

REVEAL DIGITAL

The Open Road

Source: *Reveal Digital*, 07-01-1976

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.28042016>

Licenses: Creative Commons: Attribution-NonCommercial

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

This item is openly available as part of an Open JSTOR Collection.

For terms of use, please refer to our Terms & Conditions at <https://about.jstor.org/terms/#whats-in-jstor>



Reveal Digital is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Reveal Digital*

JSTOR

**American Indian
Movement**
Building
a new nation
from the grassroots

REPORT P. 14

Martin Sostre
Nine years
after frame-up
revolutionary yogi
free at last!

INTERVIEW P. 12

**Phil Ochs
& Holly Near**
Peoples' music
from one decade
to the next

STORIES P. 11 & 27

OpenRoad

60¢

Issue One Summer 1976



Never Say Sorry To The Pentagon

A Ghandian approach to Doomsday weaponry
PACIFIC LIFE COMMUNITY / P. 7

Jailbreaks, Expropriations & Political Bombs

Hard times for Seattle's urban guerrillas
GEORGE JACKSON BRIGADE / P. 23

Working Women Organize Themselves

A militant new union shakes up system
SERVICE, OFFICE & RETAIL WORKERS UNION / P. 5

Song of The Open Road

1

Afoot and light-hearted I take to the open road,
Healthy, free, the world before me,
The long brown path before me leading wherever I choose.

5

From this hour I ordain myself loos'd of limits and imaginary lines,
Going where I list, my own master total and absolute,
Listening to others, considering well what they say,
Pausing, searching, receiving, contemplating,
Gently, but with undeniable will, divesting myself of the holds that would hold me.

11

Listen! I will be honest with you,
I do not offer the old smooth prizes, but offer rough new prizes,
These are the days that must happen to you:
You shall not heap up what is call'd riches,
You shall scatter with lavish hand all that you earn or achieve,

14

Allons! through struggles and wars!
The goal that was named cannot be countermanded.
Have the past struggles succeeded?
What has succeeded? yourself? your nation? Nature?
Now understand me well—it is provided in the essence of things
that from any fruition of success, no matter what,
shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.

My call is the call of battle, I nourish active rebellion,
He going with me must go well arm'd,
He going with me goes often with spare diet, poverty, angry enemies,
desertions.

15

Allons! the road is before us!
It is safe—I have tried it—my own feet have tried it well—be not detain'd!
Let the paper remain on the desk unwritten, and the book on the shelf unopen'd!
Let the tools remain in the workshop! let the money remain unearn'd!
Let the school stand! mind not the cry of the teacher!
Let the preacher preach in his pulpit! let the lawyer plead in the court,
and the judge expound the law.

Camerado, I give you my hand!
I give you my love more
precious than money,
I give you myself before
preaching or law;
Will you give me yourself?
will you come travel with me?
Shall we stick by each other
as long as we live?



Walt Whitman
[1819 - 1892]

On the Road

This first issue of **The Open Road** was produced by a collective of politically-active people based in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. Some of the articles, especially those about events and situations close to home, were drawn from first-hand accounts based on our own personal experiences and interests; the reports on national and international developments were adapted mainly from material in already-published periodicals and books. (The front cover illustration is from Justice League of America Comics. See comments in **News From Nowhere**, p. 8.)

We are greatly indebted to anarchist artist Flavio Costantini whose work appears on our centrefold and Blast section. A stunning collection of his work, **The Art of Anarchy**, is available from Cienfuegos Press, 83a Haverstock Hill, London, NW3, England.

We welcome, encourage and solicit correspondence from readers. We are looking for publishable reports from anywhere in the world, and

also story ideas, tips, advice, criticism, what-have-you. The range of subjects and their treatment is indicated by, but not limited to, those found in the first issue. We have no political "line" other than to report on anti-authoritarian trends and developments wherever they may occur, and we push no organizations other than those which are created and sustained by ordinary people in the heat of struggle. Our target date for publication of the next issue is early Fall, so copy deadline is August 28.

This issue was financed through donations and loans from friends, plus a lot of volunteer labour. (In this connection, we would especially like to recognize Suburban Productions Coop, and outtypesetter Laura Lippert and layout artist Gloria Munro.) Rough costs have included about \$1,100 for printing, \$300 for mailing and \$500 for miscellaneous. In future, however, we cannot hope to continue publishing without broadening our base of financial support to include our readership.

We will send the **Open Road** to anyone who requests it.

We have no subscription rates and depend on readers' donations.

Address all requests, correspondence, and contributions to:
The Open Road
Box 6135, Station G
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Emma Goldman names her magazine



Emma Goldman [1869 - 1940]

When Emma Goldman decided to start an anarchist publication in 1906 she chose the name "The Open Road," from a poem about freedom by Walt Whitman. After discovering that another paper of the time already bore the name, however, she switched titles and the renowned "Mother Earth" was born.

For more than 50 years, Goldman spoke out, wrote and organized on behalf of the Social Revolution. She fought in the streets, in prison, in union halls, urging the people to "ask for work; if they don't give you work, ask for bread; if they don't give you bread, then take the bread."

In her autobiography, "Living My Life," Goldman set out the policy of a journal dedicated to human liberation: "In 'The Open Road' they should speak without fear of the censor. Everybody who longed to escape rigid moulds, political and social prejudices, and petty moral demands should have a chance to travel with us in 'The Open Road.'"

Still Crazy After All These Years

The Open Road

The Open Road is a newjournal which is designed to reflect the spectrum of interrelated anarchist and anti-authoritarian Left activities and to provide reports and analysis of popular struggles and social problems. It is not the organ of a political organization.

As an anti-authoritarian publication, The Open Road maintains that a Social Revolution in North America is not only desirable but possible, and that ordinary everyday people will make this revolution, organizing in their own interests, without the need for Supermen, political bosses, or self-appointed vanguards.

The Open Road is a revolutionary publication dedicating itself to the idea—social justice, human solidarity, and freedom—which has inspired all popular struggles against oppression and the State throughout history.

It has grown out of the positive experiences of the last decade which has seen various organizing efforts and class and social struggles in Vancouver and the world take on an implicitly anti-authoritarian character. It is an attempt to organize people by rejecting sectarian and authoritarian methods of organization in favour of full rank-and-file participation and direction. In many instances people have taken the initiative and successfully overrode their "leadership" to occupy positions far to the Left of what is "acceptable."

One of the hopes of The Open Road is to make explicit the libertarian and anti-authoritarian content of these popular developments throughout the world. To counter the dead hand of the centralist vanguard organizations which have hindered and confused serious organizing possibilities over the past few years, The Open Road intends to give voice to emergent anti-authoritarian tendencies identifying themselves with various labels, including: anarcho-communism, anti-authoritarian or libertarian socialism, revolutionary humanism, anarcho or revolutionary syndicalism, libertarian or anarcho-Marxism. Although there are significant differences between these tendencies they all contain within them the notion of a totalistic revolution of the people, to create a society based on everybody's free self-activity.

These tendencies stand for a complete and definitive Social Revolution and in opposition to the wholesale importation of revolutionary traditions from other times and other places which are inadequate to the situation as it presently exists in North America and the advanced industrial nations. These tendencies particularly oppose authoritarian and hierarchical "socialist" movements which have little in common with a revolution based on human freedom and the all-round development of human life. Now more than ever revolutionaries must be aware of Social Revolution as a deep socio-historical process involving the mobilization of millions of ordinary people. In the historically specific conditions of North America the organizations and activities of a revolutionary minority must aid and catalyze popular self-activity. Our primary loyalty must be to the social forms created by the revolutionary process itself, not to the political forms created by radicals. To take this position is not to deny a role for revolutionary organization and leadership; it is an attempt to place it in perspective. In this spirit The Open Road attempts to address itself to the multifaceted nature of oppression in this society and the local dimension of scope of the actual social movements which have emerged and are emerging.

Among those anarchists and libertarian-Lefists who participated in the formation of The Open Road there was no lack of enthusiasm nor was there any fundamen-



The road to freedom is paved with struggle.
Barricades in the streets of Paris, May 1968.

tal disagreement on the political desirability of launching a new publication at this time. However, there ensued a series of exchanges over what role the journal should play in promoting any of the various currents or "lines" that characterize the libertarian tradition.

The consensus established was that the Open Road would try to provide a forum through which the various theoretical and organizational positions could be described in their actual practice. This would prevent the journal from becoming embroiled in the kind of overly-abstract debate and armchair theorizing that has tended to isolate comrades from each other and to entrench them in their particular positions. If the libertarian notion is to survive and, indeed, to flourish, its theories and abstractions must be tested in concrete practice, the fruits of this practice must be given wide exposure. As a newjournal, therefore, we are more concerned with reporting on what people and organizations are doing than what they talk about doing.

In keeping with conditions in North America at the present time, The Open Road will give extensive coverage to what people can and are doing in pre-revolutionary situations to build grass-roots militancy and solidarity. Examples will include progressive unions, co-ops, neighborhood and community organizations, political and social action groups and primitive anarchist units. As well, there will be an emphasis on the kinds of popular institutions that are created during insurrectionary and revolutionary periods in western industrial societies, such as in France and Portugal in recent times.

The Open Road will provide critical support for established popular-based liber-

ation movements in the Third and Fourth Worlds where no significant libertarian trend exists or seems likely to develop. We will also draw on living examples of revolutionary social reconstruction, such as in China and Cambodia, in an attempt to discover what new forms of social relations are possible when a new society is being built.

We will also examine the activities of the various clandestine armed struggle groups in North America and throughout the world. Many of these groups are closely identified, rightly or wrongly, with anarchism, either ideologically or through the nature of their practice. Their views and the real nature of their practice are being blacked-out and grossly distorted by most of the existing media, even though these guerrilla groups have generally conducted themselves in a highly principled manner making significant and relevant political statements.

The Open Road recognizes that the social revolution in North America and the advanced industrial nations must be qualitatively different than those which have occurred in underdeveloped countries in the past or present. The objective logic in North America is such that a revolutionary project here can only take the form of Human Liberation; and cannot be limited to the national determination, industrialization, and State Capitalism of other revolutions. This Human Liberation is the movement toward a classless, non-authoritarian, non-hierarchical, ecologically-balanced and decentralized society in which the splits created by Capitalist exploitation and oppression will be transcended by new unalienated human relationships. Because of the new conditions and new possibilities created by the development of advanced

industrial society we at The Open Road believe great strides can be made towards Human Liberation in our lifetimes.

For The Open Road to accomplish the work it has undertaken will require a high level of co-ordination and cooperation from a considerable number of comrades. At the present time it is being produced by an open editorial collective in which the level of participation varies from one individual to the next. Those of us who are directly involved in the production see it as a secondary activity which should not interfere with but supplement on-going efforts in the community. For this reason we have only planned to come out seasonally or possibly every two months heading towards monthly status if interest and international participation is high enough.

We would like readers to participate as soon as possible, including correspondents throughout North America and other countries who will take the time to write articles about relevant developments in their locales. We particularly need translators who regularly read the revolutionary press and can provide articles on that basis. We want to exchange with as many radical publications as possible and get in touch with as many interested groups as we can.

Financially this first issue has been funded by donations and loans. We intend to finance upcoming issues in the same manner, as we do not have subscription rates for individuals, and store sales will not cover costs. On the most basic level we are depending on small donations from a large number of readers and large contributions from the few comrades who have the resources. Another important and painless method of fund raising readers can participate in is the holding of benefit picnics and parties in their communities. In the long run, by relying directly on our readers, we will have a practical method to determine the paper's usefulness to others. Needless to say The Open Road will not survive if a significant number of readers do not participate with funding and written contributions.

The Open Road also needs to establish an extensive distribution system which will get the publication to the committed minority it is written for. We have allocated a large mailing budget and will mail The Open Road to anyone who takes the time and interest to write to us. For this issue we have piggy-backed with most of the existing publications at our own expense and would like to do so with others. Hopefully some comrades will take the responsibility of distributing the paper in their communities and of sending us the names of people they think would be interested in receiving a copy. If you have received this first issue and want to continue getting the paper please drop us a card immediately.

The social ideas, experiments, and struggles of the Sixties have been more or less laid to rest, but the visions they represented have not disappeared. In the cynical Seventies friends have told us that only crazy people hold the view that "a new concert of human relations is being developed which must emerge, become conscious, and shared so that a revolution of form can be filled with a renaissance of compassion, awareness, and love." Yet, this formulation of the Sixties represents one example of the spirit, unity, and depth of conception which is necessary for any movement towards human freedom, solidarity, and social justice. Consequently, The Open Road is thronged with dreamers.

Mailing address:

The Open Road
Box 68, Station G
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Green politics spark children's crusade

By Douglas McLean

"Our politics aren't Left, and they're not Right. They're Green."

Greenpeace veteran Don't be impatient with Greenpeace because of its schmalzy liberal approach to environmental issues; in truth, its politics are directed at a future generation.

Maybe more successfully than any other protest group in North America, Greenpeace has connected with young people, from pre-schoolers to teenagers. It has put them in touch with the real world outside their homes and schools; it has started the process of sensitizing them to the political dimensions of their own lives and concerns; and it has provided a relatively safe arena in which they can take those first hesitant steps into mass political activity without fear of being slapped down or "protected" by their elders.

Teenagers in the thousands have marched through the streets and blocked traffic (in Vancouver) to protest American nuclear testing in the Aleutians; entire schools full of elementary aged kids have petitioned the Soviet and Japanese governments to stop the slaughter of whales in the Pacific; four and five-year-olds have sent crayoned pleas to Canadian government officials to save those cute little baby seals from the nasty hunters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

This has been no mean feat, considering that practically everything and everybody in the adult world conspires to deprive kids of the right and the ability to think and act for themselves, and to render them political enfeebled. All the adult institutions and organs of "education" and social control are bent to the task of molding children into passive, highly suggestible consumers of manufactured trash. Politics are invariably dealt with as a sub-category of "good citizenship," and political activity means voting for the status quo party of your

choice. Stray from this path, and you become rebellious, delinquent or worse.

Kids Instructive

Greenpeace, which is probably Canada's best known and most media-successful ecology protest movement, has aimed its message over the heads of the adults and directly to young people. It has managed to disarm the adult guardians of children's morals by a harmless-looking and simplistic appeal to dogmatism, and it has built an effective buffer which includes animal lovers, school sentimentalists, eco-

have lost. Since we see our work with young people as an important element in raising consciousness generally about environmental issues, especially for the long-term success of the movement, we have made it a conscious part of our program to speak to these concerns."

The Greenpeace hype for children includes a whole range of posters, buttons, T-shirts and other paraphernalia that emphasize the palpable physical presence of various endangered species. Greenpeace spend a lot of

time and energy visiting schools throughout British Columbia, and even the rest of Canada, showing slides and movies and talking about the unique qualities of animals and what a shame it would be if they should vanish as a result of the greed or carelessness of humanity.

But the biggest hypes of all are the Greenpeace expeditions—sailing into U.S. and French atomic test zones, dispatching expeditions to save the whales and seals. Adults so often relate cyni-

cally to such lost-cause undertakings, but children can become highly charged by their audacity, their spirit of adventure and their high moral principles.

The only problem with all of this is that Greenpeace sets all these kids in motion—physically, emotionally, intellectually and politically—and then doesn't take it any further. Never is there any mention of the political, social and economic system that has made such a profitable business of the wholesale destruction of the natural order of things. The Greenpeace, who by-and-by consist of middle-class 1960's leftovers and starry-eyed idealists, have never really tried to make a dent on the working class movement, much less on the radical political community.

Costly Media

That's because the Greenpeace way is a very media-intensive and costly way. It requires a high level of co-operation from the mass media, which must be convinced that the protest will pose no threat to the status quo. And it requires great infusions of money from all sorts of dubious sources. Greenpeace has been successful beyond compare in conning money out of governments, right-wingers, respectable foundations and other establishment sources. For instance, the latest expedition to harass the Japanese and Soviet whaling fleets across 6,000 miles of North Pacific Ocean for two months this summer is costing an estimated \$200,000—mainly to lease, outfit and operate a converted minesweeper dubbed Greenpeace VII.

Greenpeaceurs know from somewhat bitter experience what the effect on their big plans will be if they stray too far in either direction from the ideological mainstream. For instance, a few members had made some charitable remarks about the social democratic government in British Columbia last fall; come the winter, followed by an election, and they found themselves dealing with a new, more right-wing regime—which immediately axed their hoped-for \$25,000 grant.

But their biggest public relations gaffe occurred last Spring when they swaggered into an economically-depressed Newfoundland harbor and insistively announced that they were going to cut off one of the community's main sources of revenue, the seal-hunt. They were met with (you guessed it) hostility and even threats of armed resistance. Before it was all over, Greenpeace had managed to acquire a reputation as a bunch of elitist, fanatical twits who were out of touch with the problems and aspirations of ordinary working people. After a lot of fast talking they barely escaped with their credibility.

If you want to help Greenpeace get down to business, you can contact it at 2108 W. Fourth, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.



Greenpeace paraphernalia includes buttons, T-shirts, posters. . .

teachers in search of "relevant" issues to subvert their bored students, headline-hungry journalists, and even vote-grubbing politicians. After all, who would deny that radiation is bad for you, whales are noble and intelligent creatures and baby seals are cute?

As one Greenpeace puts it: "Kids, especially the younger ones, respond to

these issues at the instinctive level. They are fantastically interested in animals, and they feel it really keenly when animals are being hurt, especially if there is no obvious reason why it's happening. They have a capacity for empathy that adults seem to

MIR escalates resistance in Chile

By Tom McGuinn

There are two roads to Resistance in Chile. Take the path of the MIR and the Left Socialists and it leads to armed combat against a powerful and ruthless military machine; follow the Communist Party and it ends up in bed with the so-called Centre.

The dilemma faces North American supporters of the Chilean people, too, because both Resistance tendencies are active in promoting overseas money and propaganda for the cause. In many communities in Canada and the U.S., the anti-junta momentum is dispersed through a number of support groups of varied persuasions and strategies.

The divergent tendencies were manifested almost immediately after the Chilean

army brutally overthrew the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende in September, 1973. The Leftist parties of the coalition urged their militants to undertake a mass exodus in order to avoid death or imprisonment, and to be available to return and lead the Resistance struggle at a future, more favorable, time.

Resistance Continues

But the Chilean working class, even without its political "leadership," has taken on the task of sabotaging and ultimately bringing down the dictatorship. The Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), a Marxist-Leninist cadre-type organization, has stayed in Chile to help build the popular movement. As former MIR secretary-general Miguel Enriquez, who was killed in battle, put it:

"Out of the popular resistance movement will come the People's Revolutionary Army, the only force capable of confronting the 'gorilla' army and defeating the dictatorship."

The junta's own publications and announcements confirm that the Resistance gathers strength as each day passes:

The circulation of the MIR paper *El Rebelde* expands with every issue; 150 sticks of dynamite go missing from the Chanaral Mines; 1000 leaflets appear on the streets of Iquique; a resistance printing press is discovered in Valparaiso.

On May 1st thousands attend mass services which turn into anti-junta mobilizations; two factories involved in a dispute with management are burned to the ground; dockworkers in Valparaiso strike even though

they face arrest, torture and execution for striking; the head of the military intelligence in Talca is assassinated; banks are liberated



Miguel Enriquez

and resistance slogans are painted on the bank walls; armed propaganda takes place in the cities and the countryside; a regiment in Santiago refuses to carry out more repression and loyal troops are brought in to surround them until they surrender; an underground radio station defies the junta by broadcasting international messages of solidarity from within Chile.

The generals refer scornfully to these heroic acts as "pockets of resistance," but then they declare a "state of internal war"—meaning mass arrests, torture and murder—in a vain attempt to suppress them. In the first week of 1976, according to the junta's own muzzled press, there were 1,642 arrests. In the first week of

Continued p. 29

SORWUC: a fighting union for working women

By Jack Cavanaugh

There used to be a time when clerical workers were considered privileged. In those days, around the turn of the century, workers in offices earned twice as much on average as did manual laborers.

But that was when clerical workers were mostly all men. These days, with women comprising the majority of the clerical and retail work force, the average weekly wage of service workers has fallen to half that of the better-paid, male-dominated trades (in Canada it's \$145 per week compared to \$300 for construction workers.)

The big bureaucratic unions have always been reluctant to seriously tackle the job of organizing in such a "marginal" sector of the economy. There are just too

many problems: small, isolated bargaining units, huge numbers of unemployed and underemployed service workers, a traditional white-collar mentality, paternalistic bosses, etc.

Women are now moving to fill this breach themselves, but not necessarily with the same kind of top-down, unresponsive and highly centralized apparatus that has dominated up to the energies of the memberships of most established trade unions. The Service, Office and Retail Workers Union of Canada (SORWUC), a small, independent union with a largely female membership based on the West Coast of Canada, is an example of the kind of grass roots, center-led union that can tap these energies in a sustained organizing drive.

SORWUC, which now represents about 150 workers in



a dozen small private and government offices in the Vancouver area, was started

in 1972 by activists in the Working Women's Association, a group which helped

no control over contract negotiations or grievances. Business agents, even in the largest portion of women members, often accept the sexist argument that women shouldn't really be in the work force; the women are just working for "pin money" and so don't really need a living wage. Business agents generally are themselves the bosses of secretaries, so it is not surprising that they have difficulty representing the interests of women clerical workers.

Better Fringes

SORWUC members were also active in the organizing of the Association of University and College Employees (AUCE), which represents about 2,000 people (mostly women) on four campuses in British Columbia. Both unions have successfully won full-time paid pay for women, as well as for a whole range of women-related fringe issues, such as day care, extended maternity leave and the banning of dress codes and the requirement to do personal errands for the boss.

Both SORWUC and AUCE are anti-bureaucratic. Workers themselves take responsibility for negotiations, grievances, and other business of the union. In both unions full-time paid officials, who are elected from among the members, must return to the job after one year in office.

Women strikers in Vancouver defied the courts to stop scab trucks.

organize boycotts, educational campaigns and picketing in support of women's labor struggles. But the women found that after organizing into existing U.S.-based unions, they still had

FRENCH WORKERS CELEBRATE

Open house at occupied factories

France is in turmoil. Radical mobilizations on different fronts are occurring every day.

Changes in the education system which deny full access to the poor have led to widespread demonstrations and rioting by students. A sustained effort to radically unionize the armed forces in la Portugal is underway, resulting in many arrests of soldiers and civilians on charges of "demoralizing the army." And most significantly, at least 25 French factories are presently being occupied by their workers.

The 900 workers of the recently reoccupied LIP watch factory held an Open House which attracted 15,000 people from around France on May 8-9. The Open House followed on the heels of a similar Festival attended by ten thousand people in the Griffet crane factory in Marseille. The occupation at Griffet has been going on for 14 months, the longest in France. The Festival organized by the Griffet workers was the first of its type.

The LIP workers are well-known for their successful occupation of their factory in 1973 and the implementation of a system of self-management. The occupying workers simply continued production themselves producing watches which they sold and from the proceeds paid their own wages. The latest occupation which began May 3 arises from another attempt by LIP stockholders to liquidate the corporation and dismantle the factory.

Workers' delegations from some 25 French factories now being occupied were invited to attend the Open House conferences on the struggle at LIP, and participate in discussions on "How to put the wheels in motion and what it may be so that we don't get kicked in the jaw, factory after factory."

Another important reason for the thriving, stressed Charles Pigeat, head of the

CFDT (France's second largest union federation in which militants of the Far Left participate) at LIP, was "to succeed in making, the largest number of people understand why it is necessary to fight capitalism and to strive to obtain popular support for the energetic actions in defense of full employment."

After hours of discussion at the LIP Open House, the workers' delegations wrote up a declaration calling for a national assembly of working people in struggle.

The declaration summed up effects of Griffet Festival and the LIP Open House: "... Each time thousands of workers and their families, and numerous factory delegates have been present. During the debates in these recent meetings, the workers have been able to compare their experiences and

From this comes the necessity of regional meetings of workplaces in struggle, with their unions at local and departmental levels. These regional meetings, by the popular unity they create, demonstrate growing opposition to the policy of the State. It is necessary to continue along these lines, and in this manner, succeed in carrying out a large national assembly called by workers in struggle, with their organizations."

The declaration continues:

A group centered around the Left Bank Bookstore in Seattle is distributing a draft proposal for the formation of an Anti-authoritarian Revolutionary Movement (ARM).

The ARM document, Draft Theses for Principles of Unity, contains eleven points ranging from simple expressions of revolutionary enthusiasm, to critiques of contemporary and historical revolutionary experiences, to some suggested guiding principles for the new movement.

The document stresses the failure of working class revolutions in the advanced industrial countries pointing out that all the successful "Party-led" revolutions of the 20th century have occurred in underdeveloped and colonial countries. The strategy and tactics of those revolutions, the structure of the Communist parties, and the development of State power after those revolutions all reflect the condition of scarcity in which they were made.

In the underdeveloped world, the document argues, the primary historical task of revolutionary movements is the development of the productive forces which in the West was carried out by capitalism and the bourgeois

"The delegations present, yesterday at Griffet, today at LIP, launch a call to all the factories in struggle, to all those who struggle in their factories to improve their living conditions, to workers deprived of work, to women, to immigrants in struggle, to soldiers, students, teachers, farmers, to all those who fight repression, to all the victims of this system, so that they will contribute to the realization and success of these assemblies."

A.R.M. the spirit

revolution. The State and economic formations established by the Communist Party-led revolutions do not come after capitalism, but instead of classical capitalism. They initiate a development which, in the case of the Soviet Union, has led to results increasingly similar to the monopoly capitalism of the U.S.

In the advanced industrial countries — France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, East Germany — where the Communist Parties hold strong positions of power they have played not a revolutionary role but usually a conservative and at time counter-revolutionary role, ostensibly because they have nothing new to contribute to capitalism.

The ARM document supports struggles in the Third World, but sees the tasks of revolutionaries in the advanced industrial countries as essentially different. The strategy, tactics, and organizational forms of Third World struggles do not form models for successful revolutionary activity in North America where the primary task is to smash monopoly capitalism, its bourgeois State, and all forms of domination and oppression of human beings and establish a classless communist society of free and equal human beings. This is possible in the advanced countries because the economic pre-condition for communism — the development of the productive forces to the degree where all important genuine needs can be met — already exists as a potential.

This potential for a qualitatively new form of liberation also eliminates the need for a "Party" dictator ship because the means exist for the collective administration of society by the entire proletariat.

In examining the existing revolutionary movement in the U.S. the ARM document identifies authoritarianism and hierarchy as the main props of the system, which express themselves primarily as racism, sexism, and elitism throughout our culture. The destructiveness of "vanguardism" and the mindless parroting of slogans and positions cribbed from their struggles and times serve to illustrate the unconscious ways hierarchy and authoritarianism creep into even the radical movement. To combat this ARM maintains it must function through "self-disciplined cooperation between equals, based on a comradely respect

for the individual's freedom of expression and the right to be heard."

continued on p. 31

Similarly, SORWUC's opposition to empire-building creates a framework in which the multitude of occupational categories in the service, office, and retail industries can themselves determine the nature of their organizations. SORWUC is a little concerned with building a dues empire like the Business International locals to disaffiliate or merge with another union simply by holding a referendum vote among members of the union. But it is possible for insurance workers, legal secretaries, day-care workers, or bank employees to initially organize into SORWUC.

As more people in a particular occupation become organized, they can form their own local of SORWUC. As they grow, these occupational locals can then decide to remain within SORWUC, or they could decide that they would be more effective if they formed their own distinct organization. This could be decided within SORWUC without the jurisdiction of the national

continued on p. 30



LIP Open House poster

Argentine junta fears union "guerrillas"

Following the March 24 military coup in Argentina, the generals arrested over 4,000 people, outlawed union activity, and appointed Jose Martinez de Hoz, a corporate steel magnate and personal friend of David Rockefeller, as the new government's economy minister.

Since that fateful date, the arrests have continued, right-wing terrorists, primarily off-duty police organized into the Argentinian Anti-communist Alliance (AFA) have openly and brutally assassinated labour

militants in the industrial cities. In the countryside there have been massive troop manoeuvres to search out and destroy leftist guerrilla units.

Sabotage

There is no doubt that the principle enemy, for the junta, is the militant Argentine working class itself. Since the coup, many thousands of important work places have been placed under direct military control. In spite of sentences running from three to ten

years for striking, and industrial sabotage sentences or the death penalty for sabotage, workers are fighting back on the plant floor.

