

KICK IT OVER

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No. 34

FOOD AND LAND

Radical Agriculture

Anarcho-Spatialism

Permaculture

Food Not Bombs



plus
Queer Action
Flyposter Frenzy
Built Environment
and more

notes to our readers

Our relationship to the food we eat is intimately tied to our relationship with the land on which it grows. In the struggle to create a new, more liberatory society it is vital that we explore the nature of this relationship. The articles in this issue indicate some of the directions such an exploration might take.

Murray Bookchin's essay on Radical Agriculture and Jay Boggess's article on Permaculture link the joint themes. Anders Corr offers a general theory of anarchist land tenure in his essay on Anarcho-spatialism, and Jeff Johnston gets more specific with his look at land trusts. Food in a very political context is the subject of the two articles that close out the theme, on the growing Food Not Bombs movement and the harassment they've been facing from the San Francisco police, and the McLabel case in England, in which two anarchist activists have been sued by McDonald's for their activities in exposing the corporate giant.

In addition, we have pieces exploring the importance of the built environment, the response of Toronto's gay community to the defeat of Bill 167 (gay rights legislation which was defeated by a coalition of right-wing religious nuts and opportunistic politicians), and a Lesbian Avengers Pride Ride through the US south. Plus poetry, posters, biography, news...

Changes, Changes

Of course, even before you got this far, you will have noticed a couple of the changes this issue initiates — a new cover look and a thicker magazine. Both changes have been under consideration for a while, but cost has

held us back. However, recent conversations with some of our distributors have prompted the move.

One of my aims in doing *Kick It Over* is reaching out to new people with anarchist ideas. Fundamental to getting the ideas to new people is getting them to read the magazine. If a more attractive cover inspires more potential readers to look at *Kick It Over*, or more stores to stock it so that more potential readers can look at it, then let's go for it.

Besides which, I have a strong wish to make the magazine more attractive and visually interesting, and a more substantial cover is a start in this direction.

As for the increased page count — well, there's so much to be said, I'd like to increase it even more.

But the biggest change of all is in the editorship. The *Kick It Over* collective has effectively (for now at least) dissolved. The magazine is now being edited by one person, bob melcombe. This change came about for a variety of reasons, mostly relating to time, energy, and other commitments.

Friends and former editors are continuing to help me with some of the work, but final responsibility is mine. This will of necessity mean that such things as correspondence and follow-ups to article and graphics submissions may fall behind. I will do my best to keep up, but urge readers and contributors to be patient. My commitment to *Kick It Over* is strong, but so is my commitment to my family and friends, and to my other political projects.

To the Future...

Regular readers will have noticed that *Kick It Over* has developed some-

thing of a pattern over our last few issues: roughly a third to a half of each issue focuses on a theme, another third consists of non-theme articles, and the balance is short pieces, columns and briefs, and letters. This is a pattern I quite like and plan to continue. Having a larger page count should facilitate including both more theme-related articles and more general articles. In addition, I hope to add a few more regular features over the next few issues, including a larger book review section, more poetry and visuals, and perhaps some short fiction or experimental writing.

The next *Kick It Over* will be about Work; we'll look at the role of work, ways to make work less onerous, organization of the workplace, and anything else that comes to mind. Deadline for submissions will be January 31. Following that will be an issue on violence, non-violence and anarchism. Let me know what other themes you'd like to see featured.

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Kick It Over is seriously short of money. This issue has been funded in large part from Maria's and my pockets — something which we cannot afford to do too often. While I hope the changes and improvements will lead to an increase in both store sales and subscriptions, that's an incremental process, and one that needs money to make it happen. We appreciate any contributions you can make.

Many thanks to the following for their generous donations: Brian B, Larry F, Robert K, Ken F, Chris F, Keith Y, Chris A, Derek T and Mark M.

As announced last issue, we are increasing our subscription rates, to

— continued on page 4 —

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 more a process than an event — a process rooted in the radicalization of individuals and in the transformation of everyday life. Rather than make a principle out of violence or nonviolence, we believe in judging actions on their own merits.

We support acts of challenge and resistance to authority, and we encourage all efforts to develop models for a new way of living.

We are not a mouthpiece for an "official" anarchist movement. We prefer to go beyond the stock issues which make up the "left agenda."

Since we are interested in the creation of a politics of everyday life, we attempt to draw out and popularize those implicitly radical values and lifestyles which we believe are pointing in the direction of freedom.

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 spontaneity, by which we mean the triumph of life over dogma. Hence, we believe that freedom is in need of constant redefinition.

In This Issue

FOOD AND LAND

12 Radical Agriculture

by Murray Bookchin

16 Bread

a poem by JM de Moissac

17 Permaculture: Focus on the Future

by Jay Boggess

19 Anarcho-Spatialism: Towards an Egalitarian Land Tenure

by Anders Corr

24 Land Trusts: Land Held in Common

by Jeff Johnston

27 Food Not Bombs: Resisting the Censorship of Free Food and the Criminalization of Homelessness

by Alex Vitale and Keith McHenry

32 Ronald McDonald Throws a Tantrum: The McLibel Case



columns

5 Paths to Social Change

8 World Without Borders

57 Book Reviews

Political Ecology: Beyond Environmentalism;
The Politics of Individualism: Liberalism, Liberal
Feminism and Anarchism; Drunken Boat; Get A Life!;
A Green Cure for Canada's Economic Blues

60 In Brief

62 Letters



34 Flyposter Frenzy

selections from the book

37 A Canadian Dyke in the Deep South

by Deb Ellis

40 Spousal Wrongs

by Lynna Landstreet

42 The Crisis in the Built Environment of the UK

by Martha Brett and Daniel James

45 Reports from a summer of gatherings...

Social Ecology and Municipal Democracy; Greening Our Cities; Our Local Economy; Anarchist Black Cross; Rural and Urban Collectives — how to make the link

48 Summer Camp for Anarchists: Twenty Years of Radicalizing the Greens at the Institute for Social Ecology

by Phillip Chee

50 Neither East Nor West Network Forming

52 #5781 Goes to Hear Amiri Baraka Read for Post-Modern Poetry and Barnes and Noble, Evanston, IL

by Joffre Stewart

54 An Anarchist Life: Giovanni "John" Vattuone

by David Koven

front cover graphic by John Yates/Stealworks

back cover graphic by Bob Tonks

graphics this page: Food Not Bombs

Doug Minkler/Flyposter Frenzy

notes to our readers
—continued from page 2—

\$12.00/year (4 issues). US and overseas readers please note, payment is due in US funds. (Although we will continue to accept both UK pounds and Australian dollars, it'll make life a whole lot easier if you'd oblige us in this; thanks.)

Mailing List Exchanges

One of *Kick It Over's* distributors has asked about a mailing list exchange. They'd like to mail copies of their catalogue to *Kick It Over* readers. In exchange, we'd get to mail sample copies of *Kick It Over* to their customers. While this is a way in which both of us can reach out to new readers, I want to know how you feel before going ahead.

Please let me know by January 31 if you DO NOT wish to have your name and address either given to, or used on behalf of, other anarchist projects. If I have not heard from you by then, I will assume you don't object.

Kick It Over goes to cyber-space

Kick It Over now has an e-mail address, and is available through the Internet. The electronic edition (text only) will cost \$2.00/issue, \$8.00/year (4 issues).

Readers who'd like to receive the e-mail edition can contact us at: KIO@web.apc.org. We'd also like to encourage other anarchist and anti-authoritarian projects to make use of this new facility.

In other news...

Long-time *Kick It Over* readers will recall an article in issue #27, *Seeking Uncitizenship Papers*, in

ANet/@ Media Net/Anarchist Media Network/@Net/Anarchist Network

is a loosely self-organized, voluntary & international network established to encourage and practice mutual aid, inspiration and support in the conception, production, realization & distribution of anarchist media of all kinds—PRINT, FILM, VIDEO, RADIO, POETICS, MUSIC, COMIC, SOUND RECORDINGS, LIBRARIES & DOCUMENTATION CENTERS, BOOKSTORES & ANARCHIST CENTERS, ETC. Any anarchist-identified project is welcome to join this network by declaring its affiliation (and communicating a version of this notice if possible). No member of the network has any specific obligations to any other members beyond its general adherence to the spirit of this statement as interpreted by that member.

Send an SASE for an updated copy of our current list of members to: C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, Md., 65205-1446, or Acts of Resistance, 537 Jorck, #1584, San Francisco, CA 94102.

which we excerpted sections of Clark Hanjian's pamphlet *The Citizenship Papers*. The pamphlet described Clark's attempt to formally renounce his citizenship of the United States, without having to move out of the country, and included copies of the correspondence between himself and various bureaucratic functionaries. In a recent letter, Clark writes that he has had "no significant exchanges with the government" since then, and wonders, "perhaps they respect my position? More likely, they think I'm a nut and they're ignoring me!"

We discovered, too late to do anything about it, that we forgot to credit the cover graphics for our last issue. The striking image on the front cover is a picture of a third century carved figure, thought to be a fertility figure. It is the logo of DAWN Canada (Disabled Women's Network), and we saw it reproduced in *Every Woman's Almanac*. Our thanks to both DAWN and the Women's Press.

The back cover came to us courtesy of Analen of Siliid Aklatan (the mail-order lending library). Analen says she thinks it's a Clifford Harper drawing; she is involved with a group organizing an anarchist community centre in Los Angeles, and they used the graphic on one of their posters. To make use of the library, write to: Siliid Aklatan, PO Box 187, North Hollywood, CA 91603 USA.

(A parenthetical editorial comment here — the group organizing the LA centre have called themselves The Management. Apparently, some anarchists don't see the humour in that, and have given them a hard time. Lighten up folks, it's a great joke!)

This summer, Maria and I played host to Wolfgang and Sascha Haug. Wolfgang is one of the editors of *Schwarzer Faden* (Black Thread), the largest of the German anarchist magazines, and manages Trozdem Verlag, an anarchist book publisher; Sascha is his 6-year old son. The two were on a 6-week vacation, travelling through Ontario, New England, and southern Quebec, and spent their first week in Toronto. Sascha is a lively youngster, and kept us all going. And, each evening after Sascha went to bed, Wolfgang and I had long and interesting conversations about magazine publishing, anarchism, and life in general. It was an enjoyable week for both Maria and I.

At the end of their stay with us, Wolfgang and Sascha accompanied me to Peterborough for a weekend anarchist gathering put on by a small group there. While things got off to a slow

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start, the bulk of the weekend was quite enlightening. Workshops on political prisoners, anarchy-feminism, theatre of the oppressed, and anarchist child-raising were complemented by campfire discussions on a wide range of subjects. Probably the two most dominant themes were Euro-centrism within the anarchist movement, and gender politics and sexism. The necessity to discuss these subjects as intensely as we did indicates, to me at least, how much work we as anarchists have yet to do to make our movement truly inclusive and relevant.

Finally, thanks to all those who have helped with this issue: to Gary for the typing, to Kevin and Susan and Steve for the computer assistance, to Andrew and Chris for getting *Kick It Over* onto the Internet, and to Maria.

— bob melcombe

Paths To Social Change

Coalition for Cooperative Community Economics

There are many social innovations in many parts of the world creating an alternative co-operative economics system — worker-ownership, eco-villages, community loan funds, homeschooling, LETS, consumer and housing co-ops, community supported agriculture, credit unions, community land trusts, homesteading, intentional communities, and other innovations in which people become locally self-reliant through their own self-developed community organizations.

A major obstacle to the development of this alternative economic system is that the many options communities have are not brought together in one centre or publication, and they are unreported by the mainstream media. In fact, it is hard to find clear information on many of them. And too often the practical hands-on information is disjointed, and imbedded in a lot of in-news, rhetoric about the failures of the current system, or philosophical discussions on the "Ecozoic Era," "Compassionate Age," "New Social Paradigm," "Gaian Culture," or whatever else you want to call the positive future.

The initiation of the Coalition on Cooperative Community Economics is intended to overcome this handicap. It will bring together the many relevant social innovations and programs under one heading. The modality is first to have experts in the various activities write short "How To" pamphlets on their techniques, which will be made available through the newsletters of the coalition members. Each is being asked to make all pamphlets available through its newsletter or other mailing to its members, in return for the extra coverage given to its work by the other coalition members.

In addition to circulating the pamphlets, TRANET will establish a broad-scale clearing-house of experts, workshops, publications and other services to help communities set up their own co-operative economic systems, and to link with one another. Through our TRANET newsletter, computer networking, and other communications, we will answer questions and put community workers in contact with relevant organizations and experts.

A global network of self-reliant communities is a vision that many activists and thinkers have seen. This Coalition for Cooperative Community

Economics may, in the long run, be a positive step in that direction. But, in the short run, it can be a service today for communities wanting to solve real problems of real people. There is a need for a comprehensive resource on social innovations created by and for the people for both the short and long run. This program, now in its formative stage, welcomes suggestions, additions, comments and criticisms from all those interested in creating a better world. For details, contact: **Coalition for Cooperative Community Economics, c/o TRANET, PO Box 567, Rangeley, Maine 04970 USA.** — *adapted from an article by Bill Ellis*

Women, War and Peace

Women from women's peace movements throughout the world are invited to share their experiences in an activist conference that will include discussions, workshops, a mass vigil and march through Jerusalem. **Women, War and Peace: The Vision and the Strategies** will be held in Jerusalem December 29-31. Both activists and scholars are invited. For details contact: **Erella Shadmi, 4/11 Dresner St., Jerusalem, Israel 93814. Fax: (2) 259-626.**

Community Switchboard

The purpose of this article is to propose that small groups of anarchism-oriented people come together in various cities to establish and operate community switchboards. Each of these switchboards should cover the city in which it is based and the surrounding rural and small town area. If the concept were to catch on, towns and small cities might establish their own switchboards, but initially the switchboards would likely have to start in areas of high density population, since only a small percentage of that population is likely to be willing to participate in the switchboard during its early stages and it is necessary to have a large enough listing that a good proportion of those listed will be matched or find markets; otherwise the project will quickly fail.

A community switchboard is a listing of people in the community with goods and services to offer. It differs from the classified section of the newspaper in that (a) there is no charge for the listing, (b) the listing is retained until the listee requests its

deletion, hopefully because s/he has been matched, (c) it encourages people to advertise goods and services in areas not encouraged by the standard classification of "want ads," i.e. tuition, sale of farm produce or handicrafts, meeting like-minded people to pursue some area of study together. It differs from barter systems such as LETS in that participants are not required to join anything, and remuneration (where applicable) can take whatever form the parties agree upon — cash, barter etc. Many people would be brought together for pursuits for which no remuneration is exchanged, such as a book discussion group or a joint study program or the sort of "salon" proposed by the *Utne Reader*.

The group which establishes a community switchboard need not be large, but it must be prepared to make a fairly substantial outlay of energy. Members should be prepared to do outreach, such as speaking to various groups in the cities whose members might have skills or products to advertise in the switchboard. A special effort should be made to reach those with no existing market for their talents — housewives, seniors, the handicapped, etc. The collective must also decide such questions as:

— whether to publish a printed list of participants, or match only people who call the switchboard? The latter involves more work by the collective, but enables it to keep much closer tabs on the degree to which the switchboard is functioning.

— how will the PO Box and/or phone answering service be financed?

— will the listing be computerized or maintained solely on paper or filing cards?

— will listings for the sex trade be included? (Besides problems with the state, the sex trade might alienate other possible participants; on the other hand, many anarchists consider prostitution a legitimate activity. Such publications as the *Village Voice* and *Toronto's Now* seem to have no problems with promoting sexual practices, however bizarre, of consenting adults.)

By starting community switchboards, anarchists can create a channel for realizing the fundamental goal of non-violent anarchism: people learning to meet one another's needs through direct personal interaction rather than state institutions. The sooner large numbers of people start doing this, the sooner they will begin to perceive the state as superfluous.

In terms of creating an alternative economy, switchboards can play a major role by placing people with some-

thing to sell in touch with those wishing to buy it. At this point, it becomes necessary to distinguish between an "alternative" economy, which a switchboard can directly promote, and an "underground" economy, which it can assist only indirectly, the distinction being that underground transactions remain a secret between the parties involved to avoid government taxation. While of course sympathizing with the underground economy, a switchboard cannot list underground transactions because such a list would identify to the state those taking part. It can, however, list people willing to participate in an alternative economy, and leave it to them, once they have been put in touch through the switchboard, to find the means of carrying their transactions underground.

The switchboard should list no illegal activities. Once people have been put in contact through the switchboard, what they do together is no longer the switchboard's business. Even while avoiding illegal listings, the operators should be prepared for possible police seizure of the listings by keeping duplicate copies in safe locations, so that they can continue to operate without the original listings. Even though it may be doing nothing illegal, a switchboard will not be welcomed by the modern state, which is the enemy of any human activity it does not direct or regulate.

Anyone interested in further discussion of this suggestion should contact me c/o *Kick It Over*. — Gary Moffatt

UNPLUGging Channel One

In our last issue, we made note of a new comic book from Citizens for Media Literacy; *Get a Life!* is meant to help teenagers resist the imposition of Channel One, the so-called "news" channel for schools.

Channel One provides video equipment to over 12,000 mostly inner-city schools. In return, the schools must sign a contract agreeing to show Channel One's "educational news" programs, which are heavily weighted with advertising.

Well, now there's an underground student group called UNPLUG. UNPLUG members have been smashing and stealing TVs and videos from their schools, in opposition to Channel One. "They're brainwashing us, and we're not taking it any more," says one member. This movement has been rapidly growing across the US, especially among inner-city students, and claims many direct action successes. — from a report in *Counter Information*, c/o 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh EH1, Scotland.

Acts of Revolt

Too often, acts of societal revolt are unspoken and unrecorded, especially by the mainstream media. Ashley Parker Owens is collecting stories about acts of rebellion (including the aftermath), and notes and thoughts about the nature of rebellion, for a book to be published in 1995/96. The articles can be about your own acts or those of someone you know (feel free to change names or request anonymity). Among the topics suggested are: changes in the system, injustice, control by the state, relating to a wide range of subjects — homelessness, AIDS, gender issues, the military, environmental issues, etc. "Personal politics especially welcome." Send essays, documentation, or requests for details (with an SASE) to: Ashley Parker Owens, PO Box 597996, Chicago, IL 60659, USA.

An Alternative In Education

An earlier piece in this section discusses the desirability of establishing community switchboards. Along with the economy, the area in which a Switchboard can most effectively promote alternatives to state control is education. As George Woodcock observes:

Anarchists, always seeking a way to liberate natural social urges other than the suicidal course of political revolution, have been greatly concerned with education, not merely as a means of drawing out the natural capabilities of young people in society as it exists, but also as one of the ways to transform society. It is significant that this preoccupation has been strongest among non-violent anarchists, like William Godwin and Leo Tolstoy, or among anarchists in general at times when the movement was not collectively dominated by myths of violence... At least as important in any strategy of social transformation during the rest of the present century as the struggle for workers' control is the remaking of the system of education, and especially the breaking down of the academic hierarchy, not in the direction of the students seizing control of existing campuses — already an obsolete concept — but of what we now call "higher education" being diffused in the community, so that it is not only physically decentralized and organizationally democratized, but also reorganized in such a way that it becomes a life-

long process, and work and life are both endlessly enriched by it, eliminating the boundaries between a [person's] work life and the rest of [her/his] existence. (*Anarchism and Anarchists*)

One doesn't have to be a scholar like Woodcock to observe that the school system isn't working. I always liked Harpo Marx's critique in the early portion of his autobiography. Harpo had a good deal more to say offstage than on, and didn't let the fact that he spent less than a year in school stop him from hobnobbing with New York's most famous writers in the Algonquin Room. He writes:

School was all wrong. It didn't teach anybody how to exist from day to day, which was how the poor had to live. Teachers had a lot to say about holidays you could never afford to celebrate, like Thanksgiving and Christmas, (but nothing) about the real holidays like St. Patrick's Day, when you could watch a parade for free, or Election Day, when you could make a giant bonfire in the middle of the street and the cops wouldn't stop you. School didn't teach you what to do when you were stopped by an enemy gang — when to run and when to stand your ground. Schools didn't teach you how to collect tennis balls, build a scooter, ride the El trains and trolleys, hitch onto delivery wagons, own a dog, go for a swim, get a chunk of ice or a piece of fruit — all without paying a cent. Schools didn't teach you which hockshops would give you dough without asking where you got the merchandise... or where to sell junk or how to find sleeping room in a bed with four other brothers. School simply didn't teach you how to be poor and live from day to day. (*Harpo Speaks*)

A century later, we find schools still teaching skills relating to holding salaried positions (punctuality, obedience, conformity, etc.) rather than surviving without them, as an increasing percentage of their graduates must. With demands for unskilled labour diminishing, we are bombarded with edicts from officials of the corporate state to the effect that only graduates will be employed. What they learn in school will have no bearing on the jobs, but school will keep them off the unemployment statistics.

Those who can't relate to school and don't want to spend their lives flipping hamburgers or groveling for handouts are going to have to find

means of learning and supporting themselves outside of those provided by the corporate state. Switchboards can provide a starting point, and sometimes an ongoing resource list, for this search. Students struggling through school can find tutors for a subject which gives them particular problems; parents trying to homeschool their children can get help with subjects they find it difficult to teach themselves; older students who now go to college mainly because they have difficulty motivating themselves to study can have the option of finding a few other people who share the same interest, then working out and pursuing their own course of reading and discussion together (with or without the help of a tutor).

Such an alternative to state schools was advocated 25 years ago by Ivan Illich in his book *Deschooling Society*. Illich feels that schools, like other state-controlled institutions (he wrote elsewhere on getting rid of hospitals) foster dependence on artificial, non-caring institutions to fulfill our needs instead of on community. State institutions — schools, hospitals, the military etc. — invariably require more and more money to fulfill people's rising expectations, until the point is reached where no amount of money suffices. Today we are seeing cut-backs in all these areas as the state's ability to finance them is surpassed, along with screams of agony from those who have become dependent on these institutions. Yet the state won't promote home care instead of hospitals, social defence instead of standing armies or home schooling.

In his sixth chapter *Learning Webs*, Illich writes: "the alternative to dependence on schools is not the use of public resources which 'make' people learn; rather it is the creation of a new style of educational relationship between [people]." Since writing his book, he has observed that other forms of learning designed to meet the needs of the corporate state rather than of individuals, such as those available on non-interactive television or computer systems, can be as damaging as the schools. He recommends four methods of replacing the present system with one of self-motivated learning:

- reference services to enable learners to access all educational objects and tools of learning in the community;
- skills exchanges to list people willing to impart their skills or knowledge, and the terms under which they would do so;
- a communications network to en-

able people who wish to embark on some learning program to find partners who desire similar knowledge and are willing to work together to attain it (by using learning tools and comparing notes on their results);

— "educators-at-large," professional educators who would operate the learning networks, guide students and parents in their use and do the necessary research to further knowledge. To remunerate them, society would issue each person "educational vouchers" with which to pay the educator of her/his choice.

A switchboard could provide the second and third of these directly, and the first indirectly by giving learners access to tutors who know where the sources are located (it might also publish a pamphlet on information retrieval, telling people how to use libraries and other resources). The fourth would be beyond its capacity, since it depends on general social acceptance of the desirability of this form of education; in the meantime, students will have to rely on tutors and each other for guidance.

I am not entirely convinced that primary schools are at present dispensable; they do irreparable psychological damage to a lot of children, but without them it is likely that many children would not receive at home the encouragement they need to learn such basic skills as the three Rs and some appreciation of literature and the environment. For the time being, a learning network at the primary level would likely be limited to assisting parents willing and able to homeschool their children to find the means of so doing. From the age of 12 onwards, however, I see no point in anyone being in school unless s/he is heartset on a career which requires a diploma. We've got to start weaning ourselves from dependence on the state somewhere, and an alternative education system fostered by community switchboards seems to me a good place to start. I would be glad to hear (through *KIO*) from anyone who agrees. — Gary Moffatt



ONE OF A SERIES OF POSTERS PROTESTING THE LIVERMORE LABORATORIES' MILITARY RESEARCH — BOB THAWLEY, JIM HABER

Networking Counter Institutions

In our last issue, we made note of the growing anarchist community centre movement. Various called reading rooms, info-shops, info-cafes, and autonomy centres, and operating as meeting places, hang-outs, libraries, and/or concert spaces, these centres are one of the most exciting developments within the anarchist movement in recent times. Last spring, members of a number of centres met in Detroit to discuss and network. Out of that meeting has come a new publication with a great potential. The first issue of *(Dis)Connection* includes articles calling for the creation of a radical booksellers network, describing how one activist started an anarchist lecture series, looking at the growth and vision of the info-shop movement, and plenty more. Plans call for production of *(Dis)Connection* to rotate among the various involved collectives. Issue number two will be coming from: **Autonomous Zone Infoshop, 2045 W. North Ave., Chicago IL 60622**. No price was listed, but when you write them, send a few bucks. This is an endeavor well worth supporting.

World Without Borders

Serbian Anarchists Plead for Aid

January 10, 1994, is an important day for libertarian struggle. On that day we set up the first revolutionary libertarian group, Torpedo, in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia). After hard work and a lot of problems we organized ourselves in struggle against this rotten state, the dictatorship of a minority from the ruling party, and against a new bourgeoisie growing from the economic collapse, the black market, and a dirty war.

We will also try to set up new libertarian groups and organizations in any town where it is possible. The libertarian movement in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia) is just born and we have a big job to do.

But we desperately need your help comrades [emphasis ours — ÖGB]. We know that nobody lives good and without problems these days, but maybe you have something that we really need. Not to mention money which everyone needs, we need envelopes and any kind of office supplies, libertarian books, pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers, fanzines or magazines, and new experiences in struggle... If you don't have anything to send us, please just write to us. We need international support.

Remember: your help is also part of the revolutionary struggle. You can help us to spread the word and educate people here where the libertarian movement is just born. Torpedo c/o Milan Djuric, M. Velikog 12/10, 11300 Smederevo, Serbia-Yugoslavia. — from *Torpedo News Flash #1*, 5-1-94

Omori Appeal Dismissed

The Ainu are the indigenous people of Japan. Originally, they lived on much of the main island, but were pushed onto the north island, Hokkaido. The Ainu have long struggled for autonomy.

In March, 1976, a bomb exploded at the Hokkaido prefecture office. Japanese anarchist Katsuhisa Omori, because of his involvement in the Ainu struggle, was arrested and charged with the bombing. "Evidence" included his possession of a flashlight battery and a light bulb (no other "bomb ingredients" were found "because he had used them"). Omori's public statements in support of the bombing were taken as a "confession," even though he has always proclaimed his innocence. Omori was convicted and sentenced to death in a trial rife with improprieties. He has been in jail for the last

18 years, awaiting appeal.

Last June 6, his appeal was finally brought before the Japanese Supreme Court; it was dismissed, and sentence of death was passed on July 15.

It is very clear that this was a "political" trial, that Omori has been sentenced because of his political views (in Japanese — *Han-nichi Bokoku*, anti-Japan, ruining the Japanese state).

From a report sent by ARP (the Japanese Anarchist Federation):

On July 15, the day of the judgment, activists involved in Omori's defense gathered at the Supreme Court. While they were in the queue for admission tickets, they unfolded banners in support of Omori. A 10 meter (33 feet) long banner ran along the fence outside the Court. Red and black banners with pictures of Omori fluttered. Anarchists brought a black banner reading "Smash the suppression!" "Death to the law!" A sax-player played a song from the movie "Sacco and Vanzetti." Guerrilla theatre dramatizing the case played on the street in front of the Court building. The cops were mobilized to disperse the crowd, but the activists ran them off the street.

As in North America, at the opening of court, the audience has to stand up. However, nobody stood up at this court. Even reporters didn't in this atmosphere. Yes, we have no need to pay any respect to the bench.

Omori was not allowed to attend the court.

The chief justice said "an appeal was dismissed," and immediately disappeared behind closed doors with 3 other judges. People in the gallery shouted and kicked chairs off. All the hearers refused the order to leave the court. Bailiffs were mobilized and a few hearers were expelled. Even a unit of riot cops were ready to operate inside the building. Anarchists shouted "Free Omori!" "We shall win!" and marched out from the court.

According to the Japanese judicial system, "the right of interview and correspondence" are greatly reduced for the inmate after receiving the death penalty. For Omori, his rights were reduced as of the middle of August.

We call on you to send messages of support to Omori. We will find some way to forward your messages. It is forbidden to write in foreign language, but we will translate and get your letters to Omori. You also can get in touch with the Omori Defense Group: PO Box 143 Mori o Mamoru kai, Ueno, Tokyo, Japan.

International activities in defense of Omori will be vital, and Kick It Over urges readers to contact the Omori support group or: ARP, PO Box 57, Sakyo Kyoto, 606 Japan; e-mail: arpresist@igc.apc.org.

Spanish Anarchists Arrested

After a series of actions taken by peasant groups in the Extremadura region of Spain, there were a number of arrests. Most of these were at a demonstration, but one anarchist activist was arrested at his home two days after the event. Most of those arrested have since



"FREE OMORI!" BANNERS AT THE JAPANESE SUPREME COURT. PHOTO FROM WARRIOR

been freed. Two, including the anarchist, Jose Paredes, remain in jail. Now, with his trial imminent, his lawyer is asking for money to continue working on the case. Local anarchists believe that the two will be imprisoned, for their opposition to the agricultural policies of the local government.

The Collectif Paideia and Los Adelfas are calling for solidarity from international anarchists to help defray the legal expenses and so the activists should not have to pay the personal cost of a prison sentence. Donations can be sent to: Collectif Paideia, apartado 133, 06800 Merida, Spain.

News from Nigeria's Awareness League

Many anarchists from around the world joined in the campaign to free four political prisoners of Nigeria's anarchist Awareness League (AL). At mid-October press time we're happy to say they're still out on bail. But we're sad to say though that the AL has lost one of their founders, Ifeanyi Chukwu. On top of their ongoing legal expenses, they are contributing to the education of Ifeanyi's first daughter plus publishing their book on African anarchism. To conclude the latter they are in need of airfare to South Africa. Send cash donations or blank American Express checks to Neither East Nor West-NYC and we'll take care of it: NENW-NYC, 528 5th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215.

Last year AL committed itself to writing a book that will chronicle the history of anarchism in Africa. The book was to be titled *Africa and the Anarchist Struggle*. As a result of suggestions from US comrades, however, we have changed the title to *History of Anarchism in Africa*. Work on the book is progressing fine. Going by our projections, the book should be ready by August this year at the latest. The work has suffered considerably, however, as a result of limited funding as well as the non-availability and/or dearth of books/documents and materials that would have been most useful to use. An earlier planned trip to South Africa has been put on hold as a result.

We are nevertheless committed to completing the book at any cost. We are still appealing for international support and solidarity to enable us to complete the book without having to sacrifice some of its important components.

We shall appreciate it if comrades could make available to us any of the following materials: books on American anarchism; books on Bakunin; books by Leon Trotsky, especially *Permanent Revolution*; books on an-

archo-syndicalism, etc. Other immediate needs include a printing machine, photocopying machine, electric typewriter, anarchist literature, books and other materials. — from the *AL's Revolutionary Newsletter #1, 1994*
PLEASE NOTE NEW ADDRESS:
Awareness League, PO Box 1920, Enugu State, Nigeria.

Women Living Under Muslim Laws

Shirkat Gah, Women's Resource Centre in Lahore, Pakistan, publishes an informative newsletter, *Women Living Under Muslim Laws*. The first issue of 1994 included articles on legal reform in Pakistan, the *fatwa* against Bangladeshi feminist writer Taslima Nasreen, reports on violence against women from around the world, as well as news of progress in women's struggles for rights, and a long and interesting report from the Asian and Pacific Symposium of Non-Governmental Organizations on Women and Development held last November in the Philippines.

The most recent issue focuses on the recent Cairo Conference on Population and Development. Under the heading *The Woman not the Womb*, this issue features reports and articles on women's reproductive rights around the world, plus several pieces about the conference and the preconference planning.

The Woman not the Womb: Population Control vs. Women's Reproductive Rights is also the title of a Shirkat Gah position paper, available for US \$8.00. Contents include a critical review of the colonial experience and post-independence population policy in Pakistan, contextualizing women's health and reproductive rights, and more.

One of the most enlightening aspects of reading these reports is breaking the western myth that Islam is some sort of anti-woman monolith, and remembering that the wide range of attitudes towards women in the various Islamic countries indicates the repression of women is not fundamental to Islam, but to patriarchy.

Women Living Under Muslim Laws can be contacted at: Shirkat Gah, 38/8, Sarwar Road, Lahore Cantt., Pakistan. Send a reasonable contribution if asking for literature.

Bulgaria: Racism is State Policy

On the Occasion of the European-wide Action Week against Racism, March 19-27, 1994

As anarchists and anti-racists we are compelled to oppose the surging

wave of xenophobia and racism. Racial prejudices of hatred and violence have been penetrating even deeper into Bulgarian society. The number of people considering the minorities and foreigners as a cause for the degrading economic situation is increasing. That is absurd!!!

The state searches for ways to distract people's attention from the burning problems by rousing racism and nationalism. Extreme nationalist organizations such as the Bulgarian National Radical Party, Bulgarian National Socialist Party Vazrazhdane, the Right Democratic Movement, the National Committee for Defense of the National Interest, the Fatherland Party of Labour, Will for Bulgaria, Free Bulgaria and a number of other small parties standing on profascist and pro-Bolshevik positions have been founded and financially supported. The activities of the non-formal neo-nazi groups of skin-heads, yotters [? -OGB] and others are ignored and tolerated by the authorities. Victims of their atrocities are tens of foreign workers and students, members of the minority groups as well as Bulgarians expressing different ideas or even appearances. In the middle of January this year nazi skin-heads killed a defenseless foreigner on Graf Ignatiev Street in the center of Sofia, but the fact was not mentioned by the press or police bulletin.

Who Stands Behind All This?

The organizations and groups mentioned above are dummies manipulated by the state. The institutions of repression and violence, secret services, the supporters of the so called "national interests," the ex-"revival" activists, the former Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), and other jingoists and rascals of all sorts support them. Police racism involving a great number of Ministry of Interior Affairs officials is particularly cruel. There have already been several cases of cops being declared not guilty after killing Gypsies "by accident." Parallel with this, there is constant police violence against women, children and men of Gypsy origin stimulated by racist motives.

The national mass media, the "independent" press and other means of manipulation of the public mind play a considerable role in this. The minor crimes committed by foreign citizens or "our swarthy brothers" are excessively blown up. On the other hand, there is a deliberate blackout on the facts connected with the total corruption of the state apparatus, the "honest" businessmen's relations with the politicians and the authorities, the deals amounting to billions of dollars at the expense of common people and

the constant despoliation and violence against the society by the system.

The consequences of the propagation of racism and nazism will be dreadful for the whole society. That is why our appeal is:

Let us reject all racial prejudices — we are first of all people! In the name of humanism, in memory of the millions of innocent victims — racism, nazism, bolshevism never again! Let's fight for a free society! Freedom, morality, conscience! — 20th March 1994, Sofia.

— reprinted from *@ction #5, April/94, bulletin of Bulgaria's Federation of Anarchist Youth: FAM, c/o Antonio Grozdev, 18 Nikola Slavkov Street, et. 1, ap. 6, Sofia 1463, Bulgaria.*

Squatting in Prague

In September, 1993, activists from the Czech Anarchist Federation inhabited an old farm called Ladronka in Prague, not far away from the city line. They aimed to create a cultural, social, and autonomous centre. Soon after the beginning, in the course of the most important repairs, there were a few photo and picture exhibits which attracted 20 to 30 people daily.

