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- Roadside Notes

FROM EUROPE

Dear Betty Noir & The Open

First of all congratulations for having produced a really excellent magazine — one of the best we have seen in a long long time and our very best wishes for the future Perhaps we could come to some arrangement with you selling Black Flag over t and us selling Open Road here in Britain?

By the way, I'd appreciate it if you could send me another two copies of Open Road — one for Flavio Costantini who will be de-lighted at the write-up and the Sabate poster, and the other for Antonio Tellez, the author of Sabate.

That's all for the moment, but receive our warmest fraternal greetings and very best wishes for the next issue

and many many more

Fraternally. Stuart Christie Cienfuegos Press/Black

P.S. Albert Meltzer will probably be writing to you as

"Over The Water" Sanday, Orkney, Scotland

Dear Comrades,

What a fantastic production you've made of The Open Road. . The only trouble is that you've probably discouraged everyor from ever producing anarchist paper again after seeing how high a standard has been set. . . I really do congratulate you and hope you keep it up — though I don't see how!

The article by Martin ostre was first rate, and absolutely right on target. I had not realised in view of so many attacks on him, how very much of an anarchist he and how clear a thinker. Still crazy after all these

ars"-but the first forty ears in the anarchist movecult, from now on it's plain sailing

Regards,

Albert Meltzer Tottenham, London, Eng.

I think Open Road is the most comprehensive liber-tarian paper I have seen, and also very responsible in its challenges to authority in that you offer alternatives as well as criticism. This is exactly the kind of practical Anarchy we try to put over in Anarchist Worker, trying to introduce the working class to an alternative Anarchist Society. Salud, No War But Class

Lyn Hurst for Anarchist Workers Association Leicester, England

Dear Comrades, What this Greetings! What this inique first issue proves is the extent of progress which our ideas have so effectively inspired searching minds to realize what the present

is, and what it really could become instead.

From some of the articles From some of the articles in the Black Flag, as the ones on the SLA and on Chile, you can easily surmise how deeply your splendid begin most happily affected me, and will, like wise, affect everyone who ideas

I close with love of com-radeship everyone who must have labored so hard in order to produce the most out-of the ordinary first issue that had, to my knowledge, ever appeared in the annals of the English language.

Fraternally, Marcus Graham

Dear Comrades,

We have received the first issue of your new paper and we thank you. Naturally we are interested in receiving regularly your paper: in the regularly your paper: in the same time, we are going to send to your address regularly our review A Rivista Anarchica.

We are interested in col-laborating with you, in ex-changing news and articles. We greet you best success and we send you our frater nal anarchist greetings.

For the editorial group, Paolo Finzi A Rivista Anarchica Milano, Italy

Dear Comrades. I have been able to get a copy of the first issue of **Open** Road by a comrade of L'Antistato and I find it very stimulating and interesting.
I have also translated into
Italian the interview with
Martin Sostre for the revue Anarchismo. I receive more than forty anarchist and libertarian papers from the four continents, but I think the Open Road is one of the few trying to develop the

revolutionary action and not only to talk about. . . talking. Fraternally, Franco Lombardi Forli, Italy

Dear Comrades,

Thank for Open Road #1.
Welcome on the open road and happy trails wished by the R.F.P. We continued the anarchistic principles, prac-tices, in and out of this system, and way to act; the principle we practice, since we started publishing Provo Mag #1 in 1965. We did grow and still operate anarchistically. Our operation is therefore only manifest and functioning outside

Yours in the Lowlands Riolaf Stoop for Real Free Press

Many thanks for Open Road. A comrade who had had time to read it all said it is the best anarchist/liber-tarian mag we have ever received here. With this I am posting you a packet by the sea. Keep up with the good

With Revolutionary Anar chist Love, for HAPOTOC Amsterdam, Holland

We were very happy to re-ceive the first issue of **Open** Road, and are pleased to hear that a second issue is coming up. Regnbuetrykk is a small ishing company based in northern Norway, above the Arctic Circle. We publish a journal of cultural changes Vannbae Reren, which has featured articles by Murray Bookchin, Ivan Illich, E.F Schumacher and others, including some well-known