The Renault factory in the northern city of Cordoba which was first sabotaged and then completely shut down by the workers is a case in point. Hundreds of

other factories are semi-paralyzed by production slow-downs, sabotage, and strikes. According to one militant union leader "stopping the productive apparatus means bringing about the destruction of the political superstructure."

In contrast to the Hollywood image of Argentina as a land of cow-punching gauchos on the Pampas, the nation is among the most industrialized in Latin America. Industrial production accounts for about fifty per cent of its Gross Nation-

al Product, and its agricultural production is increasingly mechanized. Since entering the economy through the meat-packing industry, foreign capital, particularly U.S. capital, has played a dominant role in impoverishing the population.

Just two days after the coup, the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund granted the Argentine government a \$127 million loan to shore up its collapsing economy on the condition that the government

guarantees a safe place for foreign investments and political stability.

Organized Workers

Out of a working class of six million, one million were unemployed in October, 1975. Wages in the relatively highly-paid metallurgical, railway, and commercial industries were at 40-50 per cent of the estimated cost of living for a family of four. Wages were about 25 per cent of the rate in the

continued on p. 26

Mauberism

The Indonesian invasion of East Timor in December, 1975 was expected to put a quick end to the FRETILIN story. It was expected that the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) would be crushed after a brief resistance.

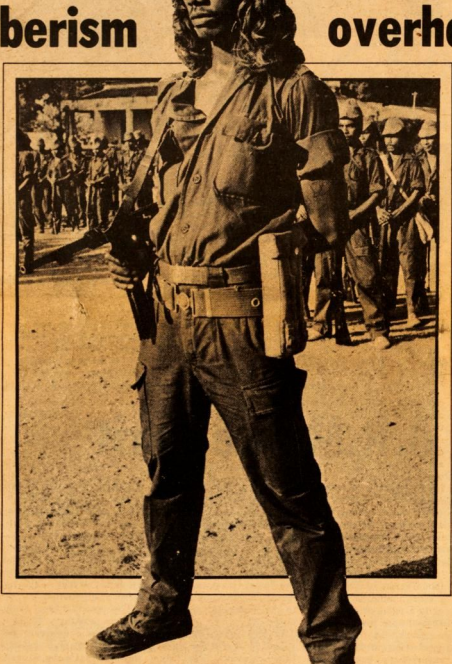
However, FRETILIN has constantly confounded observers, first by opposing an attempt at Portuguese neocolonialism, then a coup attempt by the Right in August 1975, and now by fighting an amazingly effective campaign seven months after being invaded by Indonesia.

A CBS news report aired shortly before the Indonesian invasion described the FRETILIN fighting force as an army without ranks, all unit leaders being elected before each operation and subject to recall, and all decisions on the timing of attacks and withdrawals being made collectively. In short it described an extremely egalitarian liberation force which interacted closely with the Timorese population.

Military Successes

After two months of the full-scale invasion, the use of up to 30,000 land troops, aerial bombing, naval blockades, etc., Indonesia had not managed to exercise even nominal control over any territory beyond Dili, the capital, and various strips along the coast—less than one third of the territory. Recent reports indicate that several Indonesian commanders in the field have been replaced because of their failures and their expressed opinions that FRETILIN is unbeatable considering Indonesian military resources.

FRETILIN's performance is stunning in light of the fact that it wasn't even organized until after the Portuguese revolution in April, 1974. For 400 years prior to that time, the territory was ruled by a Lisbon-appointed white colonial administration which wielded power through its puppets in a semi-feudal tribal apparatus. About 95 per cent of the population of 650,000 inhabitants had to eke out a living in a subsistence agricultural economy. FRETILIN, which grew out of the Timorese Social Democratic Association (ASDT), a small, informal discussion



Soldiers in the unorthodox FRETILIN army collectively determine battle strategies and elect operation leaders.

group of educated Timorese (mainly government clerks and high school students), had to build a new liberated and progressive society virtually from the grass roots.

After the Lisbon revolution, ASDT participated in the extension of a small strike into what amounted to a general strike in Dili. Forming the committee for the Defense of Labour, they succeeded in securing a 100 per cent wage increase for public sector workers. This was the first strike in Timor's history and led to the creation of a Union of Workers, followed by a Teachers' Union and associations of women and students.

At that time ASDT was

calling for independence, an end to racial discrimination and corruption, and friendly international relations. With the organization of the unions and associations ASDT transformed itself into a national liberation front (FRETILIN) in September, 1974. From the beginning FRETILIN was the only political party consistently active in the villages, initiating and carrying out concrete projects as well as conducting general political propaganda.

Grassroots Mauberism

The formation of FRETILIN rests upon a commitment to independent nationalist development, self-

reliance, and "mauberism," a concept which is taken from a Timorese word which means "the common person, the poor, ignorant, oppressed Timorese under colonial rule". Mauberism thus connotes a general struggle against poverty, illiteracy and economic and political oppression.

Within FRETILIN there is a range of political perspectives, with a significant portion influenced by the ideas of Amilcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau and Samora Machel in Mozambique. In What is FRETILIN? (A Popular Explanatory Statement) the basis for the Front is explained:

"It is called a Front because it calls for unity of all Timorese patriots... It is necessary that all nationalists and patriots must unite without discrimination of race, religion, political ideology, sex, and social background. It is necessary to disarm all those who are trying to divide the people... At the moment East Timor is a colony and as a colony the immediate and only objective is the struggle for national independence and liberation of the people."

FRETILIN's program contains specific commitments toward the establishment of racial, ethnic, and sexual equality and guarantees religious and political freedom of organization (except for those proposing annexation to a foreign power). It has proposed universal suffrage for all over the age of 15 and a relatively decentralized system of administration of locally-elected councils sending delegates to regional and national assemblies. In keeping with its program FRETILIN has not disturbed the holdings of the much-hated Catholic Church nor has it nationalized the holdings of the elite Chinese merchant class, preferring instead to set up co-operatives to undermine their economic power.

From the beginning, the FRETILIN leadership has stressed the need for safeguards against the emergence of a new political elite. These include demands for modest living standards and the continuing integration of the leadership into village life through active participation in economic production.

The program calls specifically for the establishment of women's, students' and workers' associations, and prioritizes them as given their development. Although these three mass organizations are involved in all areas of political and economic life, the students' union (UNETIM) is particularly concerned with the development of the literacy campaigns and work in the democratization of the school system.

The workers' association is involved in the organization of the agricultural co-operatives in the countryside and the organization of urban workers.

Strong Women's Role

The women's organization

(OPM) has arranged activities for women, encouraged them to participate in the literacy and agricultural projects and, more generally, in all economic and political activities. OPM helped develop an all-women's army unit which is now fighting at the front. It aims to counteract the subversive role which traditional Timorese society and Portuguese colonialism imposed upon women.

With the establishment of the Revolutionary Brigades in April 1975, much of FRETILIN's urban membership gave up their jobs in Dili and moved into the villages. There they lived in village huts, grew their own food, and used the rest of their time to work in the literacy campaigns and other projects.

The work done in the villages laid the foundation for the speedy development of local administration after the right-wing coup attempt in August 1975. The local councils are responsible for the co-ordination of the local militia, health and literacy schemes, and organization of agricultural programs and distribution through the people's shops. They comprise representatives of each of the three mass organizations (women, workers, students), one locally and one centrally appointed FRETILIN cadre and two military representatives. The latter's presence resulted from the fact that the entire 3,900 members of the regular Timorese army joined the movement and played an important role in defeating the coup. In addition, the FRETILIN commitment to a "people's army" necessitates the integration of the military into village life.

In the urban centres FRETILIN encouraged the Chinese to reopen their shops, but with the long-term aim of restricting them to selling non-essential imported goods. Distribution co-operatives were set up in the form of "people's shops". This was partly an emergency measure as FRETILIN was responsible for feeding a large number of people who had no other means of support after the coup. It was then hoped that the people's shops would take over the distribution of all essential goods as reason-

continued on p. 29

Pacific Life Community puts heat on nuclear arms

By Tony Doisel

Waging non-violent war against the world's mightiest military machine means never having to say you're sorry to the Pentagon.

It means carrying out a civil disobedience campaign of "dilemma demonstrations" in which the military is confronted with two unpalatable alternatives—either arrest the demonstrators, and suffer the consequences of the adverse publicity; or try to ignore them, and suffer a loss of face when the demonstrators up the ante.

The Pacific Life Community, a network of individuals and communal houses along the West Coast of Canada and the United States, has been waging an increasingly-persistent and militant campaign against the Trident nuclear submarine base being constructed at Bangor, Wash., across from Seattle on Puget Sound.

Military Confused

So far, the military has been responding in a confused and erratic manner, with only a few of the demonstrators actually having been arrested and charged. Mostly, they are handed letters threatening them with arrest, and then dragged bodily off the base; on a number of occasions they have been hauled before a judge and given a stern lecture before being released.

Jim Douglass, a Pacific Life member from New Westminster, B.C., near Vancouver, recalls the way on one recent occasion when he and two others gained entrance to the base and commenced harrying a mock-up wooden model of a Trident submarine.

"They took our shovels away from us, gave us letters harring us from the base and dragged us off.

"We came right back and started digging with trowels that we had stashed in our back pockets. The process was repeated, and this time we started digging with our hands.

"Finally, the sheriff came. He seemed a bit sympathetic and he tried to negotiate with the naval people to allow us to finish our protest, but they wouldn't agree to it. Since we wouldn't quit, either, he finally took us into town. The judge was faced with the same dilemma. He asked us to promise not to return to the base for a given period of time, but we told him we wouldn't be our own jailers in any sense of the word.

"So we were sent down to the jail. A few hours later we were released without any explanation, and without charges either.

"We always tell the Navy a week ahead of time that we are going to be staging an act of civil-disobedience. Then they are faced with the dilemma of charging us, which only leads to more publicity, or letting us carry on, which means we will push the protest even further—thus gaining more publicity."

Non-violent Action

The Pacific Life campaign



Pacific Life Community marches against Trident weapons system. Each sub can wipe out 408 cities.

of civil disobedience—which has included cutting down great sections of the fence surrounding the base and planting flower gardens and sowing wheat on base property—has been combined with the more familiar tactics of protest: mass demonstrations, petitions and other forms of pressure on politicians and government agencies on both sides of the

border, approaches to civic church, political and civil groups and personalities and intensive spadework with contacts in the news media.

While the Pentagon is obviously going ahead with its plans to complete the project by 1978, the campaign has been successful in generating public debate over nuclear policy in general and the Doomsday nature of the

WHO GETS POLITICAL ASYLUM?

Courts flip-flop over "politics"

By Sandra Montague

The recent extradition hearing of American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier in a Canadian court provided a useful reminder that the supposedly unbending principles of Anglo-Saxon justice actually suffer from a time warp.

Peltier, a 32-year old Sioux who is charged with murdering two FBI agents in June, 1975, on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, is continuing to fight the extradition to the U.S. on the grounds that he is a political refugee who was persecuted in his native land because of his political beliefs.

After a month of hearings in Vancouver, he has learned at least one thing: that the definition of political has been shaped and embroidered by the judicial establishment over the last century to meet the specific needs of the State and the demands of public opinion in any given age.

The judge in the Peltier case listened to vivid testimony from Pine Ridge residents explaining how a state of war exists between the heavily-militarized U.S. government forces and the Indian nation, and how this struggle was for control of the Indian territories. Then he ruled there was nothing political about the alleged offences.

The decision (it is now being appealed) came as no surprise because British courts in most types of legal proceedings have tradition-

ally been unwilling to hear an argument relating to the use of the judicial system by the State to crush political dissent. The main exception, and this has been a rare occurrence, has been in cases involving extradition to a foreign country.

In the late 19th century, when Canada's current extradition law was being formulated in Britain, there was a strong public consensus that persons attacking the (non-British) authoritarian governments of Europe should receive asylum in Britain, no matter what method of assassination was used. This public attitude was reflected in the exemption in the extradition law for "offences of a political character."

One of the first occasions in which the courts granted immunity from extradition occurred in 1891 when Angelo Castioni was sought by the Swiss government for the murder of a member of the government of the canton of Ticino during a popular uprising. The citizens of Ticino had presented a petition to amend the constitution and to vote within a month. The government refused to take the vote and the citizens seized the town arsenal and attacked the municipal palace, at which time the killing occurred. The coup was temporarily successful and a provisional government was established which held power until overthrown

by the armed forces of the Federal Government of the Swiss Republic.

Political Extradition

The English judges had little difficulty in ruling that Castioni's offence was a "political character" because it was "done in furtherance of or with the intention of assistance, as a sort of overt act in the course of acting in a political manner, a political rising, or a dispute between two parties in the State as to

own voluntary statement, namely the party of anarchy, is the enemy of all governments." He concluded that anarchist offences are mainly directed against private citizens, not the governments, and, therefore, Meunier's offence was not "political."

In 1984, during the height of the Cold War, English judges again showed their adaptability in determining the meaning of "political character". In deciding that Polish seamen who had mutinied were exempted from extradition, even though they had not done so to take power from the ruling party, the English court admitted that judges would always consider the meaning of the term "offense of a political character" according to the circumstances existing at the time when they have to be considered."



Leonard Peltier seeks asylum.

which is to have the government in its hands... Therefore, offences in the course of coups d'etat or attempted coups would be political.

The same courts demonstrated the effect of political attitudes on their "judicial" decision three years later when a French anarchist, Meunier, charged with murder in France, asked for political asylum. The English judge looked at the earlier decision and decided that "the party with whom the accused is identified... by his

Trident project in particular. Each Trident submarine—and there could be up to 30 of them—will be armed with 408 nuclear warheads, each of which will be capable of hitting a target in the Soviet Union or China from a distance of better than 5,000 miles. As well, the Trident missile will be capable of hitting a target in the Soviet Union or China from a distance of better than 5,000 miles. As well, the Trident missile will be capable of hitting a target in the Soviet Union or China from a distance of better than 5,000 miles. As well, the Trident missile will be capable of hitting a target in the Soviet Union or China from a distance of better than 5,000 miles.

It's no wonder—considering the track records of the Nixon and Ford administrations, and their talk of "limited" nuclear war—that the Trident project is being viewed by Pacific Life and others as a dangerous and unprecedented escalation of the nuclear arms race since it gives the U.S. the "first-strike" capacity to wipe out Soviet and Chinese defenses in a pre-emptive attack. Trident is the costliest (\$40 billion) and most destructive weapons system ever devised.

Community Dynamic

Pacific Life was founded in early 1975 by a group of anti-militarists who had been in fluxed by the thought and work of Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King and other non-violent activists. The network now extends from Vancouver and Victoria, B.C., through Seattle and Bellingham, Wash., to several points in the Bay Area around San Francisco, where the campaign is directed mainly against the Lockheed Aerospace plant where the Trident missile is being built. (One of the Bay Area members was a MARV designer for Lockheed until he saw the light; now he leaflets his former colleagues.) As well, an Atlantic Life Community has recently been established in Hartford, Conn., to wage war on the General Dynamics works at nearby Groton, where the subs are actually being built; and there's now a Great Lake Life Community at Battle Creek, Mich., near where the Trident communications system is being tested.

Pacific Life members continue to maintain close ties to such other like-minded groups as the War Resisters League, Fellowship for Reconciliation and the Catholic Workers (Seattle Pacific Life runs a CW "hospitality house") as well, they work easily with an assortment of other groups, including the United Farmworkers, American Indian Movement defense committees and prisoners' unions, and have even travelled to Fiji to meet Third World representatives and form a Coalition for a Nuclear-Free Pacific. Douglass, who once poured human blood on secret Vietnam bombing plans at a U.S. Air Force base in Hawaii the got off on a technicality, says the Pacific Life commitment to non-violence reflects a "dynamic between our community and our cam-

continued on p. 26

continued on page 31

SLA survivors fight on

News from Nowhere

Comic lovers take note. The Justice League of America (JLA) has taken on the Anarchist, a new super-villain who strives to create world chaos by kidnapping heads of State and dignitaries. JLA is one of the titles in the mammoth DC Comics empire. In the JLA, comic length story "The Comix is Chaos" (Vol. 17, No. 127) the power mad Anarchist does battle with Superman, Green Lantern, Flash, Batman, and a roster of other superheroes. The Anarchist's sole desire is to eliminate leadership in the world so he can pose as a Messiah and set up a global dictatorship. Needless to say, the comic completely misrepresents anarchists in theory and practice, even if one is pleased to note it takes nine super-defenders of the status quo to subdue one "Anarchist."

Preparations are underway in France for the Third Congress of the International Anarchist Federation (IFA). The conference will take place in November of this year and will feature reports, discussions, and debates from anarchist organizations throughout the world. To find out more about the conference write the CNT(b), 33 rue des Vigognes, 75020 Paris, or Grigoris, 20 bis, rue Tourlaque, 75010 Paris.

Rolling Stone Mick Jagger has won the role of a young anarchist in the upcoming movie adaptation of the best selling novel *Ragtime*, over stiff competition from Bob Dylan and Bruce Springsteen.

One of the major figures in *Ragtime* is Emma Goldman whose dynamic personality and writings have been having quite a revival in recent years with the rise of the women's and anarchist-authoritarian movements. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation recently televised the play *Red Emma: Queen of the Anarchists*, about Emma's early life, to a national Sunday evening audience. The live-stage version excited sell-out crowds in Toronto, where Emma spent much of her life in exile, and Vancouver.

On Christmas Eve 1975 the "very Christian and very Francoist" fascist organization *Christ the King* bombed the *Public Bookstore* in Paris. The store, which was destroyed in the blast, was the home of *Le Monde Libertaire*, the monthly newspaper of the French Anarchist Federation. An appeal is now being made for aid in reconstruction. Money can be sent to: Subscription Attental, Librairie Publico, C.C.P. 11289 Paris, France.

A curtain of silence has descended over the case of Paul Simon, an 18-year-old Tucson anarchist who was beaten to death last February in a "maximum security" cell in the city jail, where he was being held on minor charges resulting from a disturbance in a university poolroom. The mass media and the courts have tried to squelch evidence relating to official misconduct, but the case is being covered by the local anarchist journal *The Match*, P.O. Box 3488, Tucson, Ariz. 85722

The Tricont Publishing House in West Germany has been destroyed by the authorities. Police raided the small progressive publisher to seize the plates and any copies available of *How Everything Began*, a book by activist "Bommi" Baumann, which chronicles the rise of the revolutionary opposition in West Germany. It was judged subversive and contrary to the democratic State under the new German "Muzzle Law." *Open Road* has a copy of Bommi's book and would like to have it translated for possible publication in English. Write us if you can help.

Issue #3 of *Black Star*, the national publication of the Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (SRAF), contains articles on a wide range of American and international subjects. *Black Star* can be obtained from Box 90159, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 53202. Synthesis, an anti-authoritarian newsletter for citizen worker self-management ideas and activities, is available from the League for Economic Democracy, Box 1858, San Pedro, Calif. 90733. The second issue contains an extensive list of anti-authoritarian groups and individuals grouped according to geographic area. Free For All, a journal of anarchist ideals and realities, is being published in Vancouver, B.C. It offers theory and polemic on a variety of subjects. Issue two which appeared in late June has an article on the problems of legal trade unions, radical or otherwise. Write to Dick Martin, 166 W. 18th, Vancouver, B.C. Canada. Black Flag, organ of the Anarchist Black Cross, 10 Melham Road, Lockwood, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, and Freedom, an anarchist fortnightly, 84 B Whitehall High Street, London E1 7XQ, are both important sources for international anarchist news.

News From Nowhere takes its name from the famous anarchist novel by William Morris. It is a column of anarchist and anti-authoritarian ephemera, notices, contacts and brief reports called for by its readers. Suggestions and information for the column could be sent to: *The Open Road* (News from Nowhere), Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C.

The surviving members of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) will soon be locked away for life. Yet, they refuse to leave the field of struggle quietly, their revolutionary spirits are undaunted, and their real message is right above the official reformation which surrounds them and their actions.

Unlike many of their armchair critics, Russ Little, Joe Remiro, Bill and Emily Harris, have been using the enforced idleness of prison to re-evaluate their revolutionary practice and its underlying theory.

In recent interviews and letters they have described their introduction to anarcho-communism in a principled manner they are also combating the hysterical response of much of the radical "movement" which has vilified their urban guerrilla actions and repudiated them personally as agent provocateurs, crude authoritarians or dangerous fools.

Fortunately, because of their establishment created notoriety, the SLA survivors have been spared the conspiracy of silence which has abandoned many other captured guerrillas to anonymous persecution.

In an extensive interview in *NewTimes* magazine (the only one permitted by the



Captured SLA members Joe Remiro and Russ Little.

authorities), the four SLA members have talked about their recent political development.

"When Russ and I joined the SLA we were going through some political changes based on our experiences working with different factions of the Left. We were as alienated from party centralism as from the State control we experienced in our everyday lives," Joe Remiro explains. "In reviewing the internal documents of the SLA, we now see that they contain two contradictory tendencies between authoritarian and anti-authoritarian

perspectives. The SLA has been criticized for making a poor attempt at Marxist-Leninist politics when, in fact, they were consciously moving away from those politics."

Russ Little continues: "We were originally attracted to revolutionary politics because of our desire for a truly classless communist society, where people control all aspects of their own lives and where from each according to their abilities, to all according to their needs" is a reality on all levels—socially, sexually, emotionally, as well as economically.

"For quite a while we were

fully disillusioned with the Marxist parties and their sectarian political lines, but none of us had been exposed to anarcho-communist theory and practice. After our capture and imprisonment, Joe and I began to re-examine our relationship to Marxist politics. For the last year we have been reading everything on anarchism that we could get past the censors."

Much of the anarchist press has been guilty of the same hysterical and unprincipled reaction to the SLA as the rest of the Leninist and alternative media. The

Continued p. 10

Basque libertarians organize

King Juan Carlos, Franco's hand-picked heir, has recently legalized political parties in Spain. But the only social groups and organizations capable of challenging the status quo—the communists, anarchists, and separatists—were specifically denied legal status. In the same manner, the massive underground trade union movement has remained illegal.

King Carlos' moves are merely window dressing aimed at taking the punch out of the political and economic strikes and social protests of the Iberian peoples. Since the death of Franco, the Spanish government has been trying hard to liberalize its totalitarian image in an attempt to get into the Common Market and stem the tide of popular resistance. In this effort they have had to make some concessions to democracy, and the working class has used all breathing space to rebuild and expand its clandestine organizations.

In the Basque country, Euskadi, libertarian militancy established an organization called *Askatasuna* (Freedom). They have set three immediate objectives for themselves: 1) To create a network of all the libertarian communists, anarchists, and anti-

authoritarian Basques in exile, as well as contributing to the creation and development of a federation Euskadi.

2) To produce and distribute a newspaper, *Askatasuna*, as a means of expression for all the Autonomous Groups, work teams, and individuals who consider this task as their own.

3) To undertake a serious theoretical study of the present mechanisms of the capitalist system and the global response to it in the framework of struggle for the suppression of wage labour.

Basque History

"In the short term," *Askatasuna's Principles of Organization and Political Work* explains, "this means forming study and action groups from which, through a process of maturation, the foundation of a libertarian communist organization can arise which can offer to the public opinion, and to the workers in particular, adequate political options (possible in the short term; desirable, realizable and necessary in the long term) in the framework of Euskadi."

The Basque people form a national minority occupying a territory which straddles the border of France and

Spain centered on the industrial city of Bilbao. They have a language and culture which is unique in Europe and they have struggled from before recorded history for national and cultural independence.

During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) the Basques fought on the side of the Republic in spite of the fact that they were largely conservative and extremely religious (Catholic). The Basque city of Guernica, the centre of Basque liberties, was unmercifully bombed by the fascists on April 26, 1937. The horror of the unprecedented air attack on a civilian population, and of war itself, was immortalized in Picasso's masterpiece "Guernica."

After the Civil War, Basque autonomy, culture, and language were severely suppressed by the victorious fascists. However, by 1962 Spain's political prisons began filling up with a new wave of Basque nationalists. Militants of the ETA (Euzkadi ta Askatasuna—Basque country and Freedom), had little in common with the old Basque independence movement which had grown moribund in exile. They employed the methods of the anarchist resistance and fought on four fronts—industrial, military, political and cultural—signifying the national spirit of the

half-million Basque people.

ETA Action

The actions and development of ETA have been compiled by Julia Agirre in *Operation Ogra*, a book which focuses on the dramatic assassination of Franco's right-hand man, Premier Carrero Blanco, in 1974. In the last several years, the ETA has suffered a number of internal struggles and splits over ideological questions, coupled with severe repression, have seriously weakened the organization.

Through the popular struggle, in prisons and exile, many Basque revolutionaries have come to embrace anti-authoritarian social theories and methods, a factor which led to the formation of *Askatasuna* this year.

Askatasuna describes its general working methods: "Direct action and solidarity of all exploited and oppressed peoples. Struggle for the social revolution and for anti-authoritarian socialism which will be the direct work of the workers themselves, through which the government of men will be changed for an administration of things."

continued on p. 31

Kansas City hosts Yippie! convention

By **Honus Wagner**

The city fathers they're trying to endorse
The reincarnation of Paul Revere's horse

—**Bob Dylan**

It was during the Wisconsin Primary last Spring, and Jerry Ford was speaking to a rural audience. Suddenly the crowd started rolling in the mud in an uncontrollable mass giggling seizure. Ford's eyes darted about self-consciously and finally alighted on his shoes, which he discovered were buried in cow shit. Reliable Yippie sources later confirmed that the cow was a member of the Youth International Party. And YIP's counter-campaign chaos had been unleashed on yet another season of ballot box buffoonery.

While the cow was tripping out in the country, other Yippies were besieging the standard bearers of the ruling class. In Madison, Wisconsin, Ben Masei split "his phlegm" at candidate Henry Jackson. Moments later, Aron Kay hurled a pie at William Buckley while he was giving a speech at New York University. Then 8,000 people marched through Manhattan at a Yippie smoke-in.

All this YIP activity was in rehearsal for a summer of struggle which will climax at the Republican convention in Kansas City this August. While retaining much of their original emphasis on media ZAPS, Yippies are also attempting to build a concrete, national non-authoritarian organization aimed at catalyzing the ever-present potential for free-communist direct action."

The YIP federation is producing an array of publications (its national newspaper, **Yippie Times**—is available at Box 392, Canal St. Sta. New York, N.Y. 10013), working on alternative situations, and trying to energize the collective anarchic spirit of free culture. YIP is freaking to unite the need for innovative, re-ordinated, long-term strategic organizing that has grown apparent during the Seventies, with the high-energy direct action that characterized the Sixties.

Many factors make 1976 an explosive setting that could become an organizational rebirth—despite the setbacks. Mardergate, grand jurors, genocide from Pine Ridge to Puerto Rico, the Buy-centennial, repression, Olympics, electoral chaos.

Jimmy Crack Heads and He Don't Care

It's been a bizarre election year with a tweedle dee, tweedle dum selection that makes the Nixon-Humphrey choice look like an ideological smorgasbord. The "Democrats" have swung to the right as a reaction against McGovern's "leftwing" flop at the polls in '72. For awhile it even looked as though George Wallace would do well because he seemed to have finally figured out the workings of the primary/ state organizations/convention—"political process." But

he was forced to discard his long-time slogan "Stand Up For America" and his campaign's been rolling downhill ever since. So this year southern fascism has a new face as it tries to slip into the White House. In fact, it's got two faces—Jimmy Carter!

Carter's been trying to unite behind him George Wallace reactionaries and George McGovern liberals—and his success is being proof of the "thin line" separating fascism from liberal democracy.

On the one hand this vanguard of the New South invites Bob Dylan to his home and plasters portraits of Martin Luther King on his office walls. At the same time the ole peanut plantation master says "I'm basically a red-neck. . . Lester Maddox is the essence of the Democratic party." Carter has also supported George Wallace and attended a dinner for My Lai butcher William Calley. He advocates the death penalty and right-to-work laws, while opposing abortion, and gay acts because "fornication is a sin" and "that also means between men." Just after the Kent State deaths, he vowed to send National Guardsmen with live ammunition to campuses "even before violence erupts."

How Dumb Is Gerry Ford?