As well as holding many concerts, Ladronka hosted the first underground squat festival. This Okupa Fest (29th and 30th of October) had many Czech and Moravian hardcore bands play, plus a few bands came from Poland. Another big action was "The Second Autonomy Party" in December, 1993, to celebrate the second anniversary of the monthly Anarchist Federation

magazine *Autonomie*.

The Ladronka squatters have had their problems with the police. The police have disconnected the electricity many times. However, interest and energy among the squatters remains high. In the winter, even when the electricity was disconnected, there were concerts where many Czech and foreign bands played.

In February, 1994, pressure from the authorities led to an eviction notice dated March 15 from the owner, a firm by the name of TRADE. Here it is important to note that a recent law makes it possible for police to sentence unlawful occupants of a flat or property to a 2-year term without suspension. In response, the AF started a campaign to defend the people of Ladronka. A petition appealing to TRADE, the Council and the Ministry of Culture to negotiate with representatives of "alternative initiatives" was initiated, and other support actions were undertaken. Because of these actions (the petition had over 700 signatures), TRADE entered negotiations with the squatters on March 14.

While these negotiations yielded no written agreement between the squatters and TRADE, it did seem that TRADE did not want to evict the squatters so urgently. The squatters have presented their own proposal on the use of the farm and its resources, and are waiting for a response. The latest info is that TRADE is willing to make an agreement with the squatters once the Ladronka Foundation outlines a detailed proposal about its plans to use the resources including financial assurances.

Ladronka is a large enough space to accommodate many activities: concerts, lectures and theater, info-cafe and tea room, vegetarian restaurant, rehearsal studio for bands, studio and exhibition spaces, offices for foundations and other organizations.

In late April, the police resumed harassment of the Ladronka centre. They checked all identity cards of all those present and wrote down everyone's name, under the pretext of "looking for missing persons."

This seems like it could signal co-ordinated action against the Prague alternative/autonomous scene, because a second squat, The Golden Boat, was under pressure too. (The Golden Boat is a "non-political" squat interested in only alternative culture and life-style). Contact: *Autonomie* (AF), PO Box 223, Prague 1 11121, Czech Republic; Ladronka, Tomanova 1, Prague 6 - Brevnov 16 000, Czech Republic. — adapted from the *Anarchist Federation Info Bulletin, April/94.*

Mac Pariadka

Mac Pariadka is a Polish anarchist magazine (in Polish). It was started in 1990. Since January/93 *Mac* is a regular monthly (with holiday breaks). Several people from the Polish anarchist movement write for *Mac*. General subjects in each issue are: analysis of Polish and international news; anarchistic visions; the anarchist past; alternative culture; and lots of drawings and comics. In the middle of each issue there is an alternative music insert on yellow paper called *The Yellow Papers*.

Mac Pariadka doesn't represent any special anarchist wing — they try to present all possible options of the anarchist idea. They are looking for co-operation from abroad, especially about anarcho-syndicalist; articles, news and graphics are very welcome: *Mac Pariadka* PO Box 67, 81-806 Sopot, Poland. (*Mac is the best @ zine in Poland. We can't figure the subscription price so send them a couple of US\$ or equivalent. — OGB*)

A Letter from Estonia

Hello!

A few days ago some of Estonian anarchists decided to establish an Estonian Anarchist League. We have some ideas, how to do it, but we will be happy if you will back us up with your experiences.

We set our hopes on you.
Mari-Liis B, Vilja 82-55, Võru EE2710, Estonia.



PRO-SQUAT MARCH IN PRAGUE, MARCH/94

A CALL TO RECLAIM MAYDAY

Protest the IMF and the World Bank on May 1 1985

We see today that the main purpose of the cold war was to prevent our movements for a better life, our class and our organizations in the First World, Eastern Bloc and the Third World from coming together. Such alliances could seriously threaten the existence of all exploitative institutions, whether they are ruled by corporations or buy the state, whether it calls itself capitalist or socialist. The end of the Cold War was the result, at least in part, of the refusal to accept this division by people in the First, Second and Third worlds. But the end of this form of rule has only led to the whole world coming under the tyranny of one global system of exploitation, managed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and backed up by the military repression of the United States, the UN and virtually all of the governments of the world. These institutions were consciously created at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 to constitute a capitalist international. The Communist and Third World nationalist bureaucracies gradually became active collaborators with the IMF/World Bank, using foreign debts to discipline their own working class. The IMF and the World Bank are this year arrogantly celebrating their fiftieth anniversary. We want to run this party.

We at Neither East nor West, New York and Workers' Solidarity Action, New York and New Jersey are writing to invite you to join in organizing a day of action against the IMF and the World Bank to be held on (or around) Monday, May 1, 1995. We have chosen May Day because we wish to reclaim the tradition of worldwide working-class unity. The May Day tradition (which began as a commemoration for the martyrdom of anarchist activists following a general strike for a shorter workweek in the United States in 1886) has become somewhat hollow for those raised on Communist-bloc war parades, empty leftist marches in Europe and parts of the Third World, and Law Day in the US. Now more than ever we need to work together independent of official borders. This is a project in which all the groups receiving this mailing are already active, but our hope is that worldwide coordinated actions will help to expand this badly needed planetary alliance against these institutions which have done so much damage to people, communities, cultures and the environment all over the world. In choosing this day we are

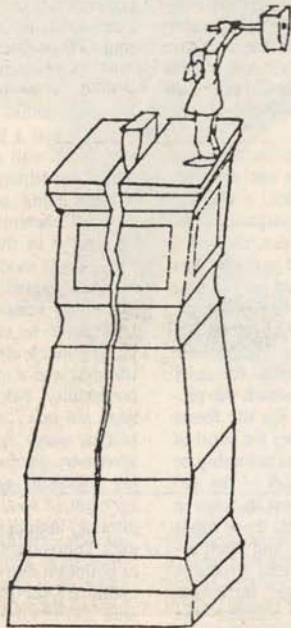
also building on an older May Day tradition of celebrating the annual re-awakening of the earth in spring. We are reclaiming our planet from these desecrators of the land who expropriate and exploit us.

We especially hope to bring the role of the IMF and the World Bank to the attention of North Americans and others from western countries who are less aware of the role of these organizations, even in their own countries. The IMF and World Bank are located in the US. They are funded primarily by the richest governments. The suffering of people in first world countries is the result of IMF and WB policies, no less than in other parts of the world. Throughout the world, the growth of homelessness, loss of farms and jobs, destruction of neighbourhoods, slashing of social programs and education, de-capitalization of local industries, creation of artificial famines, repression of labour and other social movements has grown as a result of IMF/WB policies. We also hope that this day of action can help build autonomous contacts and networks between peoples in every part of the planet. Such contacts have until recently been limited or made difficult by the division of the world into

two Cold War blocs, and by the political loyalties which developed around this division.

Nearly every country in the world, regardless of political ideology, "capitalist" or "communist," has been devastated by structural adjustment programs, the debt crisis and development schemes organized by the IMF and World Bank. All over the world, people are beginning to express their hatred of these bureaucrats and their policies. Demonstrations and revolts against the IMF/WB have already taken place in dozens of countries, ranging from Russia to Chiapas, from Melanesia to the West Bank, from Lagos to Berlin. The time has come to act together and bring an end to the IMF and the World Bank. The statist solutions of the past are repudiated, as nearly every government has either collaborated with or surrendered to the IMF/WB and imposed austerity and repression. Only a new movement everywhere, for a world without supranational government, can free all our lives from the authoritarianism and exploitation which goes by the names structural adjustment, privatization, liberalization, the free market, the global economy, budget austerity, "democracy." We are finally able to pay attention to the man behind the curtain. At this point, we have a year's lead time.

A few last words: we are not "in charge" of this — we are volunteering to act as facilitators for the communication on this proposed project. We want to start talking about the kinds of actions that the different groups would like to do, and what resources they have available. We would like every group to contact us as soon as they have some ideas about what they are going to do, so we can start passing on the information to the other groups. We will do several mailings about proposed plans, and will be sending out some kind of IMF/WB information packet (if you can help on this last, please let us know this too.) We are also not dictating the kinds of action to be taken. If your group feels it would be most effective participating in some larger anti-IMF/WB action in your area, do so by all means and pass the news on to us. Please contact us to let us know what you think, so we can start preparing to May Day 1995. Neither East nor West New York
339 Lafayette Street
New York NY 10012 USA.



MAN-GALA

RADICAL AGRICULTURE

by Murray Bookchin

Agriculture is a form of culture. The cultivation of food is a social and cultural phenomenon unique to humanity. Among animals, anything that could remotely be described as food cultivation appears ephemerally, if at all; and even among humans, agriculture developed little more than ten thousand years ago. Yet, in an epoch when food cultivation is reduced to a mere industrial technique, it becomes especially important to dwell on the cultural implications of "modern" agriculture — to indicate their impact not only on public health, but also on humanity's relationship to nature and the relationship of human to human.

The contrast between early and modern agricultural practices is dramatic. Indeed, it would be very difficult to understand the one through the vision of the other, to recognize that they are united by any kind of cultural continuity. Nor can we ascribe this contrast merely to differences in technology. Our agricultural epoch — a distinctly capitalistic one — envisions food cultivation as a business enterprise to be operated strictly for the purpose of generating profit in a market economy. From this standpoint, land is an alienable commodity called "real estate," soil a "natural resource," and food an exchange value that is bought and sold impersonally through a medium called "money." Agriculture, in effect, differs no more from any branch of industry than does steelmaking or automobile production. In fact, to the degree that food cultivation is affected by non-industrial factors such as climatic and seasonal changes, it lacks the exactness that marks a truly "rational" and scientifically managed operation. And, lest these natural factors elude bourgeois manipulation, they too are the objects of speculation in future markets and between middlemen in the circuit from farm to retail outlet.

In this impersonal domain of food production, it is not surprising to find that a "farmer" often turns out to be an airplane pilot who dusts crops with pesticides, a chemist who treats soil as a lifeless repository for inorganic compounds, an operator of immense agricultural machines who is more familiar with engines than botany, and perhaps most decisively, a financier whose knowledge of land may be less than that of an urban cab driver. Food, in turn, reaches the consumer in containers and in forms so highly modified and denatured as to bear scant resemblance to the original. In the modern, glistening supermarket, the buyer walks dreamily through a spectacle of packaged materials in which the pictures of plants, meat, and dairy foods replace the life forms from which they are derived. The fetish assumes the form of the real phenomenon. Here, the individual's relationship to one of the most intimate of natural experiences — the nutrients indispensable to life — is divorced from its roots in the totality of nature. Vegetables, fruit, cereals, dairy foods and meat lose their identity as organic realities and often acquire the name of the corporate enterprise that produces them. The "Big Mac" and the "Swift Sausage" no longer convey even the faintest notion that a living creature was painlessly butchered to provide the consumer with that food.

This denatured outlook stands sharply at odds with an earlier animistic sensibility that viewed land as an inalienable, almost sacred domain, food cultivation as a spiritual activity, and food consumption as a hallowed social ritual. The Cayuses of the Northwest were not unique in listening to the ground, for the "Great Spirit," in the words of a Cayuse chief, "Appointed the roots to feed the Indians on." The ground lived, and its voice had to be heeded. Indeed, this vision may have been a cultural obstacle to the spread of food cultivation; there are few statements of the hunter against agriculture that are more moving than Smohalla's memorable remarks: "You ask me to plough the ground. Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's breast? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest."²

When agriculture did emerge, it clearly perpetuated the hunter's animistic sensibility. The wealth of mythic narrative that surrounds food cultivation is testimony to an enchanted world brimming with life, purpose and spirituality. Ludwig Feuerbach's notion of God as the projection of man omits the extent to which early man is stamped by the imprint of the natural world and, in this sense, is an extension or projection of it. To say that early humanity lived in "partnership" with this world tends to understate the case; humanity lived as *part* of this world — not beside it or above it.

Because the soil was alive, indeed the mother of life, to cultivate it was a sacred act that required invocatory and appeasing rituals. Virtually every aspect of the agricultural procedure had its sanctifying dimension, from preparing a tith to harvesting a crop. The harvest itself was blessed, and to "break bread" was at once a domestic ritual that daily affirmed the solidarity of kinfolk as well as an act of hospitable pacification between the stranger and the community. We still seal a bargain with a drink or celebrate an important event with a feast. To fell a tree or kill an animal required appeasing rites, which acknowledged that life inhered in these beings and that this life partook of a sacred constellation of phenomena.

Naive as the myths and many of these practices may seem to the modern mind, they reflect a truth about the agricultural situation. After having lost contact with this "pre-scientific" sensibility — at great cost to the fertility of the land and to its ecological balance — we now know that soil is very much alive; that it has its health, its dynamic equilibrium, and a complexity comparable to that of any living community. Not that the details that enter into this knowledge are new; rather, we are *aware* of them in a new and holistic way. As recently as the early 1960s, American agronomy generally viewed soil as a medium in which living organisms were largely extraneous to the chemical management of food cultivation. Having saturated the soil with nitrates, insecticides, herbicides, and an appalling variety of toxic compounds, we have become the victims of a new type of pollution that could well be called "soil pollution." These toxins are the hidden additives to the dinner table, the unseen specters that return to us as the residual products of our exploitative attitude toward the natural world. No less sig-

nificantly, we have gravely damaged soil in vast areas of the earth and reduced it to the simplified image of the modern scientific viewpoint. The animal and plant life so essential to the development of a nutritive, friable soil is diminished, and in many places approaches the sterility of impoverished, desert-like sand.

By contrast, early agriculture, despite its imaginary aspects, defined humanity's relationship to nature within sound ecological parameters. As Edward Hyams observes, the attitude of people and their culture is as much a part of their technical equipment as are the implements they employ. If the "axe was only the physical tool which ancient man used to cut down trees" and the "intellectual tool enabled him to swing his axe" effectively, "what of the spiritual tool?" This "tool" is the "member of the trinity of tools which enables people to control and check their actions by reference to the 'feeling' which they possess for the consequences of the changes they make in their environments." Accordingly, tree-felling would have been limited by their state of mind as early people "believed that trees had souls and were worshipful, and they associated certain gods with certain trees. Osiris with acacia; Apollo with oak and apple. The temples of many primitive peoples were groves...." If the mythical aspects of this mentality are evident enough, the fact remains that the mentality as such "was immensely valuable to the soil community and therefore, in the long run, to man. It meant that no trees would be wantonly felled, but only when it was absolutely necessary, and then to the accompaniment of propitiatory rites which, if they did nothing else, served constantly to remind tree-fellers that they were doing dangerous and important work...." One may add that, if culture can be regarded as a "tool," a mere shift in emphasis would easily make it possible to regard tools as part of culture. This different emphasis comes closer to what Hyams is trying to say than does his own formulation. In fact, what uniquely marks the bourgeois mentality is the debasement of art, values, and rationality to mere tools — a mentality that has even infiltrated the radical critique of capitalism if one is to judge from the tenor of the Marxian literature that abounds today.

A radical approach to agriculture seeks to transcend the prevailing instrumentalist approach that views food cultivation merely as a "human technique" opposed to "natural resources." This radical approach is literally ecological, in the strict sense that the land is viewed as an *oikos* — a *home*. Land is neither a "resource" nor a "tool," but the *oikos* of myriad kinds of bacteria, fungi, insects, earthworms, and small mammals. If hunting leaves this *oikos* essentially undisturbed, agriculture by contrast affects it profoundly and makes humanity an integral part of it. Human beings no longer indirectly affect the soil; they intervene into its food webs and biogeochemical cycles directly and immediately.

Conversely, it becomes very difficult to understand human social institutions without referring to the prevailing agricultural practices of a historical period and, ultimately, to the soil situation to which they apply. Hyams's description of every human community as a "soil community" is

unerring; historically, soil types and agrarian technological changes played a major, often decisive, role in determining whether the land would be worked cooperatively or individualistically — whether in a conciliatory manner or an exploitative one — and this, in turn, profoundly affected the prevailing system of social relations. The highly centralized empires of the ancient world were clearly fostered by the irrigation works required for arid regions of the Near East; the co-operative medieval village, by the open-field strip system and the moldboard plough. Lynn White, Jr., in fact, roots the Western coercive attitude towards nature as far back as Carolingian times, with the ascendancy of the heavy European plough and the consequent tendency to allot land to peasants not according to their family subsistence needs but "in proportion to their contribution to the ploughteam."⁴ He finds this changing attitude reflected in Charlemagne's efforts to rename the months according to labour responsibilities, thereby revealing an

emphasis on work rather than on nature or deities. "The old Roman calendars had occasionally shown genre scenes in human activity, but the dominant tradition (which continued in Byzantium) was to depict the months as passive personifications bearing symbols of attributes. The new Carolingian



JONATHAN STANGROOM

calendars, which set the pattern for the Middle Ages, are very different: they show a coercive attitude towards natural resources. They are definitely northern in origin; for the olive, which loomed so large in the Roman cycles, has now vanished. The pictures change to scenes of ploughing, harvesting, wood-chopping, people knocking down acorns for the pigs, pig-slaughtering. Man and nature are now two things, and man is master."⁶

Yet not until we come to the modern capitalist era do humanity and nature separate as almost complete foes, and the "mastery" by human over the natural world assumes the form of harsh domination, not merely hierarchical classification. The rupture of the most vestigial corporate ties that once united clansfolk, guild-members, and the community of the *polis* into a nexus of mutual aid; the reduction of everyone to an antagonistic buyer or seller; the rule of competition and egotism in every arena of economic and social life — all of this completely dissolves any sense of community, whether with nature or in society. The traditional assumption that community is the authentic locus of life fades so completely from human consciousness that it ceases to exercise any relevance to the human condition. The new starting point for forming a conception of society or of the psyche is the isolated, atomized person fending for him- or herself in a competitive jungle. The disastrous consequences of this outlook toward nature and society are evident enough in a world burdened by explosive social antagonisms, ecological simplification, and widespread pollution.

Radical agriculture seeks to restore humanity's sense of community: first, by giving full recognition to the soil as an ecosystem, a biotic community; and second, by viewing agriculture as the activity of a natural human community, a rural society and culture. Indeed, agriculture becomes the practical, day-to-day interface of soil and human communities, the means by which both meet and blend. Such a meeting and blending involves several key presuppositions. The most obvious of these is that humanity is part of the natural world, not above it as "master" or "lord." Undeniably, human consciousness is unique in its scope and insight, but uniqueness is no warrant for domination and exploitation. Radical agriculture, in this respect, accepts the ecological precept that variety does not have to be structured along hierarchical lines as we tend to do under the influence of hierarchical society. Things and relations that patently benefit the biosphere must be valued for their own sake, each unique in its own way and contributory to the whole — not one above or below the other and fair game for domination.

Variety, in both society and agriculture, far from being constrained, must be promoted as a positive value. We are now only too familiar with the fact that the more simplified an ecosystem — and, in agriculture, the more limited the variety of domesticated stocks involved — the more likely is the ecosystem to break down. The more complex the food webs, the more stable the biotic structure. This insight, which we have gained at so costly an expense to the biosphere and to ourselves, merely reflects the age-old thrust of evolution. The advance of the biotic world consists primarily of the differentiation, colonization and growing web of interdependence of life-forms on an inorganic planet — a

long process that has remade the atmosphere and landscape along lines that are hospitable for complex and increasingly intelligent organisms. The most disastrous aspect of prevailing agricultural methodologies, with their emphasis on monoculture, crop hybrids, and chemicals, has been the simplification they have introduced into food cultivation — a simplification that occurs on such a global scale that it may well throw back the planet to an evolutionary stage where it could support only simpler forms of life.

Radical agriculture's respect for variety implies a respect for the complexity of a balanced agricultural situation; the innumerable factors that influence plant nutrition and well-being; the diversified soil relations that exist from area to area; the complex interplay between climatic, geological and biotic factors that make for the differences between one tract of land and another; and the variety of ways in which human cultures react to these differences. Accordingly, the radical agriculturist sees agriculture not only as science but also as art. The food cultivator must live on intimate terms with a given area of land and develop a sensitivity for its special needs — needs that no textbook approach can possibly encompass. The food cultivator must be part of a "soil community" in the very meaningful sense that she or he belongs to a unique biotic system, as well as to a given social system.

Yet to deal with these issues merely in terms of technique would be a scant improvement over the approach that prevails today in agriculture. To be a technical connoisseur of an "organic" approach to agriculture is no better than to be a mere practitioner of a chemical approach. We do not become "organic farmers" merely by culling the latest magazines and manuals in this area, any more than we become healthy by consuming "organic" foods acquired from the newest suburban supermarket. What basically separates the organic approach from the synthetic is the overall attitude and praxis the food cultivator brings to the natural world as a whole. At a time when organic foods and environmentalism have become highly fashionable, it may be well to distinguish the ecological outlook of radical agriculture from the crude "environmentalism" that is currently so widespread. Environmentalism sees the natural world merely as a habitat that must be engineered with minimal pollution to suit society's "needs," however irrational or synthetic these needs may be. A truly ecological outlook, by contrast, sees the biotic world as a holistic unity of which



humanity is a part. Accordingly, in this world, human needs must be integrated with those of the biosphere if the human species is to survive. This integration, as we have already seen, involves a profound respect for natural variety, for the complexity of natural processes and relations, and for the cultivation of a mutualistic attitude toward the biosphere. *Radical agriculture, in short, implies not merely new techniques in food cultivation, but a new non-Promethean sensibility toward land and society as a whole.*

Can we hope to achieve fully this new sensibility solely as individuals, without regard to the larger social world around us?

Radical agriculture, I think, would be obliged to reject an isolated approach of this kind. Although individual practice doubtless plays an invaluable role in initiating a broad movement for social reconstruction, ultimately we will not achieve an ecologically viable relationship with the natural world without an ecological society. Modern capitalism is inherently anti-ecological: the nuclear relationship from which it is constituted — the buyer-seller relationship — pits individual against individual and, on the larger scale, humanity against nature. Capital's law of life of infinite expansion, of "production for the sake of production" and "consumption for the sake of consumption," turns the domination and exploitation of nature into the "highest good" of social life and human self-realization. Even Marx succumbs to this inherently bourgeois mentality when he accords to capitalism a "great civilizing influence" for reducing nature "for the first time simply (to) an object for mankind, purely a matter of utility..." Nature "ceases to be recognized as a power in its own right; and the theoretical knowledge of its independent laws appears only as a stratagem designed to subdue it to human requirements..."

In contrast to this tradition, radical agriculture is essentially libertarian in its emphasis on community and mutualism, rather than on competition, an emphasis that derives from the writings of Peter Kropotkin and William Morris. This emphasis could justly be called ecological before the word "ecology" became fashionable, indeed, before it was coined by Ernst Haeckel a century ago. The notion of blending town with country, of rotating specifically urban with agricultural tasks, had been raised by so-called utopian socialists such as Charles Fourier during the Industrial Revolution. Variety and diversity in one's workaday

activities — the Hellenic ideal of the rounded individual in a rounded society — found its physical counterpart in varied surroundings that were neither strictly urban nor rural, but a synthesis of both. Ecology validated this ideal by revealing that it formed the precondition not only for humanity's psychic and social self-being but for the well-being of the natural world as well.

Our own era has gone further than this visionary approach. A century ago it was still possible to reach the countryside without difficulty even from the largest cities and, if one so desired, to leave the city permanently for a rural way of life. Capitalism had not so completely effaced humanity's legacy that one lacked evidence of neighbourhood enclaves, quaint life-styles and personalities, architectural diversity, and even village society. Predatory as the new industrial system was, it had not so completely eliminated the human scale as to leave the individual totally faceless and estranged. By contrast, we are compelled to occupy even quasi-rural areas that have become essentially urbanized, and we are reduced to anonymous digits in a staggering bureaucratic apparatus that lacks personality, human relevance, or individual understanding. In population, if not in physical size, our cities compare to the nation-states of the last century. The human scale has been replaced by the inhuman scale. We can hardly comprehend our own lives, much less manage society or our immediate environment. Our very self-integrity, today, is implicated in achieving the vision that utopians and radical libertarians held forth a century ago. In this matter, we are struggling not only for a better way of life but for our very survival.

Radical agriculture offers a meaningful response to this desperate situation in terms not of a fanciful flight to a remote agrarian refuge, but of a systematic recolonization of the land along ecological lines. Cities are to be decentralized — and this is no longer a utopistic fantasy but a visible necessity which even conventional city planning is beginning to recognize — and new eco-communities are to be established, tailored artistically to the ecosystems in which they are located. These eco-communities are to be scaled to human dimensions, both to afford the greatest degree of self-management possible and personal comprehension of the social situation. No bureaucratic, manipulative, centralized administration here, but a voluntaristic system in which the economy, society and ecology of an area are administered by the community as a whole, and the distri-



DONALD ROOM/WILDCAT ABC OF BOSSES

bution of the means of life is determined by need, rather than by labour, profit or accumulation.

But radical agriculture carries this tradition further — into technology itself. In contemporary social thought, technology tends to be polarized into highly centralized labour-intensive forms on the one hand and decentralized, craft-scale labour-intensive forms on the other. Radical agriculture steers the middle ground established by an eco-technology: it avails itself of the tendency toward miniaturization and versatility, quality production, and a balanced combination of mass manufacture and crafts. For side by side with the massive, highly specialized fossil-fuel technology in use today, we are beginning to see the emergence of a new technology — one that lends itself to the local deployment of many energy resources on a small scale (wind, solar and geothermal) — that provides a wider latitude in the use of small, multipurpose machinery, and that can easily provide us with the high-quality semifinished goods that we, as individuals, may choose to finish according to our proclivities and tastes. The rounded eco-communities of the future would thereby be sustained by rounded ecotechnologies. The people of these communities, living in a highly diversified agricultural and industrial society, would be free to avail themselves of the most sophisticated technologies without suffering the social distortions that have pitted town against country, mind against work, and humanity against itself and the natural world.

Radical agriculture brings all of these possibilities into focus, for we must begin with the land if only because the basic materials for life are acquired from the land. This is not only an ecological truth but a social one as well. The kind of agricultural practice we adopt at once reflects and reinforces the approach we will utilize in all spheres of industrial and social life. Capitalism began historically by undermining and overcoming the resistance of the traditional agrarian world to a market economy; it will never be fully transcended unless a new society is created on the land that liberates humanity in the fullest sense and restores the balance between society and nature.

FOOTNOTES

1. T.C. McLuhan, ed., *Touch the Earth* (New York, Outerbridge & Lazard, 1971), p.8.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
3. Edward Hyams, *Soil and Cultivation* (London, Thames & Hudson, 1952), pp 274, 276.
4. Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1962), p. 56.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
6. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, ed. and trans. David McLellan (New York; Harper & Row, 1971), p. 94.
7. See especially P. Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow* (New York, Harper & Row, 1974), *Mutual Aid* (Boston, Sargent Publishers, 1955), and also: *Conquest of Bread* (New York; New York University Press, 1972).
8. See Murray Bookchin, *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (Berkeley, Ramparts Press, 1972).

BREAD

They asked me why I still make bread
"When you can buy it at the store,
for next to nothing."

Cheap and easy

I didn't know what to say

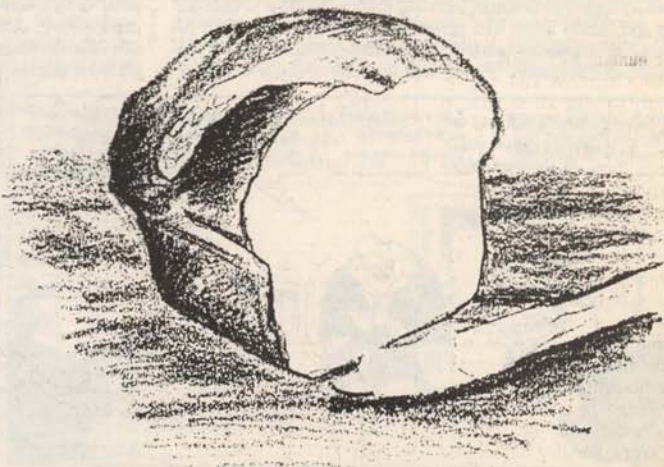
I've always made it
never wondered why

I only put the finest things inside
the freshest eggs
honey
pure water
flour from the field
but that isn't the reason

The smell of it
fills my house on bread day
my children gather
stop their play
and sit in the kitchen to wait
but that isn't the reason

It must have something to do
with the smell of the dry lifeless flour
the smell of the yeast
turning the lump into a living thing
growing
under my hands
like a child when you love her

J.M. de Moissac



JENNIFER SANDERS

Kick It Over

PERMACULTURE

Focus on the Future

by Jay Boggess

The word "permaculture," coined by Bill Mollison and David Holmgren in the early 1970s, describes a lifestyle connected to intensive integrated food production, waste, water management and energy systems. Permaculture is more than permanent agriculture; it is permanent culture, people and land coexisting in such a way as to be beneficial to both. Bill Mollison describes in detail food production and other integrated human life support systems in his book *Permaculture: A practical guide for a sustainable future* (Island Press, Washington DC, 1990).

Another book describing integrated systems for urban conditions is *The Integral Urban House* by Farallones Institute (Sierra Books, San Francisco CA, 1979). This book shows an existing two story house in San Francisco on a lot less than 1/4 acre. The house is fitted with all sorts of appropriate technologies for healthy environmentally safe living. Some examples of appropriate technologies include: solar panels for electricity, solar panels for heat and hot water, passive solar design for heat and hot water, (i.e. an attached greenhouse), composting toilets, and aquaculture, which produces aquatic food as well as acting as a thermal mass that can be used to store heat.

Aquaculture technology is a good example of an integrated system, producing more than one resource. Aquaculture can also be used as a biofilter reclaiming gray and waste water and, going a step further, can be combined with a greenhouse serving a number of systems and resource production. Greenhouse aquaculture shows the effectiveness of a closed system, creating, reusing and recycling all energy needed for adequate survival.

Permaculture attempts to become a closed system for human habitation. It is labour intensive and may be costly to start all at once in materials, labour and time, but once in operation permaculture is a wholistic habitat supporting people and the earth. It is a lot more involved than gardening organically, and, depending on the climate, may not ever be self-sufficient in food and energy without dependence on outside resources and energy. Permaculture is a balance of living in a symbiotic relationship with the earth. It is also a bonding experience through the cooperation that occurs when people work

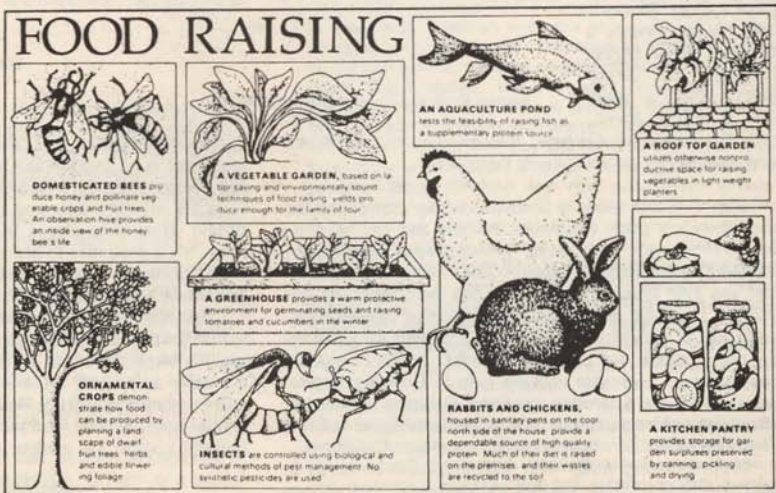
hard together for a common goal.

Self sufficiency is different from self reliance. Sufficiency describes total energy and resource recycling without inputs from outside sources, (excluding the sun, wind, rain, etc.). Self reliance is connecting with the community, sharing resources and energy. This is a lot more common than total self sufficiency, especially in colder climates or in areas with difficult growing conditions. The integral urban house is an example of self reliance. Permaculture leans toward self sufficiency.

Steps Toward Permaculture

As a final goal, permaculture may not be for everyone. It is quite involved and somewhat complicated, but it is a big solution to so many problems we, as a living planet, face now and in the near future. Living in a self-sufficient manner takes a lot of adjustment and discipline for most of us, as well as time and energy.

Step 1. The first step differs from person to person, but it seems appropriate to start with a wholistic, healthy and satisfying diet mostly from foods gathered from your specific bioregion (bioregion is an area with common climate and growing conditions). This accomplishes a number of things; prepares your body for a diet you can grow, supports healthy farming and permacultures in the area, and gives a person all the nutritious calories for a hard working day. Buying direct from farmers through community supported



DIAGRAMS FROM THE INTEGRAL URBAN HOUSE

agriculture (C.S.A.) or through local farmer markets and co-operatives ensures the success of alternative agriculture and allows future food producers market outlets. Community supported agriculture is people trading for "shares," in the form of food, from nearby food producers, allowing the farmer or gardener to grow food in a wholistic way with money and help up front instead of taking out loans or going in debt. C.S.A.s support small-scale and family farms.

Associated with using foods from nearby is the need to locally manage waste. City life can make this difficult, with the need for space and with local restrictive ordinances, which also makes self-sufficiency hard to achieve. Until urban areas realize that corporate (large-scale) waste management is too costly in energy and resources, and that it is in their best interest to reuse and recycle "waste," or in our case resources, we must do what is possible to recycle on our own. This can mean anything from taking back soda bottles to voting in change to using appropriate technologies that reuse waste on site.

Permaculture illustrates the need to keep energy and plant nutrient on site. Once a balance is started, very little energy is needed to continue the process if steps are taken to reuse/recycle energy and matter on site. Composting is an example of waste management and recycling. Vermaculture (growing red wiggler worms) is another. The Edible City Resource Center helps produce a quarterly, *Worm Digest*, specifically on vermaculture; also, a good book is Mary Appelloff's *Worms Eat My Garbage: How to set up and maintain a worm-composting system* (Flower Press, 1993).

Step 2. Grow food. It is simple to say, but if one has never grown a plant from seed before, and that is more common than not these days, growing food seems overwhelming. John Jeavons' book, *Grow More Vegetables... than you ever thought possible on less land than you can imagine*, is a good resource for the beginning intensive gardener; lots of information and practical designs for small areas, plus compost and nutritional guides. Another book for some practical vegetable growing info is *Growing Vegetables West Of the Cascades*, by Steve Solomon. A bit specific as far as bioregion, but relatively adaptable, as is *Grow More Vegetables...*, which is based in southern California.

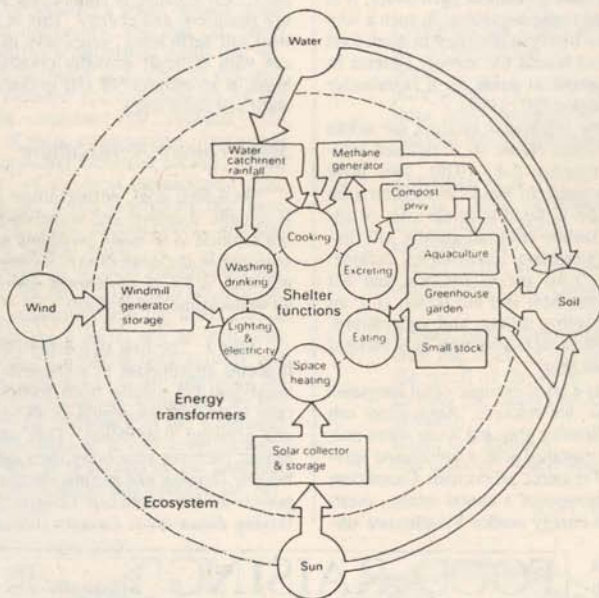
Begin growing foods with alfalfa sprouts or herbs in small pots, and work up through the different levels of gar-

dening planters, small plots in the yard or community gardens or a neighbour's or friend's place, until you are capable of growing a good portion of your own fruits and vegetables, including preserving food and recycling the garden debris. Supermarkets make it look easy, but think of all the energy needed to get the packaged stuff onto the shelves, too much energy made and disposed of in an inappropriate manner. Food grown at home takes energy too, but a different energy, mostly from calories burned by human activity.