Jan B. Vindheim for Vannbae Reren Karlsov, Norway

Dear Comrades We received your paper and are very pleased by it. Really, we always wanted to

make a paper like yours In struggle and love, A. Bergmann

AROUND THE WORLD

Munich, Germany

Dear Friends, We want to receive OR. which we think very interesting. Just for information in Solidarity for Love and

CIRA - Nippon SIC Ashiva, Japan

Friends of the Open Road Collective,

Open Road is a marvellous

paper and would equal anyinternationally. doubt as you are in touch with Black Flag and Free dom you will be aware of the plight of 3 anarchists in Ireland (the Murrays) — note enclosed pamphlet — distri-buted here. I do hope in a coming issue you will write a support article on these comrades.

Revolutionary love Bill Graham Launceston, Australia

Try to understand my English... I've learned it at school and — you know — that isn't enough sometimes ... How are you getting on? I wanted to know you and to tell you we are on the same way and in the same fight you are. Galaad and Viento ur magazines, are memb of the UAPS/Europe. We want here in my country to exchange copies and thoughts (ideas) to know what you're doing there and to tell you what we're doing here...
I hope you'll understand me
and you'll be able to read
"between words" and to
know what I mean, forgetting the polite forms and finding on this bloody paper the love and the essence I'm trying to put here. Write to me soon. We need you.

Peace and Love. for Galaad Magazine enos Aires, Argentina Comrades.

Somewhat receive a copy of Open Road Congratulations. Keep up the good work. The a paper like yours. We are a libertarian c mmunist group in Hong Kong. Minus should be a monthly publi-cation which has been published basically as a means through which our groups riden English-speaking groups o-verseas. In Minus 8 we try to report on Hong Kong, China and other parts of Asia. If there's anything that we can do, please write. And please

Yours In Struggle, Mok Chiu Yu for Minus 8 Hong Kong

Open Roaders, Enjoyed your 1st issue immensely. A few ?'s, but am very glad there is an anarchist publication coming out which is non-sectarian and as so large a possible basis of appeal

Am glad to hear the SLA ers are studying anarchism, but their "self-criticism" ers are studying anarchism, but their "self-criticism" doesn't seem to go very deep. Have they looked at the sorry record of fin-de-siecle sorry record of fin-de-siecte anarchist attentats and their unambiguous failure to "spark" anything other than repression and panic? I'm not sure there aren't some situations where individually-targeted terrorism might be effective, particularly when there is already a militant mass movement which has identified these targets as criminal... but even then I'm skeptical—look at the re-action to Berkman's attack on Frick. I'd have to hear of a cessful terrorist "spark", and I don't know of any

I agree that the SLA people in jail should be aided against the State, but I feel strongly that this should not be equated with political support.

Love and Struggle. Jim Stodder New Orleans, La.

NEWSPOEM

Santiago [Reuter]—
The Chilean Soccer Association
today suspended goalkeeper Roberto
Vengas for four months for taking
off his shorts and making obscene
gestures after a goal was scored against
him during a weekend match here. Toronto Star, September 1, 1976.

Hey, sport! Is that the retort A gentleman make

Shame on you You jibaro lump
The least you could do
Would be shit on the ump!

Tuli Kupferberg, New York City Dear Comrades,

Thanks for issue number one of Open Road, it's really great!! Glad to see Martin Sostre is keeping up the struggle (the interview with him was particularly good). The statements from the SLA are very encouraging In a lot of ways they can be compared to the groups operating in West Germany began calling them selves (though savagely attacked by every legal "Marxist-Leninist" group) but were life's struggle rather than

passive spectators.