Ronald Reagan agrees with Carter. In 1969, in reference to the "New Left," Reagan muttered, "If it takes a bloodbath let's get it over with. No more appeasement."

The Yippies and Gerry Ford have only one thing in common—neither of them have ever been elected president of the United States. Ford went to the White House on a football scholarship, and while some presidents are remembered for their "New Deal," the "New Frontier," or "Great Society", Ford will be remembered as the president who was dumber than Dwight Eisenhower. But he'll also be remembered for his role in the Warren Commission cover-up, his congressional attacks upon domestic civil liberties, his unconditional support of the CIA and other "defense" and "intelligence" agencies, his attacks on breakfast programs and food stamps, his pardon of Nixon who he described as a "man of integrity" . . .

200 Years of Counter-Revolution

All this political weirdness is occurring during a year in which the American people are being hyped to celebrate a "revolution." The sixties movement was successful, not just because it lent material support to the Vietnames victory, but also because it shattered the mass hard-core conservatism of the 1950's and replaced it with a new receptiveness to those alternate ideas. In 1976, the "powers-that-were" harnessed the Centennial "celebration" to whitewash the scandals of the Ulysses S. Grant administration by



"Oh say, does our star-spangled banner yet wave O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

whipping up the populace into a patriotic frenzy. This time around, America's political machine is using the Buy-Centennial to celebrate what Nixon's Watergate/credibility loss prevented the State from doing after the New Left fragmented—they hope to reinstall the 1950's Father Knows Best consciousness on a mass scale.

But it's the revolutionary Left—not Republicans or Democrats—who are the true descendants of the "Spirit of '76." Yippies look more like Thomas Paine and Paul Revere than Ford, Carter or Reagan do. Ford's a cross between Frankenstein and Bono the Clown, Carter's the 1970's Howdy Doody, and Reagan, well, voting for him is like bringing home the

bacon. YIP isn't going to partake in the theatrical restagings of the Revolution—it wants to re-enact the Revolution literally.

Go! to Kansas City

During the past year a new resistance has asserted itself. From cut-back fights in New York... to Indian struggles in South Dakota... to the fight for an independent Puerto Rico. Many revolutionaries are drifting back from political withdrawals with the realization that while one can drop out of the movement, one can't drop out of the oppression heaved upon people in this society. The new aboveground energy has been complemented by an influx of clandestine actions. The guerrillas are arming the spirit of '76.

This summer's prelude to Kansas City included numerous local YIP actions, mass demonstrations in Philadelphia on July 4, and the Democratic convention in New York (July 11-15). A mass mobilization in Kansas City (August 15-19) could top off the hottest summer in years with a consciousness rocking event.

Watergate dismembered any credibility the Republicans had. They were overwhelmed by the Democrats in the last congressional election and one GOP senator recently remarked that his party may be the "Whigs of 1976." Mass demonstrations at their convention could help hammer another nail into the GOP's electoral coffin. The GOP's political collapse in November could in-

spire the sort of political disarray that sparks a massive lack of confidence in the system and accelerates the revolutionary process.

America has accomplished to two hundred years of counter revolution! Now we come back for America. We come for a second American revolution. People are joining together in Kansas City to reclaim America from Ford, Rockefeller, Kissinger, Nixon, and all the other pigs and waterburgers.

Yippies are inviting people to crash at KC's Penn Valley Park where they'll be staging a series of high energy cultural events and protests.

Kansas City... your friends... and YOU!
Kansas City... August 15-19

Worm turns in Big Apple

In response to budget cutbacks, a new wave of militancy has swept throughout New York City over the past few months. The Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), set up to carry out cutbacks, has decided to shut down four hospitals and reduce the services of the remaining eight. One hundred community residents fought this decision by seizing a section of the Lower East Side's Gouverneur hospital, taking several staffers hostage. Fortham hospital in the Bronx has been held for two months by protesters

who are determined to ensure it will remain open after the proposed summer shut-down.

About 1,000 people picketed the EFCB offices recently to protest the scheduled closure of sixty day-care centres (serving over 10,000 young people) in July. Sixty thousand tenants of the Co-op City housing project have been on a rent strike for six months to protest a 90% rent increase over a two year period. Tenants were marched on Albany to demonstrate against a landlord sponsored

bill to eliminate most rent controls. On June 8, in protest against cutbacks in education and daycare services, close to 10,000 demonstrators marched through NYC chanting, "We got a right, we got a right, we got a right to fight—Yeah!"

Students have seized administration buildings on eleven campuses in New York. In response to the closure of the bilingual Hostos Community College, students took over and transformed it into a "people's college." After police ejected

the occupiers, arresting many, over 2,500 students took to the streets to demand its re-opening. Twenty thousand students at City College of New York held a three day strike in May to protest the imposition of tuition for the first time. Student activism has been increasing all over America—6,000 New Jersey students confronted police at the state house to protest budget cuts; 200 Boston State students crowded a board of trustees meeting to demand an end to government surveillance on campus; El Paso students boycotted classes for three days to protest the firing of a progressive college president; and other student actions have flared up from Atlanta, Georgia to Washington State.

In New York, militant students and other cutback victims are uniting with a wide range of activist groups to stage protests at the Democratic Convention in July.

The Open Road welcomes correspondence and contributions (editorial and financial). Write to:

**The Open Road
Box 6135 Station G
Vancouver, B.C. Canada**

The Movement Ethic

By Mark Brothers

The movement began in the early Sixties as an emotional outburst—we were going to end racism... stop war. The civil rights movement may have been naive, but at least it was real—we felt it. But gradually the emotional content of the movement was obscured by intellectualization. Analysis replaced outrage. Dogma replaced feeling. Upon hearing of an atrocity, we no longer felt the emphasized anguish. Sure, we would still feel some of the earlier pain, but we'd explain atrocities away as "inherent evils of capitalism." Revolution became a business as usual operation. A member of a Marxist-Leninist group summed up the Left's anti-emotionalism when she told me "only liberals cry."

During the early Seventies thousands of activists withdrew from any political involvements. Just prior to this mass exodus from the movement, the movement ethic, a set of unwritten rules which attempted to enforce revolutionary purity with such decrees as Thou Shalt Not Commit Monogamy and Thou Shalt Not Use The Black Panthers Name In vain, had reached its destructive nadir. A sullen, generally unspoken tension had fallen over the revolutionary collective. Although it was seldom discussed, most could feel their "non-political" interests slipping under a barrage of mechanized "politics." We weren't developing in a complete manner and "non-political" skills and interests disintegrated.

They studied the movement's history, but it was seldom discussed, most could feel their "non-political" interests slipping under a barrage of mechanized "politics." We weren't developing in a complete manner and "non-political" skills and interests disintegrated.

They study the movement's history, but it was seldom discussed, most could feel their "non-political" interests slipping under a barrage of mechanized "politics." We weren't developing in a complete manner and "non-political" skills and interests disintegrated.

Many other movement dropouts, turned off by the destructive internal split of the movement or the movement ethic, have gotten into self-consciousness raising. This has manifested itself in the "got my head together" syndrome of country trips, primal therapy, gurus, movement "retirements"... "politics are bad vibes and people into politics are fucked up." These people envisage politics in the narrow sense of electoralism and alienation rather than the original Greek definition of politics including culture, sensuality, economics... and they've cultivated an artificial distinction between "the political" and "the personal." But as Marion Brandt pointed out after filming "The Godfather", capitalism fosters this split between politics and personal life. On a personal level, the mafiosi were "good family men." Obviously, their personal lives were totally divorced from the violent reality of their "business lives." The split is also expressed by the "middle America" attitude which felt killing people in Vietnam was alright because it was political while smoking marijuana was abhorrent because it was social/personal.

These attitudes are quite understandable because what is considered "politics" in society is, in fact, undeniably alienating, objectified and lifeless. Since people have no control over the political apparatus, they naturally feel a distinction between their lives and politics. Politics is a distant process run by, and for, someone else. Thus, the activities of those involved in politics (and the politicians themselves) are also thought to be distant from the reality of one's life. One who's into music, dope, the country—virtually any "apolitical" trip—is considered to be "together", while those involved in "politics" are considered heavy, lifeless politicians.

Activists who have viewed politics in the accepted, narrow sense have artificially separated their political and personal development. They look at the desolation of their existence and conclude that the problem must be their "political lives." They're wrong. Our actions go beyond conventional politics and our vision of social/political revolution has nothing to do with heavy politicians or bureaucratized political apparatus. There is nothing impersonal about running one's own life and attempting to help a society in which people aren't treated like shit. Our political interests are as personal as any other part of ourselves.

Each activist's involvement is personally motivated. From genuine altruistic motivations... to those who embrace a mechanized version of politics that they can hide their personal problems behind... to egotistical reasons... to combinations of all these things. Our commitment to revolution is as intensely personal as it is objectively political. Anytime one voluntarily devotes themselves with such energy and love, to an ideal, they are motivated by intense, complex/psychological factors. Revolutionaries who cling to the narrow definition of politics (the notion that politics is non-personal) are little but political automatons who only perceive rational motivations without ever understanding emotional impulses.

Those who feel they can get their heads together by withdrawing from politics aren't only engaging in bad politics, what they're trying to accomplish is also impossible. If it were possible to be completely fulfilled, content and happy now, there would be no purpose for revolution and everything we've done during the past few years would be needless. The goal of revolution is to create a society in which one can be fulfilled, content, happy... it can't happen in a disoriented, competitive society. This is not to say that personal development and dealing with specific personal idiosyncrasies isn't valid or even necessary. Rather, it suggests that the only ultimate therapeutic solution to personal fuck-ups is the establishment of a co-operative society through social revolution. Personal development is intricately entwined with social conditions. For instance, a buddhist meditator may have been considered to have a so-called pure consciousness in 1960 even if he or she was sexist because anti-sexist consciousness was minimal at that point. Definitions are molded by social phenomena. One's concept of pure consciousness didn't necessarily include anti-sexism in 1960 because the women's movement didn't draw attention to sexism, on a mass social level, until the latter Sixties.

Some self-consciousness raisers make concerted efforts to consciously "lay back" and divorce themselves from politics. But our natural energy is full of enough personal vitality that we don't even have to consciously create lay-back moments. Others have gotten into destructive individualistic trips. "I just wanna be in a media collective... I'll write an occasional article," they volunteer. We can't afford to limit our commitment to revolution. We don't have a choice. Revolution isn't like John Chancellor depicts it when he makes it sound like the Portuguese drag straws to determine which ideological camp each belongs to. "Now, here are 60,000 socialists... over there we've got 40,000 capitalists... here are 140,000 far leftists... there are the 10 fascists." To him, people are interchangeable.

But we're not drawing straws. Our very lives depend on the destruction of capitalism. Some people at this stage will only be into working on an alternate materialist mode of organization or being vocal in a silent solidarity with political rebellion. These feelings should be encouraged. But those of us committed to revolution must be prepared to look at conditions, then do what must be done. Activities cannot revolve simply around one's own whims. Our lives depend on freedom and a united strategy for attaining it.

It is morally reprehensible for one, who has attained a revolutionary consciousness, to blithely lay back while society and comrades have to reconstruct. One can be free so long as one person is oppressed. A society which promotes oppression confronts everyone's liberatory development and sensibilities.

The Sixties slogan "All Power to the People," shrouded the immediacy of revolution. We aren't having a revolution solely to free everyone else. We also fight to liberate ourselves. While we must remain compassionate to all people's suffering, our revolution is not limited to liberating an amorphous, abstract "people." Revolutionaries are people too. We must stress that a social revolution is necessary before we, as individuals, can breath freedom. Only an insignificant percentage of people in any society will devote their lives to an abstract theory. We must relate to people on an emotional level and through programs which tangibly change the tangible lives. People uninterested in movements immersed in abstract ideology, could be attracted to a movement which fuses the liberation of all with self-liberation. Our revolution combines selflessness with self-realization, neither of which can blossom in a capitalist society. Revolution is a pre-requisite to either individual or collective freedom. Thus, in addition to all its social/altruistic consequences, a revolutionary practice is the most productive method of engaging in self-development. In 1972 Dr. Ajay Lyons, a Buddhist psychiatrist, conducted a detailed study of the effects of "civil unrest" on the mental health of his Irish patients. After the first full year of confrontations, he found "a significant decrease" in depressive illness. If a little demonstration is good for your health, just imagine what a revolution will do for you!

SLA rethinks vanguard role

continued from p. 8

Match and individual contributors to the *SRAP Bulletin* were quick to pick up the agent provocateur, rude authoritarian... dangerous fools theme. Only **Black Flag**, the Yippies, and Martin Sostre from prison took a position of critical support for the SLA in the darkest hours.

Without a doubt it was the SLA's poor choice of targets, their bellicose military style and apparently vanguardist approach which led many people to reject them completely. Many radicals did not give them credit for the ability to change in difficult circumstances or to learn from their mistakes and from principled criticism.

In retrospect, Bill Harris points out, "We never had the sense that the SLA was the vanguard of revolutionary struggle in this country. Ain't no way that a handful of people are going to make a revolution by themselves... We felt that certain tactics had to be tested and developed and their potentials for success be demonstrated."

Joe Remiro now feels that "all forms of revolutionary organization should act as a catalyst within the popular movement and should be structured in such a way that eventually they can be completely absorbed by the popular movement. We not only believe that people have the ability to create a new society but also that they have the ability to lead themselves. The idea of a "new" dictatorship (even if it's of the proletariat) or of using an assembly line as the model for a "new" society doesn't come close to what we're fighting for. Actually it bears more than a slight resemblance to the kind of oppressive society we intend to change. We want a revolutionary change, not a shift of power—our struggle is for social revolution."

With the main experience of the SLA behind them the survivors are able to communicate more freely about details of the controversial actions undertaken by the group. The assassination of Oakland school superintendent

dent Marcus Foster who was the architect of cops in the schools program, was the SLA's most unpopular act and all the survivors (none of whom were members of the organization at the time) view his killing as a political error of judgement. Russ Little and Joe Remiro, who were convicted of the Foster slaying and are presently serving life terms, had nothing to do with the planning, execution, or aftermath of the assassination. They are political prisoners confined merely because they belong to an unpopular organization.

Self-Criticism

Of the Foster action Russ Little says: "I think one of the main problems that became apparent with the Foster-killing was the 'vanguard' mentality of the SLA: the idea that revolutionaries have to take action for the people—lead them—whether people understand it or not. It's a paternalistic attitude. People in the SLA knew that Foster's program was a prototype and figured they could stop it by killing him and Blackburn and scaring the school board."

According to Remiro, "Killing Foster put a quick stop to the intended program, but, in effect, it subverted the spontaneous opposition of students, parents and teachers to the program. There had been student strikes, petitions, leaflets and a lot of hell-raising at school board meetings. Afterwards, those who had been calling Foster a fascist pig started making statements about what a good guy he had been, not because they believed it but because they were afraid of being associated with the people who shot him."

The political kidnapping of Patty Hearst in many ways grew out of the failure of the Foster assassination. The entire Hearst operation was hastily pulled together after the freak arrests of Remiro and Little had severely weakened the organization's infrastructure. Emily Harris maintains, "The Hearst kidnapping was intended to win

continued on p. 30



Emily and Bill Harris

NEW WAVE OF PROTEST MUSIC

Holly Near - An intimate voice for freedom

By Suzanne Fournier

"People in the movement are desperate for music that speaks to them and to their lives; music that is created by activists with whom they can identify," says Holly Near. As one of the "stars" of a new wave of dynamic people's music, she has first-hand experience of the enthusiasm that politically-oriented music can generate.

Not that people's music is new: The Left has a long tradition of music tied into labour, anti-imperialist and anti-racist movements — Pete Seeger, the Weavers, Melvin Reynolds and others record music that went underground during the McCarthy era, and is only now surfacing in a new form. Near herself grew up with her start with the Indochina Peace Campaign tours, she

Because much of her material is written and produced with a long-time musical companion, Jeffrey Langley, Near speculates that perhaps those songs aren't purely women's music, though the back-up role Langley takes on piano is, she feels, a lesson in supportiveness to other men, who may assume they have to take power or disappear altogether.

Her album, *Holly Near Live*, includes "Get Off Me, Baby," a blues song without what Near calls the traditional kick-me, beat-me women's blues lyrics. On the album she comments, "I would guess that it's a very difficult time to be a white male. It's just that, to see me, you had to share with other children and have been having a hard time for such a

"Water Come Down", dedicated to "the last of the great small farmers", derives from her childhood on a cattle ranch in northern California. Water was pleasure to the children, but: "To Dad, it means another way to spend his life on earth. . . Water is so scarce and we knew we had to share. With other thirsty crops—we had to take it when it was there."

Her songs also take the lives of workers—"Laid Off" deals with a situation every working class family is intimately acquainted with: "You know we need the money, you know we need it bad/The money that he's drinking is the last that we had."

"Old Time Woman" says young people should accept the lessons of experience without sentimentalism: "She took my swollen cheeks

puts special responsibilities on everyone else: "It could have been me, but instead it was you/So I'll keep doing the work you were doing as if I were you/If you can live free, freedom, freedom, freedom, freedom/If you can die for freedom I can too."

Despite her dedication to dealing with women's lives, including her own, in strongly political terms, Near's following extends beyond the women's community. Asked her feelings on performing in the same kind of intense, woman-identified, what women concerts as those of singer, and lesbian-feminist, Meg Christian, Near is enthusiastic, and aware of the conflicts the situation creates for those left out. To her, all-woman concerts are crucial in nurturing a budding woman's consciousness; even if there's one man present, no matter how politically conscious and supportive he is, he can represent the oppressor to a woman who doesn't know him. Near wants to guide women into an important insight—that it's OK for women to be alone together, and enjoy each other's company.

After an all-woman concert, Near gets letters from men, and women, who feel excluded. "I have to leave somebody out," she points out. "For example, I can't speak to Third World people as directly as someone else can."

Cultural Work

However, Holly's not prepared to compromise her priorities as a "cultural worker," and she feels her commitment must be to use the talents and skills being passed on her by her class

privilege to reach the widest number of people possible.

As well as providing music for people starved for culture relevant to their own lives she is trying to make it possible for more people to create their own. If she weren't a performer? — "I'd be a cultural worker. . . developing schools to give people access to cultural things."

Holly feels that this is another area where women are taking the lead. "Women's music," in whatever sense, has long been dominated by women who have the leisure to develop their craft and the money to market it by travelling cross-country. With the widening scope of the women's movement, spanning racial and class barriers, music has begun to open up, to admit all different kinds of women.

Near is enthusiastic about Olivia Record's music first all-woman recording company, which already produces the work of artists like Meg Christian, Margie Adam and

Cris Williamson. "I respect what they're doing a lot," she says. "They'll search to the ends of the earth to find a woman who has a particular skill, and if they can't find a woman, they'll get a man who can train a woman." She points out that besides paving a new path towards developing a music free of male-dominated culture, Olivia is also giving women respectable jobs and teaching them invaluable skills.

Her own record company, Redwood Records, is mainly a vehicle for Holly's music, though the albums feature the collaboration of many other musicians. For someone with Holly's professional,

polished presentation, the question of whether she will go on to a major record company is inevitable. Reviewers, while acclaiming her style, wonder where she'll go next. Richard Cromelin of the LA Times says: "There's little doubt that Holly Near could command a large concert audience, or a sophisticated club crowd, or a nation of television viewers—virtually any group of listeners imaginable."

The fact that Near's records are self-produced puts her out of the reach of corporate-owned and controlled Top-40 AM radio, which restricts its playlist to major recording companies. However, AM is listened to by millions who can't afford the FM radio or private stereo that give Holly her usual exposure. "In a way, I'm real glad we've done it ourselves," Near says, "otherwise it might have destroyed my spirit to hassle with companies."

A compromise — Helen Reddy has recorded Holly's "Get Off Me, Baby" and while Holly states she's not a real fan of Top 40 artistry and arrangement, "that song's going to go into the living rooms of a lot of women who otherwise would never hear it." Meanwhile her latest album is enjoying good sales as it receives wide and enthusiastic reviews.

In the absence of Top-40 airplay Near chooses to bring her message to the people in a more satisfying way by going on tour — up to four months a year. Her most recent was an all-woman tour with Meg Christian, Cris Williamson and Margie Adam which concluded inside the California Institute for Women, a prison with a high level of militancy. Using petitions and strikes, CIW prisoners had forced authorities to abandon a planned Behavior-modification program.

"It was a real powerful concert," says Holly. "We almost didn't get inside, but when we did the women were really excited. At first it seemed like we were just four white, middle-class privileged women, but then they started listening to what we were saying." Politically, Near feels the prison movement to combat cruel and inhumane conditions has to be initiated by women inside, in whatever form necessary, and it's up to those outside, like herself, to provide support through the use of the special privilege and power.

Holly Near's immediate plans, following a hectic tour schedule, are to take it easy for the summer, while reviewing her recording future with the Redwood Records collective. Maybe a Michigan tour with Meg Christian and Canada. "Say hello to all those Vancouver women—maybe see you in the fall!"

Holly's albums are available from Redwood Records, 565 Doolin Canyon, Ukiah, Calif. 95482.

"I'd hate to think that I'd put a lot of energy into a revolution that didn't respect the dignity of women."

says: "The anti-war movement dismissed cultural things. It was more efficient to dispense information with speakers and leaflets. People are just starting to take an interest in cultural things — music, the graphic arts, dance." This cultural trend is creating a new style of music that raises consciousness (especially women's), ties in complex social and political issues, and empowers individualizes the personal with respect to the political.

It's not surprising that women are in the forefront of this new tendency in people's music. Holly Near herself proves that; she's among the better-known of politically-oriented musicians, with several CDs, and a couple of world tours behind her, and a third album—produced outside the music world's corporate hype—with projected sales of 30,000.

Women's Music

But Near rejects the assumption that because she's among an emerging group of musicians which includes Bev Grant, Meg Christian and Cris Williamson that the growing cultural divide and movement could be labelled simply "women's music." "Women don't necessarily all agree," Near says in a telephone interview from her home in Ukiah, California. "The first discoveries of the women's movement were glorious, but we've gone on from there to realize some of us are heading in different directions."

She feels at this stage of confusion that it's a mistake to confine people's music, which is drawn from a history of people's struggles, with women's music, which comes from the tentative beginnings, or the revival, of what may be an autonomous women's culture.

"Women's energy is real full right now," Near adds, "and there's a tendency for all different kinds of movements to capitalize on that."

long time, it's gotta get changed."

Politics of Music

Near doesn't separate her music from her political philosophy ("Music is political, it's used against us all the time—advertising and Muzak. It just depends what your politics are.") and consequently many of her songs reflect her basic concerns about racism and classism. Her strong anti-imperialism in the *Hang in There* album grasp the problems of racism and imperialism straight on, as in "No More Genealogy." "Why are the weapons of the war so young? Why are there only older men around when it's done? Why are so many of our soldiers black or brown? Do we say it's because they're good at cutting yellow people down?"

The patriarchy, however, is older than capitalism and imperialism. "I'd hate to put a lot of energy into a revolution that didn't respect the dignity of women and that gave us back the same sexist situations." Spending an evening in a lesbian bar, she points out, will show women their ages, races and backgrounds dancing with each other, unified by the fear and anger the patriarchy has for the concept of women loving women. Women have to see their struggle as crossing over all national and racial boundaries to form new societies free of the degradations of sexism. As she says in "Sister, Woman, Sister," from her latest album, *You Can Know All I Am*: "You still feel any pain? Or have they robbed you of your anger, while putting poison in your brain."

Near's songs often take off from her own life and then become universalized. But she also captures the lives of people in diverse situations, revealing to the listener complex tapestry of human perceptions and experiences.

in hand and made me look her in the eye/She said if I had not suffered, you wouldn't be wearing those jeans/Being an old-time woman ain't as bad as it seems. And "GI Movement" reminds us that soldiers are people first: "about those women who wait at home for the kind of foot-loose men she meets on tour. She asks the men: "I wonder what you tell her when she's lonely/To pacify her for another day/Does she put the kids to bed, then read or watch TV/While you're out being someone you want to be?"

Perhaps Near's most famous song is "It Could Have Been Me," dedicated to the four Kent State students killed by the National Guard in 1970 while protesting the war in Southeast Asia. It lies in many of her themes: "Students: "You can't bury youth, my friend/Youth grows the whole world round. . . . In national struggle: "The junta took the fingers from Victor Jara's hands/They said to the gentle poet, 'Play your guitar now if you can/Well, Victor started singing until they shot his body down/You can kill a man but not a song when it's sung the whole world round.'"

Solidarity among women: "A woman in the jungle so many wars away/Studies late into the night, defends a village in the day/Although her skin is golden, like mine will never be/Her song is heard and I know the words and I'll sing them 'til she is free."

Special Responsibilities

Near's conclusion is that people's pain and suffering



'They destroyed my bookstore and they had me in a cage

Black Puerto Rican anarchist Martin Sostre recently won his release from prison after a nine year ordeal of "torture, brutality and racism."

Martin was arrested in his Afro-African Bookstore shortly after the ghetto rebellion in Buffalo during the summer of 1967. Since the state couldn't implicate him in any illegal political activity, he was booked on contrived dope charges and brought before a white judge and an all-white jury where he was bound, gagged and sentenced to 30-41 years.

The prosecution's chief witness later recanted his testimony and admitted his involvement in the police frame-up. The arresting officer was later indicted himself for stealing over \$300,000 worth of heroin from the police laboratory. But Martin remained in prison. For nine years he was subjected to beatings, solitary confinement and more trials. And for nine years he was unwavering in his resistance. He refused to submit to rectal examinations or shave his beard. He organized unions, led strikes, started a prison newspaper, wrote articles, wrote pamphlets, and became a self-taught jailhouse lawyer, winning many landmark decisions for prisoners.

Because of Martin's courageous resistance and his organizational skills, an international movement coalesced around the demand for his release. The London based Amnesty International wrote that he had been imprisoned, "not for his crimes, but for his ideas." Finally, after years of rallies, letters, petitions, sit-ins and actions, New York Governor Carey succumbed to the pressure and granted Martin clemency last December.

Martin's making plans to open another bookstore. He's also working through New York assemblywoman Marie Runyon's office so he can have access to the prisons where he continues to work with inmates, working in housing court to assist tenants in their struggle against slumlords, and maintaining and expanding the activities of his defense committees. *The Open Road* recently spoke with Martin in his office in Harlem.

Q—While in prison you became a 'jailhouse lawyer.' When did you get into law and what effects on prison life have your suits had?

A—Well, as you know, I did a previous sentence in the fifties and that's when I became a jailhouse lawyer. As a jailhouse lawyer I was fortunate to have won quite a few victories that advanced the struggle for human rights. Many call it prisoners' rights but I don't make any separation, basically it's human rights because this is a prison out here too. As long as you are oppressed by the State and the State is in control this is a minimum security prison. Inside is maximum security.

So I won the right to read the type of literature, political literature, that prisoners were denied; the right to send letters to your attorney without them being censored; the right to not be put in the box (solitary confinement) arbitrarily by any flunky hack without being notified of the charges in advance and without going through some sort of trial, although it's a sham. They pervert everything, but now they have to give you charges in advance and you have a right to defend yourself in a little bullshit hearing. Whereas before some pig would grab you and say "okay, you're going to the box." And that was it. You wouldn't find out what you were going for until after you were in. I also won the right to help other prisoners in their legal actions. Before, if you were a jailhouse lawyer and they caught you with another prisoner's papers that you were helping him with, that would be enough grounds to put you in the box. In my previous sentence I also won the right of Muslims to practice their religion.

Q—Your legal suit, Sostre vs. Rockefeller, modified use of rectal searches, but after another inmate, Jimmy Sullivan, overheard guards "plot and plan" to either kill you or charge you with attacking them, you were beaten by seven guards for refusing to submit to a rectal, then convicted of assaulting them. Could you elaborate on that incident a bit?

A—Yeah, sure. In 1970, when federal judge Motley first ruled that the rectal examination was dehumanizing and degrading, it would have seemed that the rectal examination would be prohibited, but it was not. You're dealing with a closed society (in prison). They have thirty foot walls. They have gun towers. Nobody can go in. We lost an important decision last year challenging the right of the press to go in. The courts ruled that the press could not go into a prison unless they were allowed by the warden. So they get away with anything

dehumanization. To me it's a worse injury to do that than to take that beating from those seven goons. At least I would maintain my personhood and I would maintain my spirit unbroken. They destroyed my bookstore and they had me in a cage but one thing they could never take was my personhood and my personal freedom and that was what I held onto all those years.