Step 3. Time Management. As stated earlier, permaculture takes a lot of work, discipline and patience. What seems to be sacrificed in the pursuit of permaculture is leisure time and money. What is gained from not watching television or having a

big bank account is a different sense of reality and a solid connection with the earth and your environment. Start by roughing out daily activities: chores, working at a job, leisure time, food prep, etc. This will give an indication of how much time is needed for essential things, and where to find more.

Daily maintenance of most of the waste and food systems is essential. Long term planning is required for seasonal food production. Good results follow good record keeping on performance of all aspects of the permaculture. Time management and planning are important, for example when the crops all mature at once and one is working full time.



ENERGY FLOW IN A CLOSED SYSTEM HABITAT

Step 4. Design/Planning. This step goes hand in hand with "time management." Effective design is important, as permaculture is an overlapping intricate mosaic of food, waste and energy systems. Efficient use of time is needed to accomplish all the work and presence is required for each system. How these pieces fit together is important to consider. It's a good idea to design with future improvements in mind, planning out how these later stages will be implemented without compromising other aspects of the design.

Bill Mollison talks about the importance of designing with "zones." Imagine a group of radiating circles on a specific site, like a bull's eye. The centre ring is used for the daily activities, the house and workshop along with other systems requiring daily maintenance, greenhouse, animal housing, etc. The second zone, or ring, is for less intensive systems, i.e. garden, machine garage, storage. Zone 3

—continued on page 26—

— Anarcho-Spatialism —

Towards an Egalitarian Land Tenure

An accurate description of future land tenure after so revolutionary a change as anarchy is impossible. Imagine someone before the industrial revolution attempting to describe the present. Max Stirner writes in *The Ego and His Own*, "Of what sort is the settlement to be? One might as well ask that I cast a child's nativity. What a slave will do as soon as he has broken his fetters, one must — await." Nevertheless, if we will destroy the old structure, we must make an attempt to paint a picture, however two dimensional, of the new social relationships for which we strive. "The question of *land* refuses to go away." writes Hakim Bey) in *T.A.Z.* "How can we separate the concept of *space* from the mechanisms of *control*? The territorial gangsters, the Nation/States, have hogged the entire map. Who can invent for us a cartography of autonomy, who can draw a map that includes our desires?"

The Kingsgate Squatters and Rent Strikers Cooperative for Self-Management rises to answer the question with a concrete answer: "Territory organised for the joy of living." (*Anarchy* no. 16, 1975). Other anarchists answer the question of how to organize land-space as well. In his book *On Common Ground*, Francis Reed looks to the idyllic pastoral paintings which he claims compensated the 'national psyche' for common lands lost to enclosure during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He posits them as a template for a future anarchist society that will "stand as a record of 'a world of pastoral beauty that could be ours, if we did but desire it passionately enough'; icons to be carried through the desert on our exodus from the land." These vague imaginings of the future are important, but they raise more questions than answers.

Anarcho-Spatialism: an Ideal

In order to facilitate the discussion of practical and theoretical anarchist land tenures, lets begin with a name. I propose 'anarcho-spatialism.' 'Anarchy,' the first part of our new word, means without rule, government, or domination. 'Spatial' means having to do with space, e.g. land, blank walls for graffiti, and condemned houses for squatting. Francis Reed writes of the importance of space:

Space and psyche can be seen as the basic material of a living process which we at once inhabit and which inhabits us; apparent in the 'leylines' or 'songlines' of the landscape, in the myths and symbols embodied in cities where there is space both for nature and our own inner nature (and where the flow of water is particularly important) and in the geometry of buildings and the relations between people.

The suffix "ism" denotes an idea, action and condition of being. Thus we have anarcho-spatialism, defined as a spatial system devoid of domination. The struggle for such a system is

the same word as the system itself; the means and the end are synonyms. As a system which fits into the larger framework of anarchism, anarcho-spatialism must include a conscious perception of the inequity of the State, sexism, racism, classism, (speciesism?), and the oppression of children. An equitable system of land tenure must be built upon the foundation of an end to all oppression, and is itself a part of that foundation.*

Anarcho-spatialism is not a section of anarchism such as anarcho-feminism, anarcho-syndicalism or anarcho-communism, because anarcho-spatialism has no essential difference from the former distinct and at times contradictory movements; rather, anarcho-spatialism distinguishes a strand of thought and action *within* existing anarchist movements and can be used to signify the land tenure for which anarchists strive.

Anarcho-spatialism has as its basis an end to domination. Land will be distributed according to need and equality, effectively ending landlessness and homelessness. The holding of land will be based on use (usufructuary) or planned use. The producer on land will receive the entire product of her/his labor, leaving none for extraction by landowners.

This will have the effect of leveling wealth. With access to presently unused lands and the entirety of their product, workers will be empowered in economic relations with employers due to the option of self-sufficiency. Individuals will have complete freedom to work for themselves with their own capital or work by contract with the capital of others on free land. Land is for use, not ownership. Anarcho-spatialism will be marked by higher efficiency due to worker control, equitable distribution

*Anarchists are faced with a considerable amount of work to adequately coalition with the above list of liberatory struggles. The task ahead is to listen to those oppressed by the above isms, come to an agreement on how a future society might appear, and then work collectively for our common goal. As it is, there is precious little communication between anarchists and these movements, many of which are antagonistic. For example, in the land tenure field, many anarchists are engaged in a misguided battle to convince Black, Chicano and Native American activists that they must abandon goals of a separate national entity in favour of an anarchist collectivity. But what is this collectivity on closer examination of concrete examples such as Makhno's Ukraine or anarchist zones during the Spanish civil war but a form of anarchist nationalism? Native American, African-American, Chicano, and even anarchists nationalists need a border — and an armed one at that — to keep aggressive and hegemonic military and cultural machines at bay in order to build and reconstruct cultures free from unwanted influence. "The idea," writes Ward Churchill in *Struggle for the Land*, "is to consolidate a distinct indigenous territoriality while providing a definable landbase to as many different Indian nations as possible in the process." Only when we understand and incorporate the needs of those who combat the above isms will we approach a truly anarchist, or indominative, land tenure.

of land, and a reward to labor of the entire product. Because of heightened income the plague of chronic malnutrition will decrease substantially if not altogether.

Discrimination due to race, sex, sexual preference or ideology must be eradicated. If a system of land tenure discriminated, it could not be labeled as indominative and thus would not be anarcho-spatialism. For radical environmentalists anarcho-spatialism will include animal parity with humans, and thus a balance will have to be struck between humans, as one species, and the millions of other species that exist. Anarcho-spatialism allows for those who want to simplify their lives as well as those who embrace advanced technology, so long as that technology does not infringe upon the rights of other individuals.

Impaired Anarchist Land Tenure in an Imperfect World

Anarchists have written a good deal about land tenure and liberated small areas of land for short periods of time, giving them a chance to demonstrate, in however imperfect a way, some of the arrangements they desire. "The extent to which theories are valid," writes historian of anarchist Spain Sam Dolgoff, "can be determined only by the extent to which they are practical. Theories that do not correspond to the acid test of real life are worse than useless as a guide to action."

In an imperfect world, attempts at anarchist land tenure are

sporadically discernible. Makhno's Ukraine during the early twentieth century, Spain during the Spanish Revolution, and on a much smaller scale anarchist communes following the revolutions of France, the United States and Brazil. Current anarchist land tenure is born in squatting communities throughout Europe and North America in, among other places, Amsterdam, London, Berlin, Rome, New York and Philadelphia. All of the above anarcho-spatialist incidents tend towards impermanence, *à la* Hakim Bey's temporary autonomous zone (TAZ), one example of which is the ten-house Mainzerstrasse squat in Germany during 1990. While for a time it functioned as an anarchist community within the shell of an industrial militarist society, it was eventually evicted after a two hour battle between 500 squatters and German riot police. But eviction did not destroy the anarchist autonomy which only temporarily inhabited the Mainzerstrasse zone. TAZ is designed to be highly mobile and impervious to massive and cumbersome state apparatus of control. Most of the Mainzerstrasse squatters simply relocated to other squatted buildings in the area.

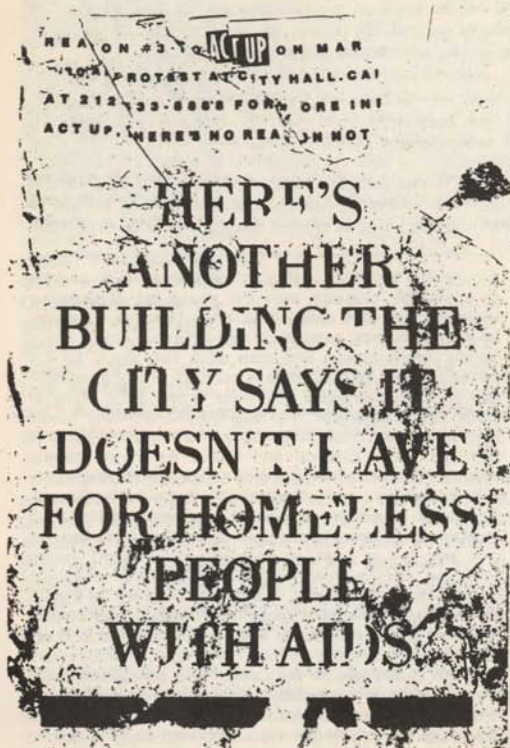
Even with limited success, there are cracks in an anarchist land tenure situated in a violent world. Where small pieces of land are liberated through purchase or violence, the very means used to secure the land are in contradiction to the concepts of anarchism. In the case of nineteenth and twentieth century anarchist intentional communities, which were often based on communal ownership of land, they were forced into coexistence with larger and often antagonistic populations and legal systems. Revolutionary anarchist armies subjected themselves to authoritarian and time-consuming wars which made inroads on their ideals, energy and the ability to construct new social relationships. The Second Congress of the people in the anarchist Ukraine met on February 12, 1919, but was unable to devote itself to the problems of peaceful construction. Sessions were entirely occupied by questions of defence against invaders. Cultural and political theoretician and active participant in the Makhnovist army Peter Arshinov believed the basic shortcoming of the Makhnovist movement to be its unavoidable concentration on military activities.

Three years of uninterrupted civil wars made the southern Ukraine a permanent battlefield. Numerous armies of various parties traversed it in every direction, wreaking material, social and moral destruction on the peasants. This exhausted the peasants. It destroyed their first experiments in the field of workers' self-management. Their spirit of social creativity was crushed. These conditions tore the Makhnovshchina away from its healthy foundation, away from socially creative work among the masses, and forced it to concentrate on war — revolutionary war, it is true, but war nevertheless.

Though anarchists have never experienced utopia, and their communities are constantly subjected to a politico-economic atmosphere not of their choosing, ideals were dreamed of and some achieved.

Distribution by Need, Equity and Use

Perhaps the most salient spatial ideal of anarchists is a call for the distribution of land on the basis of need, equality and use. The first point of Bakunin's *National Catechism* states: "The land is the common property of society. But its



YOUR HOUSE IS MINE

fruits and use shall be open only to those who cultivate it by their labour; accordingly, ground rents must be abolished." José Vega, an anarchist worker and organizer in the Spanish civil war states:

I believe that God created the light, created the water, created the earth and the air for all equally. Nobody should have a right to usurp a part of these things, these substances. If they are usurped by anyone, it is to the detriment of the rest.

Each individual, present and future, is seen as having an equal claim on the use of the earth. Even in the most adverse of situations these concepts are extremely important to anarchists. Carlo Cafiero, a financial supporter of Bakunin who played an important role in the International Brotherhood, was hospitalized in a mental institution after being found in 1883 wandering naked in the hills near Florence. Writes historian of anarchism Robert Suskind of Cafiero, "He died nine years later, obsessed with the thought that he was getting more than his just share of sunlight through the windows of his room at the asylum." Hakim Bey draws inspiration from the eighteenth century pirate Republic of Libertatia, which he claims held land in common. Even in the prolix and erethistic writings of situationist Guy Debord can be found a desire to "subject space to living experience," and promote the rediscovery of autonomous places "without reintroducing an exclusive attachment to the soil."

Joshua Ingalls is a little known North American anarchist of the nineteenth century who dedicated much of his work to the question of land. Laurence Moss paraphrases his writings:

In his pamphlet *Land and Labor*, Ingalls argued that the productive powers of the soil were indestructible and did not owe to any man's individual efforts. Therefore, no man had a legitimate right to establish his perpetual dominion over what in actuality belonged to men in common. The only claim an individual had to fencing off a portion of land for his own was that he occupied the land and made use of it in the satisfaction of his individual needs. Upon his death or departure the individual's tenure ends and the next occupant, who employs the land productively while living on it, acquires a similar but temporary right to exclude others from the land. At all times the right of exclusion is temporary and not absolute.

Echoing similar sentiments voiced by Maoris in New Zealand, anarchists also demand not only that land be shared equally amongst the present population, but that living individuals will share the earth with future individuals in an infinite extension of time. Thus none will use the earth's resources in a way that is unsustainable, or for which an alternative would not be available when the resources used are exhausted.

But even by sharing the land with all future generations of humans, this does not address the concerns of eco-anarchists such as constitute the members of Earth First! They demand that land and the animals on it be respected in their own right, not mistreated as resources for exploitation (even if by anarcho-egalitarian modalities). Some go so far as to join the Voluntary Human Extinction Society, which calls for the gradual withdrawal of all human life on earth.

As should be evident, there are many different strains of

anarcho-spatialism, many opinions as to how to use and divide, or not divide, the land upon which we live. One major point of agreement, however, is a negative attitude towards absentee land ownership. Those who have little need to use land are commonly told they have no right to charge for what they do not use; holding of land will only be for those who use it. Myrna Breitbart promotes land utilization for community need rather than profit:

The use of agricultural land under anarchy would be determined by, on the one hand, its suitability to particular uses, and on the other by local or regional needs. Land would be used not for the purpose which yields the highest money rent, but rather, for that which offers the greatest social utility.

Russian anarchists affiliated with *Zemlja i Vofja* in the nineteenth century called for land to belong to the whole people: land which had been hitherto held privately was to be held only on terms of usufruct, and after the usufructuary's death was to accrue to the village. In an introductory proclamation to Ukrainian peasants, the Makhnovists made clear their position on agrarian issues: "The lands of the service gentry, of the monasteries, of the princes and other enemies of the toiling masses, with all their live stock and goods, are passed on to the use of those peasants who support themselves solely through their own labor." Late nineteenth century French anarchist Elisée Reclus explains his philosophy:

Thus we shall take the land — yes, we shall take it — but away from those who hold it without working it, in order to return it to those who do work it... what you cultivate, my brother, is yours, and we shall do everything in our power to help you keep it; but what you do not cultivate belongs to a comrade. Make room for him.

According to Arshinov these principles were also put into practice by Makhno in 1917 as president of the regional peasants' union during the period of the Kerensky government and in the October days of 1917:

...in August, 1917, he assembled all the *pomeshchiks* (landed gentry) of the region and made them give him all the documents relating to lands and buildings. He proceeded to take an exact inventory of all this property, and then made a report on it, first at a session of the local soviet, then at the district congress of soviets, and finally at the regional congress of soviets. He proceeded to equalize the rights of the *pomeshchiks* and the *kulaks* with those of the poor peasant laborers in regard to the use of the land. Following his proposal, the congress decided to let the *pomeshchiks* and the *kulaks* have a share of the land, as well as tools and livestock, equal to that of the laborers.

Not to be outdone, the Whiteway Colony adopted principles of egalitarianism at their intentional community in turn of the century England. According to historian Tom Keell Wolfe,

In 1899 the title deeds were burnt with some ceremony and the Colony's basis was laid down — there should be no private ownership of land — control of the land and any business to do with it should be in the hands of the Colony Meeting —



LANDOWNERS GAMBLING THEIR PEASANTS, BY GUSTAVE DORÉ.

individual plots of land were held on the basis of use-occupation. Plots were allocated by the Meeting, which had no power to take it away. When the occupier left Whiteway the land reverted to the control of the Meeting, and could be reallocated.

During the Spanish civil war individuals were forbidden to take over more land than they could personally cultivate without wage labor, and sixty percent of anarchist liberated land in Spain was quickly brought under collective cultivation by the peasants. The figures in Aragon and Catalonia were much greater at seventy-five and ninety percent respectively, illustrating the extent of communalization and redistribution achieved. There were about 2,000 anarchist agricultural collectives involving approximately 800,000 people all told.

While anarchists generally look on the future formation of collectives as the primary mode of production, and propertylessness as the status of consumables, when pressed they generally make room for individualists, or those who wish to produce without collective association. In their July, 1964, issue devoted to land, the editors of the British magazine *Anarchy* point out that the anarchist movement is not to confiscate the small home or farm:

The one thing that most people know about the 19th century French anarchist Proudhon is that he coined the slogan "Property is Theft" and later in life modified this to "Property is Freedom." This always raises a laugh, but Proudhon was in fact talking about two different kinds of property. The property of the man who draws an income from thousands of acres, or from the ownership of an oilwell or a factory, or from speculation, is obvi-

ously different from the property of the peasant cultivator. There is a difference between owning your means of livelihood and owning ICI.

In any case, it is impossible to know what an anarchist land tenure will look like, and it is most certainly an evolving proposition. If it is implemented by a significant part of the population, and at the same time remains user-developed, it will be subject to massive transformation. By the time we get there, if in fact a there exists, it will probably no longer be called anarchism.

Landownership as Fiction

In order to achieve anarcho-spatial land tenure, it is helpful to interrogate the fictive nature of our present system of landed property. "It is only the abstract mentality which sees space as a commodifiable resource," writes Francis Reed, "to be let by the square metre, a void to be filled, that has thrown the relationship out of balance and spawned a rigid formalism completely lacking in habitable space." Land ownership is a juridical construction with roots in, among other things, the warrior clans of pre-imperialist Rome, feudal monarchies, the Napoleonic Code, English Common Law, and European imperialism. As an imaginative method of domination it has worked well in forcing us to believe that the land upon which we stand belongs to this fictive concept of an 'owner,' but by acts of will it is possible to transcend ourselves and the cop in our head. When you are clear that the present system of land tenure is deeply flawed, when you have a vision of, and act in accordance with a land ethic based on your desire, the system of land ownership will be demoted to the status of a fiction. "Private property lives by grace of the law," writes Stirner. "Only in

law has its warrant — for possession is not yet property, it becomes 'mine' only by assent of the law; it is not a fact, not *un fait* as Proudhon thinks, but a fiction, a thought." Change thought and a revolution takes place.

In a world where fictional paradigms continue, a path is open to action and resistance for those who think outside the bounds of property lines. Whether you choose violence or non-violence, bureaucratic resistance or land occupation, education or theft, disruption or insurrection, we must resist and create if we are to change the present to a land tenure based upon desire.

Anders Corr is an independent researcher and writer on subjects of land, housing, and direct action politics. He invites criticism or comments which can be sent to P.O. Box 7691, Santa Cruz, CA 95061, USA.

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A few other resources on the topic of Food and Land:

- Dreamtime Village is a rural experiment in combining permaculture with the "unlimited possibilities of hypermedia arts." Each year they hold a number of workshops on agricultural, arts and political subjects, plus a summer Corroborree. Sample copies of their magazine, *Dreamtime Talking Mail*, are available for \$4.00 (subs are \$12.00/3 issues). For further details, write to: Dreamtime Village, Rt. 2, Box 242W, Viola, WI 54664 USA.
- *TRIP* (The Resources of International Permaculture) and *UPPITY* (Unofficial Permaculture Publication Independently to You) are compilations of permaculture resources, programs, groups, etc. Both are from Yankee Permaculture, a publisher and distributor of permaculture publications. Yankee Permaculture also publishes *The International Permaculture Solutions Journal*. The *Journal* is available for \$25.00/4 issues; *TRIP* costs \$16.50 (US), \$18.00 (elsewhere). Write to: Permaculture, PO Box 672, Dahlongega, GA 30533-0672, USA.
- *The Ram's Horn* is a newsletter of food system analysis, put out by Cathleen and Brewster Kneen. Brewster Kneen is the author of the book *From Land to Mouth*, which provides a useful analysis of the global food system, from barnyard to boardroom to biotechnology; *From Land to Mouth, Second Helping* is a recently expanded and updated edition of the book. *The Ram's Horn*, while small at 8 pages, is an excellent source of information and opinion on the state of our food. Subscription \$15.00/year (11 issues) from: *The*

Ram's Horn, 125 Highfield Road, Toronto, ON M4L 2T9, Canada.

- *Sustainable Agriculture in Print: Current Books* is available free from: Alternative Farming Systems Information Center, National Agriculture Library, Room 111, 10301 Baltimore Blvd., Beltsville, MD 20705 USA.
- Those who would like to learn more about Henry George and his proposal for a land value tax (mentioned in Anders Corr's article), can contact Land and Liberty, 177 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London SW1V 1EU, England. Their bimonthly magazine, *Land and Liberty*, is available for \$2.25 (US) a copy.
- The winter 1993/94 issue of *Raise the Stakes* explored the theme Food as Place: Bioregional Agriculture. Among the topics discussed were backyard gardening and solutions to the problems created by large-scale agriculture, eating local instead of imported foods, the horticultural practices and plant uses of California native tribes, and more. This grandparent of bioregionalism is always an interesting and useful read. Food as Place costs \$4.00 plus \$2.00 p&h; membership in the Planet Drum Foundation (publisher of *Raise the Stakes*) costs \$20.00, and brings you the half-yearly *Raise the Stakes* and lots more. Planet Drum Foundation, PO Box 31251, San Francisco, CA 94131, Shasta Bioregion, USA.

Land Trusts

land held in common

by Jeff Johnston

Land trusts, non-profit entities that purchase land for sustainable activities, have become a potent tool for people concerned with environmental and social justice issues. There are approximately one thousand land trusts in North America at this time, including conservation trusts, farm land trusts, sustainable forestry trusts, and urban land trusts. These trusts have taken about three million acres of land out of the real estate and resource-extraction markets.

A brief history of land ownership will provide some background on the need for land trusts today.

For thousands of years, humankind lived as hunter-gatherers. They ate what they found — the animals they hunted, and the nuts, seeds, grains, fruits and vegetables they gathered. By necessity, they were nomadic: when hunters had to travel farther to find animals, or when gatherers had to spend more time foraging, it was time to move to another location. These peoples saw the land as the Mother, the provider of life. As Kirkpatrick Sale put it in *Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision*, their "respect for the natural world and an appreciation of the land itself as sacred and inviolable was surely inevitable." They did not own the land; food and duties were shared by all.

Approximately 10,000 years ago, humanity developed agriculture in what we now called "the cradle of civilization" — the lands between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The Mesopotamians discovered that they could plant and grow grains that previously they could harvest only where they found them. This development of a secure food source allowed people to settle in one location. As agricultural surpluses developed and populations increased, these small settlements developed into villages, then cities. Along with the growth of cities came separation of labour. The land was still held in common.

During feudal times in Europe, the land was "owned" by the monarch. He collected taxes from users of the land, and gave large parcels of it to men of the aristocracy, who then "rented" it out to serfs for a share of the harvest. Up to the mid-1600s, much of Britain's land was still held in common, that is, peasants could use it to grow crops, or graze sheep, or cut firewood. Starting in the mid-1600s, and for the next 150 years, these common lands were gradually enclosed, much of it to raise sheep for the fast-growing woollen industry. By 1845, 4,000 Private Acts of Enclosure had privatized seven million acres of common land. In 1845, the British Parliament passed the Great Enclosure Act, enclosing the balance of the commons.

The peasants were forced off the land and joined others to live in the forests. However, the forests were soon devastated to supply timber for the coal mines and the British navy. Eventually, many of these people became coal mine workers or worked in the first of the large enterprises based on large-scale investment, centralized (city) production, and

a division of labour. Land could be bought and sold freely, and owners enjoyed specific rights, including the right to do what they pleased on their land, and the right to evict trespassers.

Europeans brought their ideas of land ownership and land use to North America. These ideas were incomprehensible to the indigenous peoples living here successfully with minimal impact upon the land. Much of the eastern third of both Canada and the US is privately owned, as a result of settlement prior to the establishment of central governments. As well, in Canada, the British government granted tracts of land to soldiers for services rendered to the crown.

When the west was settled, the US federal government took much of the forested land, leaving the fertile prairies to be farmed by private land owners. In Canada, most of the forests are government-owned as well, although by the provinces instead of the federal government. Both federal governments encouraged the railways to expand and open up the west by granting them millions of acres of land. The Canadian government settled the prairies by advertising free land to people in Europe if they agreed to come and farm it. The US government passed the Homestead Act in 1862, which gave 160 acres to a family to farm.

As the cities continued to grow, demand for wood increased dramatically. The governments took stumpage fees from timber companies in return for permission to clear cut trees — it seemed then that there would be enough forests to last forever. As the population grew, more land was needed to raise cattle. The US government provided western public lands at ridiculously low prices to ranchers. (According to The Wilderness Society, using USDA Agricultural Statistics Board information, today's rates can be as little as one-sixth the rates on private lands.)

With the advent of the production line, allowing mass-produced and inexpensive automobiles, people began to move out of the city to the surrounding lands, destroying arable land. Governments used more land building roads and highways. After World War II, chemical companies began producing synthetic fertilizers and pesticides, which were most economical and effective when used on large acreages. Farmers were encouraged by banks to borrow money to mechanize for their larger farms, and were only loaned money if they agreed to use chemicals on their land. Food companies demanded uniform quality and "processability" from farmers, forcing them to grow hybrid crop varieties, using monoculture growing methods, which reduced genetic diversity. The soil became degraded and the rivers and groundwater were contaminated with nitrates and poisons. As food commodity prices dropped, farmers put marginal land into production, increasing even more the degradation of the land.

In the cities, escalating land prices kept low-wage earners — usually members of visible minorities — from owning a

home. Landlords charged rents out of line with the size or quality of the accommodations provided. Government trade policies have resulted in corporations relocating to cities or countries with cheaper labour. This, along with automation, has created huge numbers of unemployed people, many of them living on the streets or in temporary shelters, and hundreds of thousands dependent on food banks or food stamps every month.

In 10,000 years, humankind has gone from the hunter-gatherer society, where everyone cared for the land and each other, to today's free enterprise system, where most people care only about the piece of land they own and how much money then can make from it when they sell it. Thankfully, there are some who have committed themselves to fighting social injustice and environmental degradation and destruction by establishing, or supporting, land trusts in North America.

In 1880, Henry George published *Progress and Poverty*, which became a bestseller worldwide. His theory that land is the source of wealth, and that the cost of land is a major cause of poverty, is the philosophical and economic underpinning of most modern land trusts. In 1891, the Trustees of Reservations was formed in Massachusetts. The Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests formed soon after. In the 1930s, George's land theories were translated into the field of applied economics by Ralph Borsodi.

In the 1960s, Borsodi and Robert Swann, a peace and civil rights activist in the southern US, defined the community land trust. In 1967, they formed the International Independence Institute (now called the Institute for Community Economics, or ICE). The goal of the institute was to create economic empowerment for the disadvantaged by developing the community. The first community land trust began in Georgia in 1968. It was formed to provide housing and farmland to impoverished blacks.

During the 1970s, dozens of land trusts were created, most of them in the eastern US. This accomplishment was overshadowed by the 1980s, when half of all current land trusts were created. In the early '80s, Turtle Island Earth Stewards (TIES) in Canada and the Land Trust Alliance (LTA) in the US were created. These organizations, along with the ICE and the Trust for Public Lands (TPL), are the major land trust institutions providing information and start-up assistance for activists in the Canada and the United States.

There are essentially two different forms of land trust ownership: stewardship trusts and cooperative trusts. Land in stewardship trusts is owned by an organization, usually non-profit. The trustees, or guardians, of the land determine how it will be used, and then allow stewards to live on the

THE SANDS OF OUR TIME



WOUND BY OUR OWN HAND

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land and farm it, or selectively log it, or build low-cost housing on it. The land belongs to the trust, but any improvements, such as buildings, trees, and gardens, belong to the stewards. Stewards have permanent rights to the land — no-one, including the bank, can take it away from them, as long as they use it in accordance with the tenets set forth by the trustees of the land. This is by far the most prevalent form of land trust in use today. Some examples are:

- the Conservation Council of New Brunswick's 29 acre agricultural trust
- Muskoka Heritage Foundation of Bracebridge, Ontario, which has 250 acres freehold and 16,000 acres under stewardship agreements
- Colandco Co-operative Homes Inc. in Toronto, which owns the land on which 2,345 homes have been built
- Turtle Island Earth Stewards' Linnaea Farm on Cortes Island in British Columbia
- American Farmland Trust, Washington, DC
- New Columbia Community Land Trust in Washington, DC
- Albany Community Land Trust in Albany, New York
- Jackson Hole Community Housing Trust in Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

Land in a cooperative trust is owned by the people who use it or live on it. A group of people who have the same lifestyle or beliefs come together and pool their resources to purchase and live on the land. Often, they also farm the land, or selectively log it. One disadvantage to this type of trust is that if someone wants to leave the trust, the remain-

ing members must find someone new to buy that person's share, or purchase it themselves. In addition, day-to-day operating and financial decisions must be made by the group. Examples of this type of trust are:

- Rowanwood Conservator Society Co-operative Incorporated, which has 92 acres and 10 households near Oro Station, Ontario

- Evergreen Ecological Co-op, a farm trust near Margaretsville, Nova Scotia

- Tolstoy Farm's 240 acres and 14 households near Davenport, Washington.

A third type of organization that removes land from the market is one whose main purpose is to promote some other type of activity. For example, the Bruce Trail Association, based in Hamilton, Ontario, is a hiking organization dedicated to preserving the Niagara Peninsula in Ontario. The association purchases land that forms part of the optimum route of the Bruce Trail, a 750 kilometre route that runs along the edge of some of Canada's most populous areas.

A novel, but very effective, land trust is the Wilderness Land Trust (WLT) based in Colorado. Thousand of inholdings (small private landholdings) exist within federal Wilderness Areas throughout the United States. The US Forest Service can purchase these inholdings, but it cannot sign a purchase contract unless it has the money in its budget, and it can't budget the money without a firm commitment to sell from the owner. The WLT purchases inholdings (over 2,000 acres to date) and then holds them until the Forest Service

can obtain the money to purchase them from the WLT. The WLT then re-uses the money by purchasing more inholdings threatened by development in western Wilderness Areas. Plans are to expand to Arizona and the Pacific Northwest.

As governments continue to reduce spending on social and environmental programs, more and more people and land are adversely affected. With land trusts, we can ensure that the land is used the way we believe it should be used (or not used at all). With land trusts, we can ensure that human beings left behind in the race for corporate profits have a roof over their heads that no bureaucrat or business interest can take away from them. With land trusts, we are creating a sense of place for thousands of people.

RESOURCES:

Turtle Island Earth Stewards, 2150 Maple, Vancouver, BC V6J 3T4 Canada.

Institute for Community Economics, 57 School Street, Springfield MA 01105-1331 USA. The ICE has produced *The Community Land Trust Handbook*, an introduction to the concept of community land trusts.

Land Trust Alliance, 900 17th Street N.W., Washington DC 20006 USA. The LTA has produced *Starting a Land Trust: A Guide to Forming a Land Conservation Organization*, with information on various aspects of establishing a land trust.

The Trust for Public Lands, 116 New Montgomery, San Francisco, CA 94105 USA.

Permaculture

—continued from page 18—

is for orchards, perennials, pastures, etc. Zone 4 may be agroforestry woodlot or quarry. Remember: the colder the climate, the more energy/land is needed to be self-sufficient. A flow chart of energy use throughout the different systems is beneficial to the overall design.

Also included in design and planning is the use and integration of appropriate technologies with the living household and food systems. Compost is one example already touched on, recycling food waste back into the garden while creating other resources such as heat or worms, and keeping nutrients in the system so more energy or resources are not brought in from the outside. Other technologies include methane digesters to recycle human waste into methane gas used for vehicle fuel or heating or cooking, distilling biomass to produce alcohol used for the same purposes as gas. The use of a root cellar or ice-house is another good appropriate technology for northern climates. There are many more examples, which you will have to find and learn about on your own. Simple time-honoured solutions work very well in the permaculture design, for example woodstoves. Avoid electronic and complicated technologies, as the harder they are to fix the less appropriate they really are.

Step 5. Land. Step 4 assumes that you have a place to practice your design, whether urban or rural. If land is not yours to use, maybe plugging in to an existing permaculture or farm is more appropriate. Help others start a permaculture. A permaculture system requires a constant space. The area used will improve in fertility and tilth throughout its use, while system management will take less time once all

the systems mature. In short, we're talking long-term commitment and daily presence. A place to practice is very important. If money is hard to come by, try finding other folks interested in permaculture who could contribute money or land. Other ways of land use are joining or starting a land trust, co-housing community, staking a mining claim, homesteading, or establishing squatter's rights somewhere.

These steps are a beginning to understanding and building permaculture. The big picture is a healthy balanced planet with enough food and energy for everyone, available and produced in such a way as to be beneficial to the earth. The picture includes simply living in smaller sustainable cities connected to each other by appropriate and adequate mass transit. In and around these urban centres small-scale permacultures fill the streets, and open lots and building tops, with larger ones radiating out from the high density areas to low density rural lands, stopping at the borders of protected forest and wetlands.

Hopefully this article has given the reader some practical ideas of where to start, in terms of creating a healthy balance between people and the earth by practicing different levels of permaculture, and heading at least to more of a self-reliant lifestyle. I encourage you to learn more on the subject, and to do whatever is practical within your current lifestyle to shift toward a wholistic way of life. Practicing any amount of these steps toward sustainable living benefits you and your community.

I'm open to correspondence and sharing; my address is: Jay Boggess, PO Box 5033, Eugene, OR 97405 USA.

Food not Bombs



Resisting the Censorship of Free Food and the Criminalization of Homelessness

by Alex Vitale & Keith McHenry

It's a clear, windy day as twenty or so people stand in Civic Center Plaza waiting for the food to arrive. A literature table is already set-up in the Plaza across from San Francisco City Hall. Volunteer David Whitaker is asking a bike messenger to sign a post card requesting that the Recreation and Parks Commission stop the arrests. "Mayor Frank Jordan said all we have to do is apply for a permit. He knows we have applied 98 times and that the permit process was eliminated on July 19, 1990 by Mayor Art Agnos. We last applied on both February 15, 1994 and on March 1, 1994," explains the Food Not Bombs worker.

A police car pulls up about one inch from the front of the table and the driver turns off the engine, blocking the view of the table. The volunteers pick up the table and move it to the other side of the car and continue their outreach. Other police cars are slowly driving through the north and south sides of the park. A police van parks at the east end of the park, two officers sit on police horses, three plain clothes cops sit on a bench south of the table. Two others stand by the stairs to the underground garage.

Hungry people come up to the table and ask if the food has come. "It's on the north side of the elevator building, don't make it obvious or it will get busted," the volunteer whispers to a woman. Not long after the woman gets soup and bagels the police figure out where the cups are coming from. The police start circling the park. They close in on the food. A volunteer trying to walk away with several bags of bagels is grabbed by two cops and thrown to the ground. The crowd of hungry people and Food Not Bombs activists chant "shame, shame" as a group of elementary school children watch in stunned confusion.

Ten minutes later, another wave of volunteers enters the south side of the plaza with more bagels, soup and cups. This time the police are busy with a crowd of angry people including a group of upset children. People are directed to the new location and wander over to eat. By the time the police reach the new location, the food is gone and all they get is an empty bucket. A third wave of food, this time back on the north side is served and the police don't even react.

In the end everyone that came to eat is fed and the volunteers pack up the table and leave at 1:30 PM as they do every weekday. That night, San Francisco Food Not Bombs returns to serve a crowd of about 150 or more people. The police are less aggressive at night when the people being served are less visible and thus less of a concern, so the volunteers will get a break.

