEMINISM



Louise Michel — nicknamed 'la bonne Louise' for her good works among the Paris poor.

The following is a talk given by Alexandra Devon as part of a one-day workshop on "Anarchism: Living Our Lives" sponsored by the Cruise Missile Conversion Project. The workshop was only one of a series given on the broader theme of non-violence. Other aspects of the workshop included: Anarchism and Ecology, Anarchism and Non-violence, The History and Ideas of Anarchism, Anarchism and Lifestyle, Anarchism and Revolution. Other segments of the workshop may be reprinted in future issues of Kick It Over.

by Alexandra Devon

I thought that, instead of approaching anarcha-feminism by giving definitions or discussing theories or tactics in the abstract, I would begin by talking about a particular woman who lived an anarcha-feminist existence and began to articulate, in her writings, a vision which combined anarchism, feminism, anti-racism and animal liberation.

The woman I'm referring to is Louise Michel, who was born in 1830 to a single mother who was a peasant worker in a French chateau. When, as a young woman, she and her mother were turned out of the chateau, she studied to become a school teacher and opened a girls' school. Her classes were run in a libertarian way and the school was generally unorthodox in its penchant for teaching methods which relied on visual techniques and learning through experience. Aside from teaching, Louise corresponded with French novelist, Victor Hugo, and was active in women's rights groups and republican activities.

A turning point in her life, and the thing for which she is best known, was her involvement in the 1871 Paris Commune. This was the largest urban insurrection of the 19th century. The com-

mune came into being with the collapse of Napoleon III's second empire after France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Republican and radical working class Parisians were afraid that the pro-royalist national assembly would try to use Prussian support to restore the monarchy. So when the head of the new provisional government tried to disarm the National Guard, (mostly Paris' working class), resistance broke out, municipal elections were called and a government of the Commune was formed; it only lasted for ten weeks before the army broke through the city's defenses and began a slaughter of 20,000 people, children, women and men who were suspected of supporting the Commune. Although the effort was short-lived, it was significant for a number of reasons. The Commune represented a return to the almost forgotten notion that ordinary workers can, and should, govern their own lives. Some of the reforms begun include the creation of a "Stateless body" made up of federations of autonomous local units, removal of the Catholic church from control of education, abolition of permanent armies and conscription, and the formation of worker-run co-operatives for the unemployed. This example served to inspire socialists, communists and anarchists for a long time to come.

Women played a significant role in the Commune, not least of which was the military role they played in the establishment and defence of the Commune. Louise was an exceptional fighter who was seen as a Joan of Arc figure. There is a description of how, during the Commune, she played a symphony of revolution on a half-broken organ in a ruined church amidst bursting shells, terrifying and angering her comrades.

After the fall of the Commune, Louise was sentenced to exile on the south sea

Continued on Page 4

Editorial

When we sent out an appeal for funds in September, our spirits were at their lowest ebb. Our debt of \$1000 loomed over our heads like a suspended sentence. Many of us were tired and tense from the effort of putting out a quarterly publication, and then there were the major and minor tribulations of being alive and conscious in the society and time we live in. Why bother with KIO, a lot of us were wondering?

So we had a rummage sale to try to pay off our back debts to our printer and typesetter, and miraculously (or so it seemed to us), we raised \$600. Then the letters and donations started coming in from our readers with little notes telling us to continue. We received about \$300 all together, which amazed and heartened us. On top of all this, we kept receiving subscriptions from all sorts of unlikely places—from Fort Bragg, Alberta to Australia to Nigeria. And perhaps the most passionate and compelling letters came in from prisoners. To make a long story short, we felt compelled to continue—but we're doing so on a more sound financial basis (although we'll be in debt again by the time you read this) and with a feeling that the vision we're trying to articulate is shared by a lot of people in very different circumstances. Speaking of vision, we're uncertain as to whether our name adequately reflects our commitment to positive alternatives

in addition to a radical critique of the way things are. While Kick It Over has served us well as a name, we wonder if another name would better represent the positive as well as critical nature of our work. For this reason, we are playing around with Dare to Dream on our cover as a tentative suggestion. Please tell us what you think of this or if you have other suggestions.

Lastly, but not at all less in importance, Ken Deyarmond, a friend of those on the collective, and an active and constructive member of the political community in Toronto, has been sentenced to 6 months in jail for a crime he didn't commit. Although he was acquitted of attempting to assault Margaret Thatcher (see article), he was convicted of assaulting 2 of 3 275-lb. "barrel-chested" (as one of them was described) policemen who dragged him off (with his coat over his head) after he had been pushed from behind into police lines. His defense committee is planning to appeal this verdict and sentence which sent shock waves beyond the political community to the civil libertarian-minded. Please send generously to help offset the cost of appeal (about \$5000).

Thanks again to all the people who gave support through contributions of rummage, donations, time, or letters of encouragement. This issue is our gift to each other.



CONTENTS

Sharing the World with Animals	1
Defending the Cradle of Life	1
What is Anarcha-Feminism	3
The Starship and the Canoe - a book review	4
Women in Russia	5
The Politics of Ego	6
Witch Way	7
The Trivial Pursuit of Politics	7
Letters to K.I.O.	8
Dear Mum	10
John Brown - a book review	11
Shock Survivors Tell All	11
Prison Abolition - Community Solutions	12
Ken Danger Sentenced to Six Months	14
Witness for the Defense - a poem	14
Citizen's Band Radio for the People	15

Nov. 1984 . . .

New Caledonians seize hall in protest

NOUMEA (Reuter) — About 200 militants seeking early independence for New Caledonia seized a town hall and sawmill in the French Pacific territory yesterday.

The militants, members of the island's Melanesian Kanak population, have also threatened to disrupt next Sunday's national assembly elections, which precede a 1989 referendum on independence.

Anarcha-Feminism . . .

island, New Caledonia. The four month voyage gave her time to think about her experiences with the Commune and she became more and more convinced of the necessity of anarchism:

I felt that a revolution which seized power of any kind was nothing but an illusion, able merely to mark time and not to open all doors to progress; and that the institutions of the past, which seemed to disappear, remained by changing their names, and that everything in the old world was fastened together by chains, and that it thus formed a single system, fated to give way entirely to a new world, free and happy under the sky.

She says further, "It is impossible for liberty ever to be allied with any form of power."

When Louise arrived in the French colony, New Caledonia, she and some fellow communards formed an anarchist group and before long they became involved with the struggle of the native Kanak population of the island (a struggle which is continuing today—see clippings). Louise studied their language and culture and, in exchange, gave them lessons in arithmetic, sabotage and direct action.

When she returned to France in 1880 (after a 10 year absence), she jumped right back into politics (remaining under police surveillance for the rest of her life). Three years after her return, she was arrested for taking part in a demonstration of unemployed workers, some of whom pillaged a bakery chanting "Bread, work or lead!" Louise was charged with instigating the looting and was sentenced to six years in prison.

In 1890, she left for London where she set up a free school for children of political refugees. She died in 1905 at the age of 75 in the midst of a political speaking tour.

The reason I have chosen Louise Michel to begin to talk about the connection between anarchism and feminism is that she is the first woman known to have explicitly linked anarchism and feminism, and through her life she tried to link her beliefs with practice.

One of the main themes found in her political writing is that freedom is the most important aim of a revolution. She also believed that "everything goes together". In other words, she believed in looking at the links between the different ways in which people (and animals) are oppressed. She was anti-racist, a feminist, an animal liberationist, anti-militarist and an anarchist.

As a feminist she had a number of struggles with the men who made up the Paris Commune. She rebelled

against the sexism of her male comrades who were unwilling to let prostitutes fight for the cause because of their "uncleanliness". She also had to deal with the anti-feminism of Proudhon (by this time dead) who once declared, "I do not know which woman it was who was shocked to discover that we men think a woman knows enough if she knows enough to mend our shirts and cook us a steak. I am one of those men."

Louise wrote,

I admit always with sorrow, that we are cast as apart, rendered such through the ages.

But she stressed that women had to bring about their own liberation, and it would come to women, not through conquest of political, cultural and economic rights, but through the achievement of libertarian communist revolution.

Louise wanted to raise awareness of feminist ideas through the structure of federated but autonomous women's groups throughout France. She rejected the political route to power. For, although she was nominated for office a number of times, she refused to run. "Politics," she writes, "is a form of stupidity Voting is a prayer to the deaf gods of all mythologies."

Louise believed that feminist ideas could not be separated from anti-militarism and an anti-state perspective. She stressed that women must not separate their cause from that of humanity. I believe that the 80 years since Louise Michel's death have underscored the point that anarchism and feminism are incomplete each without the other.

Anarchists are capable of being just as dogmatic as Marxists. In a recent talk given by Tatyana Mamonova, a Russian feminist, the issue was raised: isn't the state really to blame for all of the troubles of Russian women? Mamonova replied that, during the Stalin era, 80% of Russian women never experienced orgasm, and that wasn't state policy! It's very convenient to blame all the problems of the world on a tiny clique of capitalists or bureaucrats, but unfortunately reality is not that simple. In the case of women, it is not only bureaucrats and capitalists who oppress women, it is also men.

In the late 60's and early 70's, issues like rape, wife assault, and pornography were ignored by male Marxists and anarchists alike. The perpetrators were not governments or businessmen, but ordinary men, but since, by definition, oppressive acts are those which are committed by governments and businessmen, male leftists refused to validate ordinary women's experience of oppression. This still goes on today somewhat.

The great contribution of feminism to anarchism (apart from the more abstract, but fully correct, concept of the patriarchy) is that politics has a personal dimension to it as well. The women's movement was ushered into existence, in large measure, because of the incredible boorishness of movement men—who trumpeted justice, freedom and equality on the one hand—while treating their female comrades as sex objects, waitresses, note-takers, and ego-strokers. What was the use of abstract rhetoric if one's concrete experience of oppression remained unchanged?

Early women's liberationists were gut-level anarchists because of their concrete experience with non-economic forms of power and oppression, and their understanding that oppression was indivisible—that fighting one form while leaving others untouched was tantamount to counter-revolution. But, where feminists had a more down-to-

earth understanding of the personal dimension of power/oppression, and the necessity to unify theory and practice (and while they also adopted "anarchistic" forms of organizing like affinity groups and a de-emphasis on leaders), they often failed to raise their critique of power to an explicitly theoretical level. Too often, men in power were seen as being the enemy and not power itself. Thus feminists could indulge in the fantasy that setting up a matriarchy or voting women into office would solve the problems.

Many feminists are getting away from the idea of biological determinism—namely that testosterone is what makes men the weird creatures that they are. Still, there is the issue of what do we do with the traditionally "feminine" qualities of empathy, nurturance and respect for life? Many argue (and I am one of them) that, far from rejecting these qualities, we must make them universal—the "female principle" must become manifest in both men and women.

Feminism strengthens the historical intuition of anarchism that power (in its

patriarchal forms in particular) has psychological as much as economic roots. Indeed, hierarchy, domination and militarism are only as old as patriarchy. The first form of political power may well have been the domination of men in the patriarchal family. The first form of economic power is thought by some (like Gayle Rubin, in her article "The Traffic in Women" in *Toward An Anthropology of Women*) to have been the ownership and control of women as manifested in the kinship exchange of females in many primitive societies.

The technocracy of the West is the creation of "civilized" men, adhering to what could be termed the "male principle" of domination and antagonism toward nature. Its institutions and the values which nurture it must be dismantled. To put feminist values of equality, mutual aid, and respect for life in their place requires a society where people are engaged in face-to-face relations and where nature inspires us with the sanctity of life and the need to give back to others that which we receive from them.



BOOKS

The Starship and the Canoe

by Kenneth Brower

(1978 c.e., Whitecap Press/Andre Deutsch London, 270 pp.)

reviewed by Larry Ingwersoll

The Starship and the Canoe is an examination of C.P. Snow's "two cultures" (rational/scientific and intuitive/artistic) as they work themselves out in the relationship between Freeman Dyson, one of the foremost living physicists and a designer of a starship, and his son George, a hippie canoe-builder. It's a mixture of biography, travelogue and popular science.