Q—How could they rationalize accusing you of assaulting them? What happened in the trial itself?

A—Well, it's just like out here in the street when you get stopped by a cop, especially if you have long hair, a beard, or show any lifestyle that is contrary to the system. I spent years in solitary because of this quarter inch beard. If the police out here want to shake you down just because they don't like your attire or your demeanor or your lifestyle and you refuse and question, "What are you gonna shake me

your attorney and friends.

"When the pig tells them "bend over boy," they bend over. And as I said, they leer at them and make sexist remarks while they're bending. They would tell them "okay, shave those sideburns" because they have the rule there where your sideburns are not supposed to extend below your ear lobes. "You got too much fuzz under your chin. Shave it." Your moustache is not supposed to extend below the corners of your mouth. The length of your hair is not supposed to be below the collar of your shirt. Yet these people who cooperate worse beads when they came in. When they were arrested they had long hair. They wore long sideburns down to their jaws but now, all of a sudden they've become straight because the pig tells them to do these things. And they don't question. They'll accept anything, any injustice that is heaped upon them. They'll not only obey like a slave, but they'll cooperate and persons like me who resist become more or less like the enemy. These cooperators consider us a threat because we're rocking the boat, we're making the prison officials angry and they figure this will bring repression down — don't make the prison officials tighten up on what we're little crumbs they're getting. Just like out here the way some of the Left went against the SLA and go against any comrade who wants to do more than just spout rhetoric or quote Marx. Right away they say that this is "anti-revolutionary" and they'll label you a "terrorist" that you cause repression to come down on them, while they aren't even doing anything. They'll use the same terms as the straight press. The way so-called movement papers came down on the SLA was indistinguishable from the straight press.

Q—Some people have made the point that it wasn't the SLA that brought down repression on the left, but rather the left that brought down repression on the SLA.

A—Exactly. These righteous cooperators, inside or outside, are cooperating with the system, thinking it will give them certain privileges or leave them alone and let them do their thing. For example, when we had the plateshop strike these righteous cooperators started going around urging people not to join the strike. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons why it failed. We only got forty out of about two hundred so they locked up the forty and broke the strike. Yet when the benefits accrue or we make a breakthrough, when we further the cause of human rights, they'll be right there benefiting from them as prisoners because every little thing we gained affects all prisoners, cooperators or non-cooperators. So these are not only righteous cooperators. These are parasites that lay on the side and criticize you but when you achieve a victory against the enemy that furthers the cause of freedom they'll be right there with their plate out getting some of the goodies.

Q—Prisoners' unions and prisoner support groups have been formed all over North America. Do you foresee a national prisoner's union or organization of some sort developing?

A—Yes, eventually. It's gonna be hard because prison officials have fought us bitterly; have used the repressive instruments of solitary confinement, clubbings, gassings, denial of parole, the threat of an additional sentence on top of what you're serving. This has a deterrent effect upon the overwhelming majority of prisoners. Then they'll use the righteous cooperators and their snitchers in the population to spread the gospel of "cool it" of "don't follow those troublemakers" of "keep your nose clean" of "you're gonna get in trouble and you'll never get out," to spread fear among the prisoners. Just like they do here. They've their agent provocateurs and propagandists who are hanging out in the neighbourhoods spreading the State's gospel.

In an atmosphere like prison where one is separated from his or her loved ones, the

The Open Road Interview with **MARTIN SOSTRE**

they want and again I refer to outside in this minimum security prison. Didn't the U.S. Supreme Court, the highest court in the land, rule in the Brown decision — Brown versus Board of Education — that segregation was outlawed and that all schools were supposed to be integrated and yet, what's happening in Boston now, in 1976? If they violate and disregard the law out here you can imagine what they're doing in a closed society. So they continued to arbitrarily subject prisoners to rectal examinations. If you refused they would bring a goon squad of seven to assault you.

I have refused each and every time, quoting federal Judge Motley's ruling on the rectal examination. But they didn't pay that any mind. They used to bring the goon squad to beat me up and force me. After they had me down they'd assault me. One had his foot on my neck; another one in my back; one had my arm; another was hanging onto my arm spread-eagle; one grabbed a leg and pulled it as far as he could to one side; another one pulled it to the other side. To use Jimmy Sullivan's language, when he testified, "Gee, I thought they were gonna cut him in half." And I was very sore all in my crotch because of that.

So this is the sort of stuff they did, especially when you don't have anything. They don't let you have any personal property in the hole (solitary), not even a straight pin. So what are they looking for? If you don't have anything except your law books and the toothpaste and toothbrush that they give you, what could they be looking for in your asshole? This is just to dehumanize you. When you bend over and spread them, they'll be leering and saying, "Yeah, look at that asshole he's got." Three or four of them saying, "I'd like to ram this club up in there" and stuff like that. Well, I'm not going to submit to that sort of

down for? What are you looking for? Do you have a warrant? Am I a . . . Shut up! Get up there against the wall! And if you question them further they will assault you, throw you up against the car or bend you over the hood of the car, beat your ass, shake you down. Then in order to cover up for their brutality they arrest you, put you in the police car, take you to the police station and book you for resisting arrest and assaulting an officer. You'll end up with a gang of charges in order to justify their assault on you.

This is a favorite device of making the victim the criminal and making themselves the victim. So here's a fifty-one year old man charged with assaulting a goon squad of seven guards. They're all football players. They don't have any small pigs on that goon squad. They're all overgrown, half my age and six footers that weight anywhere from two to three hundred pounds. Here I am in solitary confinement, buck naked and I weigh only a hundred and sixty-five pounds. Yet the jury believed them and found me guilty of jumping on a goon squad of seven guards.

Q—You've criticized what you call "righteous co-operators." Self-described revolutionaries who don't act to end injustices upon themselves and others.

A—Yeah, during the time I was in the box I resisted their rectal examinations and resisted the beard. Before that in Auburn and in Walkill prisons I organized unions. I helped organize a plateshop strike in Auburn prison where they make the license plates for the whole state of New York.

While I was resisting, the overwhelming majority of the prisoners were cooperating in their own oppression; because of repressive acts, solitary confinement, threat of loss of parole, threat of a beating, the threat of being denied visits from your loved ones,

but one thing they could never take was my personhood.'

repression is many times more effective. Many times I was the only one resisting the rectal examination in the box, out of thirty-five or forty and out of a total population in the prison of two thousand. Occasionally I would get one or two to join me but as soon as I did that they slipped them off to another prison. At Clinton prison which has a population of about 1,800 to 2,000, there was never at one time, more than four resisting the rectal examination. Four out of two thousand. You can see what the odds are.

Now mind you, there's quite a few prisoners who call themselves revolutionaries but they are just like some of these revolutionaries, militarily, who shoot out guns who are that only in words and not deeds.

Q—What sorts of things did you do to keep yourself busy during your daily prison routine? I read that you practiced yoga.

A—Yes, I've been a yogi since 1956. The first thing I do in the morning, after I wash up and cleanse my nasal passages, are my yoga exercises. However, the type of yoga I practice is unlike the traditional yoga. I pick physical and mental combat against myself physically and mentally fit, not with a view to achieve nirvana or further my incarnation because I don't believe in that, so I'm not trying to achieve that, but to strengthen myself in order to be able to fight oppression. If you're going to be a real yogi you'll have to isolate yourself from the mundane things. You're going to have to concern yourself, like most yogis I've read about, with just self-annoyance. You'll have to become a righteous cooperater because the yogis of the past, despite all of the outstanding things they did, never attacked the oppressor. Especially in India where they were just concerned with their own reincarnations and became oblivious to suffering. In fact, they rationalized it away as the way things are supposed to be, that you have to go through all the different reincarnations to achieve whatnot.

I'm a revolutionary yogi just like I'm a revolutionary anarchist and my exercise, everything that I do, is to prepare myself for physical and mental combat against the repressive State in the struggle to overthrow it. Besides, I love too many things in this world. I love women; I love sex; I love money; I love to get high — marijuana, you know what I mean. So I'm not about to give up any of these things, to isolate myself in a cave and do away with worldly things. I love worldly things but only in the context of, first, to destroy this repressive State and replace it with an egalitarian society; and, second, to spread the goodies that have been monopolized by a very few so that all of us can live in relative luxury because there's enough on this planet for all of us. And, like I said, these things are here for us to enjoy and I'm not about to deny myself and my fellow comrades any of the good things in this world.

So this is the type of unorthodox yoga that has been effective as far as my resisting. As you can see I'm fifty-three years old and I'm still in shape. I attribute it partly to that. I have been able to resist and keep my spirit from being broken to a large degree because of my physical and mental discipline, and to me this is a weapon. Just like money is even a weapon. Money is bullets to be used against the system. I'm not adverse to money at all.

Q—In 1967 weren't you really busted for operating a radical bookstore and organizing in the black community, rather than the contrived dope charges on which you were prosecuted?

A—Yes, I was, along with many others. That's the way the State deals with its dissenters. My store was more than just a radical bookstore. It was a hangout. It was a place where I persuaded people from the very beginning it was what Che Guevara called a fero, only on a small scale. It was the only bookstore that sold that type of literature in Buffalo and it was raising consciousness. It became the hangout for the street youths,

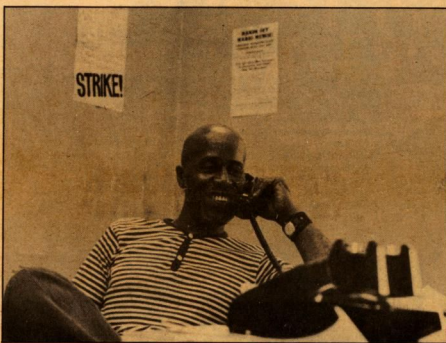
many of whom participated in the rebellion during the long hot summer. That was what brought everything to a head. When they saw the same youths who were hanging out in the bookstore, out in the street participating in the rebellion, they decided to frame me and destroy the bookstore.

The rebellion was a spontaneous thing, unlike what they put in the papers — that I was paying them to riot, using the basement to teach them how to make molotov cocktails and all of that. This was a spontaneous thing, just like all the other rebellions throughout the country during the long hot summer. It grew out of the repression of the State, the racism and police brutality under which the black and Puerto Rican community had been suffering for so long. It finally reached the point, like a boiler when the pressure of steam has no outlet, where it just exploded into spontaneous rebellion and naturally they sought a

you see as most open to revolutionary ideas at this time?

A—Well, as I said, the cultural revolution is a segment of revolution. So I believe that it's wrong to abandon it and not mobilize it to raise consciousness. As long as you don't get caught up in just a narrow cultural bag, I think culture is a very important aspect to be used on a global scale to show the interrelationship between different cultures and how they're co-opted by the system to be used for oppression.

I don't have too much hope in the working class myself, just concentrating on the working class. The lumpen is a different story. They're the ones I concentrate on, who I have my faith in. I'll leave working with workers to others. The lumpen is the class that I relate to, that I come from as the detonnators of the revolution as far as I'm concerned. It's the lowest and most oppressed class. Of course the revolutions have



scapegoat. So I became the scapegoat and they buried me with forty-one years in prison.

Q—Many of the young people who were attracted to the state had started coming around when you began blasting music out into the street from it. What relationship do you see between culture and the revolutionary process?

A—Well, culture is a weapon. I've always said, we have to employ all means necessary, and culture is part of the revolutionary struggle. It projects revolution and attracts masses. The interpretation of the progressive aspects of culture, of art forms, of every aspect of society has to be mobilized to raise the consciousness of the people and get the message over. Culture should always be used as a medium to project our revolutionary anarchist message — through plays, movies, performing, lifestyles, dress, language, art, dance, music, posters. If the artist is projecting raised consciousness and interpreting the revolution in simple strokes of his pen or brush a poster is a very effective form. In fact, I used them at the bookstore after the pigs broke my windows and there was a fire next door. The freedom put the hose in the bookstore to destroy and water down my books, and I had to put plywood on the windows. I never closed. I put up wall posters and cut out clippings from the newspapers to make the plywood panels and there were replacing the glass into a neighbourhood bulletin board. I got the idea from the Chinese wall posters. They used them very effectively.

Q—Recently, many Leftists have abandoned the cultural revolution and subordinated such struggles as those against sexism and racism to strictly organizing the working class. How do you view this development and which people in this society do

been taken over by others. But these are the ones who have started the process, the detonnators, the ones who go out in the street. Blacks, in the forties and the fifties, were the ones that were out; the ones that rebelled. Later on, other groups followed their acts — protests, marches and whatnot. They're the ones who opened the doors and fought in the courts and on every level. In the same way, the feminist struggle from way back — the old feminists like Emma Goldman — has also been in the forefront. Groups like the unemployed, Third World people and prisoners are among the most oppressed so they're the ones who rebel. The others who are not as oppressed naturally don't have the incentive.

Q—You were in prison during an era of cultural and political upheaval. What impression of the revolutionary level of struggle did you have during your incarceration and what's your reaction to what you've found since your release? Has it lived up to your expectations?

A—Not really. I've found the spirit among the masses is not at the height of the Sixties. As you know, in 1967 the Black Panther Party had been in existence one year. SDS was really at its height in all the colleges. The Young Lords were organized just about that year. And there were many other politically dynamic groups that had fired the consciousness of the dynamic element of our society, particularly the youth. Also, the anti-Vietnam War movement was at its height then.

However, now all that has changed. Cointelpro, J. Edgar Hoover and the revelations now of the different programs they had to infiltrate and destroy the Left and frame up, kill, assassinate and everything — they finally destroyed that spirit.

Partly because of the repressive State and their FBI-Hoover programs. Partly

because of the mistakes made and short-sightedness of the anti-war movement which was merely a one issue deal, mostly having its base on college campuses. It never established any bases or roots in the community, so when the Vietnam War ended, the anti-Vietnam war movement ended. Because of this and because of different sellouts, I've noticed a lot of cynicism out here. Because of the turnaround that some of the Black Panther leaders have gone through, like Bobby Seale with his tie and coat on — the good Democrat. After advocating destroying the pig system he tried to join it. And because of the sellout of many other leaders who have been co-opted by the system; by money or positions, anti-sexy jobs given to them, desks put in front of them. They sold out their original commitment.

This has made a lot of people cynical. They don't want to hear shit when you approach them. People who have suffered, who were in the Black Panther Party and the various organizations. Many were injured, had their heads beat in various demonstrations, had their eyes burned with gas, were fished out and arrested and spent a tremendous amount of time putting out leaflets and financing some of the activities, and they're very cynical now. They aren't going for any more rhetoric. It's harder to get people. There's fewer naive people now. Fewer receptive people who will listen, who will try. They don't want to hear anything. Now everyone is into doing their own thing, as they say, which usually means nothing.

However, I've noticed another level of struggle, a much deeper and heavier level: the proliferation of underground groups, the guerrilla, particularly on the west coast. Here in New York, the Black Liberation Army is an outgrowth of the Panthers. Many of the BLA cadre are ex-Panthers, ex-Panther 21 who were tried. On the west coast you find the many of the members of those guerrilla groups belonged to one of the radical groups. You have the Weather Underground who were part of the SDS, had their roots in SDS. And many other groups are building their own underground is proliferating, building its network, preparing for the upcoming struggle which will involve persons at all levels. And this is a good sign.

Q—Shortly after the Hearst kidnapping, you wrote that it's "the duty of all to support by all means our SLA comrades." How do you feel about the SLA now?

A—Yes, I feel that we should support our comrades who are in the hands of the State because their struggle is our struggle and if we allow them to go down without any support, as we have been doing, eventually this will become the thing to do. We've been letting standup comrades go down, like Lolita Lebrón and other Puerto Rican nationalists. We haven't supported them like we should on a priority basis. We have to defend our own — all comrades of conscience who have put their lives on the line, who have opposed the State, who have risked their butts in doing so when they didn't have to. This should mean something to us and we should stop the little petty ideological struggles we have and look at the substance. These comrades are being snuffed by the state and for us to stand by as if nothing is happening puts us in the category of righteous cooperators, acquiescers in the unjust incarceration and maybe death of these comrades.

Q—Have you been in contact with the SLA since their bust and what sort of development have they gone through, as far as you know?

A—Oh, yes. Very much so. As a matter of fact, a few weeks ago we had a fund-raising get-together in attorney Bill Kunstler's house where I spoke to Bill and Emily Harris, Bill and Emily and Joe Rembo and Russ Little are seriously looking into

Continued p. 28

The American Indian Movement:

Grassroots power builds a new nation

By Betty Noir

Despite what the newspapers and TV say, there's more to the American Indian Movement than do-or-die militancy enlivened by a flair for the dramatic. Behind all the paraphernalia and the hoopla of the Indian cultural and spiritual renaissance, and regardless of the grandstanding of some AIM "leaders," there has been a fairly consistent commitment to building a decentralized, democratic movement and to establishing a communal Indian way-of-life based on grass-roots, consensual politics.

As one AIM activist puts it, "We have never gone any place without being invited by the chiefs and the elders, and we have never gone anywhere without a medicine man." Far from rendering AIM hidebound and passive, this approach, when followed, has obliged the organization to closely integrate itself with native life on the reservations and in the urban ghettos and to operate as a sort of label for whatever militant action the locals are undertaking.

AIM sees itself as "non-political" in the sense that it tends to (sometimes complacently) leave it to the traditional Indian leaders to define their ideal political and social institutions. But it does pose a definite anti-authoritarian alternative to those "radical" Indian groups which generally see the Indian people working out their liberation in a Marxist context. In fact, many AIM people are so strongly anti-Marxist (red-baiting, even) that they see no value in a class analysis and feel that Marxist politics are just another white-dominated Ism. Conversely, some of the radical Indian groups, such as the Toronto Warriors Society, seem content to accept the AIM label as a metaphor for the entire movement.

AIM is both a spiritual movement encompassing the entire Indian people's drive for a more ego-conscious and harmonious relationship with the natural world and a "warrior society" with a responsibility to protect and assist the Indian people in their drive for sovereignty and self-sufficiency. As warriors, AIM activists are bound by a strict serve-the-people code that was a key element of many pre-Columbian Indian societies and which has also been a familiar fixture in European-style political militancy.

As warriors and as spiritualists, AIM has identified itself with the very driving force of the native Indian liberation movement throughout North America, from the High Arctic to the southern plains and deserts: the ever more persistent demand for the reestablishment of the traditional native "habitat"—the land.

Termination Begins Struggle

AIM didn't start out as a back-to-the-land movement, nor—despite the headlines—did its advent on the scene mark the start of the current phase of native militancy. The upsurge of resistance began after the Second World War when many returning Indian veterans decided they could no longer tolerate the shameful conditions on the reservations and in the urban ghettos. The first major struggle in the U.S. occurred in the early 1950's in opposition to the Eisenhower policy of "termination"—shutting down the reservations, issuing land deeds to some individual Indians and shunting the rest off to the big city slums. After several tribes literally went bankrupt and protest began to mount, termination was abandoned



Scenes from Wounded Knee: top, Lou Beane (left) and Irma Rocks; middle, The Independent Oglala Nation; bottom, Oscar Bear Runner.

by the government.

Indian needs were largely ignored during the Kennedy-Johnson "war on poverty" on the grounds that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was already on the job. But the BIA-imposed system of tribal government, which had replaced the traditional leaders and decision-making processes during the 1930's with an alien system of corrupt elections and bought-off puppet despots, was so unresponsive to legitimate grievances that younger Indians began looking elsewhere for relief.

Part of this upsurge was a rediscovery of and a taking pride in their own "Indianness." Long-suppressed cultural and spiritual traditions were revived; at first in secret, then in the open. These included the Sioux Sun Dance, in which men pierce their skin as a sacrifice for the welfare of the tribe and for all living things (this was considered a dangerous ritual by the white authorities because it represented an expression of solidarity among all the various Sioux nations); and the Potlatch, a system of re-

distribution of wealth through gift-giving among Indians of the North Pacific coast (suppressed because it is professedly anti-capitalist and anti-Protestant Ethic).

This systematic attack on Indian culture was part of a classic pattern of European colonialization imposed in many parts of the non-white world. Its features include the forced entry of the colonizers, the destruction of the aboriginal system of life (political, economic, kinship structure, value systems), external political domination, native economic dependence, low standard of social services, racism and a color line. Conditions of life, including the high incidence of such health problems as kwashiorkor (severe malnutrition) and TB closely parallel those of unliberated Third World countries.

AIM was founded in Minneapolis in 1968 as the first Indian organization free of government strings by a group of Indian ex-cons, including Clyde Bellecourt and Dennis Banks, who had been affected by the Indian cultural and spiritual renaissance taking place in prisons of the American midwest.

Within a year or so, with the emergence of Russell Means, Leonard Crow Dog and Clyde Bellecourt's brother Vern, the main media personalities of AIM had come together. In terms of headlines, this group still pretty well dominates the AIM public identity.

At its inception, AIM was an urban-oriented action group on the style of the white New Left. It organized Skid Road street patrols to counter police harassment of native people, it picketed slums, it represented Indians at court and in welfare offices and it generally hassled the poverty bureaucracy to ensure greater Indian input into decision-making. Very quickly, however, the early AIM members saw they were missing out on two important elements of the Indian re-birth: their spiritual heritage and their intimate relationship to the land. They realized that without accommodating these two strengths, no movement for the regeneration of the Indian people could succeed. An early member of AIM recalls that a number of AIM people heard about a traditional spiritual leader named Leonard Crow Dog, who lived on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation, next door to Pine Ridge, in South Dakota, and they went to visit him. "Crow Dog told them that if they were to be a true Indian organization, they had to have the spiritual involvement of our medicine men and our holy people. And that is actually when the American Indian Movement was first born; because we think that AIM is not only an advocate for Indian people, it is the spiritual rebirth of our nation."

continued on p. 19

REPRESSION IN GERMANY

Women Fight Behaviour Mod.

Ismales of the California Institute for Women have begun a new protesting, newly instituted behavior modification program.

Last September, the women of CITW, in deplorable conditions and an attempt to restore their rights with spontaneous outrage.

When a woman is arrested and imprisoned her name is disregarded until authorities are notified for reinforcement.

At all points, the women are treated as prisoners.

When a woman is arrested and imprisoned her name is disregarded until authorities are notified for reinforcement.

BULLETIN

Four women members of the German RAF are being held in West Berlin prison July 7. Four of the women, Inge Velti, was the second breakout from a maximum security prison in three years. The women were awaiting trial in connection with the kidnapping of a young child.

Peter Lorenz in January 1973 which resulted in the RAF not Anarchists.

Women Fight Behaviour Mod.

Ismales of the California Institute for Women have begun a new protesting, newly instituted behavior modification program.

Last September, the women of CITW, in deplorable conditions and an attempt to restore their rights with spontaneous outrage.

When a woman is arrested and imprisoned her name is disregarded until authorities are notified for reinforcement.

At all points, the women are treated as prisoners.

When a woman is arrested and imprisoned her name is disregarded until authorities are notified for reinforcement.

REPROBATION OF THE BARRACKS

Over 4000 people attended Meinhold's funeral in a significant display of solidarity. The RAF's most notorious figure had been one of the foremost writers and show her arrest of the modern progressive movement of the German State. She public manifestos of popular support spoke louder than a dozen words.

New "Maid" Law

German State has replaced democratic procedures with increasingly repressive legislation. People who are thought to hold left-wing views, including members of legal left-wing organizations, are being monitored by the authorities, teachers, social workers, or employees of various industrial (e.g. train drivers). Such discrimination was directly contrary to the West German Constitution, so in 1971 the Constitution was simply changed to legalize it.

Miss Gorman

After serving his full sentence, he was released on March 12, 1974. He was a member of the RAF and was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971.

Holger Meins

Holger Meins, a member of the RAF, who started himself in prison in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971.

Original logo taken from Alexander Berkman's anarchist journal "The Blast" (1916-17).



Flavio Costantini's representation of the final resting place of anarchist Giuseppe Pinelli, beaten and huried to his death by the Italian political police.

Miss Gorman

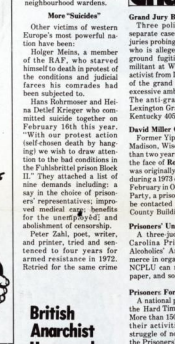
After serving his full sentence, he was released on March 12, 1974. He was a member of the RAF and was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971.



Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

Miss Gorman

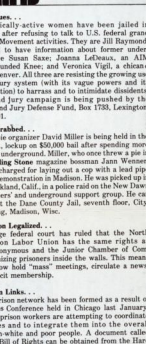
After serving his full sentence, he was released on March 12, 1974. He was a member of the RAF and was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971.



Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

Miss Gorman

After serving his full sentence, he was released on March 12, 1974. He was a member of the RAF and was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971.



Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

Walpreda Exonerated

Italian anarchist Piets Valpreda, who was falsely imprisoned for a bombing attack in 1969 which killed 18 people in Milan, has finally been exonerated. Two members of the Italian government's Internal Security Division, General Malvestro and his chief of staff, the rights have been charged in connection with the bombing.

Walpreda spent three years in jail without trial, and only received a presidential pardon in 1974. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971.

British Anarchist Harassed

Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

British Anarchist Harassed

Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

25,000 MEMBERS IN CATALONIA CN Active In Spain

Since Franco's death, the clandestine Iberian Communist Party (ICNT) has been increasingly active in Catalonia, which is made up of several autonomous regions. The ICNT organized a general strike. Several regional publications have been set up and in January a regional conference was held in Catalonia. The ICNT has been active in Catalonia since the death of Franco.

British Anarchist Harassed

Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

British Anarchist Harassed

Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

British Anarchist Harassed

Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

Carlballo Blanco, Longest Serving Prisoner

Fernando Carlballo Blanco, the longest serving political prisoner in Spain, has been sentenced to 15 years in prison. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971.

CNT Support Fund Established

Unlike the other unions, the CNT's support fund is a financial support from all its unions and political parties.

British Anarchist Harassed

Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

British Anarchist Harassed

Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

Duckhook Double Cross

Duckhook, a member of the RAF, who started himself in prison in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971. He was arrested in the US in 1971.

British Anarchist Harassed

Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

British Anarchist Harassed

Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

British Anarchist Harassed

Stuart Christie, who co-edited the London anarchist publication Black Flag, has recently been the target of an international campaign of harassment.

Women Fight Behaviour Mod.

Ismales of the California Institute for Women have begun a new protesting, newly instituted behavior modification program.

Last September, the women of CITW, in deplorable conditions and an attempt to restore their rights with spontaneous outrage.

When a woman is arrested and imprisoned her name is disregarded until authorities are notified for reinforcement.

At all points, the women are treated as prisoners.

When a woman is arrested and imprisoned her name is disregarded until authorities are notified for reinforcement.

That Women Occupy Factory

"It's really to fight," declared one of seven ITW women who recently took over the plant and began their own living collectively.

She had been arrested in the steaming metal roasting mill and was one of 300 employees, were dispersed after pitched battles in three quarters where the women were occupying four floors. Instead of being arrested, the women were occupying 100% more of the factory.

That Women Occupy Factory

"It's really to fight," declared one of seven ITW women who recently took over the plant and began their own living collectively.

She had been arrested in the steaming metal roasting mill and was one of 300 employees, were dispersed after pitched battles in three quarters where the women were occupying four floors. Instead of being arrested, the women were occupying 100% more of the factory.



Anarchist Francisco [El Outco] SABATE, the first of the urban guerrillas. He carried out actions in fascist Spain for 21 years. Killed by police in 1960.

POSTER #1

OpenRoad

Newsjournal available on request:
Box 6136, Station G
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

continued from p. 14

"It carries the spirituality of our ancient people and of our elder people. So now, the American Indian Movement feels very, very heavily on the traditional leaders and the holy men of the various tribes—to give them the direction they need so they can best help the Indian people."

Land: The Central Issue

As it got more involved with traditional religion, AIM started to extend its mission to the arctic regions. Says an AIM member: "Many times, Indian men or Indian families would rotate between the city and reservation for a long time—each time thinking that when he changed his residence, he was changing his life for the better."

"We realized that our involvement had to be with a total structure of Indian life across the whole nation. We had to begin advocating for Indians on the reservation and off the reservation, and in Canada and Mexico. Any place that there were Indian people, then we had to be right there to be their champion and fight for them, for their rights."