This describes a typical day at San Francisco Food Not Bombs, which has been experiencing daily arrests, harass-

ment and physical assault at the hands of the San Francisco Police Department for the "crime" of giving out free food in public parks. They have been distributing free food in San Francisco parks, on city streets, and to soup kitchens and food pantries since 1988. This all-volunteer organization has its roots in the anti-nuclear Clamshell Alliance that fought the opening of the Seabrook Nuclear Power plant in 1980 in New England. Since then, over 40 active groups in the US and Canada have been providing regular free vegetarian meals in an effort to protest the squandering of resources on war, in the face of widespread hunger and homelessness.

Food Not Bomb's central unifying principals are a commitment to nonviolence, free unrestricted access to vegetarian food and an honest attempt to make decisions as a group without hierarchy. Each group interprets these principles in a way that reflects the ideas and beliefs of the local volunteers. Because there is no central office or paid staff, creativity is encouraged and new ideas are shared among chapters by mail or personal contact.

Each group spends most of its time collecting edible vegetarian food from produce warehouses, natural food grocery stores, bakeries and other places where food that is in good condition but either not salable or left over would otherwise be thrown away. This food is then either distributed directly to soup kitchens and food pantries or taken to volunteers' houses where it is transformed into complete, nutritious meals to be served wherever hungry people congregate. This concept of "food recycling" highlights the fact that hunger isn't about a lack of food, it is about a problem of resource distribution. There is more than enough food thrown away each day (because no one paid money for it) to feed all those in need.

Food Not Bombs groups also individually or collectively provide material and logistical support to direct actions at places like the Nevada Test Site, Redwood Summer and Big Mountain as well as a wide variety of peace and social justice events within their own communities. This is a concrete way to build connections across issues, foster cooperation and contribute to broader movement building.

Food Not Bombs starts new groups informally by distributing the book *Food Not Bombs: How to Feed the Hungry and Build Community* and free information packets as well as through personal contacts. Collectives are typically started by a handful of friends who want to start some kind of food program in support of homeless people. Since 1991 over 30 new groups have been formed. It was only recently discovered that groups had been operating in Yellow

Springs, Ohio; Richmond, Virginia and Bellingham, Washington without any of the other groups knowing of them.

Riding the Wave of Urban Reaction

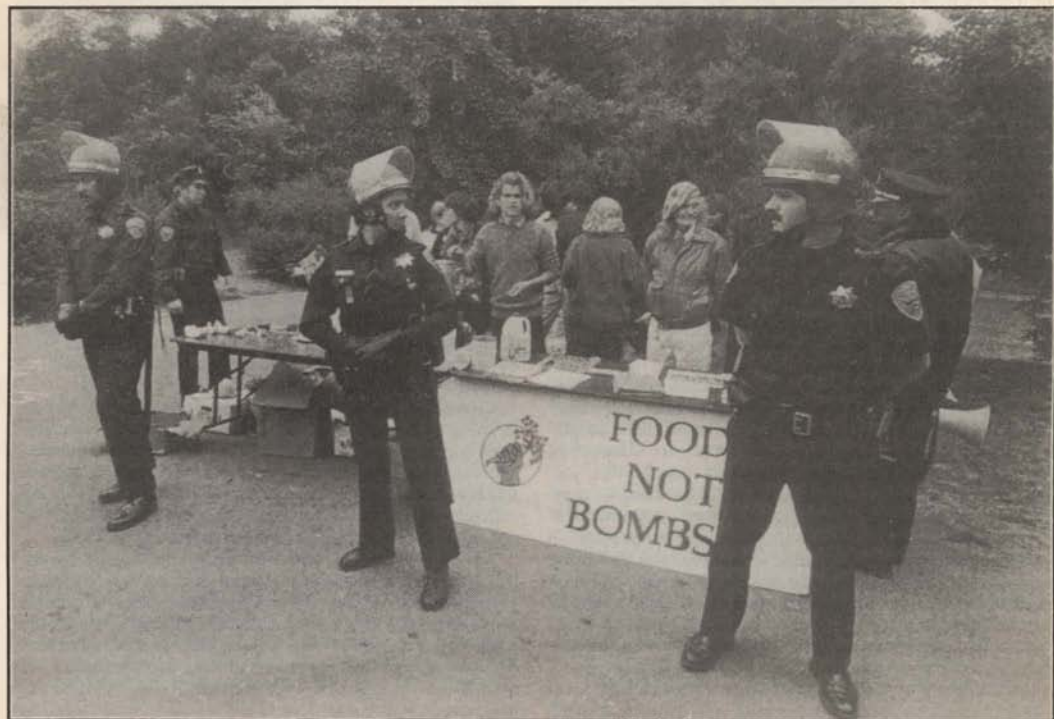
In the last 2 years, however, the tide of urban conservatism, that brought reactionaries such as former US Attorney Rudy Giuliani, former Police Chief Frank Jordan and businessman Richard Riordan to power in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles as well as many smaller cities, has signaled an increase in official attacks against the visible and invisible homeless. Cities across the country are implementing new laws against panhandling (SF and NYC), sitting in business districts (Seattle and Santa Cruz) as well as breaking up homeless encampments of any kind (NY, LA, and SF).

This war against the homeless is essentially a strategy of "out of sight, out of mind." Responding to business interests, city officials believe that if they can remove the so called "visible and hard-core" homeless people that their political problems will be solved. There is a war over the control of the appearance of urban space. Unable to address the real causes of social and economic inequality, business leaders and politicians increasingly feel that if the homeless can be permanently contained within the labyrinth of homeless shelters and rehabilitation programs, then the economic problems of retail businesses and the tourist industry will be miraculously solved. Their success in isolating homeless people will also signal the end of any real effort to provide

the low cost housing, support services and employment that are needed to end wide-spread homelessness.

Food Not Bombs represents the first, and often only, organized line of defense for homeless people facing these new attacks. While legal strategies have brought some relief in Miami and New York City, grassroots mobilizations by and in support of people on the streets has come largely from Food Not Bombs groups. Their strategy of serving food where homeless people themselves choose to congregate has been successful in both breaking down the divisions between the supporters and the supported and in asserting true public access to urban spaces.

As a result, Food Not Bombs groups in Seattle, Santa Cruz, Ft. Worth, Berkeley and Salt Lake City have experienced police harassment for the first time. And more established groups in Boston and San Francisco have experienced new levels of harassment. On May 11, 3 dozen people were arrested in Santa Cruz for "sitting" while participating in a Food Not Bombs regular meal, volunteers in Berkeley have been constantly threatened by the city for their on-going food program in People's Park, which is once again the sight of land use struggles, this time pitting the city of Berkeley and the University of California against homeless people who have taken refuge there. Police in Boston forced a confrontation with the 14-year old collective there over the right to serve food in Boston Common causing supporters from numerous community groups and a local City Council member to show up in expectation of being arrested, only to have the police back down.



Most dramatic of all these has been the ongoing assaults against the San Francisco group. Since 1988, two mayoral administrations have tried to figure out how to stop the public serving of free food by FNB, resulting in over 725 arrests. In 1988, the city tried arresting the group for failure to have a permit for setting up a table in the park, then for failure to have a permit for giving out leaflets, then finally their most celebrated strategy: failure to have a health permit and park use permit. However, after over 100 arrests in the summer of 1988 and very critical press accounts, then-mayor Art Agnos recanted and gave FNB the permits. Since then it has been a constant struggle. Each time the city initiates a new crackdown against homeless people they suspend the permit process and begin arresting the group again, which causes more mass arrests and further bad press and then all of a sudden new permits appear.

All along though, the city continues to maintain in the media and in court proceedings that the issue is health permits. Even during periods when FNB had valid permits, the city continued to state publicly that the group was a nuisance solely because they lacked a health permit. However, another more candid explanation for the harassment was revealed by Police Commander Dennis Martel, in charge of policing FNB activities. In a television interview on September 24, 1993, he stated that FNB "obviously is not trying to serve food, they are just making an anarchist statement and we are not going to allow it." This makes it clear that the activities of the city are designed to censor FNB, because it is an act of political expression.

60 Days for Serving a Bagel

In the current scenario, mayor Frank Jordan announced in September of 1993 the creation of the Matrix Program designed to enforce "quality of life" ordinances such as drinking in public and aggressive panhandling. Over 5,000 people have been ticketed for sleeping in the parks. The police take and destroy homeless peoples shoes, blankets and other belongings and even use bulldozers to scrape away camps and shanty towns. Only days after the announcement, police officers started showing up at FNB locations and confiscating the food and arresting volunteers. Since then, over 300 people have been arrested for participating in the food program, including several dozen felony arrests for conspiracy to commit the misdemeanor of serving food.

The most serious of these has been the arrest on multiple felonies of FNB member Keith McHenry who is viewed by the city as the organization's key member. He is currently facing two felony charges that would each count as "strikes" in the Three Strikes-Life in Prison law recently adopted in California. In both cases Keith is accused of assaults where the alleged victims and witnesses were all political employees in City Hall, several of whom have been key figures in the on-going harassment of Food Not Bombs.

Under pressure from the City, the District Attorney asked for and received a \$75,000 bail amount in Keith's case. Fortunately, club owner David Nadel put up his business as bond to secure McHenry's release, but only after he spent much of May in jail. At Keith's first appearance in court over 100 supporters showed up and solidarity actions were held by dozens of FNB groups across the country. Later, at the regular lunch food service, police retaliated by arresting and assaulting 6 members

of FNB and charging them with felonies of conspiracy to serve food without a permit; they were held in jail for several days until public outrage caused the charges to be reduced and the activists released.

San Francisco Food Not Bombs volunteers have not only been arrested they have also been beaten, sexually harassed by the police, and have had their vans, cooking pots and literature confiscated. One person had a bucket of hot soup thrown on him and then had his head smashed into a wall by officers frustrated by the fact that they could not stop the guerrilla food service. The next week, he was hit in the face with a police flashlight when he entered Civic Center Plaza with a bucket of soup. The police injure volunteers almost every week and started to make threats of beatings and worse starting in November of 1993.

Despite several hundred arrests, until 1994, no one from FNB had ever been brought to trial. However, in February of 1994 Food Not Bombs volunteer Robert Norse Kahn was convicted of serving free food in violation of a court order by visiting Judge Barclays who sentenced Kahn to 60 days in jail. The Judge would not allow the words "homeless" or "homelessness" spoken during the trial. Mention of the six-year history of Food Not Bombs' efforts to get a permit was also prohibited. And, one of Kahn's witnesses, Keith McHenry, was coincidentally jailed the day the trial began. Judge Barclays refused to order McHenry's appearance in order to provide important testimony. Kahn is currently out of jail pending appeal.

The Food Not Bombs Community Thrives

San Francisco Food Not Bombs has tried numerous nonviolent strategies in trying to end the attacks including law suits, letter writing campaigns and extensive lobbying of city, state and federal elected officials and a campaign to get international human rights groups to investigate what is occurring. This strategy has had some success in bringing attention to the institutionalized corruption of the mayor and police department. Ultimately, the strategy that has proven most successful, however, has been to continue to serve food in the face of on-going arrests and violence.

Since the most recent assaults, volunteers have continued to serve food every day, rather than retreating into a strategy of legal defense. The organization felt it was most important to continue the direct actions, allowing on-going and expanded direct participation by volunteers in both the resistance to the crackdown and the actual act of providing food to people in need. This has also made clear that the foremost goal of Food Not Bombs is to serve food, not to engage in either confrontations with the police or media grandstanding.

Continuing to serve food denies the city even short term success in stopping the public serving of food in support of homeless people and their rights. In fact, it becomes the front line for resistance by homeless people and their supporters to these attacks. Food Not Bombs groups across the country see this as their primary political mission. In Seattle, FNB has been actively involved in regular sit-down demonstrations against new anti-loitering laws. Santa Cruz FNB has begun serving food in the downtown area where homeless people have been congregating in the face of similar measures.

San Francisco's Civic Center location was chosen because it was the site of a major nine-month encampment organized by

homeless people. This continues to be one of the most contested public spaces in the city. While there is no commercial business activity in the immediate area, its role as a public center of local government makes it an important symbolic battleground. Recently, the city granted a special permit to a religious group to serve food in a less visible place nearby. However, FNB members and numerous homeless people have refused to cede this space, because once the organized presence of the food program is removed, police efforts to completely clear the park will go unchallenged.

In the past, the city has tried to mollify the effect of Food Not Bombs' activities by enticing them with indoor facilities. Groups have always resisted this because it would undermine the purpose of the organization. The group exists to support public actions against poverty, not to recreate the welfare state mentality of the soup kitchen. Most homeless programs either foster dependency through giveaways that discourage the participation of homeless people and often treat them as criminals who should be punished for asking for help, or deny the political roots of homelessness through self help and personal rehabilitation models that encourage the view of homelessness and poverty as personal not societal failures. Food Not Bombs combines personal involvement (of homeless and non-homeless people) and direct, positive, humane action which targets immediate needs and underlying political causes.

With the new wave of assaults against San Francisco Food Not Bombs has come a counter tide of support. Members of the National Lawyers Guild, the Gray Panthers, Local 2850 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union, the Black Trade Unionist Association of San Francisco, and other groups have publicly participated in the food program in defiance of the prohibitions. On one occasion, several Catholic priests were arrested for serving food causing a flurry of media coverage. San Francisco Supervisor Terrence Hallinan also risked arrest during one of many rallies protesting the arrests and Board of Supervisor President Angela Allio to has spoken out in support of the organization and voted for a resolution by the Board calling for the end of the arrests which passed 7 to 2.

Food Not Bombs is also the centerpiece of a range of political activities that are united in their resistance to the current political and economic system through positive, creative direct action. In addition to serving free food, FNB members have been instrumental in creating and sustaining movements that squat and rehabilitate abandoned housing,

take over vacant lots to establish community gardens and operate pirate radio stations and a grassroots radio network.

In late 1992, SF FNB along with the SF Tenants Union, the SF Coalition on Homelessness and other groups initiated a squatting campaign under the name Homes Not Jails. The first buildings were occupied a week before Thanksgiving in 1992. There are both visible housing takeovers and covert living squats. The oldest continually lived in homes are now over a year old. Two children have been born in the squats and no one has died. These covert squats provide real housing for people and a base for future organizing.

The visible actions have been very successful at highlighting the fact that thousand of people would not be homeless if real-estate interests didn't intentionally leave property

off the market to increase the rents through an artificial scarcity. It also counters the dependency myth of homelessness. Homes Not Jails actions have been designed to show homeless people acting directly on the causes of their situation rather than waiting for a handout. Public takeovers are often timed to occur on the same day as news coverage of homeless people waiting in line for food or other services, at times like Thanksgiving and Christmas.

Homes Not Jails has also been taking over Federal property, including housing at the Presidio Army Base, in an effort to show that the government has no intention of seriously addressing homelessness. They have been negotiating with Federal officials to have the government's abandoned buildings turned over to non-profit groups to house the poor, but so far the authorities have blocked all efforts at real solutions, confirming people's belief that they must

work to provide their own housing rather than waiting for the government to do it.

The direct action community cannot rely on the mainstream media to report the facts about community resistance, so FNB activist are building their own FM and AM radio transmitters and distributing news via the Food Not Bombs Radio Network. There are now several low-watt stations in the San Francisco Bay Area started by FNB members and other concerned community activists, that are sharing tapes and technology. This allows the direct broadcast of important information that doesn't get into commercial or even non-commercial radio. It is an attempt to reassert the "public" aspect of the public airwaves that has long been abandoned by the FCC and most "public radio" stations. There is currently a major push nationally, to get as



many transmitters set up as possible to make enforcement by the FCC more difficult. To get information about low cost transmitters contact Free Radio Berkeley at 1442A Walnut St. #406, Berkeley, CA. 94709 USA.

The FNB Radio Network provides important news and feature stories to the micro-powered stations and has almost a dozen licensed stations that regularly air its programs as well as international broadcasts by Radio for Peace International every week on short wave radio to over 60 countries. Food Not Bombs groups around the US are also creating and distributing original music. Several groups have produced a number of punk, hardcore and urban-folk music tapes for fundraising and outreach.

Food Not Bombs members have started organic gardens in vacant lots in several cities. They help build community by offering a way for people to work together towards a common, positive, life-affirming goal. The harvest is shared with people who need it; building a resource base for the community and further activism. It is also an effort to exert community control over land use instead of market control.

All of these activities assert that the way to make social change is to create institutions that represent the kind of world we want to live in. And, as with similar efforts in the past, the creation of human institutions comes immediately into conflict with the inhuman ones that dominate society. Serving free food in public, a seemingly innocuous activity,

FOOD NOT BOMBS

Send letters of support to:

Mayor Frank Jordan, City Hall, San Francisco, CA 94102 USA; fax: (415) 554-6113
District Attorney Arlo Smith, Hall of Justice, 850 Bryant Street, San Francisco, CA 94103 USA
Amnesty International, 322 8th Avenue, New York, NY 10001; Attn. Suzy Case - Country Action Unit
Human Rights Watch, 485 5th Avenue, New York, NY 10017 USA

Send a copy of all correspondence to:

SF Food Not Bombs, 3145 Geary Blvd. #12, San Francisco, CA 94118 USA

has resulted in the city of San Francisco spending millions of dollars (by their own account), making hundreds of arrests, and continually attacking non-violent activists.

Next June, Food Not Bombs is going to have its second International Gathering in San Francisco. They will develop strategies to create new chapters in North America and Europe, build resources and improve skills, and discuss long term political strategies for confronting militarism and poverty. The

first gathering resulted in the establishment of the first Homes Not Jails group, the creation of a regular networking publication called the Food Not Bombs Menu, and the establishment of several new collectives. This event is timed to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco. Food Not Bombs and other human rights groups will be staging demonstrations that week to protest its pro-war and anti-humanitarian policies.

San Francisco Food Not Bombs has information on how to get in touch with or start a group in your area. They can also be contacted about the FNB Radio Network and other local and national FNB activities at 1-800-884-1136 or 3145 Geary Blvd #12, San Francisco, CA 94118 USA.

Alex Vitale is in the Ph.D. Program in Sociology at the City University of New York and was formerly on the staff of the San Francisco Coalition on Homelessness. Keith McHenry is a human rights activist and co-founder of Food Not Bombs.

McLibel

—continued from page 33—

allegation was at the core of the case, and that its resolution was the basis for their claim that the issues were too complex for lay people to understand. However, in the ninth week, during testimony by Dr. Neal Barnard of the US Physicians' Committee for Responsible Medicine which supported the claim, McDonald's agreed that there is such a link. McDonald's has, in effect, conceded virtually the entire defense position relating to diet and disease.

However, McDonald's has now applied to revise their Statement of Claim (the basis of the legal action, issued in 1990) to say that the defendants should now have to prove the statement — not contained in the *What's Wrong with McDonald's?* factsheet — that "McDonald's sell meals which cause cancer and heart disease in their customers."

The trial so far seems to be going well for the defense, but there's still a long way to go. The Greenpeace activists are up against the colossal resources of the McDonald's empire. The courts have thus far shown no inclination to discovery of the truth or to evening the imbalance in experi-

ence and resources.

If they lose the case, Helen and Dave will face a huge bill for costs and 'damages', although it is unlikely they would ever be able to pay. In addition, McDonald's are seeking a gagging injunction prohibiting them from handing out this or any other leaflet about McDonald's, which if breached could lead to jail terms.

Whatever the final results of the court case, the struggle against McDonald's — and all the corporate food-mongers — must continue in the streets, where it all began.

In the meantime, Helen and Dave need our help. Leaflets, posters, stickers and buttons can be ordered in bulk (cost - £12/1000) from: **Veggies, 180 Mansfield Road, Nottingham NG1 3HU, England.** Veggies also has a video, *Defending Free Speech*, about the case, which is available for £5+ postage. Donations can be sent to: **McLibel Support Campaign, c/o London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1, England.** Organize demonstrations, pickets, meetings; in the UK contact London Greenpeace for help, in North America, contact: **VOC, PO Box 120, East Calais, VT 05650, USA.**

~Ronald McDonald Throws a Tantrum~

~The McLibel Case~

After almost four years of pre-trial legal argument, the High Court libel trial brought by the \$24 billion a year McDonald's Corporation against two unwaged supporters of London (England) Greenpeace began on June 28 of this year. It is expected the trial will last at least 3-4 months.

Over the years many people have criticized and protested the food and business practices of the McDonald's fast food restaurant chain. In 1985, London Greenpeace (a small independent collective active since 1971, not affiliated with Greenpeace International) launched a general anti-McDonald's campaign to try to coordinate and strengthen this opposition. Their efforts have been enormously successful; the annual Anti-McDonald's Day (every October 16 — UN World Food Day) is marked by protests and activities around the world. A detailed 6-sided fact-sheet, *What's Wrong with McDonald's — Everything They Don't Want You to Know*, was produced and translated and taken up in dozens of countries.

Initially, McDonald's ignored such opposition; then they tried to counter it. On the one hand, they stepped up their own propaganda efforts (including producing their own 'McFact' cards), and began to project a 'green' and 'caring' image. On the other hand, they began to use the legal system to try to suppress free speech. In Britain, a range of organizations and media bodies, both radical and establishment, were threatened with costly and time-consuming libel proceedings. They were forced to 'apologize' for daring to criticize this transnational corporation.

Libel laws exist to protect the interests of the rich and powerful. The laws and court procedures are extremely complex, and without legal representation you stand virtually no chance of successfully being able to defend a case. With no legal aid available for libel suits, lawyer costs are prohibitive. Defendants, if they lose, usually face a mammoth bill for costs and 'damages,' as well as a gagging injunction (which, if defied, could lead to jail). For these reasons, and not because what they've said is untrue, people retract and apologize when faced with libel suits. The purpose of libel laws is not to uphold the truth, but rather to ensure that critics of powerful organizations are silenced.

The McLibel Case

Despite McDonald's efforts, the grass-roots campaign continued to grow. In September, 1990, after having sent spies to London Greenpeace meetings and events, McDonald's served writs against five individuals connected with the group (the group as such, not being a legal entity, can't be sued), alleging the factsheet was libelous. The aim was to create a climate of intimidation against activists in order to censor the production and distribution of leaflets to the public. Cases against three defendants were dropped after they

apologized in court. McDonald's tried to make out as if London Greenpeace itself had apologized; this was printed in a couple of newspapers, one of which printed a retraction after the group complained. The other two defendants, Helen Steel and Dave Morris, refusing to bow to this intimidation, decided to fight the case.

The fast food giant has admitted that it is not their case that Helen and Dave actually even wrote or printed the factsheet, but they've refused to drop the case claiming that the two attended meetings where the factsheet was available, and that Helen handed it out on one occasion! Since 1990, the pre-trial proceedings have been drawn out and highly controversial. Despite having only sporadic and informal legal advice, Helen and Dave have had to draw up numerous legal papers and to argue against top libel lawyers at over 25 hearings.

McDonald's — Hiding the Truth from the Public

After initially attempting to drag out the proceedings, hoping to exhaust or financially cripple the Greenpeace activists, McDonald's have done all they can to avoid their pre-trial disclosure obligations (they are legally obliged to hand over all relevant documents about their practices in their possession world-wide — no matter how sensitive — and to answer a list of defense questions about all the issues in the case). Instead, they provided bland 'policy' details, annual reports and accounts of charitable activities.

McDonald's argued that, contrary to normal court procedure, the defendants should have to serve all their witness statements before all the documents were handed over. Despite the fact that McDonald's were long past their deadline for compliance, the court ruled in their favour, ordering Helen and Dave to produce all their witness statements within the next three weeks. But even after they had served 70 witness statements, McDonald's still refused to hand over the documents.

At the end of last year, McDonald's applied to have substantial sections of the defendant's case ruled out so the company would not have to answer any questions about them or hand over any documents. They also applied for the case to be tried without a jury, arguing that the issues were too complex for members of the public (jury members) to understand and that it would be cheaper for them to have the trial by judge alone. The court granted both of these applications.

The activists appealed against these decisions. Liberty (National Council for Civil Liberties), concerned about the case as a whole and in particular with these decisions and their implications for freedom of speech and access to justice, agreed to help by finding lawyers to handle the appeal for free. The appeal over the jury was lost. The defendants won the other appeal and the parts of the case that were

struck out were reinstated, which meant that McDonald's were now under a duty to hand over the relevant documents and answer the defense's questions. However, despite losing, McDonald's have continued their cover-up. After the defendants made a further application to force McDonald's to comply, three Vice Presidents were ordered to swear affidavits about the existence of documents. But yet again, they avoided putting down the full position on paper. makes one wonder if libel suits really are about establishing the truth, doesn't it?

Defendants hit back

In May, Helen and Dave lodged a counter-claim against McDonald's for libel. McDonald's issued press releases and leaflets claiming that their critics (including the defendants) are deliberately circulating lies about the company. The leaflets were timed to coincide with the intended start of the trial in April, and were produced by Mike Love, former aide to Margaret Thatcher and now head of communications at McDonald's. They were available at all the company's outlets across Britain. McDonald's are attempting to deter people from listening to the issues in the case, by trying to write their critics off as liars and therefore not worth listening to. The counter-claim means that it will now be up to McDonald's to prove their claims that the factsheet *What's Wrong with McDonald's?* is untrue.

Helen and Dave also took the British government to the European Court of Human Rights, charging that the refusal of Legal Aid to defend against libel proceedings makes the libel laws unfair and oppressive. The Court decided, without a full hearing, that because the activists had put up a 'tenacious defense' they couldn't claim that UK libel laws were oppressive!

The Trial Itself

Over 170 witnesses from around the world will be presenting evidence at the trial on the issues (in this order) — packaging, nutrition, advertisements, animals, rainforests, employment and spies.

The trial began on June 28 with opening statements from McDonald's and the defendants. The chief lawyer for McDonald's read through the factsheet, denying its charges, and then proceeded to characterize the defendants and London Greenpeace as unwholesome anarchist elements. In their statements, Dave and Helen outlined the criticisms of McDonald's, and noted that the trial was a blatant attempt at censorship. Helen questioned why McDonald's waited several years after the leaflet was produced before pursuing the case, and suggested that the motive was to enable the chain

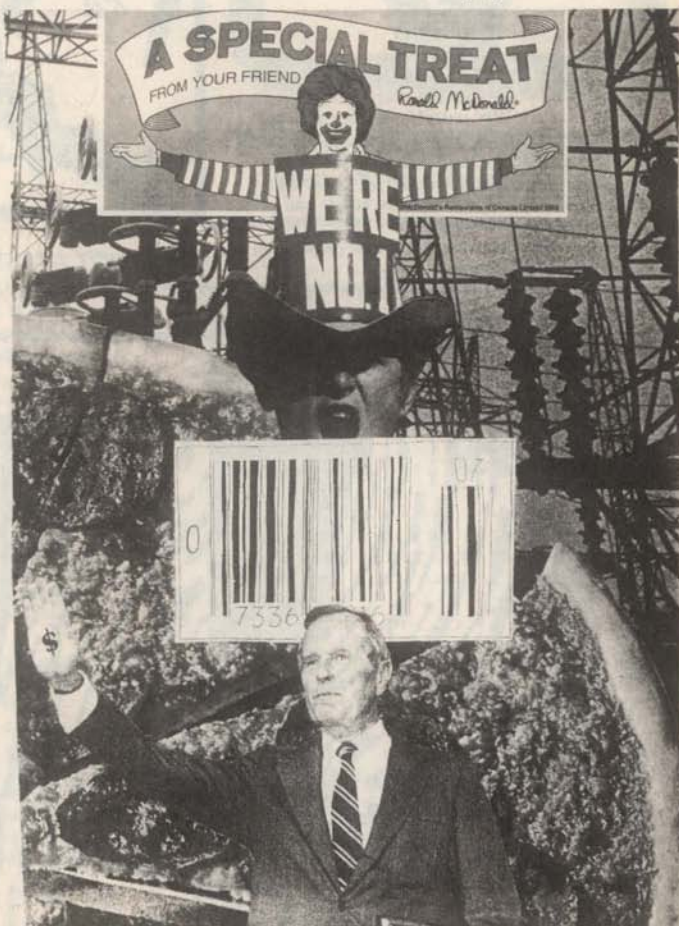
to change some of their practices enabling them to substitute more recent documents for those relevant at the time. Helen also noted that the factsheet used McDonald's simply as an example of a flawed corporate system, and that their own public profile set them up to be scrutinized.

After several days of examination and cross-examination of McDonald's UK President Paul Preston and US Senior Vice-President Robert Beavers, the trial moved on to a discussion of packaging and then nutrition before breaking for the month of August.

The trial resumed on September 12. Testimony so far has continued on nutrition, then moved on to cover questions of advertising and marketing strategies, food additives, and public health policy and the fast food industry.

McDonald's conceded at the opening of the trial that "there is a considerable amount of evidence" linking diet with obesity, hypertension and heart disease; they denied any association between diet and cancer, claiming that this

—continued on page 31—



LUCAS DORAN

flyposter frenzy

Flyposter Frenzy
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Flyposters are used by groups and individuals on
the fringes of, or totally outside of, dominant cul-
tures, as a means of communicating ideas and atti-
tudes. Flyposter Frenzy reproduces 90 of the most
popular posters from the anti-copyright network —
an international network of flyposter artists and ac-
tivist.

All accompanying text has been excerpted from
the introduction by Matthew Fuller.

**ART IS NOT A MIRROR HELD UP TO REALITY,
BUT A HAMMER WITH WHICH TO SHAPE IT.**

BERTOLT BRECHT



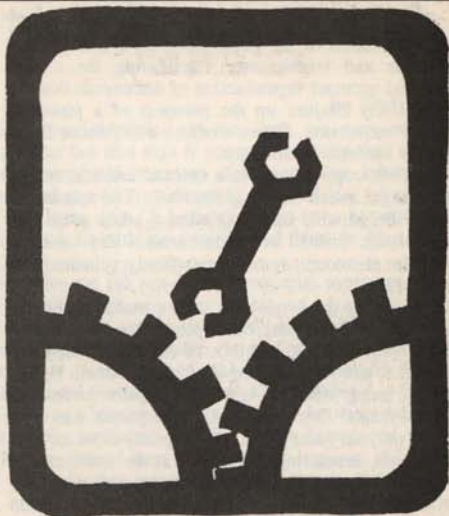
Anti-copyright
distribution points

c/o 70 High Street, Leicester,
Leicestershire, UK
PO Box 406, Stoke-on-Trent,
Staffordshire ST1 4RN, UK
Box 15, 52 Call Lane, Leeds,
West Yorkshire LS1 6DT, UK
PO Box 368, Cardiff CF2
1SQ, Wales, UK
PO Box 5975, Chicago, IL
60680-5975, USA



OF
LIBERTY

Padin



WORK RATE TOO FAST
(APPLY RESISTANCE)

The way in which the anticopyright network is structured is designed to make it as accessible as possible. Each distribution point is relatively independent, responsible for raising its own funds and supplying posters and any information to people who get in contact. The catalogue that lists the posters is, of course, the same for all of the distribution points in order to avoid any muddles. We also use the same basic design for the general publicity leaflets which briefly explain what anticopyright is and list the distribution points. Decentralization works well by spreading all the necessary work and responsibilities — allowing maximum effect with minimum effort. We also feel that in maintaining such an open structure we avoid problems of hierarchy — of any one person or group having too much control over the processes of the network.

We hope to encourage new distribution points in any country or area to which the posters would be relevant. At the moment we are largely limited to English-language posters but would hope to develop contacts with people interested or involved in parallel or connected structures using other languages. The posters have also been reproduced as stickers, T-shirt designs, grouped together and shown at community art spaces as well as being used as magazine illustrations. In this sense anticopyright functions as a library of radical texts and images. People involved are also very open to collaborating in similar areas. It cannot be overstressed that anticopyright is a continuing project and needs all kinds of involvement from all kinds of people.

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WOMEN'S HEALTH CLINICS

D. Minkler 1988

The invention of the photocopier as a tool for bureaucrats and businessmen, facilitating the cheap, swift and accurate reproduction of documents doesn't immediately conjure up the prospect of a powerful tool for subversion. Office workers everywhere know it as the ultimate in shitwork...

The photocopy's status as a cultural artifact, as art, doesn't get much more glamorous. The quality is harsh, the paper's frail and after a while even this deteriorates. Instead of precariousness and collectability the photocopy remains steadfastly valueless and disposable.

It is exactly these qualities which make the photocopier a useful medium. Most people have access to a photocopier either at work or in one of the copy bureaus that can be found on every high street. Unlike other printing methods, it doesn't require much skill to get a result. There's no training required, and what you see on your paste-up is usually pretty close to what comes out, reassuringly warmed, at the other end of the machine. Copies can be made as and when required rather than being optimistically mass-produced only to spend the next decade yellowing gracefully at the back of someone's cupboard — and what time is sweeter than company time — when being spent producing weirdo literature using the company's paper?



THE HELPING HAND OF WESTERN MULTINATIONALS.

**DO YOU FEEL
BORED, LONELY, DEPRESSED BY
THE SPECTACULAR FATUOUS-
NESS OF EVERYDAY LIFE?**

**TELL US ABOUT IT IN THE
SQUARE BELOW**



not enough space, eh?

well, that's all you're getting for today

this is a fatuous public disservice, in case you hadn't realised

The danger of oversimplifying the issues that these posters involve themselves in is always present and undoubtedly there are some here that will not satisfy some people in this respect. The fact that posters have only about two or three seconds while people are walking past them in the street in which to be noticed is not an intractable limitation...

Just because the content of the poster has to be communicated in seconds does not immediately rule out anything but the inane. It does however mean that we need to be careful of stripping language down, simplifying it so that it becomes rigid, lacking in idiosyncrasy and beauty. The ironic, use of density and lightness, the scraping and pasting of accumulated layers of signs, dislocation, are means by which fixed meanings, from us or onto us, are overcome.

FLYPOSTER CREDITS

- page 34 top - Doug Minkler
bottom - Mark Pawson
- page 35 top left - Clemente Padin
top right - Totally Normal
bottom - Doug Minkler
- page 36 top - Institute of Fatuous Research
bottom - Meloni

A Canadian Dyke in the Deep South

notes from a journal

This past June, I had the privilege of being part of a Lesbian Pride Ride through the Southern United States. Organized primarily by the Austin Lesbian Avengers, the Ride ended in New York City for the Stonewall anniversary. The purpose of the ride was Visibility, in areas where to be openly gay or lesbian could be dangerous. I joined the ride to be part of this Visibility, to participate in the direct actions along the way, and, primarily, to learn new tools for dealing with the homophobic right wing in Southern Ontario, where I live. What follows are excerpts from the journal I kept along the way:

June 14, 7 am: On the bus, out of Toronto, headed for the border, remembering saying good-bye to people yesterday. All my friends are supportive and envious, and wishing me well. Last night, I started getting scared again, thinking of the journey ahead of me into the land of guns and irrational violence, with people I will have to get to know and learn to work with. I'm a recluse by nature, and hope I haven't made a big mistake.

I've been worrying so much about crossing the border that I made myself ill — the beginnings of a cold — even though the worst they can do to me is turn me back.

10 am: My disguise worked — I've crossed the border. I wore a cross around my neck, carried a book called *Modern Man Talks With God*, and wore my most feminine clothes. My smiling caucasian face got me through without them running my ID through their computer and discovering that I'm a criminal with a long record of arrests for crimes against the military-industrial complex, with a gaggle of outstanding warrants to my credit. They didn't even suspect that I am off to join a Lesbian Pride Ride with a pack of other women whose shit-disturbing skills I hope to learn from.

Back on the bus, the air is filled with complaints from the people of colour about the customs officials' attitudes. One woman tells me, in English punctuated with Spanish, how the white men guarding the sacred entrance to their empire treated her as if she were evil, less than human.