There is one point that I want to bring up, not as a major criticism of your article but mainly to give you folks a better view of the way we see it. The way the piece was put together it could give the impression that we never supported the Foster action. The fact is that after reading the first communi que explaining the action we all four of us felt a strong solidarity with the action and

clearly opposed to the clas-SLA communique. It wasn't ical Leninist concepts workers State" and "v until months later that we were able to fully analyze the Just as the SLA are doing

guard party.

now, the German groups shed many of their original (confused) ideas as they

tested them against practise

and began to clarify their libertarianism. A lot of their

initial coolness towards cal-ling themselves "anarchist"

came from seeing too many people who used the label but

did nothing. Having "re-discovered" the activist wing

of the international anarchist movement their attitude is

certainly changing. And (like the SLA) there are comrades

now in German prisons who were "Marxist-Leninist"

when they were arrested but now see themselves as anar-

Good luck with your fine

work from all of us here the London Black Cross.

don, England

Open Road,
Yes I did like Open Road;
but that is not the issue
alone. No, I do not like the
SLA; less so when they felt

that from a prison cell they can repent and then prose-

The coverage that you gave the SLA was heart-

varming in that what we

denunciation without the slightest bit of dialectical analysis, or less often but

just as worthless, we receive blind support also devoid of a

realistic analysis. I feel that it is important for people to understand that the changes

the four of us have gone thru

are a direct result of our ex

periences. It's important that people learn from our

mistakes rather than over-look them and also that they

realize that the most positive

spect of the SLA was each

of our individual decisions to

become active participants in

receive is a blank

Phil Ruff.

lytize

Bob Katz

Friends.

usually

Toronto, Ont.

effect of the action and as a result to uncover the incorrect perspectives that motivated our original I imagine you understand this from what little New Times managed to print of any relevance. The ing this out is because I feel it is important for people to see that to accept and acknow-ledge mistakes, even at this intense level, serv weaken an individual. A lot of lip service is given to this oncept but it's rarely show in practice as most often people choose to react defen-sively. This also helps to subvert the popular illusion of "the infallible revolution-

Around here most antiauthoritarians are content to passively sit back on their high moral asses which means that when a person makes the decision to get into serious politics all that tarian politics and the im-pression that they are the revolutionary politics. With the right approach I see most of the "cadre" and most of the "cadre" and fringe authoritarians gladly coming what comes most natural to them - anar

Enough for now - keep on with your fine work. Love and Rage,

Joe Remiro

Dear Sisters and Brothers, Just a note to tell you how much pleasure, stimulation and good clean fun I got out of the first issue of **Open Road**. You did a fantastic job! Y'all are doing good things in linking us all together thru better communication, Keen

Love and unity. Emily Harris Oakland Calif.

LOCKED DOWN

Greetings Comrades,
A clenched fist salute to

the Open Road. Damn it's good and accurate. Needless say I really dig it At present I'm a captive. I'd like ya to know the center fold looks great hangin' on my wall. The pigs just love it, Ha! They'll get over it.

With resistance,

George Riley, Fort Worth, Tex.

Dear People, It was real fine to get your paper. I'm not an anarchist ow, but O.R. does have revolutionary politics that transcend M-L/anarchist splits. Your coverage of international affairs is excel-lent. MIR, FRETLIN, AIM and the centerfold all gave me looks at things other left edia don't cover. The GJB article was good too. All in all, a real pleasure to get. Venceremos.

David Miller Madison, Wisc.

I read your first issue of the Open Road with great interest and joy. As far as I'm concerned it's one of the most

continued on p. 31

MICHAEL BAKUNIN 1814 - 1876

Cultivating 'the habit of freedom'

The Open Road

The year 1976 marked the centenary of the world anarchists and scholars held con-ferences to commemorate his great contributions to the revolutionary movement of his day and to appraise his impact on history and the activism of today.

The largest conference was held in Venice,

The largest conterence was held in venice, Italy, where 500 people attended and ten formal papers were presented on Bakunin, exploring every aspect of his life and thought. In North America the largest gathering was in New York where Paul Avrich, Murray Bookchin, and Sam Dolgoff and others gave tribute to the Russian anarchist whose influence in his day sured that of his contemporary and rival

times have provided fresh insights into problems that confront revolutionaries to

In the polemics of Bakunin and Marx in the congresses and documents of the First International two identifiable tendencies in the theory and tactics of socialism emerged: the authoritarian and libertarian schools. The debate conducted by Marx and Bakunin on fundamental principles still continues in the theory and practice of revolutionaries

The issues, which in their day appeared to The issues, which in their day appeared to be merely abstract speculations about what might happen in the distant future, are today crucial; they are being decisively posed not only in the capitalist nations, but also in the totalitarian communist regimes

From our perspective one hundred years after the death of Bakunin we can see that after the death of Bakunin we can see that his warnings against Marx's 'dictatorship of the proletariat' have proved essentially correct in every case. In 1878, Bakunin stated with stunning accuracy, that "the leaders of the Communist Party, namely Mr. Marx and his followers, will proceed to liberate humanity in their own way. They will concentrate the reins of government in a strong hand. . . They will (centralize) all commercial, industrial, agricultural, and even scientific production, and then divide the masses into two armies — industrial and agricultural — under the direct command of state engineers, who will constitute a new privileged scientific and political class."