Brower's sympathies and his sensual prose lie strongly in the direction of George's deep immersion in the Earth and his intuitive approach to life, his attempts to recapture the Aleut relationship to the sea and the coast by building Aleut canoes and travelling the British Columbia coast in them, but Brower succeeds in creating sensitive and finely drawn portraits of both men. He is also exploring the underlying commonality of these two worldviews, shifting easily between the intellect and intuition.

Throughout the book, by Brower's powerful description and carefully chosen examples of both men's dreams and their work, we are drawn into a deeper understanding of them as people, as father and son, as each other's twin. We come to see these two views and experiences of the universe shifting and bending in continual synthesis:

Even to the hardened theoretical physicist it remains perpetually astonishing that our solid world of trees and stones can be built of quantum fields and nothing else. The quantum field seems far too fluid and unsubstantial to be the basic stuff of the universe. Yet we have learned gradually to accept the fact that the laws of quantum dynamics impose their own peculiar rigidity on the fields they govern, a rigidity which is alien to our intuitive conceptions but which nevertheless effectively holds the Earth in place.

The atoms of Democritus, and Newton's particles of light, and Freeman's quantum field, were pebbles on the Alaskan shores where we beached our canoe each night.

The book is a continual process of discovery, a very human discovery of two different men and their lives, a discovery of beauty through very different eyes, and, finally, the discovery of connection and unity.

At the end, Freeman and George spend a week together with friends to try to come back together, but they do not succeed in understanding one another. Freeman goes back to the Institute for Advanced Studies, George to build another canoe. The book ends, however, in some degree of harmony: "The Earth had vanished in darkness. The only proof of the planet was the ghostly froth of the near waves. George's dragon prow pranced onward into a sea of stars."

Women in Russia

Learning to love the Patriarchy

Recently, Tatyana Mamonova, an exiled Russian feminist, came to Toronto where she gave two informal talks under the auspices of Against Cruise Testing (ACT) and Solidarity With Independent East European Peace Movements (SWIEPEM). She was called in 1980, along with her husband and son, for urging Russian women to put pressure on husbands and sons not to serve in Afghanistan. (Tatyana is an artist and is doing research in feminist studies at Harvard University this year, after having lived in Paris for four years.) In the following article, which we are adapting from a Japanese publication ("The Feminist Forum"), she describes what daily life is like for women and especially dissidents in the Soviet Union, in contrast with the myths promoted by leftists in the West. On the other hand, she also makes clear that moving to "the West" is no picnic. In contrast with what right-wing East Europeans and their media publicists say, moving to the "free world" is often a nightmare. Not only is one ripped from one's cultural and family milieu, one loses the modicum of economic security that Soviet society provides. One's life becomes an endless stream of anxieties: trying to find apartments, trying to find a job, keeping up with creditors, etc. Some emigrants fall captive to despair and commit suicide.

Tatyana made the point that the form of control exercised in each society is different—economic in the one case, political in the other—but is just as ruthless and dictatorial. Tatyana defines herself as a socialist and a feminist, and sees both systems as manifestations of the patriarchy. One of the main things many of us learned from her talk is the degree to which one's experience of oppression is subjective and relative to one's current experience. A woman fending off a rapist may feel most oppressed by men, a Soviet emigre may feel most oppressed by capitalism when faced with paying exorbitant rent in a city where she can't find work, a peace activist harassed or arrested for working toward peace may feel most oppressed by the state. The examples are endless. Tatyana's decision to speak about her personal difficulties as an immigrant and comparing these to her way of life in the Soviet Union presented us with a good opportunity to understand the many types of freedom which are important to human happiness. Her experiential, as opposed to ideological, approach permitted a fluid and meaningful exchange of ideas, and demonstrated that, lest we forget, the personal is indeed political.

Imagine a country completely without pornography—where prostitution is rare, where there is no "double standard" in sexual relationships, and where men and women are guaranteed equality under the constitution and the laws. Sounds like a feminist ideal?

Not according to Tatyana Mamonova, 41, co-founder, late in 1979, of the "underground feminist journal," "Women and Russia," and who was thrown out of her country for her feminist views.

Invited here by local peace activists, Mamonova stressed the paradox between the theoretical and actual situation of Soviet women. She made it clear that deeply entrenched attitudes and social patterns—even among women themselves—can cancel the effect of even the most progressive laws.

Sixty-five years after the Communist

revolution, women in the USSR are still treated as inferior citizens and bear double the workload of men.

She and her husband and son, together with three other Soviet feminists, were exiled from the Soviet Union in 1980, before even the fourth edition of the journal could be compiled. But since then, from exile in Paris, she has kept contact with the underground

feminist movement, and said new issues of the journal are still being circulated by Soviet women.

An artist and a poet, she first became curious as a student about the Soviet feminist movement—which flourished after the 1917 revolution but was virtually eradicated under Stalin's repressive regime.

She decided a journal was essential to spread information among women and joined an official publishing organ to develop the basic skills. But she quickly realized that such a journal would never be permitted officially, and it was only later, in 1979, that she found other women with similar ideas and enough basic materials to realize her dream.

"The most precious item for us is a typewriter," she said. "Because of course we have no means to print. One woman types about five copies, using carbon paper, and passes them around. Then she or one of the recipients, will type up more. So we have no means of knowing how many are circulated."

Mamonova said the women's greatest fear, besides being arrested or called for questioning by the KGB security police, was having their typewriter confiscated. Mamonova noted that it was a "great paradox" that under a socialist system, preaching equality for all, women's position should be inferior to men's. "The Soviet Constitution and laws are probably the most progressive and democratic in the world," she said, "yet under the present leadership, the actual situation is completely the reverse."

The reason, she said, were deep-rooted attitudes to men's and women's roles, the priority given the military in every aspect of Soviet life, and the extreme poverty of ordinary living conditions. "Abortions, for example, is legally a matter of the individual woman's choice," she said, "but with abortions carried out in crowded wards, without anesthetic, and only the most primitive of instruments, it is hardly a choice at all."

On the other hand, the only contraceptives provided by the State are rubber sheaths "so crude they are a barrier to love," Mamonova claimed.



She said that when she called for a pain-killer during the birth of her son, a hospital attendant asked who she thought she was to demand such luxuries. "There is money for bombs," Mamonova said, "but not for gauze or basic medicines."

Although 74 percent of Soviet doctors today are women, they are powerless to improve the situation, Mamonova claimed. "Medicine in the Soviet Union is a low paid, low prestige occupation—that's why it's considered women's work." She said that women doctors suffered the lot of all other Soviet women workers. Almost all administrative posts were in male hands—even in largely "female" occupations—and besides this women shouldered the entire responsibility for housework and child-raising.

"Under Stalin, the ideal woman was considered to be a good mother and a loyal worker," Mamonova said, "whereas even today in Russia a man who helps with the housework is not considered a man." (Note: A Tass bulletin last year stated, "Mothers, who gave birth and brought up ten children, are awarded the honorary title of 'hero mother'... one of the awards of the Soviet State's highest." The award so far has been conferred on 342,000 Soviet women, according to TASS.)

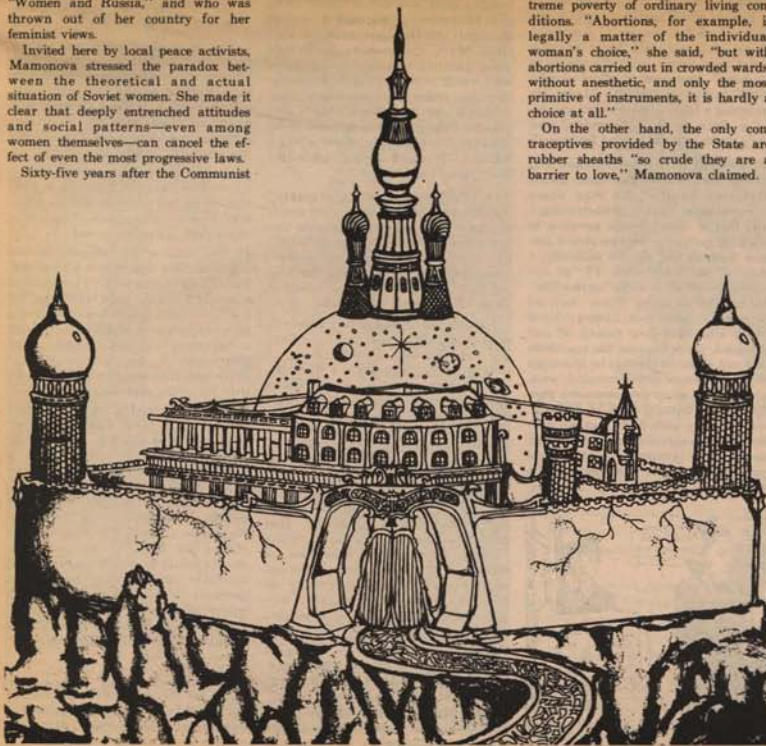
Mamonova said though prostitution was rare (except at the level of the party elite and around certain train stations, catering to men on business trips), and pornography virtually unheard of (apart from artists' sketches and some Western films on the black market), physical violence against women was rife and verbal pornography commonplace. Both are aggravated by alcoholism, which is a serious problem in the Soviet Union, she said.

At the same time, the official Women's Committees, headed by astronaut Valentina Tereshkova, were totally ineffective. "The official idea of helping women is to put a woman in space," Mamonova said.

The irony of woman's position, and especially the double burden of work and housekeeping, means a regressive trend is emerging among young women, many of whom now simply want to marry and stay home.

Mamonova said that although wages and opportunities were technically equal for men and women, in fact women's work was concentrated in lower paying jobs, while often a man with army connections could be brought in from outside to take over an administrative post a woman on the job should logically have been promoted to.

Referring to ancient Slavic traditions of paganism and matriarchy, Tatyana said she favours an egalitarian society in which the role and qualities of women are respected and emulated, and in which the essential spirit of communism (i.e. meeting the economic needs of each member of society) is fulfilled.



THE POLITICS OF EGO

by Ron Hayley

"I am indebted to Alexandra Devon for many of the ideas expressed herein."

"To be a party member, or more broadly a part of the advanced forces stepping forward to lead the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, means to be hunted, hounded, persecuted—harassed, jailed, etc., even murdered—and moreover to take a stance that is not 'socially accepted' and does not generally mean greater prestige, etc." — Bob Avakian, Communists Are Rebels.

Bob Avakian, the person quoted above, is the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP, USA), an organization with which I was once affiliated. That one won't get rich by becoming a radical is true enough. But being a radical has its own "perks," and people will often risk life and limb to get them.

I joined the Maoists because I was going through a personal crisis, and politics promised to give me a focus for my energies. As a highly political person, I was the odd person out among my friends, and the Maoists gave me validation for my commitments and beliefs. Like many, I felt it was time to put into practice what I had all along been preaching, and Maoism seemed to offer a framework and the necessary organizational cohesion to accomplish something.

Another thing that predisposed me to Maoism was a strong streak of moralism, and a belief that revolution involved sacrifice—forcing yourself to do things which were morally repugnant. This puritanical outlook was a common feature of virtually all Maoists I met. It was considered a violation of "proletarian morality" to smoke dope, for instance, because it encouraged "subjectivism" and putting your own pleasure before "the struggle."

Rather than sorting out right and wrong for ourselves, many of us just took what we learned in high school government class and stood it on its head. (If Stalin was labelled a "butcher," then he must have been an O.K. guy.) In our consumer culture, people expect instant gratification. People join the Hari Krishnas or the Moonies expecting instant enlightenment. They abdicate responsibility for being their own ultimate authority. Likewise, those who joined the Maoists or the Trotskyites (or one of the other Heinz 57 varieties of Marxism-Leninism) were drawn by the promise of being able to understand and control the world to a far greater degree than is actually possible. Moreover, in my case, the R.C.P. provided me with a niche, a clique, a milieu where I could feel important. By mastering Marxist doctrine, I could develop a sense of expertise. I had a sense of purpose. These things are not necessarily bad in and of themselves; they are bad when used to advance the interests of a cult.