For AIM, the land is not just real estate or property. It's part of an integrated whole—of nature or the universe—which includes human beings and other living things. People are not set apart from nature; they are important, but not more important than any other living things. Human beings must not attempt to dominate or "use" the land; they must fit in with it and take care of it. In the language of white people, Indians are bound by their religion and their sense of their own identity to protect the environment.

Indian attachment to the land is not just a sentiment; it's a sensible and rational knowledge. The natural terrain served as the economic foundation for most Indian societies, whether agricultural or hunting, since wealth derived from trading, manufacturing or slave labor was virtually nil. Like most other Indian groups, AIM bases its land demands on the treaties (371 in the U.S., 11 in Canada), that were concluded between the U.S. and Canadian governments and various Indian "sovereign" nations, and on the many unsettled land claims, especially in Northern Canada. After a century of fraud and outright theft on the part of the government and numerous white missionaries, AIM reckons that Uncle Sam owes the Indian people at least one hundred million acres out of a total of 150 million that was originally guaranteed to them.

In Canada, the native people of the North (including the Inuit and Eskimos) are claiming a million square miles of Arctic and sub-Arctic terrain. Originally, of course, native people roamed the entire North American continent; the treaties confined them to lands that at the time were considered unproductive for farming and unsuitable for white habitation. Since then, the discovery of a wide variety of minerals on Indian lands has resulted in a further whitening out of the entitlement, but paradoxically it is the presence of this mineral wealth that offers Indian people their greatest hope for economic self-sufficiency.

AIM's involvement in the land issue and in the reservation way-of-life started out uncertainly. At first, AIM tactics were mainly media-oriented. Russell Means, even before he joined AIM full-time, had demonstrated his PR ability by staging the capture of the Mustangs in on the reservation in 1970 and the occupation of Mount Rushmore a year later.

The first time that AIM truly managed to give vent to native aspirations on a large-scale was in a February, 1972 confrontation at Gordon, Nebraska. Angered by the senseless killing of an elderly Indian man by a group of white toughs, and the subsequent attempt by city officials to cover-up the Mustangs, about 1,900 Indians wearing traditional regalia and up-sided-down American flags virtually occupied the town for three days and forced the officials to arrest some of the whites. AIM people, especially Banks and Means, were active in advising the locals and in shoring up their militancy, and they were later welcomed back to Pine Ridge as friends and allies. While the action failed to produce any long-term results, it did convince many of the Indian people they had the strength and solidarity to stand up to white oppression.

The low point for AIM occurred shortly afterwards, and the main reason was that it violated one of its own cardinal rules and tried to impose its presence and its tactics

where it hadn't been invited. A group of AIM people, armed with guns, moved into Cass Lake, Neb., in support of the Chippewa tribe, which was trying to enforce a federal court ruling that whites had to buy tribal fishing licenses. The reservation Chippewas asked the armed AIM detachment to leave, and an argument between the various factions almost turned into a gunfight as some AIM members voted to leave and others to stay in defiance of the tribe.

AIM managed to redeem itself in the following months by playing a more organic role in a number of other militant Indian actions, including the Trail of Broken Treaties, which culminated in the occupation of the BIA headquarters in Washington, D.C., and the "riot" at Custer, S.D., in which Indians who were peacefully protesting still another racist murder torched the courthouse and several other buildings after being attacked by police. As one AIM participant at Custer put it: "That type of action wasn't planned by us, and it wasn't something we decided to go and do before we ever went up there, but it was something that spontaneously came about because of the extreme frustration of the people."

AIM followed the same practice on the road to Wounded Knee. Traditionalists on the Pine Ridge reservation, representing about 85 per cent of the population, had already organized their own local group, the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization, to attempt to dislodge the tyrannical BIA regime of Dick Wilson. But when Wilson's federally-financed gun squad unleashed a reign of terror, including beatings and killings, on the reservation, they asked AIM to assist in the defense. AIM people went onto the reservation with the intent of refraining from involvement in the local politics of the Sioux nation. But when it very quickly became clear that the fight was not between two factions within that nation, but between the Sioux people and the U.S. government (represented by Wilson), AIM jumped to the appropriate side.

In Canada, AIM straightened out its practice quickly in 1973 after mis-reading the mood of the Indian people in its first major action. Armed AIM people blockaded a highway through a reserve near Cache Creek, British Columbia, and demanded a \$5 toll from motorists in order to dramatize the deplorable housing conditions on the reserve. A participant recalls: "A lot of

(Indian) people were frightened and resentful of us at Cache Creek, and worried about the government reprisals. It's something we won't do again like that."

Canadian AIM members helped organize a cross-country caravan of Indian people to bring the protest movement to the seat of Canadian white government in Ottawa. The caravan was met by club-wielding Mounties on Parliament Hill, but the thing that was even more distressing to many AIM people was the unscrupulous manner in which some white Leftists, especially the Communist Party of Canada, (Marxist-Leninist), attempted to manipulate the caravan for sectarian ends. The bad feelings generated in that incident have contributed a great deal to the almost knee-jerk anti-Red sentiment that is common in AIM in Canada. Since the caravan, Canadian AIM has played a role in most of the militant (sometimes armed) actions that Indians have undertaken in southern Canada, especially those involving native land claims and fishing and hunting rights.

AIM Organization

Both in the U.S. and in Canada, the AIM organization consists of an optimistically-labeled "national directorate," and an uncertain number of local affiliates which have virtually complete autonomy. This decentralized apparatus results mainly from the Every-Indian-Is-A-Member-Of-AIM philosophy, but it also reflects the precarious position of the national AIM figures. As victims of the U.S. government's first major experiment in Vietnam-style domestic counter-insurgency, most of them are either in prison, awaiting trial or on-the-run. In fact, there's nothing to stop any group of Indians anywhere from adopting the AIM label and running off in any direction it cares to (just like the way SDS used to be). Mostly, though, this decentralization allows the scores of local AIM chapters to respond quickly to local issues. Since these chapters are apt to start up at the drop of an issue, and to become inactive just as quickly, and since AIM isn't inclined to issue membership cards or keep files, it's a hopeless task to guess at membership figures.

Vernon Bellecourt says the "real leadership" of AIM is not the media-wise heavies of the national directorate, nor even the local chapter heads, but "the traditional, hereditary chiefs, the old people, the old men and women of all the various nations who counsel

us, who minister to us in the traditional spiritual ways." He likens AIM and the entire Indian movement to a flock of geese which pushes individual leaders forward as they are needed: "One leader gets tired, he falls back and another takes his place. The FBI is like the hunters—it fires away indiscriminately, wounding many, but only bringing down a few." A young Canadian AIM member, with a special responsibility for "security," puts it somewhat less poetically, but more to the point: "It's our enemies that create the leaders by giving certain individuals a lot of publicity. Their strategy is to then knock off the leaders in hopes that it will demoralize us."

AIM people are sure that they want to return to the traditional Indian ways of doing things, but they're not always sure what those ways are. Some, especially the newer converts, relate mainly to the red berets and a macho-style posturing. Others attempt to generalize about Indians all across the continent out of their own or their tribe's experience, even when that experience may be quite localized, or even based on hearsay. However, it's probably fair to say that most AIM people realize they still have a lot of learning to do about how Indians used to live and how they made decisions, and that cliches about Indians' instinctive "socialism" and communism are too vague to be helpful. It's a good thing, too, because Indian people created a variety of political systems in pre-Columbian times, and not all of them were models of democracy.

Political organization among North American native peoples varied from the simple family groups of the remote Arctic and western desert to the complex confederacies of tribes in the East and the autocratic states of Mexico and their imitators in the Gulf coastal areas. Early white visitors, however, tended to stereotype these systems as either anarchic living as "noble savages" without written laws and, especially in peacetime, without any discernible decision-making hierarchy, or totally autocratic in the European mold of divine-right monarchs or fascist strongmen. The truth, with some exceptions, runs between these poles. As Russell Means, describing the Sioux system, once said: "The white man tries to measure other cultures by his own, where the president makes decisions for the people. In our

continued on next page

"AIM is not only an advocate for Indian people, it is the spiritual rebirth of our nation. It carries the spirituality of our ancient people and of our elder people."



Gabriel Dumont, Metis buffalo hunter; American Horse and Red Cloud, Sioux war chiefs; and Sitting Bull, of Little Big Horn fame.

Continued from p. 19

culture, the leaders do not have the power that the white man's leaders do. The voice of the people rules by unanimous decision, and the leaders abide by that decision."

Indian Societies

Generally speaking, Indian societies were well-regulated and efficiently run without the help of jails, churches, written codes, professional police and bureaucrats or any of the other familiar apparatus of the modern State. Personal liberties were protected, too. But it's also true to say that every Indian society had a leadership structure of some sort.

Among Arctic and desert hunter-gatherers, whose largest permanent unit at the time of European contact, was the family, the leadership function was exercised by family and kin group heads. On the Plains and in the East, and in Quebec and southern Ontario, sophisticated tribal structures were established which gave various contending forces based on family ties, age, intelligence, war-making ability or other factors an opportunity for input into decision making. Leadership was often hereditary, with descent traced through the female line, but the leaders were still accountable to the people.

Near-absolute authority was enjoyed by the warriors of the Natchez people, in the Gulf Coast area, where the influence of Mexican priestly states was strong and to a lesser extent in the Powhatan's "centralized monarchy" in Virginia and among the Calusa in Florida. The main examples of absolute power in the Western Hemisphere were the Aztec and Inca empires in Mexico and Peru. In British Columbia, the west coast Indian societies with elaborate ranking systems and the beginnings of slavery. Until the coming of the Europeans, however, slaves were used for service functions only, and not for production.

In most cases, Indian leaders lacked the coercive powers enjoyed by European ruling groups. Mainly, they got their way either as brokers of various power blocs (in the European tradition), or by example and persuasion. Social control was often exercised through humor and ridicule with the entire community taking on the task of correcting the wayward individual (as in China today). The police function was carried out by men's societies, which served both to identify potential leaders and to help them guide the behavior of others. These groups of armed men (membership was generally rotated to prevent concentration of power) had the task of enforcing the decisions of the older men on council, such as when to move the camp when to leave on the summer hunt and how to control movement of the population during wartime. Transgressors might be stripped of their goods and beaten, but if they were properly repentant and took the correction in good spirit they might be forgiven and even rewarded. In some cases, whipping was considered a suitable punishment for lack of discipline on the buffalo hunt. Murder could be avenged by murder.

The AIM notion of a warrior society falls into this tradition, with the added distinction that women are now starting to play an active role in defense (as well as continuing with their usual domestic chores). Despite the media image of gun-toting Indians—the Mounties have branded the militant Indian movement as "a principal threat to national stability in Canada"—AIM has been very careful in its display and use of firearms. It insists on no-drugs, alcohol or loose guns rule wherever it is responsible for security. At Wounded Knee, for instance, guns were carefully controlled and used only in life-and-death situations, and AIM people have

"In a political confrontation with the colonial government, we have to defend ourselves, but if we put down the peace pipe we will be destroyed."



Oglaia Sioux elders Chief Red Cloud and Chief Fools Crow negotiate with U.S. government representative Bradley Pattison during Wounded Knee siege.

generally been disciplined to commit suicide by directly challenging the obviously superior white firepower. Vern Bellecourt says the Indian movement "can't survive with guns alone. We must walk with the peace pipe, it is the symbol of our spiritual power. In a political confrontation with the colonial government, we have to defend ourselves, but if we put down the pipe we will be destroyed."

Or, as another AIM warrior put it: "Warrior society means the men and women of the nation who have dedicated themselves to give everything that they have to the people. A warrior should be the first one to hungry and the last one to eat. He should be the first one to give away his moccasins and the last one to get new ones. "I'm not saying that we are all completely selfless or some kind of saints. But we try, with the spiritual direction of our holy men, to get ourselves to the point where we don't have the avarice and greed that is so much a part of Anglo, or white society."

The traditional Indian reverence for the land was reflected in most Indian societies in their attitudes toward land "ownership." While it's probably true that most forms of private property, including real estate, were to be found in various Indian tribes, there were some important differences between Indian and European concepts of property. In general, Indians tended to place a greater emphasis on users' rights to the disadvantage of the property's nominal owners, whether they be an individual or the tribe. If a man cleared a piece of land it remained in the possession of his family so long as it continued to be cultivated; when the land was abandoned it could be planted by anyone else. Groups of families tended to band together to maintain a piece of land and to pool their common resources; this primitive form of communism was a virtual necessity for survival among many Indian groups.

they managed to help recreate the sort of traditional society they have been fighting for: the Independent Oglaia Nation (ION) at Wounded Knee.

The ION—the first independent nation in North America in more than 200 years—was established at a meeting of all the old-time Oglaia leaders: traditional chiefs, holy men and district leaders. AIM played an exemplary role in the history-making event. As one AIM person recalls it: "The American Indian Movement and the Oglaia Sioux people decided that AIM people should be excluded from this meeting because we were here at the request of the Oglaia Sioux people, and we felt that we should make any decisions about the future of their lives and their reservation without any interference from outside participants. We excluded ourselves from this meeting and were in fact very surprised by its outcome."

"The traditional leaders decided that this was probably the only time in history that they would have a chance to regain their sovereignty as a nation. They came out of their all-day meeting in the Wounded Knee told us they were declaring their sovereignty as an independent nation... They asked the American Indian Movement to effect that change. We were eager to help them. We set up a government here and strengthened our positions to try to repel any invaders."

In practical terms, the "government" that was established was a series of nightly mass meetings—average attendance about one-third of the Wounded Knee community—at which decisions about food, shelter, sanitation, security, religious observances and other important matters were hashed out. People sat in a circle; there was no particular head-table or overt structure. Each course of action was determined through consensus, rather than by forcing a majority vote. If no consensus could be reached, the decision was put off, but the community managed to take care of its internal needs tolerably well considering the problems. Women did most of the cooking and cleaning, but they also did guard duty and helped defend the new Nation's borders.

People from about a dozen tribes besides the ION, making it the first true continent-wide Indian nation. While AIM activists represented only about ten per cent of the population, most of the new citizens—no matter what their background and previous involvement—were happy to call themselves AIM members.

In the important political decisions involving negotiations over treaty rights with the U.S. government authorities, most of the community deferred to the traditional chiefs, some of whom were shutting back and forth across the frontier and were thus better informed on developments outside. Following the end of the 71-day siege, the traditionalists formed the Lakota Treaty Council to "retain our national identity as a sovereign people... (and) to follow our traditional leaders who have determined that we must return to our way of governing ourselves." The council, which is composed of all the various headmen, functions as an organ of dual power and is subordinate to a three-quarters vote of the Sioux male population (a holdover clause from the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868). Among its first moves was to "recognize" AIM and to invite its members "to reside and work here to support us in our goals."

The treaty council has been attempting to negotiate with Washington, but so far with little success. On the reservation, however, the traditionalists have recently managed to oust Dick Wilson as tribal chairman and to replace him with a more precisely defined election shortly after Wounded Knee. Russell Means (an Oglaia) ran for chairman and actually received a large majority of votes, but was defeated by a strong arm out of his victory by Wilson and his gun squad.

The Independent Oglaia Nation

With such a wide range of "traditional" political, social and economic systems to choose from, including some that were overtly authoritarian, AIM is clearly going to have to define more precisely which traditions it will support and which it feels should be discarded. AIM people don't seem quite ready at this stage to make that conscious distinction, but some of their instinctive, healthy anti-authoritarian politics were manifested on the one occasion when

Native Separatism

The experience of Wounded Knee was summed up by one AIM member: "The American Indian Movement and the Oglala Sioux people here have what every race in America dreams of having. We have a land base, we have a government here, we have support of the mass of the Indian people on the Pine Ridge reservation. And what is at stake here at Wounded Knee is not just the lives of a few hundred Indian people. It is a way of life that we believe could lead to the complete salvation of the United States and of western civilization. We're trying to make everyone realize that from here, a true revolution in the way people live can start."

Despite the obviously successful experiment in consensual politics at Wounded Knee, AIM still hasn't made a very good case as to how the "revolution" can be extended to other Indian territories. Maybe after a long series of Wounded Knee-type skirmishes, accompanied by a mass movement among whites, a more realistic U.S. administration will abolish or drastically overhaul the BIA (in Canada the DIA) to permit more home rule on the reservations; but it's a long way from local government (in the family style in the North American cities, school boards, etc.) to authentically democratic institutions. And, anyway, most AIM people are separatists of one sort or another; they are not really interested in achieving status as normal citizens in a federal system. Rather, they want a very high wall to separate them from white society, at least for the foreseeable future.

As Vernon Bellecourt says: "Only when we have independence will the Indians be mutual respect. Then we can stand side-by-side as brothers. We strongly believe in separatism as an absolute. No one tells a fox he has to be a deer, no one tells a fox he has to be a robin, a blackbird, or a muskrat. It's hopeless to try to change the white; our energy is better spent rebuilding our own culture."

Because they tend to locate the source of their oppression in the dominant white society, AIM and AIM-type "spiritualist" groups generally shy away from alliances with white political movements, even progressive ones. The "radical" Indian groups, on the other hand, emphasize the oppression imposed by the capitalist system, and they attempt to build links with white groups engaged in the same class struggle. In some cities, such as Toronto, the more centralized Marxist native groups are considered a part of the Left scene and play a role in the general political mobilizations there. The radicals are overtly revolutionary and put as their goal the creation of a socialist State.

Again Bellecourt: "Indians have never been at the working class, except a very small percentage who have entered the work force. We have chosen not to become peons or to be driven as beasts. We see the Marxist socialist movement as representing liberation for the majority of this world, and for many parts of the Third World. However, the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere don't see Marxism as their liberators, but as their next oppressors. We must make the world Marxist-Revolutionary movement respect our independence and our integrity, and allow us to rebuild our traditional Indian culture, which was a truly socialist, democratic, communal way of life."

However, the quantity and quality of Indian territories in the U.S. and in southern Canada, and their already heavy assimilation into the dominant systems of transportation, communication, life-style, etc., makes it highly unlikely that these little islands in the great Anglo sea could ever achieve true independence and economic self-sufficiency. AIM people are vague on this point; their views range from the conviction that the U.S. and Canadian governments owe Indian people a living in perpetuity as just payment for all the stolen Indian lands to the belief that Indian people will be able to survive by selling off their natural resources (oil, coal, wood, etc.) to the highest bidder in a rational, eco-conscious way.

The Dene Declaration

If there is anywhere that North American native people have a chance of achieving a significant measure of sovereignty, it is in the Canadian North, a vast, resource-rich land where natives (including the Inuit) are in the majority, and where whites have been reluctant to settle because of the extremes of climate. The North has been traditionally exploited as a colony by white southerners, and it now faces its biggest threat from the

proposed Mackenzie Valley pipeline which would carry Arctic oil and natural gas to southern markets. The native people of the North rightly fear the pipeline as a danger to the fragile northern environment and as a social, political and economic hammerblow at what is left of their traditional way-of-life. The Indians of the Northwest Territories, who call themselves the Dene (the people), have been instrumental in the struggle over native land-claims. In the Dene Declaration, a semi-call for independence which has received wide circulation in Southern Canada in the past year, they note that colored peoples of the Third World have fought for and won the right to self-determination, the right to recognition as distinct people and the recognition of themselves as nations. The Declaration continues:

"But in the New World the Native peoples have not fared so well. Even in countries in South America where the Native peoples are the vast majority of the population there is not one country which has Amerindian government for the Amerindian peoples.

"Nowhere in the New World have the Native peoples won the right to self-determination and the right to recognition by the world as a distinct people and as Nations.

"While the Native people of Canada are a minority in their homeland, the native people of the N.W.T., the Dene and the Inuit, are a majority of the population of the N.W.T.

"The Dene find themselves as part of a Country. That country is Canada. But the Government of Canada is not the government of the Dene. The Government of the N.W.T. is not the government of the Dene. These governments were not the choice of the Dene, they were imposed upon the Dene.

"What we the Dene are struggling for is the recognition of the Dene Nation by the governments and peoples of the world.

"We the Dene are part of the Fourth World. And as the peoples and Nations of the world have come to recognize the existence and rights of those people who make up the Third World the day must come and will come when the nations of the Fourth World will come to be recognized and respected. The challenge to the Dene and the world is to find the way for the recognition of the Dene Nation."

There is very little likelihood that the Canadian government is ever going to give up a tract amounting to more than a million square miles to 30,000 people. And even if it did, the Pentagon would not allow it. But obviously some accommodation is going to have to be made over the land claims, especially since many native people and groups have otherwise vowed to stop the pipeline by whatever means necessary. Short of absolute independence, the native people of the North have a variety of options for their future. One route, which is the least attractive, is to make virtually a straight dollars-and-cents settlement, such as occurred in the area of James Bay, Quebec, when the Cree Indians gave up title to most of their land for a \$150 million payoff. But then, the Cree didn't have much choice; the bulldozers were already starting to tear up the terrain in preparation for a giant hydro-electric project to power the air-conditions and neon signs of the northeastern U.S.

Native people in Alaska and in northern British Columbia have bargained or are in the process of bargaining for a combination of land and dollars, and this is obviously what the Dene will be doing in the long run. But the Dene, by virtue of their majority position in the North, have a unique opportunity to help create popular institutions of dual power that would give substance to the still-petstating notion of Indian nationhood. Possibly a realistic goal for them would be to bring pressure to bear to upgrade the two northern territories (the Yukon and the N.W.T.) to the status of provinces. If they can resist the wholesale importation of white political institutions, especially that of "representative" electoralism, they might be able to preserve some key aspects of their consensual politics especially on the local level. This would be no small accomplishment, since Canadian provinces enjoy a much larger degree of "sovereignty" than do American states, and some legal opinion holds that the Canadian constitutional framework is elastic enough to permit provinces almost complete control over internal industrial and social development.

With its main orientation being toward the North American plains and deserts, AIM has had little involvement as an organization in the North up to now. Naturally, AIM

people have endorsed the Dene Declaration, and they are forging firmer links with other Third and Fourth World movements. They recently went to Cuba for a worldwide conference of liberation movements and "progressive" regimes, and they took part in the first World Conference of Indigenous Peoples, held last year on Vancouver Island, which brought together natives from 19 nations in North and South America, Scandinavia and Oceania). But they haven't really tried to play a role in the high-level politicking and negotiating, and the painstaking research and legal spadework that mark this phase of the Northern struggle.

Much of this work is being carried on by the Native Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, a reformist organization which is moving toward a more radical stance as the economic and social base of its constituency becomes undermined. However, when the action starts in the North, it's fair to predict that people will be there to raise the AIM banner and, more than likely, to serve as an anti-authoritarian counterweight to the modernist-oriented Indian Marxists who have been working very hard and very patiently to move the struggle forward in cooperation with progressive elements of the white working class. And even if the AIM banner is missing, AIM-style militancy is sure to be a worrisome prospect for the white colonizers. For, as Russell Means noted while ago:

"Since Wounded Knee, I have been arrested twelve times, an average of once every two months. It's like the old days when they called Indians, instead of militants, renegades. The renegade chief would be blamed for raids in five different states in five days—on horseback."

This article was adapted in part from material taken from a number of brochures, including *Akwesane Notes* (Rooseveltown, N.Y.) and *The Indian Nation* (General Delivery, Chase, B.C.); from information provided by the Leonard Peiler Defense Committee (Box 758, Station A, Vancouver, B.C.); and from various other works, including *Voices From Wounded Knee*, published by Akwesane Notes; *The Road to Wounded Knee*, by Robert Burnette and John Koster.

"It's our enemies that create the leaders by giving certain individuals a lot of publicity. Their strategy is to then knock off the leaders in hopes it will demoralize us."



AIM "leaders" Dennis Banks and Russell Means.

OFFICIAL RESPONSE TO COURT RULING

Super-max a cruel hoax

By Betty Noir

Some people thought there would be big changes in the solitary confinement unit (SCU) at the British Columbia Penitentiary after the Federal Court's last winter found conditions in the SCU to constitute cruel and unusual punishment, in contravention of the Canadian Bill of Rights.

There have been big changes alright—all for the worse. Which is another lesson in the ineffectiveness of working through "proper channels" to bring about changes in a deeply-entrenched bureaucracy, even when the liberal establishment and the mass media endorse the changes.

The old SCU, described by one prison expert as "a concrete vault into which men are buried," was compared unfavorably during the court hearing to the worst that the U.S. has to offer—the San Quentin "ad justment centre." It caused six desperate hostage-taking within the most recent year, all directed at escape from or improvement in conditions in the SCU, and almost as many slashings as there were prisoners lodged there. The hearing was told about one prisoner, Jacques Bellemare, whose desperate pleas were ignored by the authorities even though he set fire to himself a number of times and repeatedly beat his head against the walls. Bellemare finally put an end to his torment by strangling himself with a torn sheet.

Hostage Takings

The Pen's most celebrated hostage-taking, in which a prison social worker was killed last year, was precipitated by a grape-vine rumor that three lifers were to be sent back to the SCU. The hostage was killed by prison guards' bullets when the tactical squad stormed the prisoners' stronghold.

The old SCU was reserved for prisoners who were labelled by the authorities as a threat to the peace and security of the institution. Since no proof of this threat was required, individuals were locked away for months and even years without the slightest explanation or justification. In the main, the SCU population consisted of "militants" who had attempted to organize peaceful (sit-ins, petitions) or non-peaceful (hostage-taking) protests of conditions; individuals who were temperamentally incapable of conforming to the arbitrary and ruthless discipline of the institution; prisoners who had incurred the personal wrath of a guard; and prisoners who were suffering severe emotional stress. Prisoners who had breached a particular regulation were housed for a few days or weeks at a time in a separate "punishment" section.

The super-maximum unit (SMU or super-max) is the name of the new and improved penal product, and it represents the most



Clair Wilson, Andy Bruce, and Doug Lucas arrive in court under heavy security following hostage taking. Their case served as a focus for Vancouver prison organizers.

advanced thinking in high-security corrections. Up to 25 prisoners, and a special corps of guards, are confined in a prison-within-a-prison which has absolutely no contact with the rest of the institution. In fact, SMU prisoners and guards eventually will not even have contact with each other; plans call for a remote-control arrangement so that prisoners can be let out of their cells individually to be "exercised" for 20 minutes per day without the guards even having to approach their cells.

Here's how one veteran of the old and new "holes" describes the SMU: "Are you aware of the most recent changes? On the physical side, the window in the solid door has been enlarged and now my cell has no radio. Every other thing remains as before—no bed, just a mattress on planks 4" off the floor, no place to eat other than on the floor, like a fucking dog."

The 24-hour-a-day unshaded light, the hot-in-the-day, freezing-at-night ventilation, the lack of books, outdoor exercising and proper sanitation are all just as before.

The civil suit that led to the Pen's latest semantic shuffle, was launched by seven prisoners who had spent a collective 11½ years in solitary confinement. They described, in twenty-one days of testimony, the kind of physical and mental torture, whose main purpose, as identified by a psychologist and expert witness at the trial, was to reduce the prisoner to "nothing," to humiliate, intimidate and finally break him.

Solitary Cruel

In finding the SCU to constitute cruel and unusual punishment, the judge stated that it "served no positive

penal purpose" and that even if it did, it would still be "contrary to public standards of decency and propriety." But the judge neglected to specify what changes would be made; instead he left it to the Pen authorities to use their own discretion.

The B.C. Pen took the judge's words to heart; after a series of announcements of changes in the offering to live

up to the "spirit of the judgment," and a couple of carefully-controlled press tours of the unit, the administration juggled a few letters, took back even the minimal housekeeping changes it had boasted about earlier and produced the spanking new SMU—nothing changed but a slightly larger window in the solid steel door.

It's no coincidence that government attempts at

actions in protest against conditions, especially conditions in the SCU. It's one thing to air your grievances through the toothless courts; it's quite another to try to build a movement based on collective strength and militancy.

Super-Max

SCU or super-max one thing is clear: tensions will continue to mount in the

NCLC: "Left-Wing" Fascism

The U.S. "Labor" Party, also known as the National Caucus of Labor Committee (NCLC), or the North American Labour Party in Canada, claims to be the only significant progressive organization on the continent. Their street corner ranting and their publications are full of references to the "working class" and other left sounding phrases.