I am ashamed of having traded on my privilege. I'm ashamed of not being willing to risk my holiday by being honest about who I am and where I'm going, and acting in solidarity with those who cannot hide what sets them apart.

Beware of journeys of self-discovery — they may reveal more than what you want to see.

June 16, Houston: Fifty-two hours after leaving Toronto, I am picked up from the bus station in Houston. There are only three Pride Riders here to greet me — the rest are up in Vidor, Texas, where we are now headed, doing a rally against the Ku Klux Klan (Vidor is a Texas headquarters of the Klan). I'm shy. I blather about Canadian politics, and hope I'm making sense.

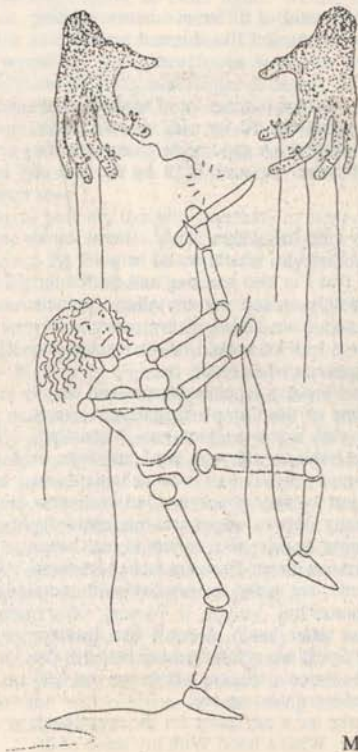
They give me a copy of the updated itinerary. At the bottom of the sheet it reads: "In an earlier letter, we said

'No Educational Models.' At the time, we were worried about a Texas law that says if you possess more than six dildos, it's considered intent to distribute. But, after rider feedback and careful consideration, our policy is 'if you can pack 'em, bring 'em.'" I didn't bring one. Somehow, it wouldn't have fit with the crucifix and *Modern Man Talks With God*.

They give me the run-down on security measures. Each of us is buddied with two other Riders, as a way of keeping track of people. No one is allowed to go off alone. Each of the three vans has a CB radio, in case of trouble. A large banner hangs on the side of each van, announcing that its inhabitants are Lesbians, and not at all shy about it.

We get to Vidor in time for a picnic lunch in the parking lot of the municipal building. I am introduced to the other Riders. One of them asks, "How's it going, eh?" I respond with a feeble joke about back bacon, but they all laugh, and I breathe easier. I guess Canadian culture *does* exist below the 49th Parallel.

June 17, New Orleans: Our headquarters is a lesbian bar on the edge of the French Quarter. I am so happy to be here!



MULIBU!

The air is heavy and wet, and I'm stoned from excitement and exhaustion, and giddy from being with all these dykes. Last night, we danced for hours. When I finally got to unroll the sleeping bag I've been dragging across the continent, it was too hot to crawl into it. I slept on top of it, on a floor with half a dozen others, and felt at home.

The theme of today's action is Visibility. We gather in a park at the end of the trolley-car line that will take us into the French Quarter. Our pockets are full of lollipops with tags on them that read "Lick Homophobia." We are to give these out to any adults we see. On the trolley-car we sing lesbian songs and chant lesbian slogans. Some people smile at us, some ignore us, but at least they all know we exist, and may talk about what they've seen and heard.

As we head out of New Orleans, I notice the terrible poverty behind the nicer buildings. The people sitting on the steps of the broken-down houses are all black. Most of the Pride Riders are white. I wonder at our relevance.

Camp Sister Spirit, Oveti Mississippi: We arrive after dark at this lesbian haven deep in the forest. After dinner and a meeting, we are bunked down on mattresses spread across the top floor of one of the buildings. I'm closest to the door, the first dish on the menu for the giant Mississippi bugs. Funny, but so far I haven't noticed any mosquitoes; they're probably all waiting for me in my sleeping bag. A wonderful lunar moth flew into the room as we were meeting, but the cat ate it.

There's a world of difference between being an organizer of a project like this and a mere participant, such as I now am. Usually, I'm in the other role. The usual dynamics are going down. One woman, who has put in a lot of work, is overtired and temporarily fed up with everyone else, but that will pass with a good night's sleep and the taking up of more responsibilities by the rest of us.

June 18: My cold has gotten worse. I now sound like Marlene Dietrich, which should help me get a date, except that I'm also sneezing and stuffed up, which completely cancels out any allure my new deep voice may have added to my persona. My vow to leave a trail of broken hearts through the South may prove to be an empty one.

We spend the day repairing fences and clearing trails. One of the Camp's neighbours patrols their border with a sub-machine gun. Mississippi does not like lesbians, although my home town in Ontario is not any different. The work is hard and wonderful, and we sweat buckets. Our work-crew boss is a young woman who warns us repeatedly about poisonous snakes, then points to one hanging from a branch inches from my face. I maintain my cool facade, but swing my machete with more caution from now on.

We leave after lunch. I don't like leaving; Camp Sister Spirit has reinforced my belief in the necessity of women's spaces, where we can heal and grow and learn who we are.

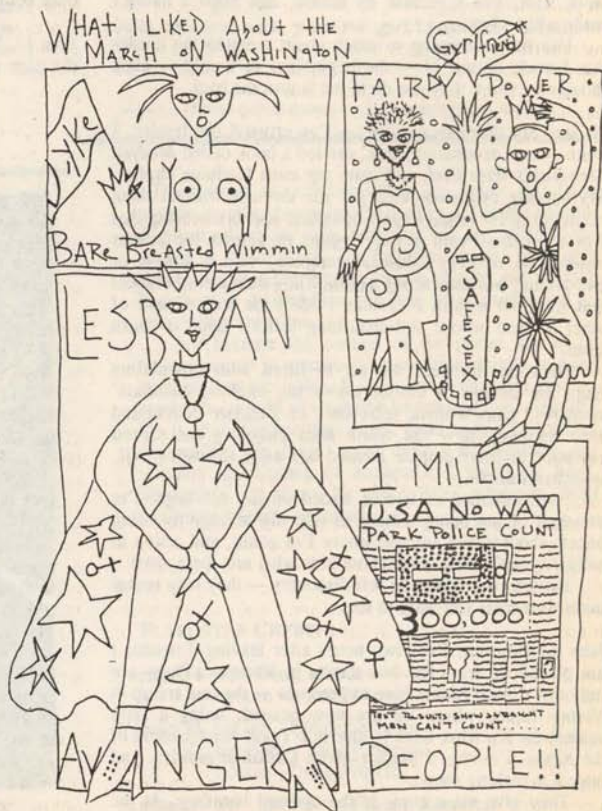
They make me a navigator for the next chunk of the journey. What a hoot! With my sense of di-

rection, we'll probably end up in Alaska.

June 19, Birmingham: Birmingham feels spooky. This is the city where Freedom Riders were attacked by a mob at the bus station, paralyzing one of them for life. This is the city where four Black children were murdered when the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church was dynamited. This is a city where so much happened during the Civil Rights struggle, yet the community in which we are housed has no black faces. (It's easy to spot racism in someone else's country; how many Black faces are there in 'exclusive' areas of Toronto, and how often have I commented on it, and what have I done about it?)

The action we do is around Alabama's new Hate Crimes legislation, which leaves out crimes against lesbians and gays. The street theatre we do is topped off by some Riders eating fire as a symbol of overcoming oppression. The effectiveness of the whole thing is weakened somewhat when everything is done twice so that the media, ours and local folks, can get good camera angles.

June 20, Atlanta: We have two actions today. The first one is in Cobb County, just outside the city. Cobb County has



BROOM/MADWOMAN

Kick It Over

stopped funding all arts projects to avoid having to fund gay and lesbian arts. Because of this, local Lesbian Avengers wants the Olympics to boycott Cobb County (the Women's Volleyball tournament is scheduled to be there in 1996).

The town looks like every small town in every American movie — a park in the middle bordered on all four sides by shops and churches. We had planned to walk through the park, but the police stop us, afraid, perhaps, that we might contaminate the pigeons. The Avengers who organized the Ride have decided to stay out of confrontations with the police, if possible, so we keep to the sidewalk outside the park. We chant, we sing, we rally outside the town hall, assist the local Avengers to get media coverage for their message, then head back to the vans.

Our next stop is the Centre for Disease Control, where the focus is on lesbian health issues. Harper, a woman from Texas, and I climb into the back of the van to cut and paste a large poster proclaiming that women's health is being held hostage by racism, sexism and homophobia. We hurriedly decide on a scenario, a die-in, and we draw chalk outlines of ourselves, writing inside them, "Dead of Breast Cancer," etc.

I work with the Alliance for Non-Violent Action in Canada, and our actions are always scripted, timed and prepared well in advance, even those actions which are not civil disobedience. I find this type of ad-hoc organizing unsettling, but it does have the advantage of allowing everyone who wants to participate to take a huge chunk of responsibility for the action. However, it often means that the actions are not as well-thought-out and executed as they could be: we arrive at the Centre for Disease Control after it closes for the day, and have to present our poster to a security guard, who probably put it directly in a garbage can.

At night we dance for hours in a gay bar somewhere in Atlanta. I am reminded of Emma Goldman saying, "If I can't dance, I don't want to be part of your revolution," and I resolve to go dancing more often once I get back to Ontario.

June 22: We leave Atlanta later than we planned to (we're on Dyke Time), and roll into Durham, North Carolina, in time for a pot-luck supper set up for us in the Lesbian Centre there. I marvel at the existence of the Centre, and at the size and strength of the community that supports it. I speculate on the changes that would have to take place in my home town of Dunnville before a Lesbian Centre could exist there.

After dinner and a walk around the neighbourhood, we settle down to a long night of talking on the huge porch. I am conscious suddenly of the end of the journey approaching, and I'm not sure I'm ready to go home. My horizons broaden with every woman I meet, and I don't want them to shrink again when I return to Dunnville.

June 23: We do a Visibility action in Durham, at a shopping mall near the Lesbian Centre. Wearing our Lesbian T-shirts we shop, we hold hands, we hold a kiss-in. Not surprisingly, we are asked to leave.

Although lesbian issues have often been incorporated into projects I've worked on with ANVA, they've never been at the forefront of anything I've done. With this Pride

Ride, I'm finally beginning to internalize the importance of visibility, beginning to internalize the pain of not being free to be affectionate with whomever we want to be. This nation, this United States Of America, will next year be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but women can't kiss each other in a shopping mall. I wish I could believe Canada was different.

June 24, Philadelphia: A rally and pool party last night, leading up to an action this morning in Ben Franklin's home town. We have written a 'Declaration of Independence from Compulsory Heterosexuality,' and we parade with it past the Liberty Bell, our drums drawing open-mouthed attention from the hordes of tourists and their families. We are a little nervous because we're doing our action, which includes fire-eating, on federal land, and if we're arrested, it could mean heavy charges. But we keep our eyes peeled for police, and don't get hassled. We hand out the Lick Homophobia lollipops to people in the Square. I give one to a woman with long, dark hair and a necktie. She asks for a second one, so she can give one to her girlfriend. I grin widely as I rejoin the rally.

New York City — Almost: We honk our horns in celebration as we cross the bridge into Manhattan. We made it, in almost one piece — the vans were gay-bashed a bit on the way to Durham. We've managed to remain a fairly cohesive group, no major splits, no bitter fights. We did what we set out to do, perhaps what we were all a little afraid to do — be visible as Lesbians across the US South, refusing to let fear of people's prejudice keep us in the closet.

Tonight is the Lesbian Avenger gathering. Tomorrow is the International Dyke March, and the next day is the anniversary of the Stonewall Riots. New York will be busy, with parties to go to whenever we are not rallying. It will have a different flavour from the Ride. Some of the Riders will go off on their own.

I try to pull my thoughts together, to clear my head a bit before we get to New York, and I think back on the reason I joined the Ride — to learn new ways of dealing with the Far Right in Southern Ontario.

I learned that, except for the quantity of guns available, there wasn't much difference between the attitudes of the Deep South of the US and the Deep South of Ontario — bigotry is bigotry. I learned that imperfect actions are better than no actions, and the experience of putting demonstrations together quickly on the road has hopefully given me the confidence to put on more, similar actions in Southern Ontario. I learned that I can be dropped into a gang of unknown women and get along with them, even to the point of building close personal relationships. I learned — again — that there are no Single Issues — no matter what we are talking about, if we aren't also talking about racism, sexism, classism and homophobia, we aren't saying anything.

I'm sorry the journey is ending, but it never really ends; every thought of freedom, every step we take toward our own liberation and the liberation of others, is part of the journey oppressed people have taken throughout time, and will continue to take, long after my life's journey is completed.

Spousal Wrongs

By Lynna Landstreet

In the aftermath of the spousal rights debacle,¹ maybe it's time to take a good, long, critical look at the state of the gay rights movement today — 25 years after Stonewall.

The best description the queer community's response to Bill 167 is "too little, too late." The Campaign for Equal Families, though they did a great deal of good work, didn't even open their doors until the bill had passed its first reading, while the fundamentalists had already been organizing for months. Some politicians said at the time that they were getting one letter in support of the bill for every hundred opposed. Granted, CEF's fax-o-rama managed to even out the ratio to some extent, but it wasn't enough.

Also, the focus on sending whiny letters to politicians left an enormous leadership vacuum when it came to real action. Not everyone was content with sitting quietly at home banging away at a keyboard — many of us wanted more. But no queer organization was offering anything more, and that left a perfect opening for the International Socialists — the piranha fish of the left, who can swarm and devour any issue, event or action in under twenty minutes. A demo was called for the Friday night before the vote and, unless you read the fine print on the posters, you might have actually mistaken it for a queer event. That is, until you actually showed up and saw the endless sea of identical IS picket signs and suffered through a legion of speakers from every union, coalition and tired old left-wing parasite party imaginable. The queers who did show up, out of desperation or ignorance, were herded like cattle off to Queen's Park and then back to the 519 Community Centre, with more tedious speakers at every stop — not one of them from a gay or lesbian organization. The tone of the whole event can best be symbolized by the speaker who recited a list of all the groups fighting this issue — unions, women's groups, immigrants' organizations, several more that I don't recall, and — oh, yes — lesbians and gays. We barely made the list even as an afterthought. Apparently, our lives are everybody's business except our own.

The demo organized by the CEF for the day of the vote looked better. It might have been too late to make any difference, but at least it was *ours*. In the days leading up to the vote, there was talk of riots if it didn't pass. When the bill was defeated, the air of tension and anger on Church Street was palpable hours before the demo was scheduled to begin. I headed for Yonge and Wellesley with growing excitement. *This* would be the real expression of our anger; this would be where we showed them exactly who they'd chosen to fuck with.

No such luck. While the demo started out loud and boisterous, once past the bright lights of Yonge Street it quickly fizzled, and by the time we hit Queen's Park, the chants had all but died and most people were quietly chatting with their friends about where to go for drinks afterwards. Aside from the raising of the rainbow flag on Queen's Park's flagpole, about the most daring thing anyone did was walk through the flower beds — hardly a coherent political statement. Personally, if I'm going to trample any living organism, I'd prefer it to be George

Mammoliti's broken body.² Many frustrated demonstrators spoke of wanting to break windows or burn cop cars, but no one did anything. Even the one person who tried to burn an Ontario flag was quickly silenced by some do-gooder saying "That's just what they want."

No, it damn well isn't! What they want is for us to keep on being nice, obedient, well-behaved little professional victims — and that is exactly what they got. The ubiquitous references to Stonewall at both demos seemed almost obscene — Stonewall was a visceral, spontaneous, grassroots outpouring of rage; these were carefully orchestrated displays of political powerlessness.

Let's get one thing straight, so to speak: the fight isn't over. The right-wingers know now that we can be publicly slandered, denied our rights, and thrown down the stairs by latex-gloved cops³ — all with no real consequence. And they're not going to quit while they're ahead. Having succeeded in keeping us from winning new rights, they'll now turn their sights on those few rights we already have. Sooner or later, we have to start fighting back.

The level of passion aroused by the whole spousal recognition debate has been really inspiring in itself, as has the sheer level of anger at the bill's defeat. Many people who wouldn't previously have considered themselves even remotely militant were fantasizing about burning cop cars and trashing Queen's Park. Sure, this talk was largely in jest, but it still reflected some very real feelings of rage and betrayal.

Those feelings were not given adequate space or recognition by most of the queer community's self-appointed leaders, and that, to me, felt like almost as much a betrayal as the cynical double-dealing of the politicians. Many seemed more concerned about maintaining their own mainstream respectability than representing the real feelings of the community. And perhaps that's a valid concern. Perhaps we need our straight-acting suits and mild-mannered moderates, but we need a lot more than *just* that. We need to give individuals space to act outside of preplanned agendas and large organizations, to follow their own feelings and political instincts.

No, I'm not talking about bombings and assassinations here (though there were times when the thought was tempting). But there's a whole range of potential actions that lie between meek, passive, gutless demos and outright vio-

FOOTNOTES

1. Earlier this year, Bill 167, which would have given lesbian and gay couples the same legal rights as heterosexual common-law couples, was defeated in the Ontario provincial legislature.

2. George Mammoliti is a right-wing politician who was especially abusive toward the gay community during the debates on the bill.

3. When the bill was defeated, many spectators booed and chanted political slogans. They were dragged out of the gallery and thrown down the stairs by cops — wearing latex gloves to protect them against anyone who might be antisocial enough to bleed on them.



FUNDAMENTALIST TYPES SHOWED UP AT THE STONEWALL MARCH, WITH A VARIETY OF POLITICALLY ASTUTE SIGNS AND SLOGANS. PHOTOS BY ALAN VERNON/PRODUCTION BY XTRA!

lence. What about civil disobedience, street theatre, genuinely *angry* demos, and the sort of late-night creative vandalism radical environmentalists call monkeywrenching? None of these tactics are particularly new to the queer movement, except perhaps the last one, but they were pretty scarce during the spousal rights campaign.

In order to be effective, any movement needs a wide range of actions and styles of activism. Moderates without militants to back them up are ignored, and militants without moderates to handle PR just piss people off. We need to not only accept but actively encourage diversity; to acknowledge that there's no one right way to fight any political battle, no one tactic that will be effective alone.

For those who prefer to work on the wild side, as it were, there a number of points worth bearing in mind. First of all, if you're going to do something illegal, decide from the outset whether you are going to do it openly or secretly and stick to your decision. If you want to be public about it, then be *totally* public and be prepared to face arrest. If you don't want to be arrested, then plan your action very carefully, take all necessary security precautions and *don't tell anyone* who doesn't have an immediate, pressing need to know. I realize this goes against the universal queer mania for gossip, but that's life. Get used to it.

An excellent resource for the latter type of action is *Ecodefence: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching* (Dave Foreman and Bill Haywood, editors). While many of the techniques it describes are of limited use outside the environmental movement, some can be handily adapted to any struggle, and the chapter on security is an absolute must-read for anyone contemplating any sort of illegal political activity. For those who prefer a more open approach, the peace movement has generated a wide va-

riety of books on civil disobedience.

Whatever your particular choice of political action, do it intelligently, creatively, passionately — and often. And don't expect everyone else to go along with it, or even to approve of it — remember, our diversity is our strength.

That principle of diversity is just as important in theory as in practice. There are few things I hate more than showing up to a demo and having the exact same assortment of speakers pushing the exact same assortment of issues (few having anything to do with the purpose of the demo) as there were at the last 20 demos I attended. Why can't we keep our actions clearly focused on the issue at hand? Certainly, any thinking person will have opinions on more than one political topic, but we don't all think alike, and to push some rigid, monolithic slate of "correct" positions on every issue under the sun at every demo

only serves to alienate people, and to deny our own diversity and capacity for independent thought.

It's also largely the work of the International Socialists and their ilk, who just love the idea of one, unified, homogenous movement, because it's so much easier for them to control. We need to learn the difference between solidarity and co-optation. Sure, the organized left is welcome to *support* our causes, but not to take them over. For the queer movement to remain vital and valid, it has to be run by queers for queers and be based on our own experience and identity, not on any externally imposed ideology.

It may help here to take a look at some of the movements that have successfully resisted being swallowed alive by the left. The radical environmental movement, which I've already mentioned, is one — Earth First! and similar groups get trashed about equally by the right and the left, which is a sure sign that they're doing something right. Another is the native movement. Ward Churchill's essay *I am Indigenist*, in his book *The Struggle for the Land*, is a brilliant example of a philosophy rooted in lived experience that owes no allegiance to conventional political divisions.

If they can do it, so can we. Look at us: if the gay community is credited with anything, even by the 'phobes, it's style, creativity and humour. And we're certainly used to feeling like outsiders. Let's make those things work for us as we stake out our own political space and claim our own identity.

The modern gay rights movement may be turning 25 this year, but in some ways it's only just begun.

This article was adapted from two installments of Nihil Obstat, Lynna's column in Xtra! magazine, June 25 & July 8, 1994.

THE CRISIS

in the Built Environment of the UK

by Martha Brett and Daniel James

Many ecologists in the UK do not seem to consider the built environment. Yet nearly everyone here lives in a house, goes to a shop or works in a building of some kind. If a building is old or of some special interest, then people see the need to protect it. Yet if it is a house in an ordinary street, they do not, unless it is their own. So-called "Greens," when asked about the built environment, become wildly unrealistic and claim that, in the future, we can let the bulldozers run free and all live in tipis. We do not feel that they have thought the problems out fully — it would be not only impractical, but unsustainable, to demolish all existing buildings and then provide shelter for over fifty million people in our densely populated country. The belief that ecological sustainability means regressing to an ancient outdoor lifestyle prevents most people from seriously considering the issues. Dissatisfaction with cities and towns is often due not to their buildings, but to lack of community feeling. We believe that a social form of ecology provides the solution.

Housing

In the UK there is obviously a homelessness epidemic — many people are forced to sleep on the streets under blankets, and in cardboard boxes, while there is a massive surplus of office and retail space and hundreds of thousands of empty houses. Most people can see that something has gone badly wrong, but very few recognize it as a built environment crisis. The UK suffers additional problems to the other industrialized countries who experienced a speculative construction boom in the 1980s. The Conservative government, which has been in power continuously since 1979, had an ideological commitment to rid the nation of state-owned low rental housing with their "Right to Buy" legislation. People could buy a state-owned council (i.e. local government) house if they had lived in it for a certain time and agreed not to sell it for a few years; the houses were sold at bargain basement prices, often at half the market price. These houses had been paid for out of local authority budgets, yet the local authorities were not allowed to control the money. Instead, they were paid the money gradually, and instructed that they were not allowed to spend it on new housing. The role of rental housing provision for the very poorest people was given to "housing associations," quasi-autonomous non-governmental organizations who are not elected and have mysterious objectives. These "quangos" have replaced elected officials in many areas of public life in the UK, even controlling the hospitals, and provide a multiplying number of highly-paid jobs in the bureaucracy for members of the Conservative party.

People were generally encouraged to take out mortgages to buy their houses instead of renting during the 1980s, and now after a long economic depression we have empty houses in almost every street. The house next door to ours, in a working class area of London, is a classic example. It was repossessed

nearly two years ago, and has had infestations of cockroaches and mice. It has two broken windows, and the estate agent admits that it is in terrible condition, requiring complete rebuilding. However, he had instructions to sell it for £56,000, which was approximately its value when in good order sometime in the late 1980s. The bank believed it could afford to sit on the house until, by some economic miracle, the property became saleable again. The estate agent now informs us that the house has been purchased by a housing association, whose plans are not known. They have not even attempted to board up the windows.

We see the individual ownership of land and housing by working people in the current system as unstable, and therefore inevitably leading to this kind of crisis because the relatively poor depend on their employers for their mortgage payments, and are dispensable at a time of recession, with no other resources to fall back on.

Places Of Work

The neglect of the built environment goes far deeper than just housing — places of work can shut down just because they are not making enough money for the company that owns them. The national or multinational company does not feel obliged to support the local area, and will relocate if there is more money to be made elsewhere — after all, only the workforce lives in the locale, not the people who make the real decisions. This problem was neatly stated by the film *Roger and Me*, about General Motors pulling out of Flint, Michigan. We believe that people who are serious about autonomy should work for themselves and their community. What is useful work anyway? Once people have shelter, they only need food and a few material possessions before they can begin to be creative. It could be argued that a "real job" under capitalism has more to do with meeting the needs of the various industries than those of the human being. The organization of our settlements into zones of housing, industry, shops or offices not only creates transport problems and ghettoization, but also removes people from the immediate effects of their consumption. If housing and places of work were integrated with each other, we could meet our real needs in the most sustainable way.

Power Is At The Centre

It has become obvious to us that the centralization of power is a major cause of the problem, although of course small-scale capitalism is not desirable either. This is why we argue for power at the most local level possible, used for the benefit of all. In the UK, central and local governments have had a long running battle for control of the regions. This reached its height in 1986, when the Greater London Council (GLC), a relatively left-wing authority on which Central Government tried to clamp down but found that it

was too big and had too much money to be controlled, was abolished. Despite being one of the world's major capital cities, London still has no strategic authority. The irony of the GLC in relation to the built environment is that its former headquarters, a giant building opposite the houses of Parliament, has lain empty since 1986 and has now been bought by a Japanese company which wants to turn it into a luxury hotel. It is intended for honeymooning Japanese couples who will probably never leave the hotel for the duration of their stay; the conversion plans reveal that many of the rooms will not even have windows. The GLC building was briefly squatted in 1993 by a group of Green Party activists demanding that the GLC or a level of strategic government be reinstated; this seems very unlikely.

We are now in a position where local government in the UK is so dominated by the centre that it cannot support the kind of schemes that we would like to see, such as local ecology centres set up in empty shops, because of "free-market" dogma. In this particular example, it is not possible because the local council are obliged to charge the equivalent private sector rent for any premises that they own, no matter how worthy the cause.

So — What Can We Do?

As previously stated, we believe that human beings would benefit from an ecological re-working of settlements. Quality of life could be drastically improved while the impact on the ecosystem is reduced by building these sustainable autonomous communities. The alienation of modern life could be counteracted by creating a sense of purpose and an identity for the residents. But how could this be practically achieved?

Many of the people involved in the ecological movement in the UK have depended on ancient squatters' rights to use land for their homes and work. Now, a law is to be introduced in the UK to make squatting a criminal offense. It is currently a civil matter that must be resolved in court before the owner of the land or property can retake possession; however, under the new legislation squatters will be served with a 24-hour notice to quit. If they refuse to leave they can be removed by force. The implication here is that, unless you have paid for land, you have no right to exist upon it. We resent having to pay landowners for what was once commonly held and then taken from our ancestors by force. However, it seems that if we build our own community on land that we do not have a piece of legal paper to claim, we would be removed with the same force. This will mean activists will have to build their sustainable autonomous communities where land is cheapest, and some have already begun. Tinker's Bubble is a farm of about fifty acres in the

A SIGN OF OUR TIMES



WE ALL PAY TO DISPLAY

County of Somerset. By modern agricultural standards it is unviable, but the new owners hope to make it work. They have divided it into small-holdings, and each person has put in £2000 to cover the purchase cost. The internal combustion engine is banned from the whole farm. Of course, ownership of the land does not end the interference of the authorities; in the case of the Tipi Village in Wales, a community established for over twenty years, town planning legislation has been used to harass the residents.

Some people prefer the cultural activities of the city to rural isolation, but despite factors like public transport networks, modern mega-city life is intrinsically unsustainable. Some see the city as a centre for the transformation of imported raw materials into waste which is dumped outside its borders, and this certainly could be said of London. If production of the things that were really necessary took place in the city to meet the residents' own needs, its impact could be significantly reduced. Our idea of a community could show the city dwellers the possibilities available with a bit of imagination. The grey city and the sterile dormitory of the suburb could become places where people really want to live.

We aim to connect people with an interest in a sustainable built environment. We produce a newsletter four times a year, and part of our role is working on built environment policy for the UK Green Party. We welcome all contributions. **Built Environment Network, 115, Greyhound Road, Tottenham, London N17 6XR, UK.**

—see The "No M11" Campaign on next page—

The "No M11" Campaign

The "M11 Link Road" has been planned to join the motorway coming into London from the northeast to the road into the city centre and the Blackwell Tunnel under the Thames, a distance of less than four miles. This £230 million project will require the demolition of 350 homes and make 1,000 people homeless — literally dividing the community with concrete.

In September, 1993, at the start of work on the first contract, 100 campaigners turned up ready to fight for the community. Most people had different reasons for being there: many because they objected to the government's £23 billion road-building program; some because a mature chestnut tree (250 years old) was going to be cut down; and another group because homes were going to be destroyed.

Since then, a number of large protests have taken place, mostly centering on non-violent direct action, and the numbers turning up here have also grown from the one hundred in September to up to three hundred a day. The campaign has grown from strength to strength, and has brought members of the community together. Of course, not everyone agrees with the campaigners; some people in the area believe that there are advantages to be had from the road. They argue that decreased traffic on residential roads and decreased noise (because any houses still standing along the route may get a grant for double glazing) are adequate compensation. The biggest argument that they had against the campaign was that they dislike the long-haired hippies, crusties and Earth First!ers who are invading their once "respectable" area. They probably thought an aggregates truck going past their house every thirty seconds for the next four years of construction was acceptable, until a local woman was run down and killed by one recently. Only a handful of local residents were aware of what was really going on before the bulldozers moved in, and so last autumn it was left to "outsiders" to do something.

For example, the local people believed that there was to be a tunnel underneath George Green where the 250-year-old chestnut tree stood. This was not the whole truth; the tunnel is to be a "cut and cover" one, i.e. a huge gully with a concrete lid and a layer of turf, with not even enough topsoil to replant trees on. Despite tree sitting and nonviolent direct action by hundreds of activists, the tree was destroyed last December in a massive operation involving three hundred police. The eviction and demolition in February of the last five houses in Wanstead

along the route, which required an even larger military-style operation than that used to destroy the chestnut tree (because we had been building barricades and digging trenches for two weeks) made it onto the television and the front pages of all the national papers. The houses had been named "Wanstonia," and attempts were made to secede from the UK; the official letters were sent to the Foreign Office and the United Nations. Some campaigners meant it as a publicity stunt or a joke, while others were serious about declaring an autonomous region, however small, to question the government's "right" to control the land.

The confrontation moved on along the route of the road into the working-class area of Leytonstone and Leyton. The construction contract has not yet been awarded for this section, but there is an advanced contract underway to build the huge run-off drains, which means that demolition is required at various intervals along the route. A small area of forest containing an ancient oak and yew was named "Leytonstonia," and a group of activists began living there in January. An illegal eviction was attempted in June by a Department of Transport official and a gang of private security guards which resulted in the loss of the oak and some damage to the yew, not to mention the beating up of activists and the trashing of their camp, but the camp has been re-established. Several other "free areas" have been set up along the route, including Claremont Road in Leyton, the entirety of which is due for demolition. It now resembles the "new neighbourhood" described by Ted Trainer in *KIO* #33 — the road is practically dug up and filled with furniture, sculpture and a stage, and some of the houses have been turned into an information centre, a cafe and a bicycle workshop. On August 2, another massive operation succeeded in demolishing four houses at one end of Claremont Road. The residents were dragged from their beds by riot police, and were only allowed to take out the possessions that they could carry. Campaigners walked along the roof of the terrace which makes up the majority of the houses, and climbed onto a wooden tower built in preparation at one end. Some locked themselves to it. It took all day for the bailiffs and private security guards to pick them off one by one, using hydraulic elevated platforms.

Campaigns such as these are important not only in their own right, but are a powerful medium for communicating ideas about decentralization of power and the traditions of resistance and civil disobedience which can bring about the kind of free and ecological society we want. For more information, contact: **No M11 Campaign, 66 Claremont Road, London E11 4EE, UK.** — *Martha Brett and Daniel James*

Summer Camp —continued from page 49—

feelings (good or bad), pass on news and general information, and make decisions that affect everyone.

There is as much time for socializing as you make. Many of us would gather around after dinner to play ultimate Frisbee or tell stories. On weekends, small groups would go off camping, to hike, play pool in Barre, or see a movie. During the last week of the program we organized a cabaret, spoofing many of our experiences that summer. Forming a community in such a short time is a fortuitous event. I was lucky to feel part of a good group of people, because I have been told that it doesn't always happen each summer.

It is unfortunate that many individuals who might benefit from the personal contacts made through the ISE find it inaccessible from the start. The program is not cheap. The 1994 Ecology and Community Program (tuition, room and board) was US \$1,995. Some of the cost can be defrayed by a work-study grant, tuition waivers, and no-interest loans with the ISE that are available to anyone who qualifies. Under the strains of another capitalist-induced economic depression, the ISE is hoping to make its programs affordable by offering smaller components such as weekend colloquia and conferences during its standard summer program.

After twenty years the ISE continues in its efforts to bring a libertarian education to the radical ecology movement. As the irrational world we live in continues to destroy community, these efforts become more and more necessary.

Reports from a summer of gatherings...

SOCIAL ECOLOGY AND MUNICIPAL DEMOCRACY

by Gary Moffatt

Last May, the Institute for Social Ecology held its annual Continental Conference in Montréal on the theme Social Ecology and Municipal Democracy.

In his keynote address, Institute director Dan Chodorkoff defined utopia as a process linking personal, political and social concerns, to be created 'neighbourhood by neighbourhood through human energy and the politics of participation. The conference took the form of a series of panels, most with three or four speakers and time for participation from the floor.

Many of the speakers expressed skepticism over community economic development, suggesting that it is designed to meet the needs of business rather than the community and will fail when people object to its projects lowering wages and environmental standards. Margie Mendell, principal of the Polanyi Institute of Political Economy, criticized CEDs for often succumbing to government demands for training people, with no consideration of whether the training will integrate people into economic life, but felt that they might have a place within a larger framework of empowering regions to shape their own economic future.

Publisher/activist Dimitri Roussopoulos suggested that social ecology is the only social change process which allows so-

cial, cultural, economic and political development to proceed together; only by self-education and empowerment can groups produce meaningful social change. One prerequisite for this is space to interact; he reviewed the role of 19th century cafe societies in Paris of furnishing a milieu from which a community grew, and added that in present-day Montréal anyone interested can attend the coordinating committee meetings of Ecology Montréal in a Milton Park cafe (he said nothing about an autonomy centre organized by a rival anarchist group, which picketed one of the conference sessions). Roussopoulos recounted the history of the Milton Park project, in which local residents thwarted corporate plans to develop a downtown area, and instead created a land trust to manage it, as an example of social ecology in practice. (For more information about Ecology Montréal, see article by Phillip Chee in KIO #32.)

The Greening Our Cities conference (see report below) was held on this same weekend. The Vancouver conference was focused on action, rather than education as in Montréal, with participants spending most of their time in one of 18 working groups. Those who feel that study and action are mutually interdependent might find it curious that on this weekend they were separated by 3,000 miles. The Vancouver conference might have benefited from a plenary education session on social ecology, and the Montréal from a session in which people from various areas outlined problems they are having in achieving social-political goals.

For further details, for proceedings, or to learn about future conferences, contact: **The Institute for Social Ecology, PO Box 89, Plainfield, VT 05667 USA.**

GREENING OUR CITIES

by Don Alexander and Kathryn Cholette

On May 8th and 9th, Vancouver hosted its first ever Green Cities conference. A year in the planning, it was sponsored by VanCity Credit Union and the Social Planning and Research Council (SPARC) of BC, in association with the David Suzuki Foundation.

The conference had two overall objectives. The first was to counter those who would have Vancouver become a "world class city" — in the belief that Vancouver's success is tied to the global marketplace, international investment capital, megaprojects, with wealth "trickling down" to local communities and the poor — and who wanted instead to support an alternative "green city" vision of urban development. This vision links ecological sustainability with social justice and the pursuit of sustainable livelihoods. It promotes ecological and cultural diversity and a vibrant community life, and it acknowledges ecological limits to growth by supporting a community-based sustainable economy that is directed towards fulfilling real human needs. The Greening Our Cities conference was organized to begin the process of exploring, promoting, and acting on this alternative green city vision.