By now it is all too evident that the nationalization of property and the means of production does not fundamentally alter the basic inequality between those wielding power and those subject to it. Lenin's notion that "freedom is a bourgeois middle-class virtue" is giving way to the conviction that freedom is a greater necessity than even the most efficient concentration of political and economic power, and no one any longer. The dogman that seinence, pillesoy, which is a subject to the conviction that the production is an independent role in shaping ground to the conviction that these phenomenon have an independent role in shaping human history. Like Marx, Bakunin emphasized the importance of the economic factor in social transformation. But he accepted Marx's materialist "law of history" only insofar as they harmonized with humankind's deer st aspirations, that is, for freedom. It is true that some of Marx's own earlier writings coverening freedom, all enation, and the By now it is all too evident that the

concerning freedom, alienation, and the State — resurrected in 1927 long after his death — could well have been produced by an anarchist; and many "Marxist humanists" have tried to use these writings to show that Marx was really a libertarian.

Unfortunately, as the mature Marx him-self elaborated his own system, the element of freedom dwindled in importance as against the inexorable laws of historical evolution. In contrast, Bakunin emphasized evolution. In contrast, Bakunin emphasized the psychological (subjective) factors in revolution, insisting that revolution was im-possible for people who had "lost the habit of freedom," and thereby added another ireedom," and thereby added another dimension to revolutionary theory. As against Marx's economic determinism, he left more room for humankind's will, the aspiration to freedom and equality, and the "instinct of revolt," which constitutes the "revolutionary consciousness" of oppressed

degradation are not sufficient to generate the Social Revolution. They may call forth sporadic local rebellions, but not great and widespread mass uprisings. . . It is indis widespread mass uprisings. . . It is indis-pensable that the people be inspired by a universal ideal. . . that they have a general idea of their rights, and a deep passionate. . .

the counter-culture, the es-

tablished trade union move-ment and Third World

liberation movements. All

too often, the main sources of information on these pheno-mena are the hostile mass media and/or the sectarian leftist organs. We feel it's im-perative for anti-authoritari-

ans to have reliable information in order to make their

own judgments. Our guide-ing principle in this coverage (as stated in this space in Issue No. 1) is to "report on

and developments wherever they may occur, and to push no organization other than

anti-authoritarian



Michael Bakunin

belief in the validity of these rights." This revolutionary consciousness coupled with the reality of economic conditions is necessary to place the Social Revolution on

the agenda.

Today we can see that Bakunin's perception of the class struggle and the actual development of Social Revolution was far more accurate than Marx's restricted vision. more accurate than Marx's restricted vision. The three greatest revolutions of the twentieth century—in Russia, Spain, and China—have all occurred in relatively backward underdeveloped countries and have largely been "peasant wars" linked with spontaneous outbursts of the urban poor, as Bakunin predicted.

The neasanter and unskilled workers.

poor, as Bakunin predicted.

The peasantry and unskilled workers, those primitive groups for whom Marx expressed withering contempt, have become the mass base of Twentieth Century social upheavals—upheavals which, though often labeled "Marxist," are far more accurately described as "Bakuninist." Bakunin's visions, moreover, have anticipated the social ferment within the "Third World" as a whole, the modern counterpart on a global scale of Bakunin's backward peripheral