Shortly after I broke away from the Maoists, I met a group of anarchists through Focus Books and Art (a now defunct anarchist bookstore in Toronto). That was two and a half years ago. Since then, I've met many remarkable people who have influenced me deeply. But what I still find troubling is the presence of cultism—even among anarchists. Blatant puritanism and authoritarianism are largely absent, but there are other things which are not so different. It had to give a name to these things, I would characterize them as follows:

Ego Tripping — The feminist movement of the late 1960's developed

OR HOW I JOINED A CULT INSTEAD OF A COMMUNITY



in large measure in response to the negative features of the male left. Many male radicals used politics as a vehicle for stroking their own egos. Being a theoretician or a political leader was (and still is) a source of considerable prestige on the left. At root, the urge to be famous which motivates such people derives from two sources: 1) a desire to be an authority, and hence to have power over people and 2) a desire to "succeed" implanted in all of us who come from the middle class. By becoming a famous politico, one can indulge one's desire to be radical and one's desire to make a name for oneself.

I certainly have these impulses, and luckily the anarchist movement avoids idolizing people the way some movements do. That, notwithstanding, I still find a lot of people involved in anarchist politics in part because it permits them to feel like an authority, a part of the elect—that 1% of the population which has the "correct line" on issues ranging from animal liberation to punk rock. I know a lot of people who have been turned off and alienated, either because the anarchists they met expected them to be interested in all the things they themselves were, or who were given the impression that, since they weren't part of the 1%, anything they were doing was not worthwhile. This sort of arrogance and narcissism is a product of political ego-tripping, and insofar as it creates an "in group" and an "out group" is an ex-



pression of cult thinking.

Head Tripping — Most radicals (myself included) live in our heads. I guess this is our way of dealing with a world which seems beyond our control. Marx set us a bad example—for him, being a good intellectual meant being able to overawe people with dialectical flourishes and Hegelian paradoxes (ever since Marx, Communists have been using political formulas like talismans with which to wave away and conquer demons), rather than striving to communicate and putting one's ideals into practice. Many anarchists have fared better in this regard, but there is still a tendency to speak in the specialized language of the elite.

The "Professional Revolutionary" Syndrome — Often the reason people shy away from activists is because they subconsciously perceive our unhealthy obsession with politics—the one-dimensionality of our existence. Our lives are built around our politics, instead of being an expression of our lives.

I prefer the company of non-overly political people because they have some life, some interests, some emotions not directly pegged to politics. I think it's important that political people remain rooted in some community other than the community of full-time politics. Some people have done this successfully—remaining rooted in the prisoner/ex-prisoner community, the psychiatric inmate community, the Native community, the Jewish community, working class communities—even the punk community. This gives what they have to say a certain validity which would otherwise be lacking. It means that their politics are seen as being the expression of the experience of a definite social grouping—rather than merely a mental masturbatory head-trip.

Sandbox Radicalism — A lot of people I know in the anarchist movement are into politics as a form of self-expression—"if it feels good, do it!" Politics should be pleasurable, but if you flit around from project to project and never accomplish anything, you

have only yourself to blame. The problem with the "outside agitator" is you don't have to be around to pick up the pieces. If you don't feel you have any responsibility or commitment—any investment in the issues you organize around—they're likely to discount you.

I think it's important for people to stay in one place and dig in—to make social change a life project (and that means, among other things, conserving energy & avoiding burnout). For many radicals I know (particularly those fortunate enough to get paid for what they do), politics has become a job, like any other. It is no longer an expression of community. One assembles with one's fellow radicals for purposes of protesting an abortion decision or to demand an end to cruise testing. One creates a pseudo-community for a few hours, but at the end of it everyone goes back to their atomized world. This is not the way I want to conduct my life. I want to work with like-minded people, but I also want to keep company and build alliances with a whole variety of people. I want my politics to be an expression of my commitment to specific individuals (not merely airy abstractions). In sum, I want my politics to be real.

How can one go about building community? Here are some ideas I and other people have had:

- 1) Have lots of parties. One thing which is urgently lacking in North America is Bohemia—a place where artists and persons interested in social change can get together and exchange ideas. We try to create this atmosphere by having parties, and by inviting the most interesting people we know. These have been very stimulating for all concerned.
- 2) One thing which would help combat political "burnout" would be a country/city co-op whose members could take turns working on the land, and doing political work in the city. People's lives would be more balanced. Their personalities would be more rounded and less warped.
- 3) Get to know your neighborhood. Get involved in local peace groups, or hold discussions and seminars in your neighborhood community centre. Organize a community garden or project.
- 4) You and several of your friends might consider setting up a Mutual Aid Fund. Each person with an income over a certain amount would tax themselves 5 or 10%. This money would go into a joint bank account, which could be used to fund projects of mutual interest, or to give money to any member of your group who is having trouble keeping up with his or her expenses.
- 5) One idea several of my friends and I are working on is a Mutual Aid Market. The market would be like a Greek "agora" in that it would provide a regular outdoor setting for socializing. People with low income and few resources (particularly artists) would sell hand-made products at a price non-yuppies could afford. Day care would be offered for kids, classes and skills sharing would be offered for adults, and musicians and poets would be given opportunity to perform. Cast off goods would be recycled, and a barter exchange set up. As a whole, the Market would provide a focus for the alternative community.

These are only a few of the ideas which could be done. Our readers should write us and give us theirs, and, if we put out another issue, we'll print the best.

WITCH WAY

In the beginning of religious experience, humankind looked around at the world and saw mystery and power, delight and beauty, and that the world was sacred and worthy of worship. Our ancestors were all worshippers of the sun and moon, of the mysteries of sex and fertility, of love and death, and of the cycles of the seasons of the Earth.

Witchcraft springs from this primeval root—the mystery and beauty of deity incarnate in the universe and in humanity. We pagans think that the intuition of our ancestors was correct—that beyond all of our intellectual categories and social differences there is a force of creation and



destruction moving through the universe that connects us all to one another and to all of the rest that exists. This mystery and power Witches name the Great Goddess.

The Goddess is beyond personality, being the creating, sustaining, destroying power that moves through all existence. She can be understood and loved and spoken to through the thousand facets of Her existence—through the Earth, the Moon, the plants, the sea, each other. We name Her facets Terra, Isis, White Buffalo Woman, Diana, Bast, Dana, Kali, Venus, Anna, Mindemoya—all

Goddesses through which we can approach Her. Because Witchcraft is not a great monotheistic crusading faith we accept that there are many paths to the truth, that there are many truths that all reflect part of the whole.

Although the Goddess is seen as the underlying reality, there are also Gods worshipped in Witchcraft—seen as facets of a Male Principle that forms one pole of the energy flow through the universe. The Goddess' son, lover, brother, friend, the Horned God of animal vitality, lust for life, green growing things. Her male half, goes by many names as well—Pan, Apollo, Cernunnos, Damuzi, Wotan, Attis, Frey.

Witches think of the universe as an intricate web of ever-increasing complexity, a web of relationships that binds everything to everything else. Human beings are relatives to the rain, to the snails, to the Earth, the Sun, the trees. Deity is everpresent within all of existence. It is totally meaningless to call humanity 'appointed ruler and owner of the Earth', because we are the Earth, we are Her creatures and have no divine mandate to dominate, pollute, strip-mine or otherwise exploit Her. When we act as though we were not part of nature we do great damage to ourselves as well as to our sisters and brothers who share the Earth with us.

Witches aim at the integration of all of our parts and the recognition that all of our faculties, needs, desires, abilities, and natural processes are sacred. Life is sacred and good. Pleasure is good, both in its own right and because the Gods

feel our pleasures. Humanity came into existence not through accident. It is no accident that we are shaped the way we are, experience life as we do, love, make love, eat, shit, bear children, grow old, and die as we do. These things are sacred and come from our nature as human animals.

Witches seek to tune into the powers flowing through nature. We seek to experience and understand the Gods acting. The cycles of nature—the birth, maturation, fruiting, death and rebirth of the vegetation each year; the waxing and waning of the Moon each month—are the source of our rituals and our Festivals. We celebrate on the Equinoxes, the Solstices, the Cross-Quarter Days between and on the Full Moons. Since all of life is sacred and every moment contains deity, a Witch will pause to reflect on Nature, relax into the flow of life and the simple joy of existence whenever she can.

From the deeper roots, now, to the usual ritual practices of the Craft. There's no division in Witchcraft between 'high' and 'low', body and spirit, women and men, intellect and emotion. It's quite possible to be a devout and powerful Witch and be, not only intelligent and spiritually sensitive, but full of lust for life, a great enjoyer of food, sex and beauty. (This is close to our ideal person—much better than some wizened wretch practicing self-mortification in the hopes of destroying their sacred body's abilities!) So our rituals are often playful, full of song and dance, as well as serious intent.

The basic ritual pattern for the Craft is as follows: we worship inside a Circle, in a small group (traditionally 13). The circle is drawn on the ground or on the floor of the room serving as Temple. Usually there is some sort of ritual cleansing before people enter the Circle. Often the members of the coven (wor-

ship group) are greeted and welcomed into the Circle by the Priestess and Priest. There is some sort of bonding ritual—passing a kiss around the Circle, for example, and greeting each other with "Thou art Goddess/God". Often we worship in the nude, or in robes. Then an attunement of some sort to the purpose of the meeting and to bind the group more closely together. Then the four elements are asked to join us, to send their energies into the Circle—East for Air, South Fire, West Water, and North Earth. Then we invite in the elemental energies we symbolize the specific qualities associated with the elements that we want in the Circle in some way. Then we ask the Great Goddess and Her consort the Horned God, in any of their aspects that we need, to join us. Then we discuss what we are doing, dance, chant, sing, pray, do magic, and converse. We bless some food and drink and share it around the Circle. Finally we ceremoniously dismiss the elements, thank the Gods for being with us, and open the Circle.

No baby sacrifices, no ringing chants of praise to Satan, no orgies, no hexes of our neighbors' crops.

Books about modern Witchcraft that you might be interested in are: *The Spiral Dance* by Starhawk, *Drawing Down the Moon* by Margot Adler, *Real Magic* by Isaac Bonewits, *Changing of the Gods* by Naomi Goldenberg, and *Witchcraft and the Gay Counter-culture* by Arthur Evans. There are many books of value in the area but these should give some idea, especially Starhawk and Adler.

The exact shape of the Craft as depicted above is my particular understanding. Other witches will see things somewhat differently than I but in the same general ballpark. I'll cheerfully correspond about Goddess-religion, folk beliefs, and related matters. Send letters c/o KIO.

May the blessings of the Goddess rest upon you.
Sam Wagar

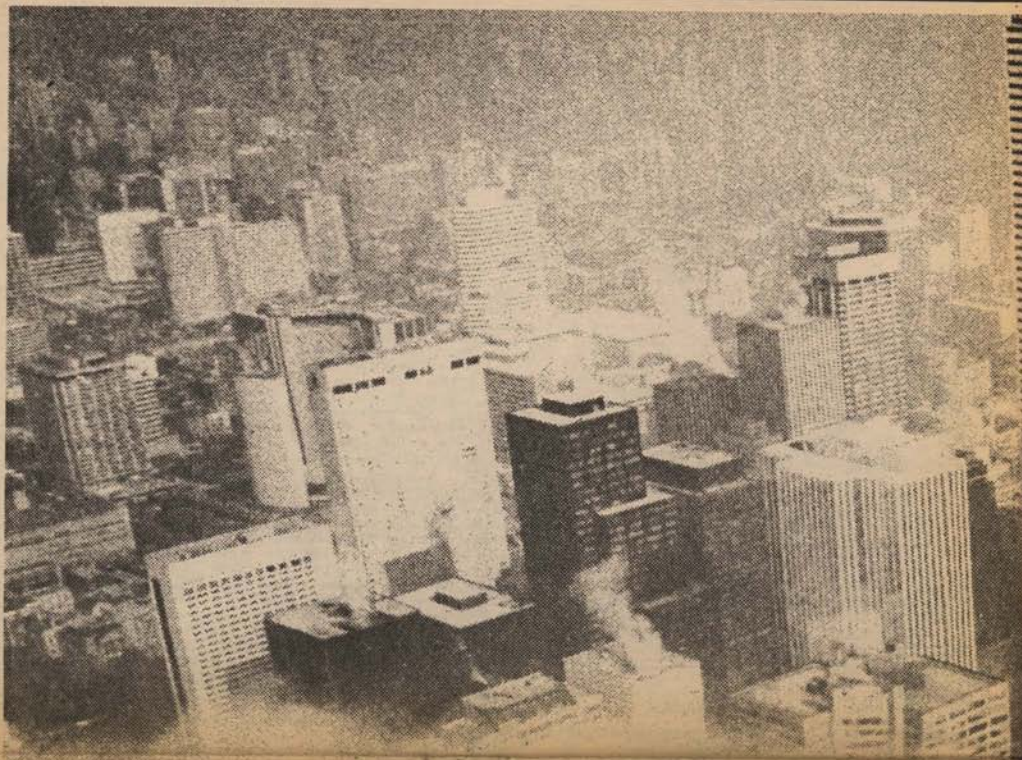


Trivial Pursuit of Politics

1. What famous anarchist made the sexist comment that the only thing a woman needs to know how to do is mend a man's shirt and cook his steak?
2. What famous anarchist publicly horsewhipped her ex-lover and confidante in public?
3. What anarcha-feminist went to high school in Sarnia, Ontario?
4. What was the original title of Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*?
5. What socialist of the 19th century called Ferdinand Lasalle a "dirty Jewish nigger"?
6. What anarchist prospected for gold in Patagonia, struck it rich, and had his claim seized by the Argentinian government?
7. What famous anarchist lived above Switzer's Deli in Toronto and died at 295 Vaughan Street in 1940?
8. What famous incident happened in Toronto's Christie Pits in the 1930's?
9. What woman was Joe McCarthy's research assistant?