The conference's second objective was to act as a catalyst for a number of "Green City" actions that might emerge from the conference. A number of ongoing projects did result from

small group discussions on the second day. Probably the most encompassing of these was the proposal for an Eco-City Network to link all of the organizations and individuals together. The Network, hosted its first meeting of 65 people on June 28th, and continues to meet regularly. The format includes social time (participants are encouraged to bring their families), announcements and then focus groups for action. The meetings are intended to be an equal mix of business and pleasure.

The value of the Network is that it provides an entry point for community volunteers to hook up with ongoing or new projects, and an opportunity for groups to share information and avoid duplication of effort. It may also provide a vehicle for articulating more of an integrated green city vision amongst the disparate groups that form its membership.

Anyone who is well-informed about the global environmental crisis knows we have to learn live sustainably. But the task of creating this new way of life, especially in a green city context, seems impossible. How do we "green" New York, Mexico City, Hong Kong? Yet cities are where much of the work of building a sustainable society must begin. Seventy-five percent of the population of Canada and the US lives in cities and towns, and urbanization is proceeding vigorously in the Third World.

This question is especially difficult when we put the pieces together and realize that a green city is far more than a pretty place, with lots of trees, green spaces, exposed creeks, biking paths, walking paths, urban gardens, excellent public transit, electric cars, and a population that rely-

cles and re-uses seriously, as important as those things are.

Sustainability demands much more. It requires keeping habitat loss, pollution, and the exploitation of resources at levels that allow the natural world to repair itself. Since most of us live in cities, our task is to create an urban way of life based on an economy which respects the finite limits of the planet's systems and resources.

The task, then, is two-fold: to convince people and decision-makers in the private and public sectors that we have a crisis, and to come up with the alternatives that will make a transition to sustainability feasible and possible. The challenge for the future — and the conference represents a good first step

— is to find ways to more effectively articulate a common vision of where we want and need to go (a vision which provides the context for the partial solutions all of us are working on). And, when we have established that, to figure out how to unite effectively to press for implementation in our own lives and at a policy and decision-making level, and what organizational format would best enable us to do that. It is not clear yet whether the Eco-City Network will be that vehicle, but it is an important starting-point.

Copies of the Greening Our Cities conference Proceedings are available from: SPARC, Suite #106, 2182 West 12th Ave., Vancouver, BC V6K 2N4 Canada.

OUR LOCAL ECONOMY

by Gary Moffatt

Two weeks after the Montréal and Vancouver gatherings, the Toronto organization Our Local Economy held its second annual Town Hall. Here the emphasis was entirely on workshops, of which about sixty were announced at the opening plenary. The central concept was that community economic development, in the form of small business enterprises accountable to their neighbourhoods, can create jobs and return production to a human scale. A lot of networking between individual projects was done, but scant attention was paid to the question of how all the projects might establish ongoing communication and mutual aid channels; reports on some of the workshops were computerized for subsequent mailing to participants, but there was no effort at the end to bring all the work together and only a handful of participants bothered to attend the closing plenary, at which little was done. This also precluded any consideration of the

interrelationship between economic and environmental issues, save in some individual workshops where such proposals as share buying of organic crops would obviously benefit the environment. Many of the workshops were purely educational, others sought recruits for proposed or existing projects. Some impressions:

(a) Just about everyone who came did so in order to drum up support for his or her project, rather than to volunteer to participate in someone else's. Consequently, none of them had very fertile ground for their pitches.

(b) Most of the participants owned computers, spent most of their free time with them, and assessed proposals primarily in terms of how easily they could be computerized. Implicit in this is a concept of computer operators as an elite and everyone else as the rank and file.

(c) Toronto social change activists have yet to come to grips with such larger issues as had motivated the Vancouver conference to organize a comprehensive social change program, or the organizers of the Montréal conference to develop the social ecology approach to basic change. Consequently, prospects for social change are not as high in Toronto.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

by Jim Campbell

In August, members of various Anarchist Black Cross (ABC), and other anti-authoritarian, anti-prison groups came together in New York to try to bring new life to the organization, which dates back to the Russian revolution. While the conference couldn't be considered an unqualified success, it was a step forward in trying to give more shape and direction to those of us committed to the anti-prison struggle from the outside.

As with many such events, the biggest gains were probably more on an informal level. Personal contact makes it easier to work together on common efforts even though we may be separated by hundreds and even thousands of miles. And even if, for some, the limitations of the ABC became more apparent, most of the participants did leave both with more knowledge about prison issues and feeling more inspired to work on them.

Two specific projects addressed were a revitalization of the Emergency Response Network (ERN), and the creation of a Control Unit Monitoring Project (CUMP). The ABC had a functioning ERN when it last had a presence in North America in 1989/90. Situations calling for some sort of emergency re-

sponse by non-prisoners range from hungerstrikes, lockdowns, punitive transfers where regular contact with a prisoner is lost, up to and including major incidents like hostage-taking or take-overs. To be brief, the (tentative) proposal is for a number of groups, functioning as co-ordinators, to be at the top of phone trees in their region. The ERN would be set up on a local base, which in turn would be connected to a regional branch of the phone-tree and working up from there to one of the co-ordinating groups, which would be responsible for either initiating a call for the ERN, or passing along information that originated in another region.

There was also discussion about the Control Unit Monitoring Project. CUMP is a long-term proposal to mount a serious campaign to expose existing Control Units and to work against the opening of any new ones. Though differences exist as to how to define Control Units, there is a real need to gather information about these units, and initially this is where much of the work will be focused. However, the work to gather information, and the need to co-ordinate this work with prisoners in Control Units, should not stop any local initiative to work against already existing local CU's, or proposals to build them.

There is much that a revitalized ABC could contribute to an anti-prison movement. But to do so, the ABCs must attract people who want to develop a serious politic using anarchist principles, rather than having the ABC serving primarily as a

means by which young rebels can affirm their rejection of the wider society before they once again adopt corporate social values. But it is not an organizational structure alone that will tend to draw the former while discouraging the latter. Too often, an anarchist push for "organization" is only a variation of the much-maligned life-style anarchism since the organization itself becomes a "life-style" choice, obscuring the fact that nothing much is being accomplished. But we must also be able to go beyond having our work depend on small groups of very dedicated individuals with only the most tenuous links to each other.

The anti-prison movement in general can act as a testing ground for our ideas. It can be practical by actually assisting prisoners in their struggles, and overtly political by countering use of "crime and prisons" in building the new reactionary social consensus that would be the popular base for an (ever more) authoritarian state. This conference was only a

RURAL AND URBAN COLLECTIVES

by Jamie Small Fry Joe

In early September, the people at Maison des Souries organized a gathering, Rural and Urban Collectives — How to Make the Link. Maison des Souries is a collectively-run, 2-year old squatted house on 36 acres of land near Sherbrooke, Québec. The collective is a mixture of people who love in Montréal and at the Maison. As one of the agitators for this event, I was delighted with the turnout and its diversity. Participants came from a wide range of activities and projects, both land-based and urban.

The experience showed what a broad-based eco-anti-authoritarian social, political and cultural movement could feel like. Anglophone and Francophone radicals coming together across borders was an important first attempt at overcoming the linguistic separation that exists here, and in the US with Spanish-speaking people. The first letter the Maison received from an attendee was from an American who's begun studying French. This is the proper direction for breaking down these barriers, rather than the colonialist assimilation of "speak my language and we can work together."

We wanted to have a gathering of people active in all the things we think are important in affecting social change, while not having to sacrifice our whole summer to the organizing of it, or spend very much money to make it happen. We favoured a less-structured, more spontaneous approach. And we wanted the event to benefit the Maison itself, which it did by bringing inspiration, knowledge, contacts, and some hands cutting wood for the winter. Though our original regional focus was the northeast, we had people come from as far away as California, Virginia, France and Switzerland; most people attending were from southern Québec. We figured that 50 people showing up would be a success (large but still intimate enough), and were overwhelmed with the turnout of 120-150 people throughout the weekend.

I personally didn't have great expectations for the workshops. I feel I learned and shared more in smaller groups than in the larger ones, and I got the most out of individual conversations. Though I think leaving things simply on an individual

small step towards these goals by helping to educate and motivate those attending. Though that is not sufficient, it is certainly a contribution.

Our thanks to Nightcrawlers ABC, NJ/ABC, and everyone else who helped to make the conference happen. And special thanks to Ramona Africa and Alan Berkman for their very inspiring talks.

If you want an unsurpassed political education and would like to participate in an emerging political movement that must deal with issues of crime and punishment, race and privilege, violence and resistance if it is to make any progress, then the anti-prison movement might be for you. For more information on the ABCs, the Control Unit Monitoring Project, or to join the Emergency Response Network, write: Prison News Service, PO Box 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, ON M5W 1W4, Canada.

basis would have been too limiting, as group discussions with translators allowed the only possibility for exchanges between unilingual Anglophones and Francophones. Large workshops can be useful for certain purposes, such as introducing people and subjects for discussion before breaking down into smaller groups. Too often they turn into a few people talking and the rest listening, which isn't very participatory.

Getting planned workshops to actually happen was a difficulty. Trying to diminish the gap between organizers and the organized was a personal priority, but there were other opinions from attendees and organizers that things weren't organized enough. But what do you do when people who say they will give a workshop don't show up? Is paying workshop leaders the answer? I don't think so.

Ultimately, I think the workshops that happened, happened because people wanted them to, because the subjects were that interesting (the herb walk, solar power, alternative media) and of a more technical nature, and the ones that didn't happen were from a lack of effort and/or interest of/to the participants as well as the organizers. Who wants to sit around talking about "anarchism today?" — I thought the event was anarchism today. All the workshops and conversations were just a beginning. The gathering's theme of linking urban and rural struggles, issues and people was definitely a beginning in fleshing out issues and biases by urbanites who don't see organizing outside giant metropolises as important.

Some of my favourite memories of the weekend have nothing to do with working, but rather with making music all night long with all these people I didn't know were musicians.

The event came to a grand conclusion on Monday with a large group go-around. I was happy to hear other opinions about the previous 3 days. Many echoed mine. Everyone expressed a desire to meet again. Certainly the event expanded my definition of activism. It also strengthened my belief that in order to continue our activities we have to sustain ourselves somehow, and for me that means getting back to the land eventually, if only for a few days or weeks at a time, to be with kids, with plants, to learn their names, to know how they can heal us, to drink clean water, to breathe clean air, to make music, and to remember that the struggle is ultimately about land and living with it in harmony. That it's always been about land. I don't know which battle-cry I like best — "Build the new world in the shell of the old" or "Live wild or die!" Utopia now!

Summer Camp for Anarchists

Twenty years of radicalizing the greens at the Institute for Social Ecology

by Phillip Chee

The picturesque green mountains of central Vermont have for the past twenty years been home to the Institute for Social Ecology. Here, with facilities rented from Goddard College in Plainfield, the ISE has attempted to put together a libertarian education and combine it with social ecology. Daniel Chodorkoff, the director of ISE, sees this as an important step in the creation of a libertarian movement.

In 1972, Chodorkoff was a grad student at Goddard when he first met Murray Bookchin. Bookchin has been synonymous with social ecology, having authored a number of essays and books on this theory. Social ecology combines, firstly, an anarchistic critique showing how the emergence of the State, as the most pervasive example of hierarchy and domination, has destroyed many human communities; and secondly, a concrete initiative for people to actively reconstruct community. Bookchin, for instance, has proposed the idea of libertarian municipalism, whereby the municipality is retaken as the locus of political and economic activity for a community. Excited by what Bookchin was teaching as a lecturer at Goddard, Chodorkoff worked with him to make the theories more accessible and bring together the heavy-weights of the various movements of the late sixties and early seventies in hope of tying them into a revolutionary movement. Chodorkoff approached Bookchin to become the first director. Hesitant at first, Bookchin agreed.

Bookchin organized a conference in 1973 and invited people like Karl Hess (alternative community development), Milton Kotler (neighbourhood governments), John Todd (New Alchemy Institute) and Stuart Hill (ecological agriculture). The purpose of the conference was to prepare the curriculum for ISE. From this emerged the program's three major foci — education, theoretical research, and community outreach — and a 12-week summer program. The ISE program is designed so that students can take what they learn during the summer to their own communities. This is now known as the Ecology and Community Program. A later addition to the curriculum was the Design for Sustainable Communities Program. In this course, students learn about architecture, landscape and construction design in building ecological communities. With its curriculum in eco-philosophy, ecological anthropology, ecofeminism, alternative agriculture, community health, and ecological technology, Chodorkoff believes the ISE is virtually the only place looking at the radical implications of ecology.

Brief History 1974

The early ISE program attracted New Left, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) and anti-war people. At the same time, Chodorkoff's more revolutionary friends were dismissing ecology as middle-class environmentalism. Nonetheless, the ISE opened its first summer on Cate Farm, a 40-acre parcel of

land owned by Goddard. One hundred and fifty students attended that first summer. That year's program included courses on organic gardening, wind power, solar energy and fish farming (taught by members of the New Alchemy Institute in Massachusetts, which had worked on developing ecological techniques of integrating design and community). Students also did some work with the Akwesasne Mohawk Nation and with small farmers in Vermont.

In the last two decades, the ISE has continued its emphasis on agriculture and community self-reliance. Starting in 1975, the ISE became involved in community development in New York City and in the 1980s it continued this community outreach by organizing workshops, acting as facilitators helping these communities to find their own answers to their problems. Another innovation came in 1978, when the ISE offered the first program in ecofeminism in North America. The ISE still offers a summer seminar on the topic, and this past summer hosted a colloquium on ecofeminism, even though a lot of critical debate has arisen, particularly from Janet Biehl's controversial book *Rethinking Ecofeminist Politics*. So much so that many social ecologists have a more critical view towards some aspects of ecofeminism. However, even with this critical/theoretical interpretation, many ecofeminists still gather at the ISE.

Financial cutbacks from Goddard in 1981 forced the ISE to become an independent organization. It spent the next two years as a summer conference, setting up shop in different towns because Goddard had sold Cate Farm. In 1986, ISE negotiated with Goddard to use the campus facilities as tenants during the summer, and continued its Ecology and Community program. Other accomplishments of the ISE included the co-sponsorship of a conference in Minneapolis in 1984, which sparked a conscious Green Movement in the US. The MA program administered through Goddard was re-introduced in 1985, thus reinstating its formal affiliation with the college. The MA program has borne fruit — for example, its students initiated a conference in Urban Alternatives in New York City held in 1983, and alumnus Joseph Kieffer's Food Works Project in Montpelier, Vermont.

The Institute in Transition

The ISE has evolved from its early beginning, and can now boast of creating an international network of social ecologists. Social ecologists from Uruguay, Chile, Australia, England, Germany, New Zealand, Greece and Russia have made contacts with those in the US through the Institute. The ISE would like to link up with ecological activists in Africa, Asia and Western Europe, and continue its educational programs and expand its publishing connections (*Society & Nature*, New Society Press, Green Print, and *Harbinger, the Journal of Social Ecology*). Chodorkoff is

hopeful that the ISE will develop a PhD program in 1995. As he puts it, "unfortunately, in a repressive time, universities remain the only influential place for discussion" of social issues. Chodorkoff also hopes the Institute can offer different educational formats — workshops, continental conferences, week or weekend colloquia, etc. — which might make the ISE more accessible.

Participatory Education In Practice

The teaching philosophy at the ISE tries to give students a combination of theoretical and hands-on practical work. Some of the lectures and seminars are straight theoretical presentations, such as Bookchin's Social Ecology course. Other courses allow the students to get their hands dirty, literally, if they take the Soil and Community course taught by Sarah Ross, an organic farmer and ISE faculty member. The ISE also invites guest lecturers each summer to lead special colloquia or workshops. Susan Meeker-Lowry, economist and editor of *Catalyst*, has been coming for a number of years to do an ecological economics colloquium.

Faculty members try to break down the hierarchical structure of contemporary education by a method of participatory education. At the ISE, this is usually done by having students and lecturer sit in a circle for the course. The lecturer will present for about 30 minutes (in a two-hour class) and then a "go-around" allows each student to ask questions, make comments, or present their own ideas and experiences.

Each course usually has a reader or a group of books or papers that each student is expected to read before coming to each class — whether you read it or not is your own choice. Students are responsible for their own preparation but are not penalized for not doing the work. Some classes expect a final presentation or project, though again, this is optional. The Institute maintains its own library for student use with almost 1,000 volumes. You can purchase required readings, textbooks and other books in its small book store. ISE students also have access to the Goddard College Library.

Letter from camp...

Last summer, I attended the ISE because my circumstances afforded me the chance and I was curious to see what it was about after some discussions with Murray Bookchin and my readings of social ecology. I had the theory in my head, and I wanted to finish it off before taking a more active involvement in my own community. There, I chose to participate in Soil and Community, Feminism and Social Ecology, Agriculture and Food Systems, Social Ecology, and study groups. The teachers were well-versed in their respective disciplines, and all committed to participatory education. Lectures were given in a circle, with the teacher opening the day's discussion and each student adding to the discussion with questions or insights, knowledge and/or experience. It

was both informative and informal. Many of the teachers are practitioners, particularly the ones teaching agriculture. They were themselves organic farmers, involved in either education or development of organic farming. For example, Grace Gershuny, editor of *The Organic Farmer* magazine, co-lectured the Agriculture and Food-Systems course.

Students came from many parts of the world: Mariko from Japan, Alberto from Uruguay, Tesfa from Ethiopia, Teka from Cameroon, Sula from Greece, David from Australia. Most of the students came from the US, and I was one of three from Canada. The 48 students came from all backgrounds: university students, anarchists, school teach-



ers, librarians, storytellers, and a Franciscan nun. Throughout the course, I often made the comment that this was like "summer camp" for anarchists. And sometimes it had that sort of quality of self-indulgence. The faculty at the ISE tries to create a community among the students and themselves. This effort extends to the Goddard staff, as students are encouraged to volunteer for meal teams (kitchen prep and serving), thereby sharing some of the responsibilities involved in feeding sixty or more people. Once a week, for an hour or two, everyone attends a community meeting to express their

—continued on page 44—

NEITHER EAST NOR WEST NETWORK FORMING

(As we've written this history keeps shifting. No matter, the integrity of our proposal remains intact. This is as of 3-30-94. For those unfamiliar with us you can send \$1 for info — address below.)

"Hitler came to power when the conditions in Germany were like they are now in Russia. The conditions for someone ultra-right to come to power now are here."

— Vladimir Zhirinovsky

Neither East Nor West-NYC (NENW-NYC), around since '86 and with predecessor groups since '80, who networks alternative oppositions in east and west for mutual solidarity, is calling for the formation of a continental network. This is in response to our growth, the growing interest in us, and dangerous reversals in Russia. (Previously was the North American East/West Network launched in '88 and which faded sometime later.)

In a bit over a year we've tripled (to 20) the amount of people working locally with us who if not regularly coming to meetings are involved in other support work. Our On Gogol Boulevard News Service, carrying alternative news mostly from the east, now has regular sections in Fifth Estate, Anarchy, Mexico's Amor Y Rabia, and a defacto section with much of our news in Canada's Kick It Over's Global Village pages. We had a one shot section in Profane Existence, and offers from other publications like Black Fist who'll run a section. We'll be in the e-mail Internet universe in the near future. We do regular mailings of many of the above to 170 of our key international contacts. We also include other timely items like the Polish Anarchist Federation's News From Poland, Love and Rage, petitions, etc. For the past year we've been busy with many things such as: an international campaign (along with the Workers Solidarity Alliance) for Nigeria's anarchist Awareness League prisoners; solidarity with repressed workers in Belarus; support for Polish draft resisters; the twinning and support of anti-racist/fascist organizing in Chattanooga with similar and anti-war work in Serbia's "Zitser Spiritual Republic" (we're their "US Embassy"!); and we joined and work with the Network of East/West Women, among many other projects.

A number of people and groups across the country have asked to be involved with us, so we think it's time to launch a network.

We believe a counterweight is needed against those western radicals (including many anarchists) who have blinders on vis-à-vis the east wrongly treating Soviet-type systems as over, or at best secondary concerns. This is apparent for instance in the way one US anarchist network deleted mention of Soviet (Russian) imperialism in their statement of principles (way too early as Russian imperialism is reasserting itself in many of the former republics of the Russian empire — we promise a future article). A second example is another US anarchist group (newly formed with a large circulation newspaper) who in their political statement seriously claim that "The United States is an im-

perial power unmatched by any in the twentieth century...." implying the rehashing of left chauvinist dogma that imperialism is only a creature of the west and capitalism (neglecting simple history) and turning a blind eye to the utter vastness of the Tsarist or Soviet literal empire (neglecting simple geography) which is on the remake (neglecting current events).

Our work remains valid because:

1) With all we've accomplished (a lot), it'd be dumb to just walk away from it.

2) To the extent that ex-Communist countries are trying to mimic western ones is to the extent that eastern and western problems are becoming similar — that gives us even more of a reason for being and a more exact shared community of interest. A most obvious nexus of shared east, west, and third world problems is the austerity being imposed everywhere with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund being the central enforcers (The same financial/corporate/state milieu enforce in the western countries. The IMF/World Bank throw their opinion and weight around in the west additionally).

3) Communism is not over as a phenomena. (China etc. The former has by no means gone capitalist/western.) Important remnants in all degrees remain in all the ex-nations. The special needs of those in such situations has unchanged. Other "Shining Paths" could spring up.

4) "East vs. west," "Russia vs. the US," "Nuclear war/WW3,;" It's way too early to call it over. The rift between Russia and the west is front page news now. Russia has said "no" to the idea of central/eastern European countries joining NATO, and the west has heeded this. It's "former" Communists — now present day leaders of Serbia and Croatia, Milosevich and Tudjman — who are mainly responsible for the war in the middle of Europe, in ex-Yugoslavia. NATO and Russia are on opposite sides of this with Russia siding with Serbian imperialism. As of this writing things have chilled somewhat in Bosnia due to NATO threats and Western and Russian Yalta-type brokered agreements leaving Bosnia broken up into Russian and western zones of influence, leaving Serbian conquests intact. Nonetheless, this is one of the most explosive flashpoints — among plenty in Europe and the ex-USSR. — that could blow into world war.

All parts of the political spectrum are predicting as a strong possibility the return of open dictatorship in Russia and renewed violent Russian expansionism. (After Yeltsin's Oct. '93 crushing of the Parliament the military junked the promise of massive troop reduction and announced "a new military doctrine" proclaiming the right to intervene in what they're calling "the near abroad".) It could be headed by Vladimir Zhirinovsky, Russia's "nazi," who's supported by Russia's not inconsequential "red/brown" Communist/fascist alliance. (The KGB helped set up opposition parties beholden to them to retain influence, one of which was Zhi-

novsky's Liberal Democratic Party. Before entering politics Zhirinovskiy held exclusively KGB-related positions or posts controlled by the Communist Party apparatus.) He's openly in favor of expansionism and war, promising for instance 300,000 troops for Serbia. A contest between him and the west will make the cold war look idyllic — especially if the west is led by Clinton or a similar US Democrat having to prove themselves, or else an Oliver North or Colin Powell (yes, both strong contenders for the next US presidency — they could also be on a joint ticket).

East and west nukes remain intact...

If the above (worst case) scenario comes into play, what will the "left" do? (The bulk of the left's silly US "peace movement" — almost entirely Soviet influenced or controlled [literally — the book is yet to be written] has folded. We're still here...) Much of the left will treat it as a WW2-type situation with Zhirinovskiy as Hitler, necessitating leftists to get behind US militarism. But again, we'll still be here as a real alternative.

Even without Zhirinovskiy or someone similar, with the supposedly "moderate" Yeltsin (on very thin ice now with little support), or even a "centrist," Russia is extremely unstable with its rebellious ethnic republics (21) and territories therein (88) and an overly complicated monolith of an economy continuing to come apart, plus a parliament and president in opposition. The ex-USSR, never totally shed its repressive apparatus and Yeltsin has increased authoritarian rule. Russia is reasserting colonial control again in the former Soviet republics. The economy is in a free fall with production dropping to 60% between '90-'93. Enterprises continue to shut with nothing productive taking their place — there's only non-producing increased trade, much self-cannibalistic, many people on the street are selling everything they own (in one famed photo a woman is selling her freshly cut pony tail) — and parasitic speculative practices and swindling (a giant mafia) all grafted onto the pre-existing state-command system. Unemployment and inflation (2600% from '90-'93) continue to spiral. There is mass impoverishment with no let up in sight — 90% of workers earn less than the official subsistence wage. And in the absence of a serious working class opposition, it can only remain that way — and get worse. What's normally predicted to possibly follow such a situation is violent dictatorship and war. If so, the regime will be a terrifying fusion of nazism/Stalinism and Russian nationalism.

Lookout...

5) Regardless of future developments in the ex-Soviet bloc and remaining Communist countries, they constitute half the world and we're well situated to deal with it.

6) The soviet-type system — actual, in transition to capitalism, or future (?) — is a mode of production as different from capitalism as is feudalism, and deserves its own special consideration.

What We Propose

A. That we call ourselves The Neither East Nor West Network. (Any local group/individual can take on the NENW name with reference to their own locale (i.e., Mexico City-NENW) as others have done in the past or are continuing to do so in the present.)

B. That for now we confine it to North America for simplicity and consolidation.

C. The purpose of the Network is to coordinate east/west activities, such as circulating a petition for the release of Lithuanian anarchist political prisoners (yes, they exist). It's meant to supplement, not replace, already existing activity.

D. NENW-NYC volunteers to be the mailing address and volunteers to periodically mail out updated Network contact lists. We'll also cover relevant Network activities in On Gogol Boulevard.

E. Anyone can propose something. It's up to them to circulate their proposal to the Network, coordinate it, and inform us all as to its progress. If the Network would like to get more formal and have its own bulletin, continental meetings etc., again anyone is free to volunteer to suggest it or initiate it.

F. Just a couple/few simple campaigns a year is sufficient. We all have plenty of other things to do already.

G. To not over extend ourselves let's basically confine our activities to the realm of east/west, and that includes, since we are bilateral, proposals to easterners, say for the release of a US political prisoner. Easterners can't be overloaded with too many campaigns either.

H. Obviously the connections we've made with something non-eastern, like Nigeria's anarchist Awareness League, should continue. NENW-NYC has always been open to anything, but we believe it's important to keep the specialty of east/west.

I. The Network is open to anyone truly in opposition to both east & west systems. Though traditionally it's been mostly anarchists attracted to NENW-type activity, there's no reason to be exclusionary. (Leninists of course shouldn't even think of trying to get involved.)

J. **This is a working, not paper, Network. Those joining are expected to be part of it.** Otherwise it has no reason for being.

That's it. Very simple. It may or may not fly. The prior North American East/West Network died because too many who signed on didn't do shit. We're serious about this — **PLEASE DO NOT SIGN ON UNLESS YOU'RE GOING TO BE PART OF IT.**

If our proposal is acceptable let us know ASAP. If not, likewise let us know ASAP so we can notify others interested as to the objections/suggestions and let's see what can be worked out.

Send in yays, nays, comments, whatever to us and if and when something coherent and agreeable takes shape we'll immediately send out the Network contact list (and no doubt a proposal). Please include your phone # too. **Neither East Nor West-NYC, 528 5th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215, USA; phone 718-499-7720**

Mailing List Exchanges

One of *Kick It Over's* distributors has asked about a mailing list exchange. They'd like to mail copies of their catalogue to *Kick It Over* readers. In exchange, we'd get to mail sample copies of *Kick It Over* to their customers. While this is a way in which both of us can reach out to new readers, I want to know how you feel before going ahead.

Please let me know by January 31 if you DO NOT wish to have your name and address either given to, or used on behalf of, other anarchist projects. If I have not heard from you by then, I will assume you don't object.

#5781

Goes to Hear Amiri Baraka Read for Post-Modern Poetry and Barnes & Noble, Evanston, IL

I, Joffre Stewart, was arrested Friday, 29 April, 1994, when I followed up an invitation by Paul Hoover, editor of *Norton's Anthology of Postmodern Poetry*, to hear him, and others anthologized, read in a book signing party upstairs in the bookstore at 1701 Sherman Ave, Evanston, IL. The invitation was made to all who attended a similar event the night before at Columbia College, where Hoover teaches. What follows touches on the essentials of what happened.

When I walked into Barnes & Noble about starting time, 8 PM, I was stopped in the middle of the floor by Conklin, an Evanston cop working security, who told me I was "trespassing." I told him my purpose and insisted on my right to be there, to no avail. He said I was someone he had had trouble with before, altho this was my first time in the store and the first I had ever seen Conklin. He did not try to compare my ID with this alleged other person. When he had a clerk call police, I left because I did not want to be arrested. While talking with him on Sherman, where I got his name, I was handcuffed and put into a police car. From this time on, I did not walk or eat for the 11 days I was a prisoner. Explaining that I DON'T BELIEVE IN THE STATE, I CHOSE NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INCARCERATION OF MY BODY AS BY WALKING, EATING. I would walk in liberty and to liberty but not to court or any other aspect of the system of unfreedom.

In being carried to an upstairs cell in the police station, an accompanying cop squeezed my left nut which hurt some time afterwards. Conklin threatened same to make me walk into the police car on Sherman, but I was placed in the car without this happening. And it was before I was placed in the car that I heard Conklin making up the lie that I used foul and abusive language on him. With this, he embellished the charge of "trespass."

On the way to Cook County jail the next day, I heard one of the prisoners in the van say how tired he was of being arrested. On some other occasion, one of these prisoners had tried to exchange pennies for a quarter, and the cop he attempted this with arrested him for panhandling. I mentioned that Blacks in Illinois are arrested at 14 times the rate for whites.

At the county jail I was tricked into walking thru part of intake processing by Officer Posey who told me I was going home, that I had been released. A judge Stein was named for this. When I got to the point where I was asked to sign I-bond, I realized I had been tricked, and refused because, not believing in courts, I don't try to appear in them, and ceased walking. Posey used a wristlock, and pulled up on me by

my lower jaw bones, in trying to get me to place myself on a litter which delivered me to a clothing area where street clothes were taken off and Department of Corrections (DOC) garb put on me.

That was about the last I saw anything of I had with me when arrested except for shoes, shoes without the shoelaces which were probably in a packet with keys, money, ID, fone numbers and other items from my pockets but which disappeared after I was brought into Receiving at County Jail. My shopping bag with poetry and other papers disappeared in the Evanston police station, there is no record of it.

At Clothing, I was told by Hopkins, one of the guards, that if I were left for the midnight shift to finish handling me, I would most probably be injured by racist whites who took the shift because they wanted minimal contact with Blacks. They cover for each other, and can be expected to get away with it. A prisoner later confirmed this, saying of that shift: "They're animals" and the characterization could have included more than just whites.

I almost didn't get to bond hearing in Skokie on Monday because I was turned back twice, in Cook County jail, for being in a wheelchair. Upon being rolled into Skokie court, the first thing I heard a woman whisper to the judge was: "He's anti-Jewish." I explained my non-collaboration with arrest, and when a bailiff read off Conklin's lies, I contradicted the charges. By this time, Conklin had upped the number of times he had supposedly seen me before from 1 to 2, making it more unbelievable than ever. A public defender, who was interested in getting me to sign I-bond, told me I was talking too loud, then not to say anything. The judge said that anything I said could be used against me and added another bond to the same charge, creating a contradictory situation. If I walked on the I-bond, I could be arrested for not posting \$1,000 on a \$10,000 bond delimit. He sent me back to be seen by a court psychiatrist and set court date for June 13th.

A public defender at Skokie, not on my case, but whom I have known since our Viet Nam anti-war days, was one Woloshin. In recent years, we discovered our differences about Zionism at gatherings of the College of Complexes (currently, in Nicky's restaurant on Saturdays at 3181 Broadway, 7-11 PM) and because I continue to be anti-war and critical in regard to Israel he regards me as anti-Jewish. Woloshin ignored me when I tried to say "Hello." His face was in a very negative funk, flushed in a livid manner when he looked straight at me unresponsively. I did not see him speak to the woman who told the judge I'm "anti-Jewish," but Woloshin is one possible source for that notion. And

who knows but that, if I am dragged back into court after June 13, Woloshin might be assigned to my case?... Days later, back at County Jail, I was rolled up to the 10th floor in the adjacent court building and interviewed by Murray, who noted that he was born the year I got out of college at Roosevelt University, 1952. It is evident that he found me rational and sane as in 4 such interviews before this 5th one for Skokie court.

Most of my time was in Division 2, Dorm 3, Ward AA which was largely older prisoners, "old" being around 40 in the County Jail. Twice they tried to move me to 2 North or 3 North — nut wards — in Cermak Hospital, but the person in charge refused me, a refusal that was questioned but not overturned. At one of these times in Cermak Emergency Room I talked with a physician who recognized that my phrase, "I don't believe in courts," was the exact language used by Eugene Victor Debs (anti-war labour organizer) in a book he was reading by or about Debs. He expressed an interest in my poetry, some of which I have posted to him. Because I was rejected at Cermak, he sent me to an intake ward (Division 8?) for prisoners with medical problems and where discipline, especially in the morning, was pushed, paced, maintained by a psychologist and a nurse. It was before they sent me back to Div 2, D3, AA that I was lifted out of bed onto a scale which showed that I had probably lost 16 pounds in less than a week. (I walked enuf to urinate and get water.)

My fast began on the 18th day of that of Randall Robinson. I identified my fasting WITH WHATEVER WAS NON-VIOLENCE in the fasting of Randall Robinson to get the people of Haiti out of the jail they are in. I was losing much faster than Randall who lost 11 lbs. in those 18 days according to a TV news report.

This fasting did get prisoners interested in the case of Haiti and in Randall so much so that they cheered him when he walked out of hospital on TV at his 27th day.

The next day (2nd Monday in May) a guard came and told me I was going home and that if I was not out of bed in 5 minutes they would roll me down in a wheel chair. So I walked, put on what street clothes the jail could provide, and found myself confronted for the 3rd time by that I-bond. (I can't be sure about the other, which was not mentioned, because there is so much confusion about bond status even when it's much simpler than mine: people get arrested for defaulting bonds when they thought they had taken care of the problem adequately, which means more business for bail-bondsmen — it comes off like a racket. And how much are all these arrests driven by the profit in bonding?)

I refused to sign or make an "X" because, not believing in courts, I could not obligate myself to appear. (Jesus said stay out of courts, they're crooked. What does Sherman Skalnick — 312//375-5411; 731-1100 — say about the In-slaw case?) But *refused* had already been written in the signature space, and one of the guards said that if I initialed *I.S.* next to *refused*, endorsing that understanding regarding the bond, I could go. I did, and 2 guards signed as witnesses to our understanding. My conscience is clear, at least as clear as that of any conscientious objector to war and the draft who leaves the country on a passport.

How it goes in Skokie court, June 13th, is not certain.

One of the ironies in all this is that it was in the Barnes and Noble store in Chicago, on Diversey, last year, that I won a preliminary round in the poetry contest sponsored by

the Chicago Sister Cities Project. It was a poem for Warsaw competition. The woman who handled the details of reporting my success, according to contest rules, was part of the family that ran both the Chicago store and the Evanston store. (This year, the sister city is Accra, Ghana.)

Striving Toward Freedom,
Joffre Stewart, advocate of the Anti-Christ,
2636 Calumet #702,
Chicago
IL 60616 USA

day 232
since the 8th day of Xmas
on which was celebrated the circumcision
of our Earth's most famous
An-arch
In the Year of the Bomb - L

bob melcombe:

Thanks for an encouraging letter.