NCLC, Rockefeller,

and the CIA

One of the "Labor" Party's standard ploys is to denounce every significant radical organizer or group they notice as agents of a Rockefeller-CIA conspiracy to take over the world next Tuesday. This agent-baiting is designed to destroy the credibility of the radical community, and to keep fear and mistrust of each other at a high pitch. And it is this disruptive function which accounts for the financial support which the NCLC has been receiving recently from big business interests.

For example, *Counterparty*, a quarterly publication which has been exposing U.S. intelligence operations and agents worldwide has reported that the NCLC got a

\$48,000 loan on the basis of only \$16,000 in collateral from the Rockefeller-owned Chase Manhattan Bank. When asked about this loan recently, one member of the group gloated: "We repaid that one, but we've gotten more!" The NCLC has also received two "erroneous"

denance of active CIA support for the "Labor" Party's activities here and abroad. The governments of Sweden and Mexico have both denounced the NCLC as a CIA front, and several West German newspapers recently published

the verifying that the CIA had given NCLC \$90,000.

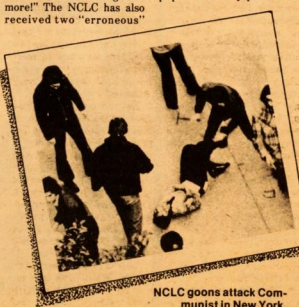
Hitler's Brownshirts

There are many parallels between the style and content of German fascism in the 1930's and that of the U.S. "Labor" Party. The names themselves are similar: the U.S. "Labor" Party has no more to do with labor than the National "Socialists" had to do with socialism.

In portraying themselves as left organization to the public, they hamper the ability of left organizers to communicate and organize. But the NCLC has also adopted the brutal street tactics of their Nazi predecessors.

In 1973, NCLC began "Operation Mop-Up," the avowed purpose of which was to destroy the U.S. Communist Party. Since then they have used armed gun squads to break up meetings, picket lines, and newspaper distributions by left groups all over the country, including several in Seattle. They have distributed leaflets at plant gates urging workers to pre-

continued on p. 26



NCLC goes attack Communist in New York.

deposits of \$60,000 in their Chase Manhattan account, only some of which has been returned.

There is also growing evi-

Urban guerrillas rock the boat in Seattle

By Mark Brothers

"The rulers have got the time for the (Bicentennial) party. Let us bring the fireworks."
—Weather Underground, Summer, 1975

"At first I thought it was just a firecracker. Then the whole sky went red."
—Seattle resident, January 1, 1976

Seattle's counter-bicentennial festivities got off to a fast start when an explosion ripped through a City Light power substation just after midnight on New Years Day. At a press conference the next day a police spokesman whined, "These people (numerous guerrilla organizations) have told us they are going to blow out the candles on our birthday cake." The Seattle blast was the first guerrilla attack this year and it was accompanied by a communique signed "Love and struggle, in solidarity new year," the George Jackson Brigade.

The George Jackson Brigade (GJB) has been one of the most active of several clandestine groups operating along the West Coast. Since assuming the name of the slain revolutionary prison organizer/theorist a year ago, the GJB has claimed responsibility for six bombings, a prisoner's escape and an abortive bank robbery. Brigade members were recently arrested and Seattle has become the site of federal grand juries and defiant trials.

The Year of Action

The GJB made its debut May 31, 1975, when it blew away a wall at the Washington State Department of Corrections in Olympia. The explosion was in solidarity with Walla Walla State Penitentiary prisoners' demands "to limit the state's power to transfer prisoners" to behavior modification facilities. In the communique which followed, the Brigade wrote that "crime is the natural response for those caught between poverty and the American culture of greed, aggression, sexism, and racism."

In August the GJB bombed the Tacoma FBI office and the Everett Bureau of Indian Affairs. These actions were in response to FBI terrorism at the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations in South Dakota, and in support of an Indian "march of protest" from Olympia to Portland. To avoid diverting attention from the Indian struggle, the Brigade didn't claim these attacks until recently.

The GJB struck again on September 18. At a Safeway store a bag of dog food packed with explosives set off a blast which injured seven people. It was retaliation for the capture of the SLA the day, and the death of Ralph "Po" Ford, who was killed while planting a bomb at the same store three days earlier. Ford had been carrying out an independent action. He had no links to the GJB.

The Seattle Left community strongly criticized the

Brigade for its failure to take responsibility for its preliminary measures in the Safeway bombing. The Left Bank Collective, which operates a book store where Ford had worked, expressed the sentiments of most of the community when they disavowed the action for "its gross disregard for the safety of the people." They wrote that the GJB's indiscriminate violence "was in total contradiction of everything Po stood for."

The next GJB attack was on New Years Eve. At 11:37 P.M. and 11:53 P.M. separate blasts went off at a Seattle Safeway distribution centre. Simultaneously, in the wealthy Laurelhurst neighborhood, a bomb was planted at a City Light substation. When it exploded at 12:10 A.M. the station was virtually destroyed with damage estimated up to \$250,000. There were no injuries and the substation attack was tied to a 2½ month strike by City Light workers. The "New Years Communique" lauded the "long and courageous strike... we have chosen to bring in the New Year with bright violence and solidarity for the brave example the City Light workers have set, by sabotaging the power source for Laurelhurst."

The document described Safeway as "the world's largest food chain and a powerful agribusiness and imperialist... the target of bombings and armed actions up and down the West Coast." It criticized their September Safeway action as "wrong because we brought violence and terror to a poor neighborhood; a neighborhood already racked with the violence of hunger and the terror of the police." But, they added, "we have a qualm about bringing discriminatory violence to the rich."

On January 23, while the Brigade was attempting to expropriate \$43,554.25 from the suburban Tukwila branch of the Pacific National Bank, police arrived in response to an alarm switched on by the manager. Two officers were injured, one by an explosion, another member was shot in the face. During a lull in the police fire, Seidel again attempted to surrender. Yelling "don't shoot, we give up," he moved to the glass doors. Suddenly police began firing again and Seidel was killed.

Jailbreak

Sherman and Ed Mead, the other Brigade members in the bank, were arrested. Later, they declared their membership in the GJB so they could speak out about the murder of Seidel and present an aggressive political defense in court.

As Sherman was being taken to jail from the Harborview Medical Center on March 10, he was rescued when the cop guarding him was wounded by GJB gunfire.

"Our comrade is free," a

March 27 "Women's Day Communique" heralded, and "all other participating units (in the bank robbery) escaped." The Brigade pointed to several tactical errors they had made during the hold-up: they were "unprepared" for the level of violence the police were willing to bring down; they waited too long to "open fire on the pigs"; instead of staying to clean out the safe, they should have split immediately after a phone rang to authenticate the silent alarm;

role as a prison organizer. On April 8 Mead was convicted on two counts of assault with intent to kill people. He was sentenced to two consecutive life terms. Mead, who acted as his own lawyer, was not allowed to use his prepared defense that individuals have a right to defend themselves when a cop draws a gun on them. He still faces a federal grand jury that's been investigating the GJB.

Brigade Theory
Despite several sta-

In an unfinished draft written in January and titled "On The Weather Underground, Class Struggle, and Armed Struggle," Seidel wrote that the Brigade is "a product of various cultures, neighborhoods, fronts and forms of struggle. We have lived and worked among the people in this country and in the Northwest in particular... our practice has varied from leafletting, boycotting, participating in strikes, bombing and co-ordinating guerrilla attacks... whatever the situ-

straight white cocks."

The Seidel explains that revolutionary politics means more than "paying lip service to struggles of oppressed peoples, writing race and/or Marxist essays, or even placing pipe-bombs in a shithouse adjoining the local FBI office." To them it means confrontation "with three fronts: internal, among friends, and against the enemy," entailing critical and self-critical "analyzing... resolving... and transforming." The document specifies the "prime" internal "contradictions" as "sexism, impatience, and individualism."

Seidel was self-critical of the September Safeway action, pointing out the "error" of "not clearly identifying and isolating the ruling class from behind the many classes of people, laws, and gimmicks that oppress people." He also criticized those with a "gap between their words and deeds" and proposed fusing armed struggle to the "broader" organization and the future goal of building a party to lead, direct, learn and be accountable to working people and all oppressed people. "Revolutionary warriors," he stressed, must also be organizers... educators.

Community Response
The Brigade has gotten mixed reviews, described as "a small, romantic sect" by some leftists while receiving critical support from others. Much of the criticism is directed at the first Safeway blast, the Tukwila robbery, and the GJB's analytical ambiguity. For instance, when they propose "building a party to lead" they reject "the vague vanguard," it's unclear whether they're trying to build a hierarchical party or a decentralized federation.

The attitude of those who maintain critical support is exemplified by a Left Bank Collective statement which described the Brigade as "serious revolutionaries who have the right to be respected." Despite errors and inconsistencies, the GJB has been receptive to criticism and perceptively self-critical, and they've engaged in some innovative, exemplary actions. Their responsiveness was expressed in the New Year's communique when they wrote, "we have tried to make this New Year's attack a reflection of the lessons we learned this past year." The simultaneous New Year's

continued on p. 26



Murdered by San Quentin prison guards: Jonathan Jackson (August 7, 1970); George Jackson (August 21, 1971).

they didn't fully utilize their tactical advantage because they had lacked enough firepower across the street from the bank. Although they had, Mead later said, set up an elaborate plan of diversionary fake bombs and smoke bombs, "over all," the communique explained, "this action failed because we were not prepared to meet police terrorism with a sufficient level of revolutionary violence."

The communique praised Seidel—"his contribution... is beyond measure." The Brigade said it's "learning to avoid the self-appointed 'Left'; to go to directly to the people and rely on them for our strength." It's been given "shelter and sustenance and safety" by "people in our community... The victory (Sherman's rescue) belongs to the people."

Two days after Sherman's rescue, Mark Cook was arrested and charged with bank robbery, assault, and aiding a prisoner to escape. The only grounds for arrest were his black skin (police claim whoever helped Sherman was black), his background as a convict, and his

ments and communiques, little is known about the GJB's composition, analysis or strategic goals. Mead calls himself "a communist" whose concepts are "extracted from the teachings of all revolutionary leaders." GJB writings have commended such disparate revolutionaries as Mother Jones, Martin Sostre, Amilcar Cabral, Lenin and the SLA. To Mead, "the SLA was a real inspiration. Their declaration of war is a living document."

Like the SLA, the busted GJB members' militancy was crystallized through experiences in the prison movement. In Washington's McNeil prison, Mead's awareness developed until he realized "I was not a criminal anymore. I saw that I was a radical." He became a jailhouse lawyer and was involved in strikes so the authorities transferred him to Leavenworth. Paroled in 1972, he returned to Washington where he met Sherman (also a former convict). Seidel and others active in prison organizing, notably a newspaper called Sunfighter and the defunct Washington State Prisoners' Union.

ation called for."

Poems included in the Women's Day Communique provided further insight into the GJB. The Brigade's poetry asserted that "we're not all white and we're not all men... not the vague vanguards. We are a collection of oppressed people... this united few breaks barriers of race class sex workers and lumpen all going together combatting dull sameness corporations, government and the isolated rule of

The Open Road welcomes correspondence and contributions (both editorial and financial). Write to us at:
The Open Road
Box 6135, Station G
Vancouver, B.C.
Canada

NOW IN ENGLISH

Durruti - 'The People Armed'



Buenaventura Durruti (1896-1936)

Each great libertarian struggle has thrust forward comrades who most dramatically embody the spirit and aspirations of the people. In Spain, the revolutionary anarchist Buenaventura Durruti was such a man.

For a quarter of a century Durruti fought, was exiled, imprisoned, lived underground, and participated in strikes and insurrections with the Spanish people. An uncompromising anarchist and intransigent revolutionary, he travelled the long road from rebellious young worker to the man who spurned all bureaucratic positions, honours, and awards. Durruti believed and lived his belief that revolution and freedom were inseparable.

Now, for the first time in English, Black Rose Books in Montreal is making available

a major biography of this important exponent of anarchism in practice: **Durruti, The People Armed**. The 551 page biography by Abel Paz will be printed in the fall of this year.

Durruti was one of nine brothers (one of whom died in the Asturias uprising in 1934, another at the Madrid front, and the rest murdered by the fascists) and began working as a railway mechanic at the age of 14. In 1917 he played a prominent role in a strike of railway workers which turned into a general strike which was suppressed by the military with 70 killed and 500 wounded. Durruti escaped to France where he spent his first of many periods in exile.

Fire Against Fire

In 1920 he returned to Spain, helping to build the

anarcho-syndicalist union, the CNT. In Barcelona he participated in the Canadiense strike which eventually involved 100,000 workers, thousands of arrests and a total of 1700 years in prison sentences. Between 1919 and 1922, almost every well-known anarchist and syndicalist was murdered by employers' "pistoleros" or was murdered while in prison during "escapes".

Driven to desperation by the extreme State violence and repression which met their peaceful mass organizing efforts, anarchists such as Durruti and his life-long friend Francisco Ascaso decided to meet violence with violence, assassination with assassination. In 1923 Durruti and Ascaso assassinated the Cardinal of Saragossa, the orchestrator of the re-

pression and one of the most hated figures in Spain. In many ways this began the anarchist counter-offensive which saw the CNT grow to almost two million members by the time of the Civil War. Anarchists took the bull by the horns and began executing oppressive employers and eventually managed to settle agreements in an efficient manner. However, Durruti was once again forced into exile travelling throughout Latin America organizing and agitating until four capitalist States had condemned him to death. While in Paris he opened a bookstore and became friends with Nestor Makhno, the exiled Ukrainian anarchist. While in the French capital, Durruti and Ascaso unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate King Alfonso of Spain who was on a State visit.

By November 1936 Franco's troops were converging on Madrid. Durruti and 4,000 members of the Columna decided to march overland to the capital. Their arrival buoyed the spirits of the besieged defenders of Madrid and staved off defeat at least in the short term. But on November 20, Durruti was hit by a stray bullet and killed instantly.

His funeral a 1936 gathering the last great gathering of anarchists in history. Marching 80-100 abreast for an entire day down the

Durruti and Ascaso were refused domicile in almost every country in Europe and when the Soviet Union offered them hospitality they refused on principle, remembering Makhno's bitter experience. In 1931 they made it back to Spain to oppose with the majority of workers CNT support for the Republican government. In the difficult struggles against the Republican State dozens of striking workers were killed. Durruti and Ascaso carried out bank raids to raise money for the workers movement. In 1932, the anarchist FAI and other Left groups organized an insurrection in Catalonia which was unsuccessful. Durruti and Ascaso were deported to Spanish Guinea without trial. After three months of agitation by the Spanish workers Durruti and his comrades were set free.

Between 1933-35 Durruti tried to settle down, working in a textile factory and taking part only in the organizational activities of his union and the anarchist movement in general. But again he was seized by the police and held without charges. During this period 1300 workers were killed by the government, 3000 wounded, and 30,000 imprisoned for political offenses alone.

Anarchists Defeat Fascists

On July 19, 1936 the Fascists began their uprising in Barcelona. Durruti who was in hospital with a hernia operation left with his wound still open to take part with Ascaso in the anarchist assault on a Fascist position. Ascaso was killed in the battle. Durruti immediately participated in the anarchist attack on another Fascist stronghold. The siege lasted 36 hours, during which the heavily defended hotel position rained bullets down on hundreds of almost unarmed workers. Durruti was among the first few to enter the building. By the evening of the 20th the Fascist rising in Barcelona had been crushed.

The rest of Spain had not been so successful in defeating the Fascist rising and Durruti participated fully in the organization of the Anti-Fascist Militia which went off to their aid. On July 23 the Durruti Column, as it came to be known, set out from Barcelona with 1,000 primarily anarchist militiamen, the column soon grew to 10,000, the largest and strongest fighting force on the anti-Fascist side. Wherever they went libertarian communism was proclaimed. In August, the Column entered Saragossa, a Fascist military stronghold, opening the way for the liberation of all Aragon, and the eventual establishment of a socialist or socialist collectives.

By November 1936 Franco's troops were converging on Madrid. Durruti and 4,000 members of the Columna decided to march overland to the capital. Their arrival buoyed the spirits of the besieged defenders of Madrid and staved off defeat at least in the short term. But on November 20, Durruti was hit by a stray bullet and killed instantly.

His funeral a 1936 gathering the last great gathering of anarchists in history. Marching 80-100 abreast for an entire day down the

widest boulevard in revolutionary Barcelona 500,000 - 1,000,000 Spaniards mourned the death of Durruti. In the evening 200,000 pledged themselves to the "Idea", the libertarian communism for which Durruti had struggled all his life.

Of all the poignant quotes attributed to anarchists, Durruti's remarks quoted in the *Toronto Star* at the height of the Spanish Civil War are perhaps the most stunning. Durruti was explaining that Spanish anarchists did "not expect any help for a libertarian revolution from any government in the world...not even from our own government, in the last analysis." When the incredulous journalist interjected, "You will be sitting on a pile of ruins." To which Durruti replied:

"We have always lived in slums and holes in the wall. We will know how to accommodate ourselves for a time. For, you must not forget, we can also build. It is we the workers who built these palaces and cities, here in Spain and in America and everywhere. We, the workers can build others to take their place. And better one! We are not in the least afraid of ruins. We are going to inherit the earth; there is not the slightest doubt about that. The bourgeoisie might blast and ruin its own world before it leaves the stage of history. We carry a new world, here, in our hearts. That world is growing this minute."

Anarchist Militias

Non-anarchist commentators have often puzzled over how anarchists could organize successful revolutionary militias, like the Durruti Column. One Column member has explained: "(It is neither militarily nor bureaucratically organized. It is a social revolutionary movement. We represent an union of oppressed proletarians, fighting for freedom for all. The Column is the work of Durruti who inherited his spirit and defended its libertarian principles until his last breath. The foundation of the column is voluntary self-discipline. And the end of its activity is nothing else but libertarian communism."

Of his role as a militia leader Durruti explained to Emma Goldman: "I have been an anarchist all my life. I hope I have remained one. I should consider it very sad indeed, had I to turn a General and rule men with a military rod. I believe as I always have, in freedom. The freedom which rests on the sense of responsibility. I consider discipline impossible, but it must be inner discipline, motivated by a common purpose and the feeling of comradeship."

Copies of **Durruti: The People Armed** can be obtained as soon as they are printed by writing Black Rose Books, 3934 St. Urbaine St., Montreal, Quebec, Canada. The cost is \$4.95 paperback and \$12.95 hardcover (add 30 cents postage for each copy and 75 cents for bank exchange, etc., if you are sending U.S. funds). Ask for a Black Rose catalogue, as they have a wide range of anti-authoritarian literature. For an extra \$7 you can get a year's sub to *Our Generation* a libertarian socialist journal.

"You must not forget we can also build. . . It is we the workers who built these palaces and cities. We can build others to take their place. . . The bourgeoisie might blast and ruin its own world before it leaves the stage of history. We carry a new world here in our hearts."

Oppenheimer has high hopes for the State

By Richard Yates

The State, by Franz Oppenheimer. Black Rose Books, \$3.95.

There are two classical theories about the origin of the apparatus of government (i.e., the State). It is a bit shocking to realize that there are two such views. Most of us have encountered only one view—the "consensus theory" of the State. Very few have had a chance to hear about the "conflict theory" of the State.

Franz Oppenheimer's book is an enjoyable tool for correcting that flaw in our education. His analysis and development of the conflict theory should be of special interest to anarchists because it goes right to the heart of the ugly reality that lies behind State organizations: the State is the organized means whereby the despoiling class has robbed the conquered class of a portion of their economic production.

Before we explore this view any further, let us sketch the "consensus theory" of the State:

According to the consensus theory, people were compelled to create a State society to provide themselves with a means for order and harmony among themselves. Under this interpretation, humanity in its natural state is bound to be involved in a continual series of petty struggles. But at some point in time it comes to realize that this constant skirmishing is counterproductive. Thus, it forms an institution, the State, to which it hands over final power over everyone's lives so that they might achieve peace and security.

Anarchists are well acquainted with the criticisms of this theory:

We are not the naturally rapacious creatures that the consensus theorists have depicted. Kropotkin has taken great pains in his work *Mutual Aid*, to show that the impulse to cooperate and aid other humans is one of the deepest impulses in our nature. Oppenheimer carefully shows that violence and warfare come only with the development of certain kinds of economic activities and social structures.

The consensus theory assumes that we live as isolated individuals and that it is only with the founding of the State that human society is initiated. But this is sheer fantasy. Oppenheimer cites numerous examples to show that Stateless societies have existed extensively in the past. He argues that these societies failed only in the sense that they were unable to defend themselves successfully in the face of organized plunder by herdsmen and Vikings. The hunters were swept aside and the peasants were subjugated by these more organized societies. The important fact, however, is that society pre-dates the creation of the State.

The most incredible assumption of the consensus theorists is that some "consensus" or "agreement" can

be struck whereby a people agree to hand over their liberties—and the liberties of unborn generations—to the State. This is absurd because one's liberty is not an object that can be passed around. An individual can act as if he were not free, as if the choice to obey were out of his power, but this would only be appearance and not substance. In fact this individual has used this freedom to choose to act in an unfree manner.

A State does work on the basis of a consensus: the citizens consent to obey. But this is merely a consensus of the moment. At any time they may rebel. Contrary to this, the consensus theory talks of a consent to obey in perpetuity. They say that a people can give up the "right" to rebel.

Franz Oppenheimer's book is an excellent introduction to the "conflict theory" of the origin of the State. The following is a very rough sketch of the ideas in his book. (To appreciate the full sophistication of Oppenheimer's thought and the array of data he marshals for his argument, one must read the original.)

Conflict Theory

First he notes there are only two ways to live. You can produce what you need or you can rob it from others. "...I propose in the following discussion to call one's own labor and the equivalent exchange of one's labor for the labor of others, the 'economic means' for the satisfaction of needs, while the unrequited appropriation of the labor of others will be called the 'political means.'"

Originally, we lived solely by economic means. We gained by the occupations of hunter, herdsman, or peasant. The first steps toward the creation of the State were taken when the more organized herdsmen and Vikings began raiding the peasants. They succeeded in this because their economic life demanded a more closely knit and mobile lifestyle, and this gave them an edge in warfare.

In time the peasants and the raiders reached an "understanding." If the peasants ceased resisting the ravages of the raiders, then the raiders would no longer strip them of all their possessions and ravage their population. As time passed the raiders settled in the midst of the peasants and assumed the role of a dominating class in the newly amalgamated society. The governmental apparatus developed as the organized means whereby the dominating class continued to plunder the toiling peasants. The "political means" of existence has introduced itself into human history.

Oppenheimer has analyzed six stages in the unfolding of the creation of the State. He is careful to note that historical evidence does not show that all emergent states developed in just these six stages. Instead, he argues that the six stages are theoretical constructs that fit very closely with what we

know about the actual development of most States. He tries to show that anomalies arise because of peculiar circumstances.

The latter two-thirds of Oppenheimer's book is less interesting to us as anarchists. He develops his view that the original State develops through various stages as a feudal state. He devotes a full chapter to an argument that the great States of ancient times were a historical dead end. Instead, he sees the modern State as a development of the feudal State that both preceded and succeeded the great States of antiquity.

Optimistically he argues that the contemporary constitutional State is a higher development of the State

which is unstable and which will — spontaneously — dissolve:

"I believe in this possibility. The tendency of State development, unmistakably leads to one point: in essence the state will cease to be the 'Developed political means' and will become 'a freemen's citizenship.' In other words, its outer shell will remain in essentials the form which was developed in the constitutional State, under which the administration will be carried on by an officialdom. But the content of the states heretofore known will have changed its vital element by the disappearance of the economic exploitation of one class by another. And since the State will, by this, come to be with-

out either classes or class interests, the bureaucracy of the future will truly have attained that ideal of the impartial guardian of the common interests, which nowadays it laboriously attempts to reach. The "State" of the future will be 'society' guided by self-government."

ip. 105

We, as anarchists, cannot be so optimistic that the State will dissolve so easily. Franz Oppenheimer is not an anarchist. But his book can serve as a powerful tool for anarchists. If we can master his analysis and learn to employ it in our own attempt to analyze the nature and working of contemporary States, then we will be taking a firm stride forward. We must have a

clear and compelling account of how Stateless societies have existed and can exist. Oppenheimer offers a solid foundation on which we can build such an analysis.

The power of Oppenheimer's ideas lies in their simplicity. Political theories, at heart, are myths and idealizations. For too long we have lived under the myth that the consensus theorists have handed. Their view has disposed us to believe that the State is ultimately benevolent despite its voracious and destructive facade. If we master the conflict theory, we will have an intellectual weapon which will help us to expose this incredible lie that the State is in some ultimate sense "benevolent."

WOBBLES IN B.C.

Syndicalists on the Western frontier

By Alan Engler

"*Blunderbund and Proletariat—A History of the IWW in B.C.*" by Jack Scott, New Star Books, \$2.95

Jack Scott's second book on Canadian labour is a welcome addition to working class history. The book is not an orthodox trade union history. It does not concentrate on resolutions passed in conventions, nor on speeches or correspondence of officials. Instead, Scott writes about the class struggle and the role of the IWW in these struggles.

My criticism of the book is that it is not enough of it. While appreciating the conscientious and painstaking research by the author, on reading the book I could not help feeling frustrated at the meagreness of useful material on working class history. Few people realize that in the years before World War I an anti-capitalist movement had achieved a popularity among workers that terrified the ruling classes and convinced even cautious trade union leaders that working class revolution was just around the corner.

This movement which had its greatest success in France, called itself revolutionary syndicalism, after the French word for trade union. Revolutionary syndicalists believed that the re-organization of unions would provide the means to working class power. Sectional or craft unions would have to be replaced by industrial unions which would unite all workers in each industry regardless of craft. These industrial unions would then come together in all-inclusive federations, which would unite the entire class and provide the organization which would replace the rule of capitalism.

In France, revolutionary syndicalists won control of the existing trade union federation. In Britain they fought for the amalgamation of the existing sectional unions, and later syndicalists led the shop stewards movement which hoped to replace conservative officialdom by delegates elected by the rank and file of all unions.

In Ireland (where Jack

Scott was born in 1910) syndicalists inspired by James Connolly, and led by Jim Larkin organized workers into the Irish Transport and General Workers, regardless of craft or industry.

In the United States, Australia, and Canada revolutionary syndicalists organized into the Industrial Workers of the World. Syndicalists in Canada were to achieve their greatest success with the One Big Union after the war. Jack Scott limits his book to the IWW in B.C.

The IWW was founded in Chicago in 1905. It had little impact in Canada east of Alberta, but it led major class struggles in the two western provinces. In B.C. it played its biggest role in strikes of railway construction workers. In 1911 it led a

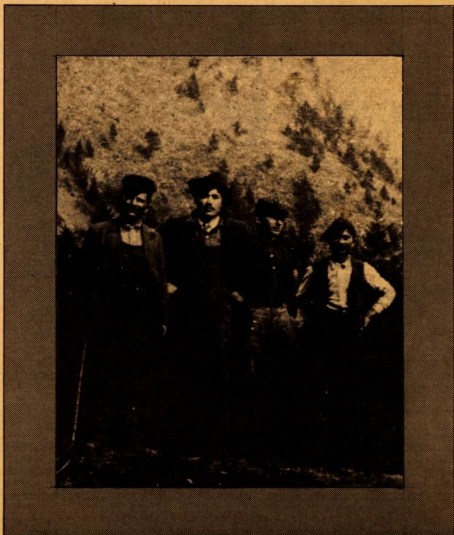
strike of workers completing the terminus of the new trans-continental railway at Prince Rupert. Scott says, "The syndicalist influence of the IWW was apparent in the proud boast of the members that the organization had no leaders—everybody was equal."

The IWW led strikes on the Grand Trunk Pacific, the Kettle Valley Line, the Pacific Great Eastern, and the gigantic strike of 8,000 workers on the Canadian Northern between Hope and Kamloops. The headquarters of this strike, at Yale, was described by a contemporary correspondent as, "the seat of a miniature republic run on Socialist lines and it must be admitted that so far it has been run successfully. The strike committee rules."

Scott also writes about the

free speech fights in Victoria and Vancouver in 1911 and 1912. These campaigns which involved over 10,000 working people were initiated by the IWW and supported by the Socialist Party and the Labour Councils. Scott tells us, "At that time, when most socialists respected the right of all factions to be heard, it was not surprising that Wobly and Socialist would share a common platform and work together in a common cause."