1. P.J. Proudhon. 2. Emma Goldman. 3. Emma Goldman. 4. *Resistance to Civil Disobedience*. 5. Henry Clay Frick. 6. Because he refused to support Alexander Berkman's attempt to raise money for the anarchist cause. 7. Emma Goldman. 8. Emma Goldman. 9. Phyllis Schaffly.

Genesis 8/85



LETTERS

Yippies up in smoke

Dear KIO:

This letter is in response to Linda Kronstadt's letter ("Gone to Po"—KIO No. 10).

Ms. Kronstadt seems to have missed the point of the Yippie smoke-in. Nobody is claiming that "getting really wasted" is a "revolutionary virtue". But thousands of people are imprisoned, harassed and deprived of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness because they choose to indulge in a mildly intoxicating herb which is utterly harmless compared to the plethora of tranquilizers, weight-control and birth-control pills and other dangerous drugs which flood the legal market.

Of course, smoking marijuana doesn't make one politically hip. But the government uses the herb's illegality as an excuse to imprison and spy on political radicals.

The smoke-ins also serve another purpose. Before you radicalize people, you need to find some common ground with them. If "racist, sexist, homophobic jerks" show up at a smoke-in to get high, they might go home with a radical newspaper or meet some new radical friends. It might be the first step in their consciousness-raising. Maybe next time they'll show up at the anti-nuke demo and be headed in the right direction. You aren't going to reach those people by beating them over the head with theory and rhetoric.

I am particularly appalled by Linda's criticism of the Yippie

newspaper *Overthrow*. *Overthrow's* conspiracy theories often turn out to be the FACTS that the corporate-controlled media refuse to report. The preponderance of evidence really does point to the reality that flight 007 was on a spy mission (for example). *Overthrow's* investigative reporting provides a valuable service in an age of media self-censorship.

That Linda can call the F.M.L.N. and the Sandinistas "Marxist-Leninist hoodlums" is indicative of extreme arrogance and elitism. These organizations may not be up to our ideological standards of anarchism, pacifism, feminism, rights for gays, indigenous peoples or (yes) pot-smokers. But to call them Marxist-Leninists is to play into the myth created by the Reagan administration and the corporate media. The F.M.L.N. are mostly peasants fighting for their lives. The Sandinistas have given Nicaragua its first taste of anything approaching democracy in fifty years. As revolutionaries, we have no choice but to unequivocally support the struggles of Latin American peoples to wrest themselves free of American imperialism.

A last word. I too have strong criticisms of the Yippie "organization"'s hierarchical tendencies. But Yippie is more than an organization; it is an international cultural movement of radical social deviants who are direct-action oriented. Yippie is an alternative to a dangerous tendency among North American anarchists which Linda seems to typify, namely, an obsession with ideological purity at the expense of actually getting out on the

streets and making trouble for the war machine and the repressive state apparatus.

Yippie!
Bill Weinberg.

Burch bark

Dear KIO:

Christopher A. of the Kick It Over collective, Ken Hancock of the Alliance for Non-Violent Action, Ann Hansen of the Vancouver Five and I must be mistaken in our current efforts, according to Gary Moffatt's "Beyond Protest: A Radical Critique of Civil Disobedience" (KIO No. 10). We were involved in Darlington anti-nuclear protests in the 1970's and are still involved in radical efforts. I have not noticed the lessening of commitment in radicals who have taken part in civil disobedience and this point shows Moffatt has failed to contact those who have been in civil disobedience for an extended period to find out how we view our efforts.

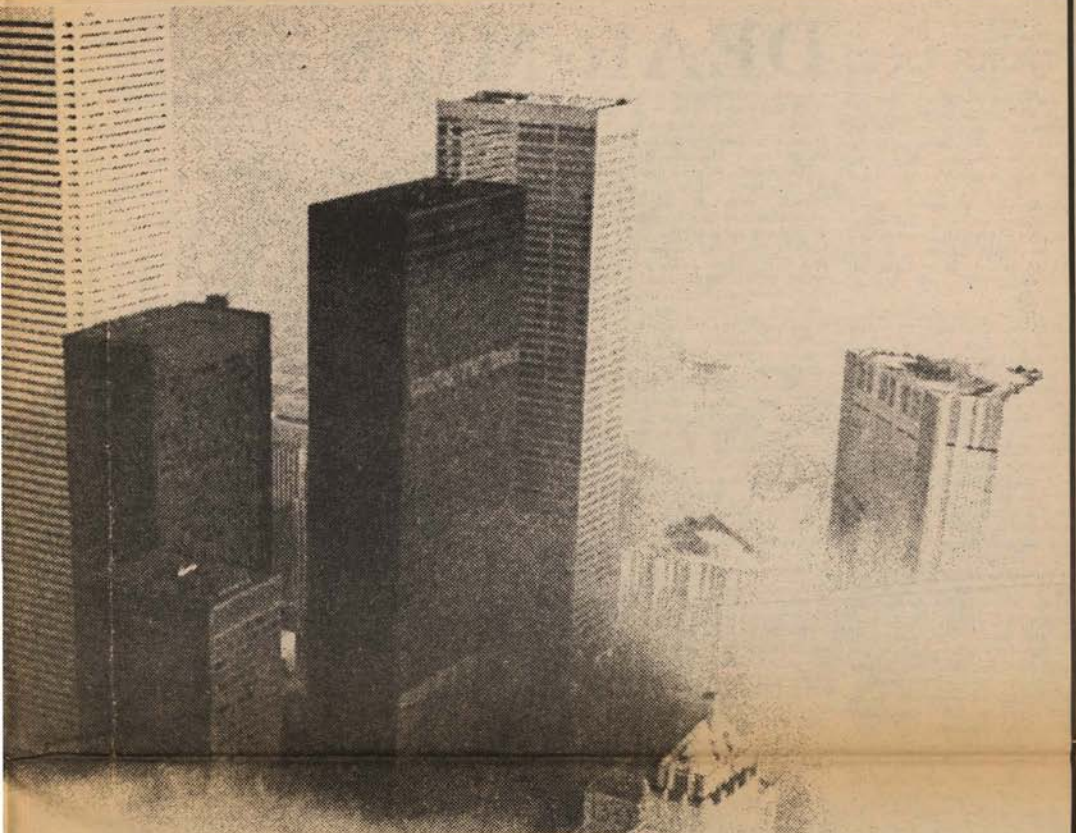
Civil disobedience campaigns cannot be seen merely as sit-downs. Whether the successful blockade of Litton Industries of April 8/82, the successful illegal campaign of the Against Cruise Testing Coalition to claim Yonge Street for political purposes, the recent all-day interaction with the workers of Ontario Hydro or the many picket lines that keep scabs from strike-breaking, civil disobedience is a very real and successful way of slowing down business as usual.

We practice consensus-making in our training sessions, attempt to create a feeling of a community of equals with

social activities and try to have people discuss their reactions to the effort, including critiques of whether or not it had any effect in changing the structural oppression we were confronting. The very cavalier way Moffatt dismisses the process of training people in CD tactics is regrettable, but typical. Many people who take part in CD efforts do not go through such formalized training procedures anyway; the "rites" he refers to are not essential to successful CD efforts.

The process of developing new and creative forms of civil disobedience is much more of a threat to the social order than Moffatt's free schools or democratic food co-ops, which can easily be absorbed by our existing social order. The latter are not threats to capitalism, the military, patriarchy or law and order. But pouring chicken shit on porn magazines is. Physically impeding major intersections is. Leafletting ten floors of Ontario Hydro employees is. Standing on the corner of Yonge and Dundas conducting a "speak-out" on nuclear weapons is. Practicing consensus under stress is the true test of cooperative ideals, not sitting in a warm living room seeking consensus on what subjects experts should have their brains picked for.

Perhaps Moffatt is concerned that CD is a democratic method of challenging the social order. The fact we are jailed, fined and beaten for our efforts is an experience that brings us into contact with all other oppressed people who come into contact with our criminal justice system. By committing civil disobedience and gaining a criminal record, you become an outcast and lose many of the



middle class privileges safe radicals in the co-op/planned communities/free school movements never lose.

The literature of the peace movement consistently ties in the need to transform society from one dependent on violence and hierarchical, institutional authority to an egalitarian and non-exploitive one. We who use CD, by and large, see our actions as an attempt to implement the kinds of ideals we wish society as a whole to adopt. We are already doing the radical education that Moffatt feels is important, both through literature and through direct action.

Moffatt seems to assume that there has to be a choice of either confronting the state directly or implementing those social and legal reforms that can point the way to a new society. I prefer to combine both paths into one movement, but if pressed I will choose direct action over a co-op meeting. After capitalism, patriarchy and the state are abolished, there will be time for nice safe meetings, not before. Moffatt, it seems to me, seems to have forgotten that the key thing for revolutionaries, especially anarchists, is victory, not meetings.

Brian Burch

Letter to a man from a faggot

Dear Christopher Alice, male. With racing heart I read your "Response to Silence", ready for some powerful writing from a male heart. But no.

"What is done out of love always occurs beyond good and evil." (Friedrich Nietzsche). I don't think you really realize this, do you dear? On the sad

bitter face of it your essay is based on the premise that the struggle for equality of the genders is located around a male-female axis. Honey, "new men" are not created out of contemporary heterosexuality put "on-a-new-footing".

While you acknowledge that men are emotional cripples and that there is mostly impoverishment in all internal relations you fail to take this seriously. Oh, you have been soooooo terribly dedicated to radical feminism (or perhaps you'd rather it was 'nice' feminism) that you have attacked, denounced, and I dare say denied other men so that a woman would be more impressed by you. And maybe she would say to you, "Ooooh, you're sooo heerooic, mmm. Fuck me pleasease." No, I don't think so.

You raise many of the vital issues confronting us boys—men are emotional blackholes, all men are born into the class of phallocrats . . . but you seemed to have grasped none, and I mean zeeeroooo of the potential changes that can be made, by men . . .

You suggest (quite absurdly) that for men to be less emotional cripples autonomous women should be more "open" to our clutches. Wrong . . . Men are dull because we have so little a core for nurturing aside from our dependencies on women. Men don't care, let alone take care of each other . . .

. . . somewhere there are boys who aren't only scared by women's autonomy and/or separatism. Boys who want adventures in realities and are willing to reach around and touch another man. And I'm not just talking about a friendly hug, slap-on-the-back,

among boys-who-all-know-they're-regular-sorta-guys-straight-say-no-more-nudge-nudge . . .

There, that is the bass line, boy. For humans of differing genders to relate to each other "equally", each of those humans must be struggling for autonomous self-nurturing in conjunction with a strong identity and emotional basis created by each gender collectively.