I did not go to court June 13th. I received a notice of bond forfeiture from the clerk of the circuit court of Cook County, IL and which also set a July 15th court date which, in keeping with my an-archist convictions, I did not keep either. I sent a copy of #5781 goes to hear Amiri Baraka read for *Post-Modern Poetry at Barnes and Noble, Evanston II* both to the clerk of the circuit court (Aurelia Pucinski) and to room F in the Skokie, IL division of Cook County courts, reminding both that I have no obligation to appear and to remove my name from computer(s).

Two other things contributed to the resolution of the case.

Bill O'Brien, (312-227-4832), a paralegal connected with good causes like the Evanston Community Defender Office, found a lawyer, most of whose business already is in the Skokie court, to make friendly statements on my behalf. Apparently, whatever this attorney said did NOT make matters worse and he was potentially useful for resolving complications that did not come up. (I was surprised that anything could be done without my participation.)

A larger factor in resolving the case was an article about the arrest done by one Ben Joravsky for the *Reader*, a Chicago weekly. It was a page 3 story on Fri, 8 Jul, 94. People foned and wrote to Barnes & Noble, telling the store how their business with the store was finished owing to my treatment. This made more urgent the resolve of the store to drop the case, which was done, including bond VACATED, on 15 Jul 94.

I understand that Barnes & Noble said something in court about making apology to me, but 1 day before the 203rd anniversary of the Haitian Revolution, as I write this, no apology has been forthcoming.

The Evanston lawyer who befriended my cause in Skokie Court, is personally acquainted with Frank Conklin, the Barnes & Noble cop who arrested me. From the story Conklin tells this lawyer, I get the impression that Conklin is an inveterate liar. It seems that cops only know how to tell lies about one in cases like this.

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Giovanni "John" Vattuone

This history of our old friend and comrade John Vattuone, is culled from a tape that I encouraged John to make in the fall of 1992, when he stayed with me for a couple of weeks. I felt it was important to record his story because it reflected a period in anarchist history which will soon be lost, a time when anarchy grew and thrived because of the energy invested in our vision by "simple" working people. It was a time of autodidacts who had arrived at their convictions as a "gut" response to the conditions they experienced and their awareness of the exploitive nature of existing institutions. John's story reinforces my belief that such people were of utmost importance in making for the continuity of our anarchist movement. Therefore, this is not only a remembrance of John, but one also of his friends and comrades who, together, contributed so much to the ongoing existence of anarchism as a viable social alternative.

— David Koven

I was born in Cagliari, Sardegna, November 11, 1899. My father was a Genovese baker who had emigrated to Cagliari looking for work. My mother came from a Tuscan family that had relocated in Sardegna when she was a child. They were both young when they married. As typical for that time, they soon produced a large family, six daughters and me, the only son. My mother, still a young woman, died of pneumonia just two days before my ninth birthday. Besides me and my older sisters, she left a three-month-old baby sister. I can still remember my father's grief at her death. I also will never forget the caring response of the young women in our community who had young babies. They came day and night to feed the infant with their breast milk until she was old enough to be weaned.

By 1914 I had started working in the bakery with my father. While I was growing up, he had told me time and again that it was very important for everyone to learn a trade by which they could earn a living. By the time of the outbreak of World War One, I had already developed radical ideas. One of the most important people that I met at this time was a man by the name of Guilletti, a radical syndicalist and organizer of the Maritime Union. My views had the effect of making me unwilling to allow myself to be drafted into the Italian army (Italy was then drafting men as young as 16). I studied for and obtained my seaman's papers, joined the Maritime Union and early in 1916 shipped out on a freighter, *La Fortuna*, as a fireman. Returning in convoy from the United States, where we had taken on a cargo of wheat, our ship was torpedoed by a German submarine just as we entered the Mediterranean Sea. Luckily, the grain kept our ship afloat long enough for

the entire crew to get safely off in our small boats, and we landed in Bizerte, North Africa. After returning to Italy for a brief period, I again decided to return to sea and went to Genoa, checked into the Seaman's Union and once again began to ship out. During the next couple of years, I travelled all over the world.

One of the most important programs undertaken by the Maritime Union at that time was to buy German ships that had been caught in Italian ports at the outbreak of the war. The membership set aside a percentage of their wages in order to do so, and when the ships came under our control, we operated them as worker-controlled co-operatives. I remember the names of two of the ships, the *Pietro Gori* and the *Giuseppe Verdi*. I later made many voyages as a crew member of the latter.

The Maritime Union also played a major role in helping Malatesta, living in exile in London, return to Italy in 1920. When Malatesta returned to Genoa, there were over 1,000,000 people in the squares. They had come from all over Italy to welcome him home. But, by 1920, the hold of Mussolini and the fascists over Italy was powerful, and the repression launched against all who dissented with their ideas had begun.

At this time, I was a regular crew member on the *Giuseppi Verdi*, sailing between the ports of Genoa, Napoli and New York. Late in 1920, on reaching New York, I found a letter waiting for me from my sister. She warned me against returning to Carloforte, because she had heard that the local fascists were out to get me for my radical views and activities. I continued shipping out for the next two years, but when I became aware of the growing strength of the fascists, I decided that I must leave Italy. In September, 1922, just two months before my 23rd birthday, when the *Giuseppi Verdi* docked in New York, I jumped ship.

New York in the Twenties

I had cousins and *paisani* living in New York City to whom I could turn for help. Soon after I arrived, I heard from one of them that in Mt. Kisco, New York, a small town not far from the city, an Italian bakery was looking for a bread baker. The man who operated the bakery, Angelo Carscioli, was a radical socialist who had subscribed to the anarchist paper published by Luigi Galleani, *Cronaca Sovversiva*. In its copies, I discovered ideas that I found *simpatico*. It stopped coming out when Galleani was deported in 1919. My work hours, from 12:30 to 8 AM, left me blocks of time to explore the city and find things of interest to me. Nearby I found a boarding house where a group of recently arrived immigrant men

from Sicily and Calabria lived. They were working as labourers, building the railroad. I also met an Italian American woman who was a school teacher, and I interested her in starting classes to enable us to learn to speak English. Most of the men were finished with Italy, and were anxious to become American citizens. But I was looking forward to the end of fascism in Italy, so I could return home. For me, the English lessons were only a means to understand the people around me.

After three years, I left Mt. Kisco and returned to New York, where I immediately found work in Brooklyn as a baker. Most importantly for me, I found, not far from where I lived, a meeting hall operated by a group of IWWs and anarcho-syndicalists connected to Carlo Tresca, a labour organizer and publisher of the anarcho-syndicalist journal *Il Martello*. Our main activity at this time was the struggle to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti. Besides the protest demonstrations that we participated in, we also used our hall, which had a stage, to produce plays and hold dances and dinners to raise money for their defense. But our efforts were of no avail, for in 1927 Sacco and Vanzetti were killed by the State of Massachusetts.

A Change of Lifestyle

By 1927, I was satisfied with my life in the community and my work. Mr. D'Angelo, the owner of the bakery, invited me to be his partner. In addition to my work as baker, I delivered bread to our customers. They would pay us whenever they had the money, but we never cut people off if they couldn't afford to pay.

At this time occurred the most important event of my life. I met my lifelong companion Elvira. Elvira's father, Tony Ciminieri, had recently moved his large family to Brooklyn from Connecticut. They lived in a house not far from the bakery. Then occurred the chance happening that would affect my life. Tony, an anarchist, had been receiving the anarchist paper, *L'Adunata dei Refrattari*, which I too received at the bakery. One day, soon after Tony had moved into his new house, the postman left Tony not only his copy, but also mine. Tony, who didn't know very many people locally and was glad to find someone who shared his views, brought my copy to the bakery and left a note inviting me to visit him. A couple of days later, I did so and was introduced to his family. When I saw the size of his family, I started to bring them the breads left over from my day's deliveries. I was soon invited to join them for meals, and our relationship grew closer. I found his daughter, Elvira, who was only 17 at the time, very attractive, and was soon aware that the feelings were mutual. Although I'd had women friends in the past, I had found it difficult to get seriously involved with any of them because I hadn't met any who shared my radical, anti-religious views.

When Tony noted the increasing attachment between Elvira and myself, he took me aside one day and sadly warned me that Elvira suffered from a heart condition from which she would probably die at a young age. However, by that time I loved Elvira, told Tony so and asked him not to interfere. I would take good care of her. And, in fact, we lived together for 61 years, one month and twenty days.

Anarchist Activities

Of course, through all of this I continued my activities with the group. Our group, which offered me so much satisfaction and comradeship, had started to correspond with Armando Borghi, who had been the secretary of the *Unione Syndicale* in Italy until he had to flee to escape the fascists. Borghi, after much wandering, was now living in Paris with his companion, the anarchist poet, Virgilia d'Andrea. We were able to smuggle Borghi into the United States with the aid of some IWW seamen. We found him a safe place to live in a room above a bookshop operated by another one of the IWWs, a comrade named Schiardi.

We finally realized that the only way we could bring in Virgilia, who was in poor health, would be to have a comrade who was an American citizen go to Paris, marry her and bring her back as his wife; when this was done, she moved in with Borghi. Because Borghi and Virgilia were reunited but had no means of earning a living, our group supported them as best we could.

Meanwhile, Galleani (using the alias Bruno) had returned to the United States and had revived *Cronaca Sovversiva* as *L'Adunata dei Refrattari*. He was being paid a pittance by the comrades to be its editor. Although Borghi was one of the co-editors of the paper, there was no money to support him. Poor Virgilia died of cancer in 1931, just three short years after she had arrived from France.

By this time I had met and joined the group of anarchists who were supporters of *L'Adunata*. I found myself more sympathetic to their ideas than to those of Tresca and his group. I remained con-



nected to these comrades from then on. Soon after I met them, the group moved to a new meeting place on Cook Street in Brooklyn, where they established themselves as *Circola Volunta*. The new quarters were much larger, and had a real stage, around which the group formed a theatre company and mounted regular productions. Of course, in addition to these, we held regular fundraising festas, dances and dinners.

With the passage of time, Elvira's and my relationship with Borghi became more than the connection between comrades who shared the same vision, we became lifelong friends and confidants. Many an evening did we share at the dinner table, evenings of good food, *vino*, intimate talk and sociability. Borghi and Virgilia were regular speakers at Cook Street until Virgilia died; Borghi continued as one of the main speakers at our meetings and continued to write for *L'Adunata*. Eventually, he was invited to live with our comrades Katina Chulo and her husband. His connection to Katina deepened after her husband's death, and Katina moved to Rome after Borghi's deportation.

Towards the end of the war, Borghi wanted to return to Italy to try to organize the *Unione Syndicale* which had been destroyed by Mussolini. He made the mistake of writing to the US State Department, indicating his desire. He hoped that, in view of their professed anti-fascist views, they would be co-operative. He did this, despite the warnings I and some of the other comrades gave him that the State Department would still consider him an undesirable alien. They had been trying to find and arrest him ever since he had first surfaced in the United States. On one occasion soon after his arrival, the hall in which he was speaking was invaded by police and immigration officers intent on arresting him. Borghi leaped from the stage into the audience, and in the melee that followed, the comrades were able to get him safely away. But this time, as soon as the authorities got his letter they sent a team of immigration officers to arrest him. In short, just before the end of the war, Borghi got his wish to return, and was deported back to Italy.

Once in Italy, Borghi found conditions there so chaotic, and life for him so difficult, that he determined to return to the US. But now an aging man, an undesirable alien who had been deported from the US, he would find it impossible to return legally. Borghi realized that it would be easier to enter the United States illegally via Canada, which he could legally enter as a member of the International Newspaper Guild. He landed in Montreal, where he was met by comrades Attilio and Libera. They took him home with them to Toronto. Elvira and I then drove to Toronto to help Borghi cross the border without question. We then returned Armando to Katina's place in Brooklyn, where he remained until the postman recognized him one day and reported him to the immigration service. Once again, Borghi was arrested and deported. By this time, the Italian Anarchist Movement had reappeared as an active political force. In Rome, the comrades had once again begun publishing *Umanita Nova* and welcomed Borghi, who became the editor of the paper. The movement was growing by then, and could afford to pay him enough to live on. Katina followed Borghi to Rome and set up housekeeping for the two of them. After the war Elvira and I, on our many trips to Italy, were able to continue our warm friendship with them.

Other Connections And Other Involvement's

By the early days of WW2, I had stopped working as a baker. Instead, I was making my living driving a laundry truck. Of course, these were the days before the home washing machine., so the service was in much demand. One of the advantages I found was that, although the truck I drove was owned by the company I worked for, in fact it was mine to use whenever I wished. I drove it home every night, had it for use during the weekends. In those days of gas rationing, the gasoline was supplied by the company, which was a big advantage. Of course, if any of the comrades needed a truck to move anything, it was always available. By this time, I had met and established a friendship with a group of young anarchists in New York City, who were publishing the antiwar paper *Why?*, later to be called *Resistance*. I already knew some of the young people, because they were the children of comrades from Pennsylvania.

The Pennsylvania comrades used to hold fund-raising picnics every year that Elvira and I always attended. The other young people of the *Why?* group we met through Dorothy Rogers, a Canadian comrade who had been Emma Goldman's secretary during that last period in Canada before Emma died. We met Dorothy at one of our group affairs, and we had become friends. One evening, she came to a dinner and brought with her the young comrade with whom she was living, Audrey Goodfriend. Shortly afterward we met Audrey's companion, David Koven. The relationship we established with Audrey and David would continue for the rest of our lives.

Why? published the only anti-war anarchist paper appearing in English in the United States. The group had, via young Italians, established a relationship with "Bruno" and the comrades who were publishing *L'Adunata*. The Italian comrades helped raise the money needed to maintain *Why?* Because of the difficulty the young comrades had at that time, finding a printer willing to print an anti-war paper, they arranged to have *Why?* printed by the same typographers who were printing *L'Adunata*. Since no-one had a car, I used to deliver the paper from the printers to the fifth floor walk-up apartment in the house on east Ninth Street where Audrey, Dorothy and David lived. There, their group would get together, assemble the paper and mail it out.

By the early 1940s, Elvira and I spent most of our weekends in the Stelton Colony in New Jersey. Elvira's family had moved there some time before. The colony had been established as a support group for the Francisco Ferrer Modern School when the school had to leave New York in 1903. The colony was more than just a framework for the school, it also was an experiment in communal living. The colony had a rich communal life. Theatre, music and all the other arts were practiced and made available to the residents. In addition, a co-operative workshop was established in which many of the anarchist settlers participated. The school and the colony were also actively involved in the Sacco and Vanzetti case, and all of the other anarchist causes that the movement was concerned with. The colony lasted until WW2, when the close proximity of the military bases that surrounded it, the differences of opinion that sprang up between the comrades over their attitudes toward

—continued on page 59—

Book Reviews

Political Ecology: Beyond Environmentalism

by Dimitrios Roussopoulos
published by Black Rose Books, CP
1258, Succ. Place du Parc, Mont-
réal, Québec H2W 2R3 Canada
\$15.95 paper; \$34.95 cloth

reviewed by bob melcombe

As its subtitle suggests, this book examines responses to the ecological crisis, and argues that the failure to prevent the worsening of the situation follows from the belief that the crisis can be "managed." It is necessary to move beyond environmentalism, that is, beyond the idea that problems can be dealt with one-by-one while preserving our present social and political structures, to ecologism, an approach that "argues that care for the environment presupposes radical changes in our relationship with the natural world and in our mode of social and political life."

Section One offers a detailed outline of state attempts to manage the environment, from the creation of the first state pollution control agency over 125 years ago right up to the Rio so-called Earth Summit. While admittedly rather dry reading, this section does set the scene for the sections to come, while serving as a useful summary of "official" environmental protection measures.

The second section is easier reading, and more enlightening. *The Response of Citizens to the Plight of the Earth* discusses the wide range of approaches taken by non-government groups and projects. Brief and critical reviews of environmental populism, deep ecology, bioregionalism and eco-feminism (too brief to be as useful as they might be) lead into Section Three, *Political Ecology and Social Ecology*, the reason for this book.

Political ecology can be defined as an ecology that insists on the necessity for the fundamental transformation of the social and political institutions that make up our social order. Drawing on the participatory democracy of the new left of the sixties, political ecology calls for a new politics that is communitarian and decentralist, libertarian and co-operative, holistic and personal.

A quick summary of the origins and growth of Green movements across the world precedes an in-depth discussion of the recent experiences of the French Green parties. While neither *Les Verts* nor *Génération Ecolo-*

gie has had any electoral success, they have so far managed to avoid the co-optation inherent in electoral politics, and have succeeded in creating (within their own milieu at least) a radically alternative political culture. Many anarchists would question whether this success is, in fact, a benefit of electoral failure; how well it would withstand the challenges of actual parliamentary participation is yet to be seen. Roussopoulos, for his part, regards "the brand of political ecology which has been developed in France [as] among the most complete and systematic expressions of the new radical ecological worldview."

Political ecology finds its voice in the various strains of eco-socialism and eco-Marxism, and of course in

POLITICAL ECOLOGY



Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos

social ecology. With the exception of the libertarian eco-socialists who authored *Europe's Green Alternative — Manifesto for a New World*, most eco-socialists and Marxists, while making some break with the productivist and economic tenets of traditional leftism, seem unable to envision any alternative to the centralized state and the primacy of the workplace as the locus of change.

Thus we come to social ecology, which Roussopoulos clearly finds the best expression of radical political ecology. Social ecology provides a critique of capitalism and the state, and offers a radically alternative form

of social organization that situates the ecological crisis within a wider social context. In this chapter, Roussopoulos outlines the principles of social ecology, the call for a municipalist and confederalist politics, and the need for decentralized bases of popular control in opposition to the state.

While I wish there had been more in depth discussion of the various popular responses to the ecological crisis, *Political Ecology* does provide a concise and useful overview of state activities, some idea of the alternatives, and a good analysis of green politics.

The Politics of Individualism: Liberalism, Liberal Feminism and Anarchism

by L. Susan Brown
published by Black Rose Books, CP
1258, Succ. Place du Parc, Mont-
réal, Québec H2W 2R3 Canada
\$19.99 paper; \$38.99 cloth

reviewed by Bill Hulet

Even though anarchism is one of the most important political theories informing grassroots activism, it rarely gets even passing mention in academic circles. Fortunately, there are a few exceptions to this general case. L. Susan Brown's new book, *The Politics of Individualism*, is one of them.

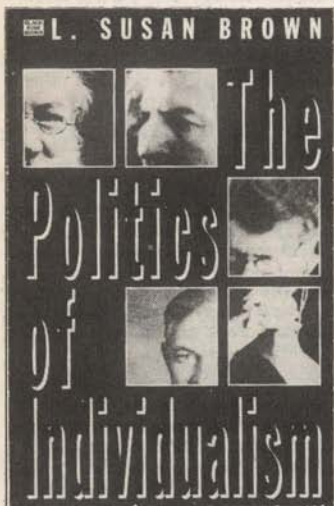
Briefly stated, Brown's thesis hinges upon the various ways in which Marxists, liberals and anarchists understand the term "freedom". Because Marxists usually adhere to a naive, 19th century form of determinism, they haven't taken the issue of personal freedom seriously in either theoretical or practical terms. As a result the historical experiments in communism have degenerated into dictatorships of various sorts.

Liberalism, on the other hand, has attempted to deal with the concept. Unfortunately, as Brown points out, this concern has tended to ignore the strains that the capitalist system puts upon individual freedom. "Freedom" for those elements of society that don't own capital is often reduced to a choice between wage slavery and poverty. (And in times of high unemployment, that choice often doesn't exist either.)

Brown doesn't take the easy out of dismissing liberal conceptions of "freedom" as just window dressing. Instead, she argues that liberals sincerely believe in the concept, but only in a narrow sense. They place a higher value on the marketplace than on individual liberty, which means that their conception of freedom is what

Brown calls "instrumental." "Freedom", in this world view, has little intrinsic value except as a means of promoting the further expansion of the capitalist system.

Anarchism, in contrast to both Marxism and liberalism, places a value on freedom itself. The ability to choose where and how one works, lives, and so on, is a basic part of what makes life worth living. Economic



prosperity under a dictatorship, or a form of freedom that only exists in the marketplace hold no value for anarchists and anarchism. This common-sense point of view is what Brown calls "existential freedom".

One of the refreshing points about this analysis is the fact that it does seem to make sense of a lot of modern history. The rejection of "freedom" by Marxists explains Stalinism as being intrinsic to the whole communist enterprise instead of being an unfortunate historical accident. The concept of "instrumental freedom" also explains the way in which apologists for the status quo tend to confuse "democracy" and "freedom" with capitalism. Seen from Brown's schema one can understand why it is, for example, that the US government has steadfastly singled out Cuba as the worst abuser of freedom in Central America — even in comparison to Guatemala, El Salvador, and other "slaughter house" states.

Brown's book also explains why liberalism has created, almost as a by-product, some extremely useful cultural artifacts, such as freedom of the

press, human rights, and so on. (I acknowledge the limits that are placed on all of these. But as any hungry person will tell you, half a loaf is better than none.)

In addition, *The Politics of Individualism* has increased its relevance by illustrating these different views of freedom through the eyes of feminist theory. This is important because, as Brown herself points out, nobody reads or discusses political theory very much anymore. Grassroots organizers tend to be either uninterested in theory, or confine their study and discussion to the realm of feminism (and I might add, environmentalism).

What makes Brown's thesis extremely important to feminists is that the positions she identifies among 19th century revolutionaries have been embraced by 20th century feminists, and are having a profound effect upon the women's movement (and activism in general).

Brown identifies a "collectivist" tendency among some feminists that tends to dismiss the value of freedom. They would be identified in the popular mind as the espousers of "political correctness" and the feminist proponents of censorship, etc. In contrast, liberal feminists tend to ignore radical critiques of society, and only seek an opening for women among the ranks of the elite. These, the "Queen Bees", tend to be attacked for not taking seriously the issues of racism, classicism, and homophobia in our society.

These are important issues because rigid adherence to either the collectivist or liberal view of feminism has very often turned off sympathetic members of the public. Many of the young women who utter the cliché "I'm not a feminist, but..." are doing so as a rejection of the Stalinist tendencies they have unconsciously identified within collectivist feminism. As well, many young radicals have rejected "feminism" because it doesn't take issues of class, etc., seriously. These women are reacting to liberal feminism.

In order to go beyond these serious flaws in feminist theory and praxis, Brown suggests that it needs to develop a theoretical basis that takes the human need for "existential freedom" seriously. She suggests that a fruitful starting point would be the much neglected field of anarchism.

Bill Hulet is a activist from Guelph, Ontario. Among other things, he directs the Public Interest College — a "free" university that teaches community organizing and academic heresy.

Drunken Boat
edited by Max Blechman
published by Autonomedia
\$12.00 + \$2.00 p&h from
Autonomedia, PO Box 568, Brooklyn, NY 11211 USA and from Left Bank Books, 4142 Brooklyn NE, Seattle, WA 98105 USA

reviewed by bob melcombe

I came across the first issue of *Drunken Boat* about a year ago, in a local bookstore. I was very impressed with the magazine, both content and design, so wrote and asked to have *Kick It Over* placed on their mailing list. Issue #2, which took another year to bring out, is even more impressive.

Drunken Boat #1 was in a large-size magazine format, with a starkly striking design, and an array of articles ranging from art history to short fiction to a study of the Paris Commune. Issue #2 has moved from magazine to book size, losing somewhat in the stylistic end, and has focused more on anarchist arts (using the word very broadly).

And very broad indeed is the



scope of anarchist "artistic" endeavor. The link, as George Woodcock writes in his essay, *Skool to Drunken Boat*, "between poets, novelists and political activists, arguing out and projecting each others' visions" begins with William Godwin (regarded as "the father of anarchist thought"), a novelist whose associates included the poet Percy Shelley, novelist Mary Shelley, and essayist and feminist pioneer Mary Wollstonecraft. Proudhon wrote his *Du Principe de l'Art et de sa Destination Sociale* in defense of Courbet's



alist painting, and provided the title for Tolstoy's *War and Peace* in his book of the same name. Tolstoy himself "perhaps remains the grand example of the links between imaginative literature and anarchist attitudes during the nineteenth century" Woodcock again). But the connection between art and anarchy became perhaps most obvious in the realm of avant-garde art. From imbaud and Jarry, through the Dadaists and the Surrealists, up to the eats and modernists of the fifties, anarchist ideas have informed and influenced these experiments in art and writing.

All of this is, I have to say, quite new to me. While I appreciate a nicely-designed magazine, and find certain paintings quite pleasing, I confess to a complete lack of understanding of such avant-garde and experimental art and writing. *Drunken Boat* may have changed that, but it has succeeded in placing the work in context, and in making me re-examine some of my prejudices.

But there's much more to *Drunken Boat* than that. Essays by Max Lechman, Hakim Bey, André Breton and Richard Kostelanetz discuss aspects of anarchist aesthetics; Judithalina writes about revolutionary theatre; John Cage speaks in an interview conducted just before his death; and there are 20 pages of poetry, a wonderful short story by Holley Antine, and more reviews, more art, more writing.

As enlightening and inspiring as I found both issues of *Drunken Boat* to be, there is one aspect of anarchist cultural politics that I'd like to be discussed more explicitly. Richard Sonn, at the end of his essay, *Culture and Anarchy*, which exam-

ines the links between anarchism and avant-garde and modernist art movements, briefly addresses the dichotomy between avant-garde and popular arts. He notes that modernist artists have "often exulted in the incomprehension of the masses," that in spite of its stated aim of disarming the bourgeois, avant-gardism actually thrives best in bourgeois societies, as "it appeals primarily to educated cognoscenti..." Sonn suggests, and I agree wholeheartedly, that "the solution to the dichotomies of popular/avant-garde, material/aesthetic... was suggested long ago by Kropotkin, as well as by William Morris and other advocates of craftsmanship... [and lies in dissolving] the boundaries between manual and intellectual labour, between art and craft... Artistry pervades life, rather than being restricted to museum walls and bohemian art studios."

Part of what appeals most to me about punk music is the notion that anyone can be in a band; DIY (do-it-yourself) breaks down the whole elitist notion of superstars and professionalism in rock music. And this, to me, is essential to any anarchist art — making it truly popular, in the sense that any person can both feel encouraged and have the opportunity to engage to the best of their capabilities in any form of cultural expression to which they are drawn. "Such a transformation," as Richard Sonn concludes, "would indeed constitute a cultural revolution..."

Get A Life: A Green Cure for Canada's Economic Blues
by Wayne Roberts, John Bacher and Brian Nelson
published by Get A Life Publishing House, 2255 Queen Street East, Toronto, ON M4E 1G3 Canada

reviewed by Gary Moffatt

This grab-bag of well-known approaches to environmental economics will be useful to the reader who has just started to think about the relationships between environmental and economic issues, and what individuals might do about it, but contains little that is new for those already working on the problem. Particularly disappointing is that, after acknowledging on page four that "governments are part of the problem, not part of the solution," the authors use about half their space on proposals that can only be implemented at the governmental level. Once we accept the fact that government will do nothing for us,

surely the next step is to proceed to build a neighbourhood self-help system to meet our needs. We should start by asking why previous attempts to do this, such as Detroit's Open City and Philadelphia's Movement for a New Society, collapsed after a few years, and what is to be learned from the more limited successes of Ecology Montreal. There is a lot of research that still needs to be done; books that rehash and obscure the basics aren't very helpful in this.

an anarchist life

—continued from page 56—

the war, and the falling off of enrollment in the school, finally brought this anarchist experiment to its end.

By the end of the war, our friends Audrey and David had moved to San Francisco and later to Berkeley, where they were part of the group that started Walden School. Elvira and I decided to see if we couldn't start a new life for ourselves out there. San Francisco at that time had a very lively, active anarchist community, a large Italian anarchist group and a group of American artists and writers. In addition, San Francisco was known as a lively, liberal city. A comrade, Tony Martocchio, who, with his companion and their family, was a chicken farmer in the nearby city of Petaluma, invited Elvira and me to live with them and learn the skills necessary to operate a farm. Eventually, Elvira and I bought our own farm near Sebastapol, about fifty miles from San Francisco. Here we remained until we retired.

The Italian comrades in San Francisco were very active, and we participated in all of their fund raising affairs. We also travelled to other anarchist groups in places like Los Gatos, Pleasanton, Fresno and Los Angeles, to show our solidarity with those comrades, when they held their great fund-raising picnics. Later on we actively participated in activities centered around Walden School.

Elvira and I eventually retired to the city of Santa Rosa. We lived in a small house where I had a good garden, friends who lived nearby and we enjoyed the visits of comrades who would come up for the weekends. Elvira died in October, 1989, just short of her 80th birthday.

In Brief

A number of bioregional activists have begun to explore the possibility of a continental Bioregional Association. This association could act as a voice for the growing bioregional movement, articulating and promoting bioregional principles, and could serve as a resource group for local organizations seeking aid and advice in both promoting bioregionalism and opposing eco-unfriendly activities. For details, or to get involved, contact: **Planet Drum Foundation, PO Box 31251, San Francisco, Shasta Bioregion, CA 94131 USA; fax 415-285-6563; e-mail planetdrum@gic.apc.org.** Planet Drum is also creating a Bioregional Directory. Deadline for inclusion in the directory is December 12.

Penal Abolition: A Realistic Utopia is the title of the seventh International Conference on Prison Abolition, to be held in May, 1995, in Barcelona, Spain. The ICOPA conferences have functioned as an excellent means both for networking among prison abolitionists and activists, and for strategizing and exploring new approaches to the problems of anti-social behaviours in our societies. For details: **Dra. Maria Teresa Sanchez Concheiro, Abogado, Aragon 321 4-2, 08009 Barcelona, Spain.**

Australian anarchists are planning a gathering for the weekend of January 20-22; location, the UTS Haymarket campus. Visions of Freedom will include workshops, panels, music, films, and lots of time to talk. Keynote speech Saturday evening by Noam Chomsky on Anarchy and Visions of Freedom. For details, contact: **Visions of Freedom, c/o 110 Crystal Street, Petersham 2049, Australia.**

The Rosenberg Fund for Children is an agency providing for "the educational and emotional needs of children whose parents have been harassed, injured, lost jobs or died in the course of their progressive activities." It is named, of course, after Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the so-called "atomic spies," executed by the US government in the 1950s; they left two children. The Fund has a newsletter, *Carry It On and Pass It Forward*, available from: **The Rosenberg Fund for Children, 1145 Main Street, Suite 408, Springfield, MA 01103 USA.**

Back in issue #31, *Kick It Over* reported on the revival of the *National Boycott News* magazine. Well, that revival was unfortunately short-lived. However, the *National Boycott News* has been succeeded by a new publication, *The Boycott Quarterly*. Published by the Center for Economic Democracy, the *Quarterly* has brought out 5 issues so far. Each issue includes reports and updates on various boycotts, as well as a range of feature articles. Their summer issue included a special section, *Taking Control of Free Speech*, with articles on community access television, community radio in Vancouver and Seattle, music censorship, and the encroachment of big business into schools through Channel One. Subscriptions are \$20.00/year US, \$27.00 in Canada and Mexico, from: **Center for Economic Democracy, PO Box 64, Olympia, WA 98507-0064 USA.**

Friends of AK Press was set up to enable AK to increase their publishing output, by making regular contributions of money. Publishing is expensive, and lack of adequate financing is one way in which the anarchist press (and the alternative press in general) is prohibited from disseminating materials. AK is a small publisher, but has a rapidly expanding catalogue, well worth supporting. Friends of AK Press agree to donate a minimum of \$15.00 each month, for at least a three-month period, and in return receive a free copy of every new AK title. For further details, or to receive their new North American catalogue (send a buck for postage, if possible), write: **AK Press, PO Box 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140-0682, USA.**

Soapbox Junction is a grassroots networking project, concerned to "make activism a part of your daily routine." They publish the annual *Action Resource Guide*, the thrice-yearly *ARG Zine*, the annual *Networkers Directory*, and *Global Mail*. The 1994 *Guide* is titled *Prisoners Speak*, and features 40 pages of articles and artworks by and about prisoners, as well as a listing of prisoners seeking contact with the outside world. Also included are the current issue of *Global Mail* (an international artist and activists networker), zine and product listings, and more.

Global Mail is available for \$8.00/year (3 issues), the *Networkers Directory '94* for \$15.00, the annual

Guide for \$5.00, and *ARG Zine* (3 issues/year, includes the *Guide*) for \$15.00. All can be ordered from: **Soapbox Junction, PO Box 597996, Chicago, IL 60659 USA.**

One of the most interesting book catalogues around comes from Perennial Books. Not only do they have an extensive listing of out-of-print and hard-to-get anarchist literature, each issue of the catalogue includes essays, poetry, and lots of illustrations. Perennial's current catalogue features a biographical sketch of Carlo Tresca and an article about Paul Goodman and the Media. Write to: **Perennial Books, PO Box B14, Montague, MA 01351, USA.**

Three new publications from Death Row prisoners: *The Gathering: Death Row Voices Both Sides of the Wire* aims to "create a community together on both sides of the wire — for support, education, communication and caring... to defeat the Death Penalty... to create a voice for the voiceless in our society and to put a human face on those condemned by our legal system." Details from: **The Gathering, PO Box 30311, 76 Ninth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, USA.**

Voices Through Stone is a book of writings by Derrick Quintero and R.W. Farid Abd al Rafi, two Death Row prisoners in Tennessee. It's available for \$15.00 (US) or \$17.50 (foreign) from: **Sarah Quintero, 204 Charlotte Dr., Clinton, KY 42031, USA.**

Derrick Quintero is working on another book, and is seeking writings from Death Row prisoners on any issues relating to the death penalty. Prisoners who wish to contribute either articles or poetry should direct them to Sarah Quintero at the address above.

Chuck Munson at *Practical Anarchy* zine is collecting recipes for an anarchist cookbook — no, not like that one, we're talking food here. Folks with good food recipes they'd like to share can send them to: **Chuck Munson, PO Box 179, College Park, MD 20741-0179 USA.** The book is planned for release in 1995.

For those interested in ecological construction, check out *The Adobe Journal*, a magazine devoted to adobe, rammed earth, and earthen architecture, construction and design. This is a magazine not only for architects and builders; it is for environmentalists, and for those interested in knowing more about earth architecture and its potential role in housing. Sample

copies are \$5.00, 4-issue subs are \$17.50, from: *The Adobe Journal*, PO Box 7725, Albuquerque, MN 87194, USA.

Art Com is an arts organization specializing in contemporary art and new communications technology. Their annual *Media Distribution Catalog* lists video cassettes and publications on a wide range of arts and related objects — art and technology, performance art, music, poetry, and more. To receive a copy of the *Catalog*, write to: Art Com, PO Box 193123, Rincon Annex, San Francisco, CA 94119-3123, USA.

The Friends of Clayoquot Sound have produced an informative and wide-ranging *Rainforest Action Handbook*. The 72-page *Handbook* includes such articles as *The Imposition of European Law on the Native Nations of (what is now called) British Columbia*, *What is Bioregionalism?*, *The Limits of Environmentalism without Class*, *A Tree Plantation is Not a Forest*, *Community Steps Toward an Ecologically Sustainable Forest Culture*, plus pages and pages of facts, figures, and information. The *Handbook* is available for a suggested \$1.00-\$5.00 per copy (\$6.00 each for 10 copies or more) from: Friends of Clayoquot Sound, Box 489, Tofino, BC V0R 2Z0 Canada.