Even the trajectory of the Russian revo-lution followed Bakunin's outline. Here, in essence, was the spontaneous "revolt of the masses" that Bakunin had foreseen some

fifty years before. In 1917 Russia experi enced a virtual breakdown of political authority, and councils of workers and peasants sprang up which might have formed the basis of libertarian communes. Lenni, like Bakuni of libertarian communa-ce. Lenni, like Bakuni before hin, encouraged the raw and untutored elements of Russian society to sweep away what remained of the old regime. Perhaps his greatest achieve-ment was to return to the anarcho-populist roots of the Russian revolutionary tradition and to aday his Marrist theories to suit the conditions of a relatively backward countries in which a prolearian revolution made little in which a prolearian revolution made intel-early stages of the revolution Lenin was accused of being a "Bakuninist" by his orthodox Marxist opponents. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union, the fruition of so many of Bakunin's theories and dreams, was also the culimation of Marx's

dreams, was also the culmination of Marx's "dictatorship of the proletariat". It quickly became proof of Bakunin's warnings that, "There can be nothing living or human outside of liberty, and a socialism that does not accept freedom as the only creative principle...will inevitably... lead to slavery

There are revolutionary alternatives to authoritarian socialism as it is practiced throughout the world. It is in the development of these alternatives that the magnitude and relevance of Bakunin's conmagnitude and relevance of Bakunin's con-tribution to social theory is becoming in-creasingly evident in contemporary society. Without denigrating the historic contri-butions of Marx, which Bakunin hailed and promoted in his time, anti-authoritarian socialists of all types are today re-learning the lessons of the anarchist Bakunin with a desire to avoid the tragic mistakes of the

Much of the material in this article has been adapted from the preface and intro-duction of Bakunin on Anarchy, an excellent presentation of Bakunin's most important writings edited by Sam Dolgoff, Other sources for Bakunin's writings are: Michael Bakunin: Selected Writings edited by Arthur Lehning. The Political Philosophy of Bakunin: Seientific Anarchism edited by G.P. Maximoff; and for a biography Michael Bakunin Seientific Anarchism and Bakunin Seientific Anarchism and Anarchists by Paul Avrich. been adapted from the preface and intro

On the Road

The Open Road is produced by a small group of politically active people based in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, who have come together to propagate news and information about anti-authoritarian, com-munist developments

throughout the world.

This second issue of the time coming, mainly because of the overwhelming re-sponse to Issue No. 1 last pressed just to keep up with our correspondence and to cement relationships with

In all, we have received about 1,200 letters. Our cor-

respondents have been ex tremely supportive, and we regret we haven't been able to personally answer them all yet. We have selected a ted for brevity, for publi-cation on Page 2.

Most of the letters have

offered useful and insightful comments on the first issue and we have tried to incor porate these, where appropriate, into the current issue Naturally, with such a wide readership, we have re-ceived quite a good deal of conflicting advice on what to cover and how to cover it.

As the published letters indicate, the more contentious topics included armed

those which are created and sustained by ordinary people Another source of satisfaction for us has been the financial support from our readership—a total of \$1,900, under \$10 each. Along with some street and store sales, this will just about cover our printing, mailing and mis

cellaneous costs for the curfinanced through gifts and loans from working friends). We don't charge for sub-scriptions, so if **The Open Road** is to continue publish-ing, we will need continuing

this an appeal for donations.
We are printing 12,000
copies of Issue No. 2, twice as
many as last time. Our first issue was completely sold out, and we had to turn down many requests for additional copies. But because of a copies. But because of a recent foul-up in our distribution system, we have had about 600 copies of No. 1 returned. We haven't managed to keep track of all requests, so if you still want a back copy, don't hesitate to write to us.

Another item of business: we sent out postcards to everybody on our mailing list last Fall suggesting they let us know if they received the paper, what they think of it and whether they want to continue getting it. We're using the same mailing list for the current issue, but after this we'll have to confine ourselves to those people who have given us some feedback. So if you haven't written already, and Open Road, please drop us a

Our thanks are extended to typesetter Laura Lippert, layout coordinator Gloria Mundi and Pulp Press Ltd. Many other individuals and groups have offered to help in various phases of pro-duction or in distribution in

their localities, but so far, with few exceptions, we have been unable to work out a system for dispersing the volunteer workload so that same small group of people.

As we said in the first

issue: "We welcome, encour dence 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 treat-ment is indicated by, but not limited to, those found in this

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
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Seattle neighbourhood self-activates

By Douglas McLean

Stopping freeways and starting free health clinics is the easy part of community organizing work; the hard part is making sure the com munity doesn't get swal-lowed up in the organizing.