Listen closely, honey, the above statement leads directly to this—"The liberation of eros, the autonomy of individuals and the achievement of communism pass necessarily via the (re)conquest of pan-sexuality, and the overcoming of heterosexuality as it presents itself today." (Mario Mieli, **Homosexuality and Liberation**). Yes, that is what he said dear.

Look to history, male, then if your



acknowledgement of male guilt is intense, realize that history gives us all the reasons some women (or all?) have, and will, separate on various levels from men. Quite reasonable, separatism I mean, but "tragic" yes. "Tragedy" in the Nietzschean sense of transmutation of crises and enslavement, supercession.

The will that women are now seeking to collectively refocus on themselves, toward overcoming, to create autonomy, is the same will, the same love, that we boys have hardly begun to generally develop.

Only among certain elements of faggots, queermen, has this will been at all evident.

So, honey, this is it, we men can create the emotional core we need to become autonomous (autonomy being different from "individualism" in that autonomy infers an inherent interconnectedness of unique parts) in relating to women via the overcoming of boys queerfear of each other.

After writing this I feel relaxed. Dear, your essay at first seemed so vigorously prophetic and oracular. But thinking and feeling out all you wrote I realize that, for all your pain, you haven't gotten over even the first hill—queerfear. So search that out, wallow in that awhile, instead of such useless self pity. Such self abuse is as sick as altruism—which is what straight boys are doing by denying each other to allegedly "better" themselves in the minds of radical feminists. Believe me it doesn't impress anybody.

The King is dead! Long live the queens!

"The quality of forces is the will to
Continued on page 10

by Ken Quayle

Dear Mum

I just finished reading a book called *The Milkman's on His Way*, by David Rees. Basically it's a story about growing up gay in a small town and dealing with it. It's a great literary work, but it's a very nice story. Nice. It's the kind of story I'd like my parents to read—maybe it would help them understand my way of life. Or at least part of it.

After I put the book down, I began to think once more about the shaky relationship I have with my family, and began to wonder, once more, if there was anything I could do about improving the relationship and lack of understanding.

I've been out of touch with my family for the last few years. (Happily, relations seem to stand a chance of improving, as contact has been re-established over the last couple of months.) They know I'm gay—that's why we stopped communicating. After that revelation I went through a variety of emotions and reactions to their lack of understanding. Anger, frustration, sadness, relief (at no longer having to hide part of myself), confusion, and finally hope. Those are only a few of the many things I was (and am) feeling, and I assume they've been thinking about some of the same things.

During our period of separation, I've gone through a lot of growing and changing. I've become a lot more confident with myself, and my politics have changed quite drastically. I find myself afraid and frustrated once more. I'd like them to know who I am. Being gay is only part of me. How can I explain what anarchy means without freaking them out again, just when there seems to be a chance for growth and understanding in our relationship?

Continued from page 9

power ... what interprets? The will to power, the will to power interprets ... one of the essential conditions of affirmation, of overcoming, is negation and destruction. I have become the one who blesses and affirms, and I have struggled long for this ..." (Friedrich Nietzsche)

Deran Ludd, July 1984

DEAR MUM

I want to contribute to Kick It Over, and I also want to write to my family about me. This is an attempt to do both at the same time. Sort of an essay on "What Anarchy Means To Me."

My political awareness began within the gay rights movement here in Toronto. It didn't take long for me to realize that being gay was only part of me, and only one political issue. I began to learn more about racism, feminism and communism. My gut-level realization that people should let each other be themselves and try to cooperate together was what inspired me. It didn't seem to be too much to expect.

Still believing that government was essential to living, I joined ranks with the socialists. I began to learn about alternatives to capitalism and competitiveness. Share the wealth and stop the exploitation of people by people. The socialists I was with were opposed to imperialism in general—they supported neither the U.S. nor the U.S.S.R. That sounded fine to me. I began to understand the need for a world wide workers' revolution. A revolution where people would seize power from the leaders and take control of their own lives. But even within the socialist group there were still leaders. Or rather we were all leaders of the revolution. Somehow it seemed to be a contradiction to me, but I was willing to learn.

I first heard about anarchy at one of our meetings. We were discussing the difference between socialism and anarchism, and I began to get confused. My friends, the socialists, were talking about the evils of anarchism—but it didn't seem all that evil to me. I still had faith in the workers' revolution, however, even though I had a hard time figuring out who the "working class" was. I decided for me finally after I printed a leaflet with a friend of mine to hand out at a gay-rights rally espousing world revolution and socialism. We were asking people within the gay movement to join their struggle with the struggle of other people around them. When the socialists I was with reprimanded me for printing the leaflet

without the authority of the group, and hinted at calling me an anarchist, I dropped out of the socialist movement.

I still know nothing of anarchism, but the idea of people taking power for their own lives and cooperating together still appealed to me.

My next political step was to join the peace movement. I didn't know anything about the technical evils of various bombs—how far they could go, how fast, or who had more than who. I just knew, again with my gut-level understanding, which I began to call intuition, that blowing each other off the face of the earth was a stupid thing to do. The cruise missile was something that was happening in my own country (I still hadn't thought much about the idea of nationalism), so I could easily relate to it.

I remember when I was a little kid watching the demonstrations of the hippies in Chicago. I didn't know anything about Viet Nam, or even hippies for that matter, but I wanted to be a hippie when I grew up. The Viet Nam war ended, and the hippies went away before I was old enough to do anything about it, so I was left without a movement to learn about when I began to ask questions. I never lost my romantic feelings for the "peace, love and flower-power" people however.

I discovered a group of people living on the front lawn of the legislature building of Queen's Park. Some of them looked like hippies, and they seemed to be having fun, so romantic me joined the Queen's Park Peace Camp. It was there that I met my first real live anarchists—and some punk rockers too!

Almost before I knew what was happening, I was arrested at the Peace Camp for trespassing in a public park. The whole thing seemed ridiculous to me, but getting arrested made me angry (even more angry when the justice system I believed to be truly just, convicted me and gave me a \$200 fine. What about freedom of speech in our truly democratic country? That's when I began to learn about police and courts and jails and their role in this oppressive system.

People are brought up believing that the government and its laws are necessary to survival. We're told that we need authority figures to tell us what is right and wrong. It seems to me that about the proverbial "Do unto others ..." is about all we need. Instead of constantly competing with each other for survival, why shouldn't we try to cooperate instead? There would be a lot less boring, useless work for everyone if we were all helping each other to survive, and we'd all be able to spend a lot more time discovering and doing the things that make us happy. The things that are called leisure activities now. People would become a lot more creative and a lot more friendly. The world would be a much happier place to live in.

As to how to go about achieving this utopia—I'm still learning about it. But I know that if we work on a solution to this big problem together, we can come up with an answer. If a revolution started tomorrow, I'd join it, but I'm not sure that more violence and more killing would really make a better world to live in. The way things are now, I'm willing to try anything, else—and fast. It really frightens me to think that we could all be dead really soon. But at the same time, I also believe that the revolution has already begun. Feminism has taught me that aggression and force is not the way to happiness for everyone—some one will always be aggressed upon. The feminist revolution is a non-violent revolution,

starting in our homes. Working together and learning to cooperate with one another, we can begin to realize at least part of our utopia now. It's a long process, and it's hard not to become impatient and to lose faith, but feminism is helping me with that too. Spirituality has become (and continues to become) more and more important in my life. A knowledge that a common energy flows between us and within us all and the earth helps me to remember that my positive attitude really can affect the people around me. Knowing that it's more fun to be happy than angry helps too. I just keep hoping that more and more people can see that they can never be truly happy until everybody else is too. And that's where anarchy becomes important. No leaders telling anyone else what to do. Just people asking each other for help when they need it.

Be Free.

BOOKS

JOHN BROWN

JOHN BROWN, by Henry David Thoreau

(reprinted by White Dwarf, C.P. 282, Succ. "R", Montreal, P.Q., H2T 3A7, 1984, 36 pp., \$1.00)

reviewed by Larry Ingersoll

John Brown was a man who stepped outside the bounds of peaceful protest against slavery in the United States in the 1850's and undertook more direct action to stop slavery. He and a small band of followers stole slaves from their owners, and shot slaveholders who tried to stop them. They then took the slaves they'd stolen into non-slave territories and provided them with false identities and the chance to live as free people.

Brown routinely broke a number of laws: theft, assisting runaway slaves, armed robbery, and even murder. He and his followers were condemned by the leaders of the "legal" abolitionist movement but supported and admired by many ordinary people opposed to slavery.

When, at Harper's Ferry in Virginia, their luck ran out and, in a gun battle with a group of slaveholders Brown and three of his followers were captured and turned over to the federal government to be tried for murder, many "official" abolitionists breathed more easily. Now they could go back to "coffeehouse politics" without the constant goal of someone acting on their principles.

Henry Thoreau, whom many active in the present non-violent peace movement look to as a great theoretician of non-violent civil disobedience and of the moral obligations of an individual when confronted with a social evil, wrote and delivered several speeches in defence of Brown, and a eulogy in commemoration of him on the day of his execution. These speeches are the substance of this booklet.

Thoreau praises Brown and his followers as "Each one ... a picked man, culled out of many thousands if not millions; ... a man of principle, of rare courage, and devoted humanity; ready to sacrifice his life at any moment for the benefit of his fellow-man. It may be doubted if there were as many more their equals in these respects in all the country ..."

Of Brown, Thoreau states: "It was his peculiar doctrine that a man has a perfect right to interfere by force with the slaveholder, in order to rescue the slave. I agree with him. They who are continually shocked by slavery have some right to be shocked by the violent death of the slaveholder, but no others.

Continued on page 15



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SHOCK SURVIVORS TELL ALL

by Brian McKinnon

Psychiatry steadfastly maintains that electroshock treatments is safe and effective. The overwhelming majority to whom it has been applied know better. They live with irreversible memory loss, with their creative and intellectual abilities diminished, and with the indelible remembrance of degradation. They can testify first hand to the brain-damaging, even life-threatening properties of this cruel and inhumane "treatment".

Shock survivors are a far more sizeable body of people than most would care to know about. Their experiences are rarely heard, nor fully comprehended, since they are not encouraged to talk, and because they risk being stigmatized as 'sick' or 'crazy'. Their silence is also actively reinforced by psychiatry's distortions and lies, and by governmental indifference; meantime, more people at the rate of 2,000 a year in Ontario are being coerced or 'persuaded' to undergo a brain disabling treatment that should have been outlawed at its inception forty-six years ago. The fact that it is still being applied to confused and frightened people is a serious indictment of the professional and political forces that perpetuate this crime. If it is to be stopped, then people who experienced it must be supported in the telling of its horrors. Otherwise, the general public consciousness of the issue will remain unmoved, and the shock doctors will have licence to carry on with the electrifying maltreatment of their subjects.

It was for this reason that the Ontario Coalition to Stop Electroshock organized public hearings. Clearly it is shock recipients who should have the final word as to the harm or benefits of the treatment.

However, before taking this step, the Coalition tried to persuade the Ministry of Health to permit its Electroconvulsive Therapy Review Committee to act as the convenors of the hearings. It was the feeling of the members and supporters of the Coalition that this committee had a moral duty to take personal statements from those who had had the treatment. If this committee was only interested in 'expert' testimony, then how could the results end up as anything but inconclusive and biased.

The Committee, which had been struck to review the medical, ethical, and legal issues surrounding the use of shock, refused to include public hearings as part of its review proceedings. Their rationale was feebly legalistic. The Committee, it was claimed, was 'not empowered to subpoena or cross-examine', as if the telling of personal stories requires legal structures. A trial by analysis is not only unnecessary, but undesirable.

The refusal did not come as a surprise to many. This committee is predominantly comprised of medical

and psychiatric professionals, even two shock doctors. Given such a selection it could hardly be imagined that the government was open to hearing that electroshock should be banned. Psychiatry has a long-standing commitment to shock as a necessary fail-safe measure; public hearings might prove unwise strategically. To their way of thinking, these studies are better left to the experts, public participation may cloud the issues and stir up 'irrational' fears. In actuality, they could not countenance a situation that would have shock survivors publicly denouncing shock treatment for its brain-damaging effects, and psychiatry for its inhumanity.