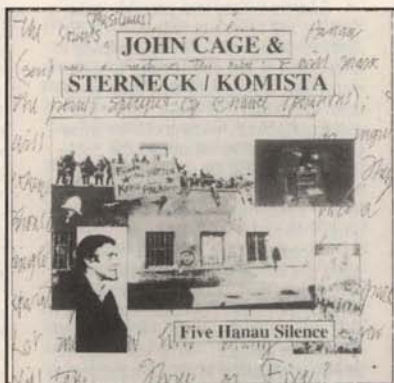
While the bulk of the *Mystic Fire Video Catalog* lists new agey stuff like Joseph Campbell, Ram Dass and the Dalai Lama, it also includes some good political videos, interviews with native elders Thomas Banyacya and Oren Lyons, performances by Bernice Johnson Reagon, Lydia Lunch and John Cage, films by and about the Living Theatre, plus music and commentary on the Beats and others are well worth viewing. Prices are in the usual \$25.00-\$30.00 range. Contact: Mystic Fire Video, PO Box 2249, Livonia, MI 48151, USA.

A small but useful catalogue of books on community, co-ops and alternative lifestyles is available from: Community Bookshelf, East Wind Community, Tecumseh, MO 65760 USA.

Critical: Students for Socially Responsible Communication Study is a recently-formed group at the University of Ottawa. Critical is demanding that the Department of Communication at the University include discussion of the ethical implications of

dominant communication practices, and examination of how communication relates to such issues as social inequality, ecological crises, economic disparity, and the need for social change and action, by looking at questions around media ownership, the effects of advertising on media content, access to information and related questions. For further details, contact: Critical, 171 MacLaren, Apt. 3, Ottawa, ON K2P 0K8, Canada.

In October, 1991, John Cage recorded *Five Hanau Silence* to benefit the autonomous squat and cultural centre on Metzgerstrasse in Hanover, Germany. A book to accompany the record was in the works when he died in August, 1992. The record and the book, *Silence, Consciousness and Change*, in both German and English, are now available through the anarchist distributor KomistA, for \$15.00 (US). KomistA distributes other records and tapes, spoken word and documentary cassettes and some books. Order from: Sterneck, Sternstrasse 35, D-63450 Hanau, Germany.



GenEthics News is a new publication examining the issues and the science of genetic engineering. In jargon-free articles, *GenEthics News* reports on what government and industry are doing, analyses the debates, and describes the campaigns and how to get involved. Subscriptions are £18.95 from: *GenEthics News*, Freepost (LON 6013), PO Box 6313, London N16 0BR, UK.

New titles in the Fall/94 New Society Publishers catalogue include *Our Ecological Footprint: Reducing Human Impact on the Earth*, *Transforming Abuse: Nonviolent Resistance and Recovery*, *Scorched Earth: The Mil-*

tary's Assault on the Environment, and Futures by Design: The Practice of Ecological Planning. New Society books are always inspiring reading. Order from: New Society Publishers, PO Box 189, Gabriola Island, BC V0R 1X0, Canada; or from: New Society Publishers, 4527 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143 USA. New Society offers quantity discounts for groups wishing to order books for tabling at events.

It's time to be thinking of 1995 calendars. From the Media Foundation comes the *Adbusters Culture Jammer's Calendar*, featuring a dozen "subvertisements," that turn the original ads back on themselves. \$12.95 from: The Media Foundation, 1243 West 7th Ave., Vancouver, BC V6H 1B7, Canada. *The Carry It On Peace Calendar* (mentioned in an earlier KIO) includes historical notations for most dates, as well as artwork and poetry. It's available for \$11.95 from: Syracuse Cultural Workers, PO Box 6367, Syracuse, NY 13217 USA.

Ted Trainer's recent contributions to *Kick It Over* have included *Let's Save Our Town* in issue #31 and *The Conservator Society* in #33. He has a new book just out, *There Are Alternatives! An Outline of the Sustainable Conservator Society*, published by Zed Books. As the title suggests, the book makes the case for a more environmentally sustainable lifestyle through discussion of the various personal and societal changes necessary, with examples and illustrations. Zed Books, 7 Cynthia St., London N1 9JF, UK.

Insult and Injury, Ideas and Actions: An Anarchist Defense of Unlimited Freedom of Expression is the latest broadside from the Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade. BAD has also released *Disinformation and Distortion: An Anarchist Exposé of AIDS Politics*, a pamphlet by Joe Peacott. Peacott's earlier pamphlet, *Misinformation and Manipulation*, aroused much controversy; *Disinformation...* follows up and extends the argument of the earlier release, that the AIDS epidemic has been over-hyped by activists seeking funding, that this has led to increased government intervention in our lives, and that anarchists have failed to enunciate an AIDS politics that differs to any significant degree from the "official" line. Both *Disinformation* and the earlier *Misinformation* are available for \$5.00 from: BAD Press, PO Box 1323, Cambridge, MA 02238, USA.

Letters

Demarchy

Dear KIO:

I write in reply to Brian Martin's letter in issue #32.

As a preliminary point, I did not conclude that demarchy is not anarchy based on my etymological comparison of the two words. I used etymology to present my thesis, and then went on at some length to "look at the way society is organized rather than the way words are constructed." Anyway, presuming the terms are apt, I fail to see why a look at their meaning is not helpful.

Amid various intriguing points, Martin makes certain comments which are indicative of the manner in which the essential core of anarchy as a political philosophy becomes diffused and thus susceptible to unwarranted criticisms. Martin states: "In my view, because demarchy is based on abolishing the state and empowering the people, it fits within a broad definition of anarchism." Unfortunately, demarchy would *not* abolish the state, but only alter it dramatically, such that power becomes more dispersed, and more broadly accessible by individuals. So much the better, perhaps, but the power itself remains (in a fashion somewhat analogous to the Laws of Conservation of Mass & Energy). Under demarchy, the potential still remains that an individual can be confronted with a demand by some authority which s/he is unable to refuse. The fact that the demand emanates from an authority whose bailiwick is limited and which the individual had and will have a fair chance at wielding her/himself does not amount to a relief from coercion at the time.

Later, Martin states: "Anarchists generally want to reduce the power of the few over the many and increase the role of rational persuasion." Such a description goes no further than the traditional principles of democracy. There is more to anarchy. As opposed to a democrat, the anarchist also wants to reduce (to nothing) the power of the many over the few. It is this goal which I contend demarchy cannot meet. At variance with my original understanding, Martin points out that under demarchy "there is no state or military to enforce decisions made by the groups (committees): the decisions will only be followed if people agree to do so." What about those who do not agree? Are they free from participation? What if their participation is necessary for the success of the venture? Should I take it that Martin agrees with

me that individuals should be completely free to opt out? If so, how does demarchy propose to deal with non-contributing citizens? These are key issues with which anarchy deals.

Martin also suggests that those selected for committees would have credibility because they would have no vested interests in the results. This proposition does not follow, if indeed the random selection regime is to be strictly applied. In a random system *anyone*, with vested interests or not, has an equal chance of being selected, and, moreover, it is likely that more volunteers will be generated from among people with a "vested interest." If instead Martin postulates some eligibility criteria, then somewhere (presumably with a meta-committee) the theoretical authority exists to derogate from the random principle which is the *sine qua non* of demarchy. In effect, demarchy under this construction has a built-in potential for gerrymandering.

Martin offers two possible solutions to my criticism that statistical representation on committees leads to hegemony. I fail completely to understand one suggestion: that such problems can simply be taken up by the meta-committees. What could the meta-committee do but eliminate the problem as I suggest, or tinker with numbers which leave the problem in place? In any case, I note that this solution hinges on some solution of the meta-committee problem. Martin's other solution for the statistical representation problem is that "those who are concerned about this could encourage suitable people to nominate for groups to redress the balance." With due respect, this is no solution at all. If representation levels are already predetermined by demographic statistics, additional nominations will not alter the problem of minority hegemony because more volunteers will not result in more misrepresentation since the random system has been circumvented.

To add a new argument against statistical representation, I submit that a problem arises in defining what constitutes a demographic group entitled to special representation. Again, this would presumably be handled by meta-committees, and the meta-committees themselves would be composed of statistical representatives who might have an appearance of bias in maintaining the exclusivity of group representation at the expense of deserving, yet unrecognized groups. I am

Kick It Over welcomes and encourages letters. Our goal is the development and growth of a liberatory theory and practice. Constant dialogue among our readers, our writers and ourselves is vital to this goal.

We'd like to print as many letters as we receive, so please keep your letters to under 800 words. We reserve the right to edit letters for space. Please indicate when writing if you do *not* intend your letter for publication.

grateful to Martin for correcting my erroneous belief that the selected committees would oversee bureaucracies. Apparently the committee members themselves would carry out all the activities necessary to their bailiwick. I do not see how this can work. Either the committees will become populated exclusively with trained specialists, resulting in a balkanized government of syndicates, or the society will be unable to maintain a system of occupational specialization and the huge economic efficiency it entails. Perhaps I am missing something.

At the end of his letter, Martin included questions about my previous suggestions (KIO #31) which I am pleased to answer. First, Martin seems to misunderstand my meaning where I propose that society should be composed by "each individual being in contact with each of all the other individuals." I made analogy to the contract structure of partnerships to explain my meaning, but some clarification will be helpful, I hope. I meant that each individual has *one* social contract with *all* the other members of society in their individual capacities instead of (as presently prevails) with the theoretical entity called the state.

Martin asks: "Who will enforce the contracts?" Admitting, as always, to utopian optimism, I propose that to a large extent the necessity for even slightly coercive enforcement would be greatly reduced because of the voluntary nature of the contract process. Furthermore, the system I propose provides for complete freedom to opt out anyway (assuming previous debt is discharged) so enforcement requirements are made largely moot. Finally, the consequences of complete failure to abide by contract or opting out provisions would amount to self-exile and are therefore unlikely (though possible). For what little enforcement requirements remain, I presume it would be contractually, co-operatively arranged somehow, in the same fashion as any other societal need such as emergency service (like firefighting).

Asks Martin: "How are decisions about collective issues (transport, pollution, technical standards) made?"

The simple, general answer is through co-operation of individuals acting out of rational self-interest. As to the specific examples: Where roads and bridges, etc. are needed, those with the need or who see possible profit, would build them either by themselves or cooperatively. This proposal relates to familiar anarchist notions of "good" and "bad" property which I am unwilling to address here. As to pollution, the implied parallel to the Tragedy of the Commons fails if one accepts the assumption that people will act in rational self-interest if they can rely on others to do so and are permitted/encouraged to do so themselves. Finally, technical standards are already merely codifications of whatever sets of standards survive the Darwinist process of progress. Standards that work are those already adopted by and large because of their superiority over available others. Conversely, where a standard is applied which has not proved itself by general acceptance beforehand, it is either ignored or becomes a hindrance rather than a help.

"Doesn't a contract system give undue power to those with scarce skills who are willing to threaten to opt out?" First, while many may be willing to threaten, only very few are likely to actually opt out fully, when the consequences are considered. More problematic is the possibility of persons without holding expertise but not labour, thus NOT foregoing the benefits of society, but still applying almost full bargaining pressure. Under the system I propose, this is perfectly legitimate and institutionally protected activity. Under my proposal, this will not cause significant problems because the distorting effects of power/authority/Rule are absent. Persons bargaining for their services will receive exactly what they are worth. (The totally free market for labour would thus achieve the Marxian goal of rendering the surplus product unto the proletariat who creates it.) Furthermore, generally through history the most significant contributors have failed to receive a return commensurate with their full value, mainly because society (and the person him/herself) are unable to perceive the true value produced. Compare the remuneration received to the vast benefit generated by Tesla, daVinci, Ford, Edison, Bell, Salk, Leeuwenhoek and many others. Even those who became millionaires did not get back the full value of their contribution to improving quality of life.

Finally, as I have appeared to rely on a market system, I will deal with the expected objections of what to do about the problems of (1) how to pro-

vide for the weak and (2) rapacious greed. In both of these respects, I return to my premise that in the absence of Rule a society would function on a basis of rational self-interest. Decisions about whether one would rather feed the destitute or have them die in the streets, or turn to theft or violence would be dramatically changed toward rationality in the absence of a coercive Rule system to enforce and protect exploitative property arrangements. Similarly, there is no danger to society from rapacious greed where there is no Rule system for wealth to co-opt. Everyone will automatically receive what his or her contributions are worth, because no means exist to distort the market. The greedy will have only the option of contributing more if they wish to receive more. I submit that this improved operation of a free-market under an anarchist system is analogous to the manner that markets are now presumed to operate better under democracies than under authoritarian regimes.

Yours truly,
Nils R. Connor

Population

Dear KIO:

As regards my article *The Stork is the Bird of War*, in *Real World*, summer 1993, the address is: 91 Nuns Moor Road, Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK NE4 9BA. Subs (£6/year).

By the way, I just love the 20-year-old Bookchin reprints. Really cutting edge!

Bill McCormick

bob melcombe replies:

It's both amazing and amusing to see an "ecologist" succumbing to the cult of the new, i.e. that only new products, new music, new ideas are worthwhile. This is the essence of capitalist consumerism. I believe that the value of an idea is determined not by when it was conceived or enunciated, but by the quality of the idea itself. *Kick It Over* will continue to reprint selections from older writings whenever it seems appropriate.

Alternative Economics

Dear KIO Comrades:

I found the discussions in *Building an Alternative Economics* in KIO #33 very thought-provoking. It does seem that anarchists have avoided economics to our "cost," as Jeff Stein and Brian Martin think. Although, like them I am also looking for some new ideas on anarchist economics and like their suggestions, it doesn't seem to have been noted that a necessary condition for an alternative economy (presumably one free of hierarchy, com-

petition, domination) would have to be an alternative to the economy, that there is no real alternative to the economy today, which is perhaps the major cause of our problems. The capitalist state is the only society that has ever believed that everything can and should be within the exchange economy, and that via money anything should be exchangeable with anything else. We should not make the same mistake.

With capitalism, the economy is expanding infinitely not only physically, but into ever more details of our lives. We are all either purchased commodities or being processed to become them, or out of demand on the shelves or in rubbish dumps. We are so dazzled at the range of things that can be bought we don't notice that nothing can be done or obtained for free. Not just basics for survival, food, clothing, shelter, but even the basics for actually existing such as peoples' space and time are also, mindlessly, entirely enclosed within the economy of the capitalist state.

This means truly everything is inside and conditional on the economy, even the state itself in my opinion, with the economy running the state rather than the state running the economy. Even the other economies of the household, the alternative economy and the underground economy that Gary Moffatt mentions are ultimately subject to the capitalist-state economy because it has monopolized all space and time, and everything can only take place within this framework. According to the TV, people the world over are waking up to the truth that the far right are right, capitalism is the only right way — because it makes alternatives impossible or false. The originators of capitalism were probably well meaning, intending it to be a palace; it is actually a coffin which we have climbed inside, and now it's nailing itself shut for us.

What I am suggesting is that, aside from a different kind of economy, the territory of the economy should be carefully limited. People will not be able to make free decisions about the economy or anything else unless they can stand outside of it, are not entirely dependent on it and perhaps could even be independent of it if they choose. Almost without a doubt, the only way the economy can be transcended and cut down to size is politically (I mean, of course, the community meeting, not the state). This political system would itself have to be independent of the economy, once established.

It would be possible to organize space, for instance, purely politically through community meetings. The

idea of the organization of who goes where via community meetings would probably be slightly terrifying to most people initially, especially if they visualized meetings as free-for-alls. There would definitely need to be detailed rational systems (I've heard the word policies so much at employment I can't bear to use it), such as priority for residential locations based on need such as flat central spots for paraplegics or the elderly, or very popular or useful spots being exclusively public, with of course maximum and minimum amounts, conditions for sharing etc. A really fair and unambiguous system might eventually appeal to most people presently enslaved by mortgages or rent.

The other side of the "coin," trying to organize all economic activities 100% politically, would probably be absurdly time-consuming and even prevent legitimate individual economic freedoms, whatever they may be.

Decisions about just what should be outside the economy and what should be in might vary from community to community, but most things would need to be carefully weighed in terms of whether inclusion empowers or disempowers people (for instance, some arguably empowering things like electronics and pharmaceuticals [the two fastest growing multi-national industries] could probably not even be produced outside of a complex and reliable economy; by contrast, peoples' space and time are not produced by anyone, and if we trade them we trade away the best essentials of freedom).

The only way to get to this would again appear to be political along the lines of libertarian municipalism, perhaps. Only a democratic decision could or should cancel capitalism. But there is no reason people should abandon it if no more appealing economics are offered, so I hope discussion on this continues and grows.

Best wishes,
David Nicholls
c/o 3 Oriental Terrace
Wellington
New Zealand

Dear KIO:

In this offering of a small contribution to your "Economics" discussion, I begin by saying that I believe *Social System* should be substituted for the latter in the title, this being the most important *Alternative* to start *Building*. Apart from being nowadays more of a "dirty word" than a "dismal science," economics on the grand scale is a "numbers game" dependent on variables some of which, on present calculations, have a rapidly-ap-

proaching vanishing or saturation point. The likely effect of resource depletion and pollution on the increasing expectations of an exploding population are not provided for in economics based on an infinity of availability or absorption. And I see as being in the latter category the economics said by Peter Cadogan to be about "ameliorating the conditions of our slavery at work until the Law of Surplus makes it possible to abolish that slavery by phasing out money and the market." I believe that the larcenous rioting of universal scarcity is more likely than the "Law of Surplus" to cause "phasing out of money and the market." Indeed, it is my opinion that even the prior "ameliorating" of working conditions by economics (i.e. the introduction of labour-saving/replacing devices) has long been more negative than positive overall. For example, the unconscionable, increasingly automated plundering and processing of finite resources — mainly for the parasitic "prosperity" of a relatively few rich people, their favoured wage slaves and fee collectors, has not only passed the halfway stage to exhaustion of many raw materials, in terms of reserve quantities or use-time. It has also, in the capitalist camp, caused the prospect of the "dual society" of a "hyperactive minority of full-time workers confronting a majority who are, at best, precariously employed." And each succeeding generation is saddled with an increasing imbalance in inherited wealth.

Therefore, to transform the brandished fist, as symbolic of the future mankind is facing, into a beckoning hand, not only have those exigencies caused by present-day economic practices relating to resources to be addressed, but also a history of infamous adventuring, foolish wars, financial roguery, human rapaciousness and irresponsible behaviour in general; the latter must be addressed before the obvious solution to the former of rationing, enhanced recycling and equitable replacement (renewables) can be given significant attention. In addressing the said human failings, habit heads the list followed by support for the hierarchy: most people have accustomed themselves to the expectancy of "keeping their place" at the particular level in society on which they found themselves early in life. Although there are evident reminders of the presence of coercion in the control-inventory of all establishments at the head of nations, most non-members of such ruling bodies conform as victims habituated, if not harried, to accept their lot in life. Thus, largely passive reliance on others to provide work or welfare

is the (often prized) circumstance of the world's masses nowadays; with Multinationals at the forefront of the profit-makers paying the wages, and the wage slaves themselves mostly providing the funds for welfare. They find a mutuality of disparate interests in the hedonic pleasures and demands of industrialization, motoring ever faster along a globally-expanding network of multi-lane highways called *progress*...

To summarize: A necessary precondition to the mooted project of "Building an Alternative Economics" is, I believe, the construction of a new social system, if not the widespread evolution of a new social being. For, if the present economics is not to await its paradoxical sinking on the rock of vanishing resources and in viscous and volatile pollution — taking with it the living standards underpinning the social system/s that made both the economics of industrialization and the latter's resource-exhaustion and ecological nemesis possible — then the priority must be as outlined above. All pyramidal power structures (hierarchy) are parasitic without exception and show prestigious display at their cores, whether it be costly in terms of money for pomp and ceremony, in money and lives for war and a place in history, or simply a showing-off of published patents and papers that have made money for someone. Unless humans can rise above such pettinesses as an overweening "desire to be recognized as superior," the destructive parasitism of the species on Mother Earth's cyclical regeneration systems — which, as a whole, are the only host — "authority" will justify these problems and jockey them along.

Yours,
John R. Jeffery

Gary Moffatt responds:

Like it or not, we are all condemned to live under some sort of economic system; we cannot view the economy as outside or detached observers. We can only choose whether to accept the economy laid out for us by corporate capitalism or try to create a better one. Since all significant political parties in the western world have opted for the corporate state model, we must try to create an alternative economy (more discussion on this in *Paths to Social Change*). Also, if we are ever to have a political system that won't act against us, we must show the possibility of transforming mainstream society from its present reliance on corporate salaries into networks of small, interacting enterprises. To my knowledge, nobody has shown how this could be done. Until this happens, society's drift into fascism will continue, eventually reaching the point where alternative-type enterprises won't be tolerated. This is why we need more research and discussion.

from bob melcombe:

Last issue, in my comments in the *Building an Alternative Economics* discussion, I directed much of my argument against a letter from Peter Cadogan. I was critical of some of Peter's statements about capitalism, while overlooking his general thesis: that we need to rid ourselves of those badges of servitude—money, the market and coercion." Peter's vision is not so radically different from mine, as I stated when I re-read his letter after the magazine was printed, and I regret having implied that it is.

This is not to say that I regret what I said about capitalism or alternative economics. Capitalism is a horrible, horrible system, and total eradication is necessary if there is to be any hope of social liberation. An "alternative" economics that doesn't move us in some manner towards this end is nothing more than a redefinition of capitalism, and hardly deserves the appellation "alternative."

Italian Injustice

Dear KIO:

I'm an Italian anarchist, and perhaps I'm quite known in Toronto because I've been there hoping to sensitize public opinion over my case. To this purpose I brought, personally, a letter of mine to the *Morning Star*, but of course it has never been published.

This story starts when I was 9, and it's to my point of view a mere psychological terrorism attempt, against the mass and the individual. An earl of a police officer wanted to ensnare my mother, Annunziata Muzzella, and for this purpose one night they offered me some poisoned toffee, that I refused because my mother had warned me to refuse them. The day after, there were some dead mice in the street where the toffee was thrown. Later at school and in the street, I had to undergo a heavy mental anguish that had the purpose to turn me homosexual, and at school my teacher, instead of teaching us, just brainwashed us over Mussolini and fascism. At 11, I had homosexual relations and was enrolled as a member of the fascists. Meanwhile the mental anguish perpetrated against me was worse; someone had tried to cut my throat.

One night the police officer Bottiglione came to my home, and with a revolver sodomized my mother. For a long time she had abandoned her work; she was a tailoress, and at that time she was suffering from a blood sickness. After this episode my mother and I relatives were systematically abused for years, my father had problems at work and still one night some policemen shot at me with a machine-gun. They still threatened my mother, especially at marketplace. Then I be-

came an anarchist, and the so-called institutions have perpetrated against me a mental anguish that is true psychological torture, just to defend and look after the interests of Earl Capece Galeota and Bottiglione, who is now a police general. These two specimens of "moral institution" are also narcotics. However, everybody who was at that time a friend of mine has been jailed or killed just to keep all under silence. A friend of mine, that under psychological pressure raped me, just because her name had to be some sort of threat for my mother, has been in jail for over 17 years for terrorism. Just for my attempt to show to the American public what happens in the "democratic and socialist Italy" I've lost my job. For over 15 years I have sent denunciations to the Italian authorities and abroad without any result. At the moment I'm 38. I hope that you will publish this letter.

Thanking you,
Gianpaolo Mazzarella
Via G. De Ruggiero 24
80128 Napoli
Italy

Women and Anarchism

Greetings Staff:

Your publication arrived at no cost to me. Today, I write in a combined effort. First, to convey my gratitude for your effort, consideration and resources. I am requesting a subscription at no cost. I hope to gain further insight from *Kick It Over*. I recognize the sacrifice made in providing such. A brief introduction is in order, considering that it may be useful data to your organization, as well as a reasonable act. Someone had to pay for the resources expended in providing me with a copy.

Generally, I am considered a white male aged 29 years. On my own, my formal education ended at 8th grade. However, during incarceration I have completed a GED test, five vocational courses, some general education college courses, and a 1/2 year business course. I've learned to enjoy reading for further knowledge, and take the effort to learn from experience. Physically, I am healthy, exercising regularly to grow and maintain present status. I have no readily recognizable handicaps. I consider myself socially handicapped, having founded fears of returning to prison.

My philosophies are really muddy, and are far from setting to stone. Experience constantly changes me, and I don't ever expect to have anything in life set in stone. But as solidly as I can say, I am not a man following religion

or government. I'd prefer to be a part of Star Trek, the Federation, but since it's fiction, I'll pay closer attention to the real WORLD. Religion, culture, politics and history are so important that my little brain can't grasp and analyze it all so quickly.

My present status as a prisoner is not new. At 16 my career in the Florida prison system began. I have been released three times since my first commitment in 1980; these three "vacations" don't add up to one year together. My present commitment began July 12, 1987. I expect release by good behaviour in April 96. My present conviction is for armed burglary, grand theft, false imprisonment and felonious possession of a firearm. My prior convictions were for burglaries (three each) and battery of a law enforcement officer (2 each). Basically, I have been unruly and a thief.

I want to write some comments concerning this Spring 1994 issue of *Kick It Over*. As I've already said, my opinions are flexible. Writing my thoughts is another learning experience, giving me a chance to work them out. Perhaps your staff will have a value for my words.

Tolerating Sexism in the Anarchist Movement by Edan is the first story I wish to comment on. She was sexually assaulted. The manner in which she described this experience I can relate to. It seems that she encountered a type of predator which is common here. They're not always sexual predators, but predators still. My familiarity comes from the numerous trials over the years. My only loss is the insult suffered. It seems that Ken imposed himself upon her each day, making her uncomfortable, while easing himself closer to his ultimate goal. When he finally made his move, it was difficult to understand how he was able to get so close, and be so manipulative. He took her kindness and weakness, and used it.

I regret the lingering social fungus of sexism, as well as all the other "isms." A group motivated for such large causes allowed your allegations to go unanswered for so long. Sounds like tunnel vision to me.

In *Lesbian Avengers* by Deb Ellis, I am attracted to their methods. There must be some fun and creative folks behind their theatrics. It reminds me of how fulfilling life can be.

The Conservator Society by Ted Turner covers a topic I often envision when I consider what I would like to do with my life. This is truly progress! It says "...there would be far more community than there is now." How one would enjoy life, and be proud of the community at large. I don't know

of any such communities in existence, but I'm certain they number in the hundreds, at least all the various forms. Each one a unique culture.

I could comment much more, but will limit the length of this letter. I won't always write my comments after reading *Kick It Over*. I enjoy writing, and writing this is good exercise for me. I don't know how my letter will be taken, its intent should be clear. Thanks!

James Vincent Duca #078351
Sumter Forestry Camp 4-54
PO Box 1807
Bushnell
FL 33513-0667 USA

Kick It Over receives many requests from prisoners for free subscriptions. Unfortunately, we cannot afford to fill them all. We remind our readers that a \$5.00 donation will enable us to put another prisoner on our subscriber list for one year. (Please mark your cheque "prisoner sub.")

Prisons

Hau Kolas

Greetings Friends.

Listen to me for I will tell you of this notorious iron house called US Penitentiary Marion. This pen is a replacement for Alcatraz aka "the Rock." This pen is a super max security locked down (23 hours a day) prison which houses what the US government calls the "worst of the worst" convicts, but in reality the US government places here only leaders of religious, political and economic groups that the US hierarchy deems a threat to the racist, far-right political machine that runs this country, the New World Order. This pen is just a tool used by the government to break men's spirit to resist. And change men's views on politics, religion, etc., and to stop us from expressing our views. This penitentiary's administration will stop at nothing to accomplish these goals, and will find a way to set any man up to be killed when he resists the government's attempts to brainwash him.

The US government employs a brainwashing technique called "behaviour modification" here. This is another term for the old carrot at the end of the stick routine, only it is a very subtle and insidious form of brainwashing. The Control Unit is the epitome of all the government's tortuous techniques of mind control — total isolation, constant harassment, physical abuse, the list is endless.

My experience has been negative here with the administration in all regards, but particularly when dealing with my first amendment right to prac-



REMEMBER THE TAWAJI (NATURAL HUMAN BEINGS) INSIDE ALL THE IRONHOUSES
— BY MAHTO WITKO (ROBERT KNOTT)

tice my religion. In my case I've been refused my right to attend the *inipi* (sweat lodge) for nefarious reasons. When I arrived here this last and most recent time, 1 1/2 years ago, from the Federal Medical Centre for Prisons, Springfield, Missouri, the administration and chaplains here told me that I'd have to take thiorazine (a powerful tranquilizer) voluntarily or they would force medicate me, which consists of a team of guards in full riot gear beating me down then the doctor injects the chemical into my body. All of which is unconstitutional, as I later found out from my Native Brothers here. When I refused to take thiorazine, the administration and preacher man told me that I could not attend the sweat lodge. So I filed for administrative remedy with the help of my Native brothers incarcerated here with me, and still the warden and his peons refused my constitutional rights. When we (myself and my brothers) contacted outside Native American organizations and Native Spiritual Leaders from around the country, the warden and administration finally told me I could attend the *inipi* (sweat lodge) without having to take thiorazine, when they realized that there were still people who cared enough to call and put pressure on the warden to let me worship my traditional Native religion. So I was able to attend the sweat lodge for a few months, until the preacher man and warden wanted to deny me access once again and renewed their sick scheme to use my need to partake in my spirituality

and practice my religion as a tool to again try to make me take "major tranquilizers," (a nice name for chemical lobotomy). On this latest denial of my rights they threatened to send me back to Springfield Medical Centre for Federal Prisons (aka the Death House) to be experimented on again with all the latest major tranquilizers designed to chemically lobotomize human beings.

You see my friends, 4 years ago I was sent here as a candidate for the infamous Control Unit program at the age of 23. I came here from Leavenworth in 1989 that time and was eventually sent to Springfield for a psychological evaluation to see if I would be acceptable for the Control Unit and the mind control brainwashing techniques used here. I wound up being held at Springfield for 3 years and forcefully experimented upon against my will with all the latest and unapproved chemical agents designed for the sole intent of destroying healthy brain tissue, specifically the frontal lobes of the brain which control all higher thought processes, or in other words a very effective chemical lobotomy. After 3 years I was sent back here to Marion Pen. But because of all the chemicals forced into my body I am mentally slower and physically slower, also. The government has made an example out of me for all other prisoners to see each day, to remind them just what can happen to them if they resist and fight the government.

Dear me, my friends, when I say that the government and its agents

here call me "uncivilized" and a savage because I grew up orphaned and was raised by many different relatives on several reservations, and am a traditional person who follows the ancient ways. You see, the Great Spirit made us, the Natural human beings, and gave us the land we live on. He gave us the buffalo, antelope and deer for food and clothing. We moved on our hunting grounds from the Minnesota river to the Big Horn mountains, and no one put bounds about my people. We were free as the winds, and like the *wanblee* (eagle) heard no man's command. I was born a Sioux and shall die a Sioux. Before the European came to our country, all Sioux were free people. My ancestors made their own laws and governed themselves as it seemed good to them. Today the US government wants to exterminate all the traditional Natural human beings because we represent the old ways, and the strength that comes from the traditional religious ways of our ancestors that fought the government.

Here in Marion pen, the preacher man still tells me that we live wickedly when we live like our ancestors. I don't believe what the preacher says. I have lived right as I was taught was right. Should I be punished for this?

As a child I was taught that Taku Wakan (the supernatural powers) are very powerful and could do strange things, and I was taught to respect all nature and that every creation is my relation. This was taught me by the wise men and *wicasa wakan* (holy men). They taught me I could gain favour of Taku Wakan and Wakan Tanka by being kind to my people and brave before my enemies, by speaking truthfully and following the good red road and by fighting for my people and our lands. When the Sioux people believe these things they live happily and die satisfied. What more can I desire?

Wakan Tanka and Tunkasila ("Grandfather" or the same Great Spirit) is familiar with my spirit, and when I die I will go with Him. Then I will be with my forefathers and I will be satisfied. The path I follow is long and sometimes dark, yet while my spirit is with my body the smoke of my breath shall be towards the sun, for He knows all things and knows that I remain true to Him.

In spirit and strength,
Robert Knott (Mahto Witko) #17508-086
PO Box 1000
Marion
IL 62959 USA

PS — Please mention I need donations for a civil suit, to be sent to: Carolyn

Mathews, 4200 Rock Quarry Road, Columbia, MO 65201 USA. People feel free to write to me.

Dear *KIO*,

As you may have heard, the cops have locked down Graterford prison again, again citing gang violence as the excuse. This isn't really concerned with the cops, whose position, as usual, is morally indefensible. My concern, sadly, is with the conduct of my brother inmates, their collaboration with the cops.

Sonia Sanchez, the writer and teacher, before she was banned from the prison as a "security risk," always tried to empower the brothers to use their minds, listen to what's real, and resist the oppression. I am ashamed to admit that it now appears few brothers listened.

My brothers, after less than a week of lockdown, are actively helping the police continue the lockup. They volunteer to clean up, help in the kitchen, and, worse yet, unshamed at all, inform on their fellow inmates.

The cops *hate* cleaning the block after a meal, it makes the overtime pay seem like too little. Many "lockdowns" have been shortened by their bleating about being forced to do actual work. This also applies to kitchen work.

How to put this? These guys, whom I still call my brothers, cry about showers, literally have sold their souls for a shower, when each cell is equipped with plenty of hot water. The important things, like proper diets for those who need them, daily sick call (no doctor has been seen on the block for a week) are never complained about. The loudest, most common complaint I've heard has been about eggs stolen from the breakfast bags by a seriously dysfunctional sergeant. The fact that a lot of the eggs that we *did* get were undercooked was hardly mentioned.

My own conduct during lockdowns is based on that of the IRA prisoners held by Great Britain. From what I have read, they ignore all blandishments from the oppressors trying to "pacify" them. When locked down, I do *no* work and remain in my cell. Personal hygiene is dealt with in the sink, as long as water is on. I exercise in my cell, and only eat enough to keep my body and mental faculties in order. I neither speak to guards nor spend money in their inmate store, as I feel both will help perpetuate collaboration.

The informers saddle me most of all, as their tale carrying serves no purpose, except to keep the inmates suspicious of each other, improperly fighting each other rather than the

system that oppresses them.

In *KIO*, I've read of brothers and sisters, strong people who fight the system with every means they can devise, people who lay it all on the line for the struggle for freedom and dignity. Their example gives me encouragement. Having said that, I also feel that the other side of things should be known and communicated as well, in the heartfelt hope that it will be a "wake-up call" to my brothers. Go ahead and use my name. I'll catch hell but it's *more* than worth it.

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Victimology

Kick It Over—

When you people and your publication stop whining about the big bad \$y\$tem, and stop begging for social change; and start showing the young how to target intelligently and bravely instead of robbing and killing for peanuts or killing each other or killing themselves, this is a sample of the political revolutionary ability they have.

A kill ratio of 3 to 1, no police force or military can stand up to it and win.

You must stop preaching the victimology of pacifists. It demoralizes everyone. It helps reinforce the false sense that the \$y\$tem is all powerful, unbeatable. The big lie. You must stop reinforcing the \$y\$tem's propaganda. What you are doing is political sadomasochism. Defeatist.

Revolutionaries "can do."

BLOODY TRAIL: An Alabama man suspected of shooting to death three police officers and a store clerk and wounding a woman killed himself as law officers chased his stolen car near Loxley, authorities said. Jimmy Earl Whitt, 23, of Mobile, was the subject of an intense manhunt since the first slayings June 14. "He was a ruthless son of a bitch," said Greenville Police Chief Lonzo Ingram. — *News clipping from USA Today 6-29-94*

Fuck the police. Death to the military. Destroy what destroys you.

By publishing only victimology articles and essays you assist the \$y\$tem in turning young men and women into petty thieves, robbers, killers, drugged neurotics, suicides and victims. You participate in this passively and actively. You support it by default.

That is not revolutionary or intelligent.

Michael Sheridan



NUMBER OF LAWYERS RETAINED PER 1000 HECTARES

family owned and operated farms0.00023

corporate owned and operated farms....1.16579