Jack Scott spends no time expressing his own opinions about syndicalism. He leaves no doubt though about his sympathies for the working class, and especially for workers in construction, logging, and mining camps, whose experiences he himself shared after coming to Canada as a teenager.



The 1912 Wobly strike against Canadian Northern Railroad.

'...a child can be someone to be strong for ...'

Continued from p. 23 bombings, one of which was organically linked to a long bitter labour struggle, was one of the first guerrilla actions of its type ever carried out in North America. The Sherman rescue, coming shortly after the bust, also demonstrated substantial organizational strength and support. Guerrilla rescues are clear victories because they inspire

confidence and encourage militant actions by providing revolutionaries with the possibility of not having to serve their full prison term if they're captured.

While the Seattle movement has a diversity of opinions about the GJB, it is united in its determination to resist the federal grand jury investigating the Brigade. The grand jury "fishing" expedition has subpoenaed

people for such obscure "offences" as knowing someone allegedly associated with the GJB. Once brought before the jury they've been asked about individuals, organizations, and their personal behaviour. Most of the subpoenas have been handed to single mothers because the State feels they're especially vulnerable to this pressure. But as Michelle Whittack, who's been subpoenaed, explained in her statement to the grand jury, "What he (the U.S. prosecutor) doesn't understand is that a child can be someone to be strong for, instead of someone to be weak for."

People have been pulled from jobs, but their mail held, been personally attacked during governmental conferences, and "visited" by federal agents. One home was ravaged be-

cause a resident had known Po Ford, and handwriting samples taken from its garbage bags. Material from the "Love and Struggle, GJB" signature on the March 27 communique. Items not listed on the search warrant were unlawfully seized and residents weren't allowed to see what was removed from the house. A few days later, fugitive John Sherman, a Seattle Post-Intelligencer and claimed he had signed the communique and that his fingerprints were "all over everything." Even federal agents acknowledged the similarity between Sherman's writing and the signature. Still, though the case was evidence linking them to any illegality, two residents active in anti-grand jury organizing were subpoenaed.

Much of the government harassment has been aimed at the Left Bank Collective. Several of its members have been subpoenaed, and in late June an apartment rented by the collective was broken into by police claiming to be in pursuit of a car thief. Legally purchased guns, address books, and personal papers were seized. Since this material couldn't be held legally, a grand jury subpoena was issued for it.

Outside of Washington a media blackout has shielded

the events surrounding the GJB's activities. But the repression hurried at the Seattle movement is most evident in national campaigns in the U.S. to isolate, neutralize and destroy both the above and underground. The maleable, vaguely defined powers of the grand jury are being used to harass and gather information about activists, project distrust as criminal, and track down the underground. Across the country people, noting their right to remain silent and to privacy, are standing together in refusal to co-operate with "pig circus" grand juries. In Seattle that spirit of resistance is flourishing, and, like in other communities where activists have been jailed for non-collaboration, people are facing contempt charges. The GJB and Seattle underground need support in their resistance against continuing grand juries and trials. Mark Cook was convicted on June 28 for burglary and aiding a prisoner to escape. He faces further charges in the near future. Mead faces federal bank robbery charges in July. For information about the GJB and the legal repression in Seattle can be obtained from the Left Bank Collective, 52 Pike St., Seattle, WA, 98101.

NCLC - dangerous development

Victim of NCLC beating



Continued from p. 22

vent the sale and circulation of all papers and literature by organizations on the left. They frequently distribute leaflets containing detailed personal information on individual radicals (sometimes obtained directly from police intelligence files), as well as their addresses and telephones. These leaflets invariably

also contain outright lies and gross distortions, and conclude with exhortations to the reader to "Get Them!"

Personal Attacks

In their propaganda they also frequently make gross personal attacks on individual organizers, using racist and sexist slurs of a sadistic, disgusting nature similar to the anti-semitic literature of the Nazis. This example from the Campaigner was taken

from their 1968 campaign against local community control of the schools in New York:

"One lesbian-whore, one homosexual, and one black macho sufficed to get the Spanish moccas aroused for Bro Luis Fuentes, head hog of Rockefeller's mop-up operation against the United Federation of Teachers (UFT)."

As for their role as a "working class" organiza-

tion, their record speaks for itself. The New York UFT strike in 1968 against community control of the schools is the only one they have supported. Since then they have decided that strikes are generally "counter-revolutionary" and they have agitated against the United Farm Workers, the Mine Worker's strike, the Farah strike, and many others. Their program for labor union phantasies making industry more "efficient" which translates to speed-ups, lay-offs, and no more strikes. This is the program of fascism.

Information in this article was taken from a leaflet distributed by the Committee Against Right Wing Attacks in Seattle (206) 622-0195.

Asylum for Peltier

Continued from p. 7

was shipped back to the U.S., where he was ultimately imprisoned for a term of 23 years for manslaughter (a bystander had been killed during the bombing).

In the Peltier case, the judge managed to ignore a whole range of evidence that clearly showed the AIM member would be singled out for persecution on the basis of his political beliefs if he were returned to the U.S. —Seventy per cent of the white population of South Dakota believed him guilty even before he went to trial, according to an extensive poll.

—AIM has been subject to a deliberate "dirty tricks" counter-offensive by the U.S., which includes harassment through phoney arrests, trumped-up charges and long, involved and costly court cases.

—Peltier's close friend, Anna Mae Aquash, was murdered with a bullet in the back of her head under mysterious circumstances in

South Dakota shortly after her arrest on a phoney charge. The FBI at first tried to palm it off as death due to exposure.

—U.S. authorities have consistently used tainted and bought-off testimony and harassment and terrorism by a para-military intervention on the part of the FBI and other government agencies, which are conducting a Vietnam-style pacification program under such code names as Operation Code Splicer and Garden Plot.

Like the anarchist Meunier, who was shipped home because his militant native movement of North America is equally worrisome to the Canadian and U.S. governments. Considering the extent of oppression of native people from the High Arctic to southern Canada, it would undoubtedly benefit Ottawa to assist the U.S. in destroying the most active elements of AIM. After all, the Mounties have already publicly branded the native movement as a "principal threat to the peace and stability of Canadian society."

But the same sort of public opinion that saved the bourgeoisie rebels of the century is now being mobilized to force the Canadian judiciary to force the second link to their current dilemma of political. A key element in the campaign is a flurry of letters, telegrams and other representations on behalf of Peltier to be sent to Justice Minister Ron Basford, c/o The House of Commons, Ottawa, Ont., Canada. More information on the case is available from the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, Box 758, Station 6, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

from their 1968 campaign against local community control of the schools in New York:

"One lesbian-whore, one homosexual, and one black macho sufficed to get the Spanish moccas aroused for Bro Luis Fuentes, head hog of Rockefeller's mop-up operation against the United Federation of Teachers (UFT)."

As for their role as a "working class" organization, their record speaks for itself. The New York UFT strike in 1968 against community control of the schools is the only one they have supported. Since then they have decided that strikes are generally "counter-revolutionary" and they have agitated against the United Farm Workers, the Mine Worker's strike, the Farah strike, and many others. Their program for labor union phantasies making industry more "efficient" which translates to speed-ups, lay-offs, and no more strikes. This is the program of fascism.

Argentine unions

Continued from p. 6

textile and agricultural industries. Today, taking the devaluation of the peso into account, Argentine workers earn an average of \$30 per

month. Over all the Argentine working class is unionized. From the early days, the Argentine labour movement has been rooted in militant unionism. The major labour federations in the early part of this century were the anarchist-led CGT (Confederacion Obrera Regional Argentina (FORA) and the syndicalist Union Sindical Argentina (USA). In 1930 the USA joined with the socialist railway workers to form the General Labour Confederation (CGT) which eventually became dominated by the Peronist movement, thus diluting its class line. FORA, once the strongest single federation, was severely repressed in the Thirties and no longer exists as a large union federation although it is still an active anarcho-syndicalist organization. One of FORA's meeting halls was dynamited by right-wingers last year.

Since being absorbed by Peronism, the CGT has often acted as a brake on workers' militancy and there have been constant fratricidal battles between the organization's left and right wings.

In 1968 the situation began to change when militant unions which had fought the dictatorship of General Onganía formed the CGT de los Argentinos (CGTA). However, as a formal body the CGTA was dismembered after the workers' uprisings in 1969. The culminated in the "Cordoba

zo" with workers fighting the state and factories occupying the industrial sectors of Cordoba, Argentina's largest metal and machinery producing city.

Parallel Struggles

From that time, militant workers began forming parallel organizations within the CGT and have continued to function within the legal union structures in spite of repressive laws. According to Raimondo Ongaro, the CGT's secretary general, CGTA: "One would say today that the union bureaucracy is practically powerless, and that the active and combative organizations are very strong in the factories..."

The workers and their families receive medical assistance, social security, and other benefits, as well as legal defense of their rights, through the official union institutions. However this affiliation is of no use to them when it comes to salary demands and working conditions, and they can't use the legal union to demand modification of forms of production and distribution of goods. They have also established "struggle commissions" both within and without the factories, outside the unions and the federations recognized by the government."

The characteristics of the rank file organizing described by Ongaro are strikingly similar to positions taken by the anarcho-syndicalist FORA almost twenty years ago. Right wing terms these organizing methods the work of "industrial guerrillas" and the description fills the government-controlled press. The generals have stressed over

and over that these "industrial guerrillas" are a major military threat, even more so than the armed guerrillas in the countryside.

On the basis of the working class struggle represented by the "industrial guerrillas," Ongaro maintains that a united opposition to the junta can be built. On the trade union level, this means a "Union Resistance Front," heir to the strength and tradition of the network of area, sector and industrial unions of workers. And on the political level, a "National Liberation Front," open to all resistors.

The multi-class Peronist tradition has collapsed, according to Ongaro, "under the weight of the economic crisis into which the so-called Peronist government led the country, as well as under the weight of class conflict which leaves no room for a third force. The Peronists have won the struggle in favour of the Peronist movement. They can now ally themselves with socialists of other parties, and other traditions, against the junta and against the league of all reactionary forces, including those fascist Peronists who have now left their dirty masks."

Ongaro emphasized that the liberation front cannot be one which discriminates against those comrades who practice armed struggle. "I have chosen a different road," he said, "but if once criticized they are not allowed to carry on, I cannot strike without guns in their hands, today I have come to understand their lesson and their example. The liberation front will not be negotiated!"

"Don't Play the Chords of Fame"

Phil Ochs

By Ken Casaco

Phil Ochs, revolutionary troubadour to a generation of radicals, is dead.

The lost vision and pain which tied a rope around his neck in April was a dark reckoning with personal promises made and dreams unfulfilled by the social struggles of the Sixties.

Just as his songs often captured the spirit of the times, Phil's death was more than another rock'n'roll suicide. It was his final testament to a movement gone sour on itself. Phil Ochs died the suicide so many of us committed.

Jerry Rubin, one of Phil's closer friends, has written:

"Phil fed on the energy of the streets, he fed on the energy of his culture. And when the political movement disintegrated as a dramatic, unifying, exciting thing in the early Seventies, he couldn't identify with new developments. Somebody said that for Phil the words stopped coming. In a sense his own success betrayed him. He thought he had to continually out do himself, and in that competition he had to lose."

Trying To Be a Star
Phil Ochs, like the revolutionary movement itself, was consumed by his own self-image. He viewed the revolutionary process as a Hollywood film, an American success epic. He wanted to be a star, or rather an anti-star, whose greatness is recognized even though his success negates the system which made him possible.

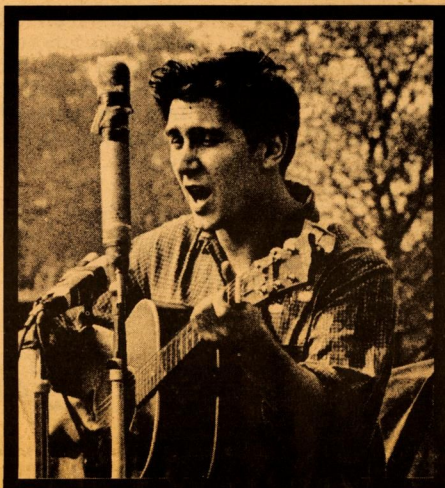
Phil fantasized that America could be shown to its foundations by a revolutionary rock'n'roller. He believed such a powerful image would be necessary to make a revolution of the working people in North America a viable proposition.

On his first album **Gunfight at Carnegie Hall—Starring Phil Ochs** his cinematic sense of fame and the dramatic quality of his own life were merged. On that album, which was released only in Canada, God died. The dead Phil Ochs the choice of coming back to earth as anyone he wants. Phil chooses to become Elvis "the ultimate American artist", but Elvis the avenger, the anti-star with the strength and personal dynamism to sweep away the old and usher in the new world. "If there's any hope for America," Phil raps, "it lies in a revolution. If there's any hope for a revolution in America it lies in getting Elvis Presley to become Che Guevara. Otherwise you're just beating your head against the wall..."

"**Gunfight**" is a tumultuous album, a microcosm of the Movement experience, in which Phil is alternately booted, jeered, and eventually cheered while the audience chanting "We Want Power!" when the amplification system is cut off. Through perseverance and vision the revolution triumphs. Phil was ecstatic with the show and the subsequent album, he was crushed when it received only limited distribution and circumstances prevented a tour with the new show.

For Phil, the Carnegie Hall recording served as the practical application of the concepts explored in his last studio album of new songs. However, on reflection, **Phil Ochs' Greatest Hits** was his farewell album where he musically summed up his life and described his own demise with bravado and morbid accuracy. He wistfully sings of boyhood in Ohio, his teenage fantasies and idols, his personal relations, and his constant fascination and disenchantment with the multi-layered American Dream. "Chords of Fame", a song which also appears on "Gunfight", contains the prophetic line "God help the troubadour who tries to be a star."

Even though he remained on the sidelines, and generally refused to compromise his revolutionary principles, he longed for the same fickle finger which had touched Bobby Dylan and slipped out so many others less deserving. "You know for nine years," Phil would complain in 1970, "I



Phil Ochs at Newport Folk Festival 1963.

haven't been able to get on television, except on the straight news level where I'm singing in the background." Phil Ochs fell for the trap of fame. Like too many activists he lived his life by the reports and reviews meted out by the callous and uncomprehending media. To touch the stone reality of the New York Times and the columns of Rolling Stone was a validation of one's efforts. To be ignored in the headlines was to be deflated and useless. Phil was immersed in the struggle, but like most of the Movement he was trapped in American Dream time.

All the joy of creation, humans touching, people understanding, the high moments of social struggle are momentary and fragile. They are not enough to sustain a movement conceived of as a Hollywood film. In the final analysis only those achievements captured by the media appeared to be recognized even by our own people. COINTELPRO, Operation Chaos, the government murders and intrigues which set comrade against comrade merely laid the boots to a movement which was already a victim of its own contradictions, lack of compassion, and false expectations.

It was our own failure. A loss of vision, as much as any other factor, killed the Movement. We forgot the basic elements, love, freedom, and collective struggle which had enabled us to build the first popular revolutionary movement since the Dirty Thirties. By 1970 when the establishment

media began to put the revolution to sleep in the headlines, Phil's life began unraveling along with the Movement in the absence of artificial reinforcement and stimulation.

Throughout his life Phil Ochs took his lumps with the people. He followed in the tradition of activist songwriters Joe Hill and Woody Guthrie whose works represented the diverse struggles of their times. Phil dedicated his first book of songs "To the memory of Joe Hill, the Wobbly songwriter who received his royalties in the form of bullets from a firing squad."

A Sixties Story

For Phil, the Sixties began with fifteen days for vagrancy in a Florida slammer. While there he got the idea of becoming a journalist with the aim of exposing and rectifying the wrongs of the system. In college he learned to play the guitar and write songs. After being censured by the campus newspaper for his radical views Phil turned to songwriting and performing fulltime. His songs and personal development chronicled the events and moods of the decade which saw the re-awakening of revolutionary consciousness amongst a portion of the North American people.

The U.S. invasion of Cuba in 1961 was the incident which led a mid-West graduate of Stanton Military College to "pledge allegiance against the flag and the fog for which it stands" in 1969. "The Bay of Pigs made me a

socialist," Phil told a Vancouver interviewer in 1973.

The Kennedy brinkmanship over the Soviet missile bases in 1962 resulted in the sardonic "Talking Cuban Crisis." Yet in 1963 Phil would write "That was the President" in memory of the assassinated Kennedy, offering only the comment: "My Marxist friends can't understand why I wrote this song and that's probably one of the reasons why I'm not a Marxist. After the assassination Fidel Castro apily pointed out that only fools could rejoice at such a tragedy, for systems, not men, are the enemy."

As civil rights marches began to dominate the headlines Phil travelled to the southern states, writing many songs about the struggle including the classic "Here to the State of Mississippi" with its withering chorus:

"Here to the land you've torn out the heart of.
Mississippi find yourself another country to be part of."

At the height of the Watergate revelations the Phil would re-write the tune as "Here's to the State of Richard Nixon" and release it as his last record.

Cuba and the southern freedom rides served as lessons in anti-imperialism and racism. They were followed by the massive American involvement in Vietnam and the rising of the anti-war movement. Phil was among the first to organize and participate in the marches, rallies, and teach-ins. His songs "I Ain't Marching Anymore," "Draft Dodger Rag," "The War Is Over," "Is There Anybody Here?" "White Boots Marching in a Yellow Land," became the anthems of the Movement. After the Democratic Convention in 1968 where he played at the Yippie Festival of Life, collecting his fair share of abuse from the Chicago police, Phil began his "Rehearsals for Retirement" and his lyrics dwelled more directly on his personal feelings and revolution. "Can it be the War of Liberation has finally come home? Farewell to Fantasies, Folks." He wrote on the jacket of the tape from California:

About his own music Phil said "Most of my early songs were straight journalistic narratives of specific events, and the later ones have veered more in the direction of themes and events. All of them, though, are trying to make a positive point, even the ones that deal with tragic events. However, I do have to concur with some of the right-wing groups that consider topical songs subversive. These songs are definitely subversive in the best sense of the word. They are intended to overthrow as much ideology as possible, and hopefully, to effect some amount of change for the better."

In the Sixties Phil was almost legendary for the sheer volume and diversity of the songs he produced. The subject matter was as varied as his life and times. His biographical songs "Bound for Glory" and "Joe Hill" chronicled the modern sea disasters "The Thresher" and "The Scorpion Departs but Never Returns," are all masterpieces in their genre. "There But For Fortune," "Changes", and many others have been recorded numerous times by different artists. Phil was particularly proud of a version of "Power and the Glory" recorded by Anita Bryant on her patriotic songs album. He included a new version of the song on the flip side of his Nixon record.

Phil achieved his highest critical acclaim in **Pleasures of the Harbor**, an album in which he moved beyond the traditional forms of Folk Protest music. He was trying to break out of a straight-jacket and forge a new direction for intensely personal "political" songs. The album was directed to those "who say you must protest you must protest! It is your diamond duty" to which Phil replied "ah but in such an ugly time the true protest is beauty."

One of the cuts off the album, a sarcastic poke at apathy in America, called "Outside

continued on p. 31

Discography

All the News that's Fit to Sing, Elektra Records, EKS-7269.
"I Ain't Marching Any More", Elektra Records, EKS-7287.
Phil Ochs in Concert, Elektra Records, EKS-7310.
Pleasures of the Harbor, A&M Records, SP-4133.
Tape from California, A&M Records, SP-4148.
Rehearsals for Retirement, A&M Records, SP-4181.
Phil Ochs Greatest Hits, A & M Records, SP-4253
Gunfight at Carnegie Hall, A&M Records, SP-9010.

continued from p. 13

anarchism. As a matter of fact they are anarchists. This change has come about recently, I would say within the last eight months, to my knowledge. They're widely read. No doubt they've read about it before and probably they've thought about it but, I mean, the decision to embrace revolutionary anarchism is recent. We exchanged letters after they were incarcerated and I was still incarcerated. I've sent them anarchist material and I've also asked people on the West Coast to send them reading material, books on anarchism to further raise their consciousness and inform them of the different facets of anarchism. The last letters I got from Bill and Emily as well as Joe and Russ, have shown that they have embraced anarchism and they're very happy about it and they're still studying, naturally, like all of us. We're still studying, analyzing, and building. It's a very heavy step and a step in the right direction because it's a step toward maximum freedom. It's a step away from the party line philosophy where others are in orders and you follow. It's a step toward greater independence of thought and action.

I have supported these brothers and this sister even before they were captured. I was one of the few voices on the Left which supported them in the way while they were still fugitives. So the fact that I was a revolutionary anarchist made them look at me a little heavier because they saw by my letter that it was a question of justice and a question of principle that, regardless of whether you're a Marxist-Leninist or any other type of Leftist, one should not side with the enemy denouncing a comrade because the comrade's activity does not seem correct in one's eyes. If you read some of the denunciations in the Left papers — calling the SLA terrorist and this and that — they were indistinguishable from what the New York Times and New York Daily News were saying.

So, these comrades in prison now are sincere comrades who should receive the help of all the Left and all persons of conscience to get them out. They're victims of the State and they've given their all. They've put their lives on the line. They've gone beyond just speaking rhetoric. They're definitely in the vanguard and they used all means necessary to overthrow the system. You can't ask any more than that. This is who you know. You can't give more than that; than when you put your life on the line.

So I urge everyone to support these comrades by using all means necessary to get them out of this death grip that the enemy has upon them.

Q—How do you respond to the legal revolutionaries who tell us that armed action comes after mass consciousness has been raised and that it's the people who ... the people aren't ready for revolution yet?

A—Well, that's a cop-out. I've always said that's a cop-out for not doing anything. That's a cop-out to usually hide one's cowardice to confront the system, to stand up and do what has to be done. Whenever there's oppression it's time to oppose oppression by all means necessary. There's no way they can defend that the people aren't ready. The people have always been ready. It's those who make the cop-outs that are not ready and they're trying to push it onto the people.

It's just like when they have some of these marches. You get permission from the police department if you're going to march on Washington and the police department and you sit down and determine the route that you should march so everything is nice and orderly. In fact, the police will even escort you with motorcycles to make sure everything is orderly. There may be a helicopter up ahead. You have your marshals with the armbands to make sure that nobody deviates from the preset plan which you and the State have worked out. You finally get to this place where you have the police lines with barricades. They confine you in there just like cattle in a pen, you know what I mean. Then you've got your speakers. They even know who's going to speak because you had to give them that in advance. You make your speeches and everyone gets their frustration off. You may have a little folk music and whatnot to entertain the people. Everyone has a good time and then it's time to go home. The marshals and the police clear them and everyone gets on the buses and trains and leaves.

Somewhere along the line the original objective and the anger is pacified. Everything is nice and orderly and according to a preset plan. By the numbers, as they say in the Army. And the State suffers no injury.

Q—When you were in prison you went through the transition from Black Muslim to anarchist. Would you outline some of the experiences that prompted the change?

A—Well, you missed a step. It was from Black Muslim to party lineist to anarchist. I became a Marxist-Leninist of the party-line type and then an anarchist when I saw the continual fuck-ups. I didn't completely go against the ideology, or say everything Marx and Lenin said was wrong. But it was the whole structure. The whole replacement of one State by another, the restriction of personal freedom which can occur under any ideology if it's not carried out the basic objective in mind to prevent the cause of human freedom to its highest degree. To me, the struggle for liberation, which is used loosely, ultimately boils down to the individual exertion of his or her faculties to the fullest extent.

I don't care what ideology you have, it isn't good if it doesn't afford a person, first, personal freedom on its most basic personal individual level. That is my concept of the struggle or the way of liberation. It's not to replace one State by another, it's to liberate the individual. I have not seen any State or government or society, whether it's socialist or capitalist, where this freedom exists. Now, I'm not saying other States may not evolve. In fact, many party-lineers and Marxist-Leninists defend some of the repression and restrictions on human rights by saying that this is merely a step in the way, that eventually it will be a stateless society, that it will wither, that it will be an anarchistic form of society, an egalitarian society and not another authoritarian State. That may be true but I can only go by what has gone on in the past, what I see now and my projections of the future. So I'm trying to make sure in my dealings, in anything I have something to do with, that it starts off right so it'll end up right. I want to start off with an anarchistic form of society rather than starting with a central headquarters and saying "well, eventually we'll get rid of the headquarters." That's what I'm striving for. And the fact that my defense committee, an anarchist structure, proved successful is evidenced by my being here. This has encouraged me because I have been trying to live an anarchist life on a personal level but it was never tested in a concrete form until this defense committee was organized. That was the only real test and it proved successful. But this is my intent and I intend to project anarchist philosophy through everything I do.

Q—How were your defense committees structured?

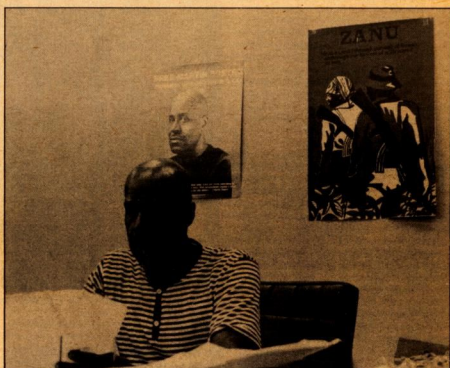
A—It's unlike the average defense committee or organization which has a central headquarters. All the pigs have to do is infiltrate the headquarters and they have the files of everyone, all the activity of the whole network and they're able to deal with you. Whereas in our case, if let's say, the New York defense committee was infiltrated by pigs, or even taken over like some of the chapters in the Panther party were, it still would not have given them any info as to what was happening in, let's say, the Tucson, Ariz., defense committee. They would have to send one of their men to infiltrate it. Each committee would have to be infiltrated individually. We're not making it easy for them.

The reason for autonomy was not only security. Let's say headquarters, as often happens, issues the wrong orders or makes an error. With the wrong order issued and everyone following it like a goose, the whole network could go over the cliff. It's impossible, if headquarters are in New York, for them to know what's happening in Tucson, Ariz., or Eugene, Ore. or even in Potsdam, N.Y., just three hundred miles from New York City. This is just common sense but evidently a lot of people don't see it. They would rather have a central committee type of organization issuing orders hundreds, sometimes thousands of miles away, without even knowing what's happening in the area. Whereas each person knows his or her area and is directly connected to the circumstances, the people and the lay of the land.

So I found it very effective to have a decentralized committee structure that way, although I had a lot of opposition. Some of my own supporters called me crazy, said that it couldn't work, that I was hurting my

MARTIN SOSTRE

"Many call it prisoners' rights, but I don't make any separation. This is a prison out here, too. As long as you are oppressed by the State and the State is in control this is a minimum security prison. Inside is maximum security."



ALLAN EARLE PHOTO

own cause, that I would have to serve the forty-one years. A couple of them quit because they wanted to become the headquarters. But the fact that I'm out here now, talking to you, proves the correctness of my decision, even though I don't have any pattern to go by, because I don't know of any other defense committee structured this way. There may be some but I don't know of any.

I saw my defense committees as a structure for the future, a microcosm of the bases I was going to build and continue even after I got out, which I'm doing. The show isn't over just because I got out. "Okay, Martin's out and we're successful. Everyone packs up and leaves." This is the basis of the continuing struggle because the struggle for human rights is what it's all about. Not just prisoner's rights is or to just get Martin Sostre out. I was the priority but I never conceived of the defense committee as just an ad hoc thing that would pack up after I got out. In fact, I just came from Potsdam (N.Y.) where the Martin Sostre defense committee is stronger than before. It changed its name to the North Country defense committee and they have emerged as a political force up in the North Country. This is what I conceive, we're talking about organizing a food co-op, maybe buying some land up there and building on it, having different co-ops like a book co-op or a dry cleaners and many other enterprises eventually. And being able to produce a microcosm of the society that we're trying to build. Something concrete to show the people instead of just rhetoric.

Q—So those defense committees that were set up are going to continue to function. What's your relationship to those committees going to be?

A—At the beginning I'm going to have to be a coordinator now that I'm getting all

this publicity about this victory. This was a great victory. There's very few victories we can point to. Forcing the power structure to release me, which they did only because they were forced to, is a victory that was achieved because of the unity of many people from many parts of the world. It even became an international victory with Amnesty International, with people from Holland, Germany, a lot of anarchist comrades from Japan, the anarchist group Black Cross from London. From all over. Many others contributed by writing letters, sending petitions to Governor Carey, putting my case in newsletters which evoked other letters. This victory is an example; the way we mobilized persons of conscience from all over the country and all over the world to force the State to disgorge me after they had buried me.