This is exactly what happened when the Coalition took the task in hand. The hearings took place at City Hall on three successive Saturdays in October. The panel, made up of Coalition members and significant others, was charged with the responsibility of supporting people in the telling of their stories without comment. Only questions, which would enable the full story, were asked. What was happening, in other words, was support, not cross-examination. However, the attention to objectivity was critical as the transcripts were to be sent to the Review Committee. Still, as neutral as the

facilitative effort was, the response from people giving testimony amounted to an unqualified rejection of electroshock.

The people who gave testimony were a representative cross-section of the groups in society most vulnerable to the various, oppressive forms of psychiatric intervention. There were housewives, immigrant women, youths, the unemployed, ex-convicts; there were also artists who were vulnerable only because society does not understand creativity when it does not take conventional forms.

The majority of testimonies were from women, which was ruefully anticipated since women in N. America receive shock two to three times more often than men. These women's

accounts totally confirmed what has been documented in feminist anti-psychiatry literature: that psychiatry is an institutional, pseudo-medical enforcer of sexist values and role requirements. The women spoke of receiving shock for the experience of post-partum depression, what psychiatry describes as a 'psychotic organic brain syndrome'. One woman reported that shock was administered while pregnant, with the paternalistic guarantee that it would neither harm her nor the fetus. Too many other such atrocities to women

Continued on page 12

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Questionnaire

Kick It Over is interested in learning more about our readers. We would appreciate it if you would take the time to fill out this brief survey and send it back to us.

- Age
- Female Male Other
- Sexual Orientation
- Location: Rural Urban Small Town
- How did you first come across Kick It Over?
- If you are a subscriber and have missed an issue, tell us what issue(s) you missed, and, if you have any idea, what your address might have been at that time
- Are you politically active, and, if so, around what kind of issues?
- Do you attach any particular labels to yourself: i.e. anarchist, feminist, socialist, pagan, concerned human?
- Do you work, or do you make a profession out of not working?
- What kind of work do you do or, if not working, what do you do to survive?
- What have been your favourite articles?
- Do you think Kick It Over is different from other magazines you've read?
- Why do you buy it (if indeed you do)?
- What would you like to see improved in Kick It Over?
- Are there any issues you'd like to see us cover which we haven't as yet?
- Would you be willing to write us an article, book or record review, and, if so, on what?
- Other comments

ABOUT THE POEM

This poem by Sylvia Plath is brief but summarizes effectively the terror of receiving electroshock. Plath was an extraordinarily gifted American poet and writer who wrote primarily during the years 1950-1963 (when she killed herself). Plagued throughout her life by madness and the suicidal impulse, she was institutionalized for five months in 1953 (at the age of 20) for trying to kill herself. During this period it is unclear as to whether she actually received electroshock or not; her writings, such as this poem and the profoundly autobiographical novel *The Bell Jar*, imply that she did indeed receive it. On the other hand, her most comprehensive biographer, Edward Butcher claims that although the asylum doctors felt electroshock was required, Plath's pathological fear of shock therapy "caused them to put her on insulin instead—a milder form of the same technique" (from *Method and Mad-*



ness). In any case, Plath's grasp of the experience of electroshock "therapy", and her capacity to communicate her ideas, are both remarkable. Her poem will have to speak for those who no longer can.

Erinna Redfearne

The Hanging Man

By the roots of my hair some god got hold of me.
I sizzled in his blue volts like a desert prophet.

The nights snapped out of sight like a lizard's eyelid:
A world of bald white days in a shadeless socket.

A vulturous boredom pinned me in this tree.
If he were I, he would do what I did.

Sylvia Plath

PRISON ABOLITION

COMMUNITY SOLUTIONS TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The following is the text of a talk given by Fay Honey Knopp, long-time Quaker activist and prison abolitionist, at the "Community Solutions to Sexual Violence" Conference held in May of 1984 in Toronto. The relevance of her remarks is underscored by an article which appeared in the Friday, August 31 Toronto Star in which Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan bragged: "I'm sometimes called Canada's number one inkeeper and... we've never had a fuller house... The four years of my ministry as Solicitor-General have seen the biggest rise in the inmate population in Canadian history in any four-year period." To

supplement this article, we are also reprinting some material from Ottawa's Network on the current prison situation in Canada. Because of its length, we are publishing Knopp's talk in two installments. We wish to thank the author for her permission to print it.

by Fay Honey Knopp

I thank the organizers of this North American Conference for inviting me to begin this first dialogue on feminist/abolitionist perspectives and strategies for controlling and reducing sexual violence. These issues, on which I work actively each day, have long been close to my heart.

I speak to you as a Quaker feminist and prison abolitionist and as a person who has struggled for 47 of her adult years to be a self-determined human being. This evening would be exciting enough if we were only to share our common histories of struggle, our histories of resisting those societal forces and institutions that constantly try to control, shape, mold and co-opt us. As resisters of those forces, we are at the same time, inevitably, social changers. The views I share with you tonight are those social-change perspectives born out of my resistance to primarily two oppressive forces and institutions I have encountered in my life experiences, two institutions I believe are inexorably related. They are the oppressive institutions of patriarchy and the oppressive institutions of punishment. Resistance to these two oppressive forces is the mutual social-change agenda binding together the prison abolition and the feminist movements.

I plan the first to outline the social-change process and abolitionist perspective, which provide the context for



Continued from page 11

were reported in vivid detail; so much evidence that electroshock should be seen as a feminist issue.

All who gave testimony offered their lives as living proof that memory loss is a direct effect (not a side effect) of electroshock. This loss is permanent, not temporary, as is deviously stressed by psychiatry. They spoke of losing significant periods of their lives; both good and bad memories were wiped away, they have lost the means of reforming themselves as the persons they once were, whole and with integrity. Their creative capacities have been taken from them, many spoke of the induced inability to play an instrument they had been trained in, or to write short stories and poetry. Their doctors' response was that this was an imagined difficulty, merely a question of negative attitude, rather than a fixed physical certainty.

The reality of the psychiatric double-bind was forcefully brought to light by one man who has epilepsy. He pointed out that the medical profession does everything in its power to prevent his having convulsions they know to be brain-damaging; and yet psychiatry forces a convulsion and declares the effects therapeutic. This is one branch of the medical profession that will inflict permanent injury on a person without any proof of its efficacy, and still ignore the volumes of evidence to the contrary.

The same man spoke of people he knew who had never had epileptic seizures until after they had electroshock. This was confirmed by another man from the audience who said this was exactly his experience. Earlier in the day a woman testified that she was

only mildly epileptic before electroshock, but that it was now a major problem in her life; she had a seizure one hour after she gave testimony.

The people spoke to the issues directly. If some were nervous about speaking in public that was rarely obvious. They were all convinced that they had to speak out to prevent this experience happening to others. They all spoke with passion, a good many with anger. Some were still trying to understand the contradiction between the promise of help and the sorry reality. Others were certain about this tragic irony: they labelled psychiatric professionals as sadistic and dehumanizing, not healers, but technicians of social control. They talked about looking in the faces of these professionals and finding no love. Of all these people, whether they simply sought understanding, or whether 'treatment' was enforced, they are now demanding that electroshock treatment be permanently abolished, and that it be relegated to the psychiatric chamber of horrors.

These people's message must not be ignored. Their words were recorded and transcriptions were sent to the Review Committee. The question remains whether the committee and the government will pay only token attention to what has been said, or will they truly hear? Past performance suggests the former. If people join their voices to those who have already spoken, then the message will be heard, and the change that may otherwise be long in coming could happen now.

For information, call the Ontario Coalition to Stop Electroshock at: (416) 864-1940.

PREAP's (Prison Research Education Action Project) work in controlling and reducing sexual violence. Second, I shall identify briefly, some very challenging and often conflicting areas involved in the pursuit of safety, the pursuit of justice, and the pursuit of nonoppressive remedies. Third, again briefly, I shall outline some of the primary themes and components of a community organizing model for reducing and controlling sexual violence. These are complicated issues for a relatively short presentation, so please forgive my omissions.

The Social-Change Process and Abolitionist Perspective

In the United States, public concern from a variety of sources. Some views are rooted authentically in personal experiences, but, for a majority of people, beliefs about crimes and justice are shaped by a constant bombardment of the media's portrayal of crimes and criminals, by office seekers who exploit fear as a political issue, and by a very well-funded law-enforcement apparatus.

Getting our primary views on justice from such biased sources as the media and law enforcement is comparable to having our perceptions of war, peace, and foreign policy shaped by the Pentagon and its generals. In fact, the view we are given is a "war model": persons who commit crimes are seen as the "enemy in our midst," and solutions offered are more punishments, more weapons, more caging of human beings. But "war-model" responses to problems that are essentially social, cultural, political, and economic have failed and will continue to fail.

One reason war-model responses fail is because they neglect the victim/survivor, leaving him/her outside the criminal justice process. Victims' needs are not placed at the centre of the process; rather, victims most often are used by the prosecution for their adversarial purposes. And as all here are aware, not only is the victim the "forgotten" person in the process but, in cases involving sexual victimization, the victim is usually the one who is blamed, the victim is the one who is on trial, the victim is the one who must prove she is a victim.

We also know that these "war-model" responses have failed because the offenders' needs for restoration, re-socialization, and re-education are rarely considered in the sentencing process. Caging the offender most often is accepted as the "just" response to the commission of a sexual crime; the length of prison punishment is equated with the amount of justice done.

Here, we are aware that prisons do not "work". They do not reduce crimes; they do not rehabilitate people; they rarely deter; and they fail to protect the public in any enduring way. Imprisonment punishes deeply and expensively in both human and fiscal costs, with damaging effects to both the individual and the community. Prisons punish mainly the poor, the minorities, the powerless, the "losers", and the young. And increasingly, prisons are being used to punish women, more harshly than ever before.

In states where sex-offender retraining programs are available (see Knopp, 1984), judges are provided an option for sentencing sex offenders to a program offering an opportunity for a lifestyle change. Where alternatives are not available, neither judges, offenders, nor the community are offered options other

than the prison or the asylum. Without appropriate alternatives, the caging mentality takes over. In my country, we have more people imprisoned than ever before and the number of cages on the drawing boards is expanding beyond all expectations. Such unparalleled expansion only reinforces the war-model belief that more prisons somehow will provide a solution to violent and sexually violent behaviors. As long as the non-solution of imprisonment is relied upon, the public is relieved of having to make connections between the root causes of antisocial and sexually violent acts and the kind of social-change alternatives that actually could make our communities more just and safe. As long as we use imprisonment as a response to sexual crimes, the majority of people can hold on to their mistaken beliefs that there are "criminal types" and "bad seeds", and "biological imperatives" for people to behave this way.

As long as the feminist response to the crime of rape, for instance, is to demand longer, harsher sentences for rapists, we inhibit ourselves from addressing the roots of this behaviour. Until we as feminists have a coherent, well-articulated, well-taught analysis to counter the war-model response to criminal sexual behaviors (behaviors that not only are socially and culturally learned, but in fact are supported and perpetuated by societal institutions and practices), we will be living in an increasingly caged and punitive society.

In *Instead of Prisons* (Knopp et al., 1976, p. 150), we reprinted an editorial written 10 years ago and published in the *Feminist Alliance Against Rape* newsletter, which preceded *Aegis*, one of the best current feminist publications dealing with violence against women. It said in part:

If all men, who had ever raped were incarcerated tomorrow, rape would continue outside as well as inside prisons. Incarceration does not change the societal attitudes that promote rape. In a society that deals with symptoms rather than causes of problems, prisons make perfect sense. Confronting the causes of rape would threaten the basic structure of society... Prison is vindictive—it is not concerned with change but with punishment. And its real social function is similar to that of rape—it acts as a buffer, as an oppressive institution where a few scapegoats pay for the ills of society. (MacMillan & Klein, 1974)

Mutual education/action strategies on

continued on page 13



continued from page 12

feminist and abolitionist agendas will contribute significantly to a safer and more just society. We will be expending our energies toward controlling and reducing sexual aggression and violence rather than reinforcing and strengthening already extremely oppressive structures.

Some of you may not be familiar with prison abolition perspectives as set forth in *Instead of Prisons* (Knopp, et al., 1976). This first abolition publication originally was designed to offer a conceptual foundation and action strategies for facilitating the gradual process of reducing imprisonment while building up a variety of nonrepressive alternatives. One of our tasks was to learn good methods for teaching these concepts and becoming involved in the first steps of the social-change process,⁴ which is *consciousness raising* or "seeing the need for the new". In our case, the perceived need was for a new system of justice, based on social and economic justice and on concern and respect for all victims and victimizers; a new system based on remedies and restoration rather than prison punishment and victim neglect; a new system rooted in the concept of a caring community.

Although people need to conceptualize their own visions of a caring community, PREAP defines it as a place where "power and equality of all social primary goods—liberty, opportunity, income, wealth, and the bases of self-respect—are institutionally structured and distributed to all members of the community and where the spirit of reconciliation prevails" (Knopp, et al., 1976, p. 10). PREAP's aids, shows, books, and workshops help to raise this kind of consciousness. Our primary message is that the sources of antisocial behavior are rooted in the social, political, cultural, and economic structures of society and that solutions must be found there. That does not imply that we do nothing until the caring community is a reality. It does imply that safer and more just social strategies flow from a social-change agenda advocating social responsibility rather than the traditional "crime-prevention/war-model" agenda.

If the first step of social change is consciousness raising or "seeing the need for the new," then the second step is *creativity* or learning how to organize and construct the new. In our case, this meant creating a new justice model in cases of sexual aggression and violence.

I think it is extremely difficult to conceptualize the new justice when we are dealing with issues of sexual violence. I know this from my own experience. Sexual victimizations make me raging mad. I feel angry, injured, and often vengeful when I listen to the horrendous cases of child and adult sexual abuse that come across our phone and through the mail, or occur in my neighborhood. I try to acknowledge and deal with my anger and then redirect it toward creating a new concept of justice and changing the social conditions that encourage and promote sexual aggression.

In trying to put theories of creativity into practice, many of us here are encouraging communities to identify and deal with the root causes of sexual aggression. We are moving victim services and offender treatment into a comprehensive prevention framework and forming networks to carry on this work. We are advocating corrective legislation. We are identifying which sexually aggressive behaviors can be handled in the community and which require a controlled environment, and we are trying to implement these and other comprehensive services for both victims and offenders.

The pressure is always excessive for abolitionists to produce a "plan" that

solves every problem and deals with every criminal act, before abolition can be considered. But it is not necessary to have a finished blueprint; it is not necessary to know the last step before taking the first step. The first step toward abolition is to break with the old system and help conceptualize the new.

Though there is no blueprint for abolition, PREAP does have an "Attrition Model" (Knopp et al., pp. 62-63) for gradually weaning away the use of imprisonment and simultaneously building a caring community. There are four dynamically interrelated strategies to be pursued, some of which present some challenge areas for feminist/abolitionists to consider.

The first strategy is to stop the growth of the prison system, to say "no" to building any more cages. This is called the *moratorium strategy* (Knopp et al., 1976, pp. 64-80).

The second, called the *decarceration strategy* (Knopp et al., 1976, pp. 81-98), is an attempt to get people out of jail or prison who are already in there. For instance, the abolition of bail in the United States would release at least 50 to 60 percent of the jail population. There is a challenge question here for those involved in issues of sexual violence, community safety, and constitutional liberties. The question has been asked by many: Should persons who have been accused and/or have prior histories of sexually violent behaviors, and who have not yet been found guilty, be released to the community before trial? Should they be released with conditions restricting their movement? If so, should such restrictions be enforced? These issues of community safety and preventive detention of sex offenders raise important constitutional and safety challenge areas we need to address in our mutual agendas.

A third strategy is one of *excarceration*, which involves moving away from the notion of imprisonment (Knopp et al., 1976, pp. 99-127). There are hundreds of workable and appropriate examples of alternatives presently being used. They include restitution, fines, community service work, and dispute and mediation processes. Abolitionists support models of dispute mediation where the conflicting parties and members of their neighborhoods are trained to settle their low-level conflicts to the advantage of all disputants. Such processes do not determine guilt but determine responsibility for the behavior and how that responsibility will be played out to the satisfaction of the conflicting parties.⁵ Clarity does not exist on the limitations of this type of alternative to the court and sentencing processes. Therein lies a second challenge area. The National Center on Women & Family Law and other groups contend that dispute resolution, as it is presently practiced, is not beneficial to women in settling any problems involving family violence. They contend it has proved an inappropriate format for three reasons: (1) in such situations women do not have equal bargaining power, (2) few mediators are neutral, (3) mediation does not address or punish past behavior, and (4) communication with mediators often is not confidential.⁶

Seekers of a new justice are challenged (1) to examine current models of dispute resolution; (2) in consort with the critics of these procedures, try to determine if indeed any type of family violence may be dealt with appropriately through such alternative procedures at this time; and (3) where possible, together try to construct a just model that can serve fairly all parties involved in family abuse. Proponents of dispute/mediation models should heed the advice of those directly affected and involved in such serious abuses.



The fourth strategy of the Attrition Model is called *restraint of the few*, and it probably addresses our common concerns tonight more than any of the other strategies. While there is little doubt that the large majority of persons presently imprisoned could remain in the community if adequate alternatives were in place, some persons' behaviors present a real threat to public and personal safety. In this case, what do abolitionists suggest for persons who have been convicted of very serious sexual crimes? PREAP focuses energy on this issue because we consider such offenses and family violence to be two of the most serious, most neglected, but also the most accepted categories of violent behavior.

In the postconviction phase, PREAP advocates for competent and specialized evaluation of the sex offender. If the offender chooses the option of re-education and retraining and is considered a good candidate, I advocate residential treatment options.⁷ I advocate most strongly for early remedial intervention with adolescents at the first demonstration of sexual aggression (Knopp, 1982).

The principles undergirding PREAP's abolitionist perspectives on the restraint of persons who present a threat to personal and public safety are (1) that public safety and constitutional rights of victims and offenders be the overriding guiding principles, and (2) that the least restrictive and most humane option for the shortest period of time in the most remedial and restorative environment be applied.

Since 1975, in an effort to understand the issues involved in sexual offenses and to learn how to construct a new justice, I have personally visited dozens of community-based and residential programs for sex offenders. PREAP has published criteria for assessing risk for community or residential treatment, along with the first study of adolescent sex offenders and their treatment (Knopp, 1982). We are publishing a study of a range of programs that re-educate and retrain adult sex offenders (Knopp, in press). We have helped initiate a model for a comprehensive community response for the control and reduction of sexual offenses in Tompkins County, New York.⁸ We are continually advocating and assisting treatment programs for sex offenders as a safer society strategy (Jackson, 1984). We are planning to publish in 1985 *Preventing Sexual Assault: Comprehensive Strategies for Victims and Offenders*. These projects are the logical extension of our abolitionist commitment, as it was stated almost 10 years ago:

As abolitionists we are confronted with the struggle between the conflicting forces for change. We are in

total agreement with feminist anti-rapists and other social changers that every effort should be made to apprehend and confront the sexually violent. We share the feelings of outrage experienced by rape victims; we believe that repetitive rapists must be restrained from committing further acts of violence. On the other hand we do not support the response of imprisonment. We challenge the basic assumption that punishment, harsh sentences, and retributive attitudes will serve to lessen victims' pain, re-educate rapists, or genuinely protect society. Not all sex offenders must be restrained during their re-education/re-socialization process. But for those sexual violators who do require temporary separation from society—repetitive rapists, those who physically brutalize or psychologically terrorize and men who repeatedly assault children—places of restraint are needed while re-education occurs. Unless these alternatives are developed, there may be no other choice but the prison or the asylum. Hence the urgency for abolitionists to create an alternative to those we shall cite. (Knopp et al., 1976, pp. 150-151)

By working on behalf of victims, offenders, and a safer society, we hope that we are building a more caring community, the all-encompassing strategy of the Attrition Model. (to be continued in Kick It Over No. 12.)

1. As of December 1983, state and federal prison populations reached 438,830, not counting persons incarcerated in local and county jails or adolescent facilities.

2. As of spring 1984, 842 facilities are proposed or under construction, with a total estimated capacity of 146,376 persons. See Jericho, Spring 1984.

3. Aegis, c/o Feminist Alliance Against Rape, Box 21003, Washington, D.C. 20009.

4. PREAP identifies four steps in the social-change process: (1) consciousness raising, (2) creativity, (3) structural analysis for distributing justice, and (4) second-wave consciousness raising to keep the new system from becoming an old, unchallenged system.

5. This is different from arbitration, where dispartite give a third party legal authority to render a binding decision.

6. The National Center on Women & Family Law, 750 Broadway, Room 402, New York, New York, 10009.

7. There are 73 identified residential sex-offender treatment programs in the United States. See "Treatment Programs for Adult Sex Offenders, June 1984," a PREAP resource paper, and Knopp (in press).

8. In 1985 or 1986, PREAP will publish a community organizing manual based on the Tompkins County Sexual Abuse Task Force's model.

Canada's full house

The following material on prisons was taken from *Network*, a monthly publication of fact and opinion from Ottawa. Subscriptions are available for a small donation, and can be gotten by writing to: Gary Moffat, 447 Cambridge St., Ottawa, Ont. K1S 4H7.

Only nine countries in the world imprison a higher proportion of their population than does Canada (the USSR is first, South Africa second, and the USA third). We jail eight times as many people as does Holland which has (at 12 million) only half our population.

There were 11,400 people in federal prisons in 1983, compared to 9,500 five years previously. An additional 14,000 languish in provincial prisons; many of them are unconvicted persons awaiting trial who can't afford bail (the proportion of unconvicted prisoners is often high, i.e. 60% in Quebec). 95% of all prisoners had been on low income.

The Federal Commissioner of Corrections recently publicly admitted that

Continued on page 14

Continued from page 13

40% of the people in prison shouldn't be there. Yet parole rates are being diminished.

It would be safe to estimate that 80% of the people now in prison could be immediately transferred to community rehabilitation programs, and another 15% prepared for a return to society by dealing with the problems that got them into prison. The 5% who could not be de-institutionalized at present could be detained in one humane institution. All this would cost less than the present prison system.

Despite claims that prisoners are being encouraged to retain contact with their families as part of their "rehabilitation", new federal prisons are being built in remote locations where such contact is difficult. It costs Canadian taxpayers \$50,000 per year to maintain one person in prison. These huge expenditures have created a lot of vested interests with a stake in maintaining crowded jails: the prison bureaucracy, the legal system, supply services (in 1977, we spent \$13 million on food for prisoners), the psychiatric professions, and so on.

The Canadian Solicitor-General (since replaced by his Conservative colleague) has stonewalled demands for a public inquiry into the torture of prisoners following the revolt at Archambault a few years ago (several years after the revolt, guards are still beating prisoners who consult their lawyers). The torture was denounced by (among others) Amnesty International and the moderator of the United Church of Canada.

Many prisoners are kept in solitary confinement (no light or ventilation, no blanket, just a bucket) 23 hours a day for years at a time until their sentence is completed. When they are released, we are surprised that they have not been successfully "rehabilitated".

DATELINE PEKING — Two conservative Members of Parliament, who recently introduced a private members' bill calling for the restoration of capital punishment in Canada, arrived in China on a fact-finding mission to examine China's system of administering capital punishment. After touring the provinces and witnessing several mass executions of pickpockets and other criminals, the M.P.'s exclaimed, "This is great! Since introducing the practice of mass executions, the Chinese have cut their crime rate by 30%. Just think what it could do for Canada!" When asked what they thought of the method of execution, which involves a single pistol shot to the back of the head, one M.P. replied, "It's better than hanging; it's less of a hole in the taxpayer's pocket".

KEN DANGER SENTENCED SIX MONTHS

by Ron Hayley

TORONTO — On November 21, 1984, Kenneth Dayarmond (a one-time member of the Kick It Over Collective) was sentenced to 6 months for assaulting a Constable Gow, and 2 months for assaulting a Constable Marcovic—to be served concurrently, thus adding up to a total of 6 months in jail. This followed a jury trial in which Ken was found not guilty on charges of threatening an assault on an "internationally protected person" (Margaret Thatcher) and assault police (Constable Yen), another officer who aided in his September 27, 1983 arrest. (At the time of his arrest, Ken was alleged to have been in possession of a joint's worth of marijuana, even though he doesn't personally smoke marijuana.) A conviction was attained on the resulting charge of possession which provided the judge and prosecutor with a seeming "continuity of criminal activity". Ken was convicted on the marijuana charge last December.)