The same tactics could be used to put pressure on the State and force them to retreat while we advance. Only out here we're not limited to writing letters and telegrams, putting on political pressure, having Sakharov call from Moscow, sending telegrams to Ford and seizing upon the hypocrisy of United Nations delegate Moynihan when he made the resolution that all other countries should release their political prisoners. That's when we had the London Amnesty International send him and the press a telegram saying, "okay, since you're so magnanimous and you want all other countries to release their political prisoners, why not follow your own advice and start with political prisoner Martin Sostre?" That put them up against the wall. These are the methods of the system that you have to use to show up the contradictions. But out here we're not limited to that because we will use all means necessary, including the methods used by George Washington and our founding fathers. After they exhausted everything else they had to pick up the gun. So this is what we're going

to have to do to overthrow this State.

Q—What's your impression of the current anarchist movement?

A—The current anarchist movement is not dynamic enough. There's no life like there should be. Anarchism itself, by its very nature, is a dynamic, natural force. It can be revived at any time through spirit rising examples like the anarchists in the old days of Bakunin. This is what anarchism lives on. On deeds instead of words, on action instead of inaction. I am trying my damndest to bring this about through my personal conduct, by bringing this to the attention of many anarchists who have been indistinguishable from party lineists. I call them armchair anarchists.

I'm confining my remarks to this country because, as you know, there are heavier anarchists in other parts of the world, like in Germany. But here, I think that the coming tide of fascism will force many comrades to come out of their lethargy and put into practice the original anarchist tradition of not being the detonators of revolution, but also of making it an objective reality. Not just detonating the revolution to have it ripped off by party lineists as has traditionally happened, but making the object of the revolution the life to build the first anarchist base from which the other bases will emerge and from which the deeds will inflame the spirit of the masses.

Revolutionary anarchism we have an abundance of examples. All through history, including the Russian revolution, the anarchists have been the detonators. The relation of the long hot summer, although it was not recognized as such by even the Leftists, was that that if it wasn't anarchism?

Anarchism is the spontaneity of the people. This is a natural thing, not something you have to ponder too much. It's just like when somebody tries to break into your crib (home) or somebody attacks you in the street. There is a natural response of aggression and to aggression. This is a natural response which is inherent in the mechanism that all of us have for survival. I don't see where anarchism is anything different than just human survival against the natural response with which all of us are endowed but which has been dampened by society, by the State, to make it appear that it's a bad thing, that you should not respond in this manner, and that you should respond according to some pattern that others set out for you.

Q—What's your attitude toward Marxist-Leninist anti-imperialist struggles like the Viet Cong or MPLA?

A—My attitude toward those is that they help weaken the imperialist octopus and will make it easier for us anarchists to deal with. There's going to be much competition. I perceive a situation emerging something like Angola itself, where the different factions contended for power even though they were fighting against the Portuguese.

I don't see it as a simple thing where all the different factions will join. There's going to be competition. There is competition now between the Leftist groups. I see that state of affairs, especially when the United States, this monster, main base of imperialist oppression, starts tottering, it'll be up for grabs. I can see many groups, not only the Marxist-Leninists fighting among themselves, just like China and Russia are competing now.

Or it may be a situation like in Russia where the anarchist Nestor Makhno fought, had an army, and controlled a certain area until he was ripped off. That's why we've got to strengthen and prepare ourselves. We better for our own survival. We better start building our army. We better start building our bases. We better start preparing because it's coming very soon. Imperialism is in on its knees. Now they're getting ready to battle for South Africa and Rhodesia, which they're going to lose just like they lost the Vietnam War and Angola. That is the demise of this country. In the next two to three years this State will be overthrown and we better be at the helm for our defense. If another State rises we anarchists — well, I don't have to tell you what's going to happen.

Q—What are the terms of your parole now?

A—My parole ends in the year 2001. However, if I stay out without violating (this is my parole) for five years I have a chance to get that parole off. But the

parole officer intimated that I shouldn't be speaking like I am. Agitating and advocating overthrow of the government using all means necessary, at universities and everywhere I speak. When I went to report to him several weeks ago he had some clippings from a local newspaper or a place where I had spoken. He questioned whether or not this type of public speaking would be harmful to me. Naturally he couldn't tell me to stop speaking because there's freedom of speech and legally he can't do it. But he hinted that this type of thing might be detrimental to me.

So I told him that I didn't think it would be, that I think it's my duty to speak and tell all the people about the brutality, the brutality, the racism and the torture that I've been subjected to. And it's the people's right of information to know what's going on and what their tax dollars were used for. I feel that it's my duty, the same way that I resisted the rectal examination and the unconstitutional acts against me. I think I have a right to tell the people and the people have a right to know under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. I'm exercising this right and I don't see any way it could hurt me. So he shrugged his shoulders and told me, "Well, Martin I don't know, maybe you should think about it a little more you know." Then he changed the subject.

They're not pleased at all that I'm attacking the government. I'm using the bi-essential as an example for equating what was done to this when all other means were exhausted, which in my estimation they have been — legal means because there's no justice in the courts; administrative means under the 3rd Constitution. He's not cared less. They throw complaints in the waste basket and nothing is done. So the people are going to have to use all means necessary which includes revolution. I'm named after the father and the so-called founding fathers, and picking up the gun and everything else, they don't like that type of talk.

So if they violate me, you know where that means I'm going to be because I'm vulnerable. Being on parole I'm merely out on a leash. They can pull the leash back.

Q—Are there any final comments or statements you'd like to make?

A—Yes, I would like to thank all of the thousands and tens of thousands of supporters, nationally and internationally, who combined resolutely to force the power structure to release me.

Many of you wrote to Governor Carey and the other politicians, demanding my release. Many of you participated physically in demonstrations and sit-ins. Many of you signed petitions which eventually were sent to Governor Carey and the other officials. Many of you contributed funds which were used to print leaflets, buy stamps, print brochures and make posters to publicize my situation. Many of you eventually worked in the defense committees, stuffing envelopes, running mimeographs and doing other work. Some of you were members of the defense committees and went to meetings that mobilized people, showed the film on my case and did other work.

It was the sum total of all this activity that finally forced the repressive State to disgorge me from the dungeons. Otherwise I would have been killed because of the eleven beatings and I know that the cumulative effect of that eventually would have gotten to me and destroyed me. And that was the purpose; to destroy me. I would have been killed because I broke my spirit. They knew the pounding on me would eventually have its toll. In addition to the tear gassing and being locked in the cage twenty-four hours a day without sunlight and necessities, I was put out of doors naked in six degrees sub-freezing weather.

So not only do I wish to thank you but I wish to keep in mind the example of this victory. The same principles apply in effecting change, in forcing the State to do what we want, because only through this combination of pressure and acts against the State can we achieve our goals.

So I say that we escalate, that we use all means necessary and I mean they're not limited to these things I just mentioned — all means that are necessary — to overthrow this capitalist State and replace it with an egalitarian society where we can all exercise our faculties and our personal freedoms to the maximum, without having the State co-opt it. Then we can all live crumb by crumb, whenever they want to.

FRETILIN holds out in Timor

continued from p. 6



East Timor located 400 miles north of Australia

able and fixed prices. On the student front UNETIM began to attack authoritarian methods in the schools and to demand more relevant curricula. The students participated in mass literacy campaigns in the countryside which have been among the most important elements of the decolonization program. Literacy is seen as a basic political necessity, without which the economic and political reforms will be doomed to failure. Before the campaign 93 per cent of the Timorese were illiterate.

The literacy scheme goes hand in hand with a health scheme that gives priority to hygiene and preventative medicine. The physical effects of Portuguese colonialism can be seen in a 50 per cent mortality rate among children under 5 and in the highest TB rate in the world. Malaria, leprosy and elephantiasis remain endemic.

Great importance is placed on the need for health workers at the local level rather than for expatriate health workers of highly-trained specialists. Above all, the health system must not contribute to the development of a class.

FRETILIN had begun to train some hundred health workers at the time of the Indonesian invasion. Last week 15 Indonesian soldiers were killed in Baucau (where East Timor's only

international airport is located) while attempting to attack a FRETILIN post. In Lariga, 12 Indonesians were killed.

"Indonesian forces were shelling Calicaco... and FRETILIN forces entrenched on Mount Kahlak. Six Indonesian warships were shelling the north coast between Dili and Atabae... an area controlled by FRETILIN."

Readers can keep informed of the struggle in East Timor by subscribing to the monthly Bulletin of the British Campaign for Independent East Timor, 40 Concanon Road, London, SW7 2BN, England.

Most of this article is excerpted from a much longer article which appeared in Race & Class (Vol. 17, No. 4) available from the Institute of Race Relations, 247-9 Pentonville Road, London N1, England. (\$4).

Popular power in Chile

continued from p. 4

June, 1976, more than 500 were arrested. The DINA (the Chilean Gestapo) has hired some 100,000 men of the Nazi Gestapo, Walter Julius Rauff, to ply his trade in its torture chambers. Rauff, who worked for Eichmann and who has been in the trucks, turned up in the employ of the generals after managing to withstand an attempt by the West German government to extradite him for war crimes.

Popular Power

MIR policy aims at the creation of a Political Front of all UP parties, independent workers and disaffected members of the centrist Christian Democrats. The Front must be led by the working class, which will have as its basic organizational cell the Popular Revolution Committee. The Socialist Party supports this position, but the Communist Party has ordered its remaining militants within Chile to steer clear of the rank-and-file committees and instead to work through the traditional parties which are hoping for a return to the pre-junta system of multi-party bourgeois parliamentarism.

The position of MIR is that the working class doesn't want or need the cooperation of the CP. The MIR does not overthrow the junta and to proceed immediately to the social revolution and working class power in Chile. The CP, the MIR does not believe that the general



represent fascists; unlike 'classical' fascists, they do not enjoy the tightly-controlled support of a mass movement, and they have not been able to create conditions for expansion and consolidation of Chilean capitalism.

According to a recently translated document, What is the MIR? which was directed to the Chilean workers, MIR wants to establish a form of popular power after the junta is overthrown. This popular power "will be exercised on the rank and file level of the people and will be protected by the organization of armed workers and campesinos. The primary Organ of proletarian power will be the Community Council of Workers, which will function as an executive body with direct representation from the work places and on a broader level there will be Community Assem-

blies of all the people, the highest organization of political life within the country. Everyone elected to these Councils will retain their position only so long as they maintain the confidence of those they represent; they will not lose their positions at will. The salary will be that of a worker."

As for the armed struggle, the lengthy MIR document also points out that in the process of the creation of the revolutionary social force, armed forms of struggle do not constitute themselves as a necessity only during the moment of the bid for power, it is necessary to introduce them gradually, as much in order to educate the proletariat and the masses in the use of revolutionary violence, as in order to wear down and demoralize the enemy's strength and to win over sections of the troops in their armed forces."

On an international level MIR emphasizes that the political-military struggle of the Chilean working class must be integrated into a continent-wide movement. That's why it has helped to create the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Southern Cone (CJCR), which also represents the ERP of Argentina, the Tupamaros of Uruguay and the ELN of Bolivia.

Copies of What is the MIR? are available from the Chile Solidarity Committee, Box 69430, Station "K", Burnaby, Canada.

"Violence ... isn't unique to the underground movement."

continued from p. 10

back the initiative—the offensive—and then create the conditions of popular support so the SLA could rebuild a strong base.

"Even though the action itself and the food program did succeed in bringing the SLA into the spontaneous movement," Harris concludes, "many problems resulted—the SLA underestimated the all-out repression of the police. (The SLA's) impatience pushed them to premature action—premature in the sense that they were unprepared to coordinate and bring together and organize the spontaneous momentum sparked by their actions."

In an answer to their critics written in *Hipster* this month Harris has said, "Regardless of the shortcomings and errors of the SLA, the food giveaway program showed many thousands of people throughout this country and the world that the SLA's commitment was in the interest of the people and further confirmed what has already been shown throughout the history of people's resistance—that a determined guerrilla front can creatively relate to the needs. The failure of the FBI to capture us for over a year—and a half not only exposed them as a domestic paper tiger, but revealed the extent and depth of our support in the community and the threat to the government posed by this growing base."

On the wider question of the relevancy of armed struggle at this time in North America Emily Harris has stated: "A lot of people in the Left feel that the underground is premature—that there are still legal options open to people and that an underground isn't necessary until all these options have been subverted. But we have seen that people's options are being continually undermined. When their efforts become a threat to the status quo, they're wiped out, locked up, neutralized and/or bought off the way the early women's movement was after the turn of the century, the way a lot of labour struggles were during the Thirties, and the way the Civil Rights movement, the anti-war movement and the Black Panthers were in the Sixties."

Prepare for Struggle

"We feel that the underground needs to be developed for a force—to be built, to refine its skills and its political perspective so that as legal methods for change are cut off, we won't be caught off guard and unprepared."

"Violence in this country isn't unique to the revolutionary underground. There's been State-sanctioned and sanctioned violence against people in the United States ever since this country was first colonized, and people have been forced to turn to their own forms of violence to counter that throughout history. Revolutionary violence is simply a response—an extreme measure to counter extreme conditions. But I don't think that



Charred photo of early SLA found after the Los Angeles shootout in May 1974 in which six members died.

people will fully accept the use of violence until they've seen, through their own experience, the nature of the force against them, and realize there's something we can do about it."

Since the SLA became public it has been plagued by false accusations and connected with actions in which they took no part. In their

open letter to critics, the Harris' wrote that the SLA had no part in the murder of California Prisoners' Union organizer Popeye Jackson, with which they had been accused by the authorities. Members of rival prisoners' group the Tribal Thumb, have since been charged with the killing, which the SLA termed counter-revolution-

ary. The Harris' also denied killing a woman bank employee, a former police chief, or threatening to kill Maalik el Maalik (a person they had never heard of), or having a death list of California prison inmates, all acts which the authorities have accused or connected with them. According to the Harris' "The

objective of these tricks has been two-fold. The first motive is political and entails the tactic of divide-and-conquer. By branding us as criminals or as CIA operatives, police agencies hope to isolate us and other revolutionaries from the larger mass of struggling people; and therefore, erode or prevent the building of mass

support for revolutionary change." The second motive has been to hopelessly prejudice an already unequal judicial process against the SLA.

The alternative media has generally been prepared to abdicate responsibility to its community by superficially re-writing the authorities' press releases on guerrilla actions and editorializing in a manner which lends credibility to the government's gross allegations. Captured revolutionaries and the reasons for their armed actions apparently do not make good radical news. Instead of using such revolutionary actions as a starting point for real investigation and propaganda work around the political issues on which the guerrillas have focused attention, the alternative media has followed the establishment lead in speculating on the guerrilla personalities and background, the police investigation, and the sensational, safe and easy reproduction of common techniques without comment.

A publication handling guerrilla actions politically, may even publicly disagree with the method, but its obligation must be to concentrate the bulk of its energy on fleshing out and investigating the issues crudely raised by an armed action. The public must be armed with information to counter the government's phony emphasis on radical violence.

For more information on the clandestine revolutionary struggle in the U.S., subscribe to *Dragon*, Box 4344, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. \$5 for 6 months. Contact: Bill and Emily Harris Beach, 204 Ave. B, Redondo Beach, Cal. 90277

Work roles challenged by militant women

continued from p. 5

dictional and bureaucratic hassles that workers would have to go through in unions affiliated to the Canadian Labour Congress or the AFL-CIO.

While there is increasing unionization among government workers, and a growing possibility of a common front of all public employees, little headway is being made in organizing women in private industry. In downtown Vancouver, for instance, aside from women employed by government, of the few thousand female workers who belong to unions, most work for three firms: a power utility and an auto insurance company, both of which are government-owned; and the telephone company which is government-regulated. The head offices of large private companies, such as forestry giant MacMillan Bloedel or women-owned; are the employees of the large retail stores and the banks.

The problems facing SORWUC are inherent in the position of women in the work force. The skills that women commonly require for jobs—general literacy, typing, shorthand, facility

with figures, business machinist operation, department, genitalia are taught or encouraged in the regular school system. Despite being real skills, they are not in short supply. Many more women have these skills than are required in offices, restaurants, stores or banks. The actual rate of unemployment for women is much higher than government figures suggest. We can see this from the fact that over 90 per cent of men in the age group 20-24 are in the labor force but only 60 per cent of women. The difference is even more extreme in the ages between 25-34. Here 97 per cent of men are in the labor force and only 38.5 per cent of women. Although this is explained by women returning to the home and raising children, the explanation doesn't alter the reality that for every woman working there is another woman, not working, who could do her job.

The buyer's market for women workers is the main reason that wages for women have been as low as they are. But unions can and do alter the supposedly natural laws of the marketplace. The best example of the successful termination of a buyer's market for labor is in the



Children on the picket line, unique to women strikers. PARSONS PHOTO

construction industry. Here, too, there are many more workers with the ability and the desire to do the work than there are jobs available. But through union-controlled hiring, union oversight of apprenticeships, militancy and solidarity, construction workers have been able to protect their jobs and even to win the best wages of any category of workers. Like the construction industry, women in clerical

and service occupations are confronted with a multitude of small companies, each of which must be separately organized. Small employers directly supervise their employees and are often more hostile to unions than is big business. Such employers consider unionization of their employees to be a personal affront. But not even big business has accepted collective bargaining rights for workers in retail and

wholesale trade, in finance, commerce, or in the service industry. They don't accept such unionization because they see it as a serious threat to the control by capital over the means of production.

So long as capital controls distribution, finance, and the co-ordination of economic activity, unions in production are powerless to do much more than bargain over wages and working conditions. But as unionism spreads among clerical workers it extends into the centers of decision-making. Most workers may still think that owners of the means of production play a necessary role in the economy. But owners and managers have fewer illusions. The boss realizes that his secretary knows more about the day-to-day operation of the business than he does. He knows he can be replaced.

"The workers of these participating work places are quite conscious that changing their living and working conditions can only be done by a change in society which the workers will determine," concludes the declaration.

Contact: SORWUC at 3484 Oxford St., Vancouver, B.C.

A.R.M. statement

continued from p. 5

peet for people and for differences. We recognize that, in the absence of models, no one has a blueprint of how to make the revolution, and that diversity, initiative, and experimentation among serious people respecting and supporting each other are a strength and not a weakness."

The tentative principles which guide the organizing of ARM flow out of their basic analysis. Organizationally they believe that the best form at the present time is small autonomous groups and collectives communicating with and freely supporting each other. Such groups provide the best chance for initiative, growth and experimentation as well as, the best defense against repression and infiltration.

The ARM core group also favours both aboveground

and underground forms of struggle, with a specific emphasis on methods of direct action that have a psychological and objective liberating effect. "We support struggles and actions that rock the boat; that disturb the working of the empire and the State; that kick the shins out from under the system and help bring it down; that weaken the ability of the ruling class to govern; and tend to destroy its self-concept. The document states.

In general ARM opposes forms of struggle which place reliance on the system, tend to institutionalize the "opposition" within the system, or provide careers for "movement leaders" within the system, or that tend to encourage dependence or passive dependence on a "vanguard" in the movement. They support the economic struggles of poor

and working people; the struggles of prisoners and mental patients for human rights; the struggles of Third World peoples in the U.S. against the racist system; and the struggles of women and sexual minorities against the sexist authoritarian structure and for personal freedom - while criticizing and combating tendencies toward co-optation or vanguardism and elitism arising out of these struggles.

The Anti-authoritarian Revolutionary Movement (ARM) document, is presently at the draft stage and represents the viewpoint of only a small group of people in Seattle. They are interested in initiating discussion and receiving criticism on the document. Complete copies are available by writing ARM c/o Left Bank Books; 92 Pike Street, Seattle, Washington 98101.

ONE FINAL PROTEST

Phil Ochs

support for anything I felt, was healthy and organic. And support for the basic spectrum of the left wing. At the time of '68 it led me to supporting McCarthy and supporting the Yippies and being one of the Yippies founders along with Rubin, Hoffman and Krasser."

Now that he's gone the magnitude of Phil's contribution to the social movements of the Sixties is becoming apparent. Almost every radical community can recall causes and people's events which were benefited by a Phil Ochs appearance. Phil was one of the few committed musicians who showed up where he was needed regardless of his risks. In Vancouver, Phil played for free in 1968 to save the fledgling **Georgia Straight** underground newspaper which was under legal attack; and in 1970 he came to play at the illegal "Party" which saw 1500 culture freaks defy the Vancouver City government by occupying Stanley Park for a weekend; in 1971 he returned with Jon Mitchell to fill the Pacific Coliseum, raising thousands of dollars for the first Greenpeace expedition to the Amchitka nuclear test site.

On many occasions Phil took the initiative and played an organizing role in the development of important political events. In the last years of his life he helped to organize a Vietnam Victory rally, drawing 70,000 people to New York's Central Park, and a major benefit for Chile, featuring Dylan and the old folkies from the early Sixties. In many ways these gatherings of friends were the prototypes for the Rolling Thunder Review which has recently toured areas of the United States.

Up to the end Phil had plans for a super-Benefit to Save New York. He also provided funds and inspiration for the establishment of a radical coffeehouse called "Che's". However, he became increasingly despondent and increased his heavy drinking when his songwriting failed to develop.

In six years he had recorded barely enough songs to fill an album, and he felt the quality of the material did not compare with his earlier efforts. He had taken to world travelling, visiting South America (where he played with the martyred Chilean folk-singer Victor Jara), Australia, Southeast Asia, and finally Africa. In Africa he wrote two songs: one about the life of the Swahili herdsman and the other a general freedom song based on a traditional melody. Both songs were translated into African languages. Unfortunately Phil's vocal chords were severely injured when he was mugged and choked during his stay in Africa.

Months before his suicide, rumours of Phil's erratic depressed behaviour circulated and increased his heavy drinking when he was mugged and choked during his stay in Africa. Months before his suicide, rumours of Phil's erratic depressed behaviour circulated and increased his heavy drinking when he was mugged and choked during his stay in Africa. Months before his suicide, rumours of Phil's erratic depressed behaviour circulated and increased his heavy drinking when he was mugged and choked during his stay in Africa.

The depth of his artistic dilemma and personal alienation from the revolutionary movement he served is expressed in "No More Songs", the closing cut on **Phil Ochs' Greatest Hits**:

"Hello, hello, hello
Is there anybody home
I only called to say I'm sorry
I was out there
And all the voices gone
And I see that there
Are no more songs.

Even in his own pain and loneliness Phil Ochs felt he had to apologize to the people for not being the star he felt they needed. Now, hundreds of people will sing Phil's songs just as they have adopted the words of Joe Hill and Wally Gurner. Perhaps they would do well to remember Phil's admonishment in "Bound for Glory":

"Now they sing out his praises
on every distant shore,
But so few remember
what he was fighting for
Oh why sing the songs
about the man, the aim,
He wrote them for a reason,
why not sing them for the same."

Basques need support

continued from p. 8

They define "scientific materialism as a method of study and theoretical elaboration" and adopt federalism and decentralization as principles of work and organization. They believe the slogan "all power to the workers" is "achievable through direct and revocable representation of delegates of the workers' commissions elected for a definite task; its mandate is no longer valid when the task is done or by the decision of the assembly which elected them. Federalism also means: the possibility of a close relationship between commissions and factory and people's assemblies, based upon mutual recognition, identity of class interests, and workers' solidarity."

Askatasuna is deeply internationalist and rejects any form of nationalism, overt or camouflaged, but "defends, in relation to a Basque struggle (North and South Euskadi):

1) independence to fight the State and its repressive apparatus and the concrete forms in which capitalist exploitation manifests itself. (unemployment, underdevelopment in the North; industrial society in the South, etc.);

2) community in what corresponds to the cultural, linguistic, and specific problems of the Basque country."

They desire the realisation of a Basque confederation of free communities that would encompass the territories occupied by the French and Spanish States. Askatasuna does not defend "the creation of a libertarian federation of Euskadi because of our national essence," but because we believe it is the only method to defend against all types of centralism."

"Askatasuna", proclaims the organization's Platform, "considers that the emancipation of the Basque men and women, can only be realized within the framework of an egalitarian society. Orientated and administered by the workers them-

selves, this will emerge from the class struggle between workers and Basque capitalists and the consequent victory of the workers' state. Complete copies are available by writing ARM c/o Left Bank Books; 92 Pike Street, Seattle, Washington 98101.

The organization opposes the formation of "so-called workers' States" as a transitional stage towards communism. They base this position on a materialist study of the revolutionary experiences of the past and the defeats of the working class of the world. Instead, they propose the formation of class-roots structures, both in production and consumption, and in all other sectors of social life that tend toward the formation of the interests parties. They denounce "professional representatives and the delegation of powers without control and revocability from the base, which are a trampoline for all sorts of manoeuvres and manipulations by ambitious individuals and leading vanguards."

Askatasuna also gives its sympathy and critical support to "all workers' movements that even within the present system tend to test forms of self-management capable of serving as support for the great social transformation which is approaching."

The Basque libertarians need and request the aid of an international solidarity movement. They need material support, all forms of support of comrades directly involved in the struggle and for the publication of **Askatasuna**. In addition they are open to ideas and critical discussion.

The full texts of Askatasuna's "Principles" and Platform" can be obtained by writing to: Askatasuna Solidarity Fund, c/o Andy & Veronica McGowan, 83 Langside Terrace, Port Glasgow, Scotland. They can also receive donations and messages.

continued from p. 27

of a Small Circle of Friends" became one of the few original Ochs recordings to receive widespread AM radio play.

Phil Ochs' talents and creativity far exceeded the recognition the capitalist system and its cultural czars are prepared to grant a revolutionary. No matter how original, well-crafted, artistic, or moving his songs were, Phil was always culturally ostracized by the music establishment because of his tendency to practice what he preached. The same phenomenon greeted John Lennon's foray into political activism: bad reviews, sniping commentary, and no promotion.

Phil was also tormented by Bob Dylan. "Here's the man I most respect in the world," he would say, "telling me that 'Hey your writing is bullshit', essentially "Phil throughout his life carried out a masochistic relationship with Dylan. The two were constantly compared, with Phil increasingly getting the shaft because of his adherence to "politics" while Dylan moved further away from overt political statements to greater and greater critical acclaim.

During his productive years Phil's driving force was his ability to respond to his social environment in the form of songs. And the strength which carried him through the hard times was his close identification to the movements of the people throughout the world. "It's not enough to know the world is absurd and restrict yourself to pointing out that fact. To me this was the essential flaw of the fifties, great perception leading to inaction. There is to be any hope for the world this perception must lead to action." Phil maintained, "... It is wrong to expect a reward for your struggle. The reward is the act of struggle itself, not what you win... That's life."

Phil Ochs came with us all the way, through all the crazy changes. Politically he was ambivalent, straddling the gulf between the methods of the traditional Left which he intellectually endorsed and the creative unorthodox practice of the Yippies and other revolutionary formations to which he was culturally attuned.

Serving the People
"I've never been organized," he explained. "My basic position has always been

Pacific Life

continued from p. 9

paid. We don't relate personally to the campaign; we live together and share together and put our faith in social change through methods that others don't necessarily share."

While non-violence is an article of faith with Pacific Life members, so is political and social activism. They see apathy and indifference to oppression and injustice as a serious evil; that's why they support Third World liberation movements that defend themselves by fighting violence.

"We try to make a sharp distinction between the issues we are dealing with and the people we have to face," says Douglas. "We try to make the police, the military and other elites understand that we are not against them, but against the unjust

and inhuman system. "Our work is based on two principles: the respect for the people on the other side of the issue, and resistance to the system. That's what Gandhi called the Truth Force."

Pacific Life will be in Seattle federal court August 3 when two members face trial on charges of "deposition of government property" (a misdemeanor), for cutting down 150 feet of Trident fencing. On August 9, the 31st anniversary of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, Pacific Life will stage another intrusion of the Trident base. They've told the Navy they'll be there, they're sorry for going to say they're sorry. For more info contact them at 335 Eighth St., New Westminster, B.C. (phone 526-3259 or 331 7th Ave. East, Seattle, Wash. (phone 322-2447).

The Open Road
Box 6135, Station G
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Open Road



" ... And in the end they won the war ..."

- Bob Dylan