In his submission to the judge, the prosecutor cited three points: 1) that there is a thin line separating peaceful protest from "civil disobedience" ("taking the law into one's own hands"), and that those who cross this line deserve to be severely punished in order to send a message to people (including, he said, Ken's supporters in the courtroom) that "civil disobedience will not be tolerated." 2) That these assaults occurred against police who are "at the very heart of our law enforcement process, daily risking their lives to enforce the peace," and 3) that his actions could have turned an already volatile situation (the anti-Thatcher demonstration) into a "riotous" one.

The judge in sentencing Ken paid lip service to the defense's arguments (which included Ken's decisive break with a past of "criminal activity" and the fact that these "assaults", if indeed they even occurred, were not premeditated, but in response to an unanticipated arrest and the rough treatment received thereby). However, when push comes to shove, he responded to the prosecutor's arguments and sentenced Ken to 6 months (citing Ken's wearing of "rough clothes" and army boots as evidence his going to the demonstration "dressed for action"), thus setting to rest once and for all any illusions that the law is not political, and does not exist to enforce "law and order" above the welfare of the individual.

Sending Ken to jail leaves his partner alone with one child and another on the way, and prevents him from accepting

an offer of immediate job training and employment. Ken's case is being appealed on grounds that if he was not guilty of threatening an assault on Thatcher, then he couldn't be guilty of assaulting Marcovic who was supposedly struck in the course of lunge at Thatcher, and that his "assault" on Gow was a response to illegal arrest. The judge did not instruct the jury that it is people's right to resist illegal arrest.

This is at the heart of the issue. Funds are needed for this appeal (which will not be covered by legal aid) and for the separate appeal of the sentence, and should be sent, along with statements of support, to:

Ken Dayarmond Defense Committee
P.O. Box 6326, Station A
Toronto, Ontario
CANADA

NOTICE TO READERS

This issue of Kick It Over is quite a bit late in coming. We've been plagued with organizational and political problems, and we hope that we're finally back on track.

We need money, so if any of our casual readers can afford subscriptions, that would help. Also, Kick It Over unfortunately does not sell itself—it needs distributors. If you're willing to take a bundle of 5, 10 or 20, and sell them in your area, by all means do so. Keep 50c per issue for yourself, and send the rest to us and we'd be more than grateful.

As for submissions, we've been flooded with poetry lately. We rarely print poetry (we have a lot of trouble agreeing on poetry in the collective), and when we do it has to be appropriate to the issues being covered. As for other submissions, we are publishing our principles of unity which may give our readers a better idea of where we're coming from, and what kind of material we'd be interested in printing. We can't guarantee that we will be continuing to

publish, so, if you don't receive your issue on schedule, don't write us to inquire. We will be publishing on an issue-by-issue basis.

Kick It Over would also like to offer its apologies to Steve Ellams for the snarky way we handled his letters to us during the porn debate. If readers are interested in a fuller exposition of Steve's views see his latest article, "Porn Madness" in the June 1984 issue of Strike!, available by sending \$1.00 to: Strike!, P.O. Box 284, Main Station, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada L2R 6T7. Subscriptions are \$5.00 for one year.

Also of note in the same issue is Strike's debate on anarchism and religion ("God and the Anarchists") and their review of David Porter's edited collection of Emma Goldman's letters on the Spanish Civil War. The book, *Vision on Fire*, is available by sending \$7.50 U.S. (plus \$1.00 postage and handling) to: **Commonground Press, 646 Albany Post Rd., New Paltz, New York 12561, U.S.A.**



• Crouch mute like lemmings, listening to the ancient reptiles scream in the growing dark.

Remember this: not only you can judge. These are the future—ours as well as theirs. They see with the awful clarity of youth. Our obscene heritage, And in those eyes we all stand in the dock.

We are grown calloused, Immunized to terror. We've grown thick hides and dimmed our eyes, Learned to keep despair at bay With our small triumphs, Learned to live with pleasure In the shadow of horrors, Learned to be blind.

And now what can we say To those whose lives are threatened by our failures, Twisted by our successes? Three hundred dollars or thirty days. Officer, clear this court.

• Marilyn Johnson

Witness For The Defense

Tell me this your honour:

What do we tell the children?

Now you've bludgeoned them with rules, With hostile recitade, contemptuous office.

What's in you is irrelevant, Ideals immaterial, passion contemptible, outrage outrageous. Carry them out! Now, where were the bodies? Over the fence. Very well.

..... tried, convicted, sentenced in absentia, Trembling with rage and grief behind a locked door.

Where would you have them place their trust, your worship?

- In a generation schooled to take death with their dinner before a glowing screen.

Where is their hope?

- In a world where millions starve, while greasy merchants feed the sleek machineries of death and drown in poisoned fat.

And what would you have them do?

CITIZEN'S BAND RADIO FOR THE PEOPLE

by Dr. Hip

Many of you reading this probably have never considered using a Citizen's Band Radio with so many other things to deal with: nuclear weapons, US involvement in Central America, and so on. Well, if you're working for peace, squatters' rights, anarchist action, or what have you, CB could and should be used by you.

Since it began in 1959, many changes have taken place in the C.B. scene. In the early days, you had to have a C.B. call sign issued by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC—as it's called in the States; there's a corresponding agency in Canada, no doubt) in Washington, D.C., and no one tried doing anything very creative for fear of being fined and given a jail sentence for breaking communications laws pertaining to the 27 MHz band.

From 1965 onward, in conjunction with the youth rebellion against traditional values, there was a brief period on Citizen's Band where lively discussions were heard, music filled the airwaves, and you could feel the "revolution" of the late 60's spreading over 11 meters.

After the war in Vietnam, C.B. slowly went back to becoming controlled by people from mainstream American society, using call numbers, talking about cars, radios—nothing of real value. This went on from about 1974 to 1980. That's when a group of liberals, anarchists, peaceniks and other progressive folk in a small Connecticut town decided to buy Citizen's Band Radios, and formed an alternative C.B. organization—the first of its kind. They call themselves The Alternative Radio Operators International—AROI. Their two-way C.B. broadcasts can be heard regularly in Connecticut and, if the skip conditions are right, as far away as Eastern Canada, on 27.105MHz., channel 12.

Conversations have dealt with anti-nuke politics, health issues, communal

living, peace issues, music for people, and more. This is how creative community two-way C.B. communications has come about in one little part of America. Since anyone can talk on C.B., there have been problems. The AROI has had transmissions jammed, and the channel invaded from time to time by supporters of traditional American values and lifestyles who feel threatened by what AROI is attempting to create. The AROI currently has 26 members with C.B.'s in Connecticut, and represent decentralized anti-authoritarian operators trying to bring democratic free speech radio to the airwaves. C.B. has always had laws censoring free expression because of FCC rules, part 95. The only good thing which has occurred in the last couple of years is that C.B. licenses are no longer required to be announced on the air.

The concept of "Free Radio" is a great way to promote an alternative radio community. It is a great way of promoting an exchange of ideas and stimulating positive action. A new 40-channel C.B. set costs about \$100—less for AM. Good used sets are available even more cheaply through garage sales or newspaper ads. New units can be found in chain communication stores. Independently owned stores offer a wider variety and lower prices.

After buying a C.B., you need an antenna and a C.B. antenna cable to get out to the other folks you want to be talking to. Get a grounding rod and a ground wire, and you're ready to operate. Finally, if you have any further questions about alternative citizen's band radio or would like to start Alternative Radio Operator International groups in your area, write and enclose a self-addressed stamped envelope (unless you're in Canada, in which case send a buck) to:

AROI
198 Hickory Lane
Southbury, CT 06488 USA



\$5 for 6 issues (US funds outside Canada)

Help distribute KIO in your neighborhood
Become a KIO sustainer—send us post dated cheques for \$5 — \$10 — or some other amount per month — write us an interesting article.

KICK IT OVER
P.O. Box 5811, Station A
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1P2

SUPPORT THE EAST EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENTS

For good information on the East European peace movements, see B.A.N.G. Notes (the newsletter of the Brooklyn Anti-Nuclear Group), P.O. Box 2666, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202. This newsletter is a good source of information on a lot of subjects.

Also of note is Return Address: Moscow, edited by Sergei Batovrin, one of the founders of the Moscow Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. For copies, write to B.A.N.G. or call Sergei (212-304-1943).

Continued from page 10

Such will be more shocked by his life than by his death. I shall not be forward to think him mistaken in his method who quickest succeeds to liberate the slave. No man has appeared in America, as yet, who loved his fellow-man so well, and treated him so tenderly. He lived for him. He took up his life and he laid it down for him."

But, if these were only speeches of praise to a dead hero there would be no purpose in reprinting them. The value of these speeches is in their clear restatement of the value of individual morality over and against law, and in their powerful defense of the moral use of violence. The parallels between John Brown's actions against slavery and the debate stirred by them and the present-day arguments about the use of violence and property damage in our battles against nuclear war are closer than many in the peace movement who read and quote Thoreau would care to admit.

If John Brown was a saint, as Thoreau argues, then what of the absolutist who would deny the use of violence in a good cause? If those who take their moral obligations seriously and act upon them in the ways that seem most necessary to themselves are isolated and condemned once again by the "coffeehouse radicals", then what does that say about the strength of character of the coffeehouse crowd?

"The question is not about the weapon, but the spirit in which you use it."

available now!

INSTEAD OF PRISONS: A Handbook for Abolitionists

Paperback, 208 pp., illustrations

The authors* of this book make a bold proposal. They urge that prisons be abolished. In place of prisons, they spell out a variety of alternatives ranging from drastic reduction of the criminal law to the creation of nonpunitive responses to problems of criminality.

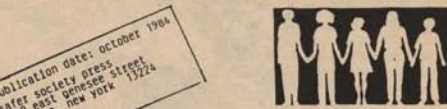
The abolition of prisons is viewed as a long range goal, an unending struggle. It will require building a movement shaped by prisoners, ex-prisoners, and their allies. For those who wish to build such a movement, this book provides a starting point. It furnishes a framework and an ideology by which current prison work can be evaluated and future work planned. It proposes concrete tasks for abolitionists who wish to begin the urgent work of undoing the damage done by prisons.



*P.R.E.A.P. (Prison Research Education Action Project) designs and distributes education/action tools for use by those working for prison abolition.

Address orders to:
Safer Society Press
3049 East Gansevoort Street
Syracuse, New York 13224

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advance payment in American \$155555



publication date: october 1984
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retraining adult sex offenders: methods and models

KICK IT OVER

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DARE TO DREAM

- Animal Liberation
- Anarcha-Feminism
- The Politics of Ego
- Shock Survivors Tell All
- Prison Abolition
- Women in Russia
- Witchcraft

THE ADVENTURES OF ANARCHAT!

by D.A.

Whenever his food didn't suit him just right, he would go on a hunger strike!

NO WAY!

In fact, it could be argued that Anarchat had a 3-track mind—one for play, one for food, and one for sleep.

ONE UPON A TIME... THERE WAS A CAT NAMED "ANARCHAT"

When he thought he was being mistreated, he joined the Animal Liberation Front.

Occasionally Anarchat would ask for attention...

AN ACT OF PETTING NOT CLEARLY INTENDED BY THE ANIMAL IN QUESTION IS "GENTLE" TORTURE

ANARCHAT WAS A REAL "BAMBAZ" CAT.... Whenever it was time to go down the basement he would practice his C.D. techniques and go limp....

Of course, as much as he wanted his freedom, he wasn't about to go out and work for it. Life may be a hell, but he'd accept it with one paw and a accepted welfare payments with the other.

But, according to animal psychi-rist, Dr. Sigmund Freud, this is really just a sublimation of the food libido.

HEY, YOU GIVE GOOD HEAD!

STOP ASKING FOR ATTENTION! HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT PLANTING A BOMB?

HE'S ASKING FOR ATTENTION!

FOOD FOR SLEEP

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