In Cascade, a 140-square neighborhood in inner Se attle, Wash., the mostly as much time and energy combatting their own "need" for a structural leadership as they have in fighting City Hall.

They've found the process frightening, frustra ting, time-consuming and energy-draining. But it has given them the collective strength to resist the bribes and threats by the State that community groups and convert them into harmless ents for popular discontent

After a great deal of agoni-ng, the residents of Caszing, the residents of Cas-cade turned down an offer by the U.S. Public Health Service to provide a sorely-needed doctor for their health clinic

The catch in the offer was that the government would then have access to medical and other records at the clinic to carry out various research programs. Cascade people, at two genera two general their catch-as-catch-can pro fessional medical help (aug mented by a regular nurse than compromise the inte grity and independence of their organization.

The end of the story might have been different if the Cascade organization had a conventional leadership conventional leadership structure conditioned to being "pragmatic" and "flex-ible." But the Cascade people managed to purge these elements long ago.

Anti-Freeway

It wasn't easy, though. The original Cascade group was set up in 1969 by a local church to rally community support against a freeway project which was to slice right through the centre of neighborhood.

The church people, most of whom lived outside the neighborhood, were skilled ssue-oriented organizing, and they succeeded in stop-ping the freeway through a city-wide referendum. But they established a community group that, in the words of one resident, conwords of one resident, con-sisted "mainly of a leader who would do things for the neighborhood and others who would help him."

"The church did not seem The church did not seem to trust people in the com-munity. Their attitude was paternalistic, missionary. They wanted to help the They wanted to help the lonely people downtown—not to address the total quality of life in the inner

By any standards, Cascade was a deprived neighbor-hood. Half the population are over 45 years old and on fixed incomes; nearly 20 per cent are unemployed; only two



Cascade resident gets treatment at free

homes. There are no superschools nearby.

Cascade was a City Hall target for conversion into an industrial district, and the process was well underway when the Cascade organi-ation got going. To this day, a typical block contains factories, small homes and great empty lots standing side-by side. The neighborhood is un attractive; by day, it's vir

tually a truck route; by night, when the factory workers leave, the streets are deserted.

are deserted.
Yet, the people in Cascade
think the neighborhood is
worth fighting for. After
they stopped the freeway,
they asked, "Now that we've
saved the neighborhood. what do we do with it?"

Just in terms of concrete services and facilities, the response has been impres-

sive: a community centre, two four-unit apartment buildings (all three bought with \$60,000 in borrowed and donated money), health clinic, food co-op, older resi dents' drop-in, tenants' assoop daycare, free movies, free egal aid, etc

As well, the resident begun to stabilize their physurroundings. have gone to court to protect buildings threatened destruction, they have stood in front of the bulldozers and they have harrassed the municipal bureaucracy into

oning approach.
Naturally, there have been taken up residence in Cas-cade to help in the organi-zing. But the difference has been that they brought with them a consciously libertarian approach to grass roote activiem

Says one activist: "The big energy at meetings is to encourage self-expression. get people to participate and take responsibility. People have to be supported, so they don't get freaked out and think, 'oh, oh, what have I

People who had never

are brought into the food co stitutions and virtually put

people that they don't need bosses, through talk, but don't expect to win them over at first," says a resident

"In some cases, you have to go ahead and do it (set up the worker-controlled situ ation), even though some people are afraid it won't work. You don't win them over at first. You have to show them that it works, but that it's up to them to make it

Self Responsible

"The way things are run The way trings are run-ning now, not one of our in-stitutions would break down if any person left. With one exception — if the nurse left,

we would have problems."
Running the institutions requires a high level personal interaction. only in sharing skills but in criticism and self-criticism among people who may never before have consciously examined their own work habits or ways of inter-relating or who don't even know the definitions of terms

"We're aware that when

some people will say this is making capitalism rur smoother," says one resi

dent.
"If it's just left at pro viding services, then this would be true. After all, how do you politicize someone on

twice-yearly visits to the health clinic? It can't be done. "The difference is that in running the show yourself you can raise political issues on an on-going basis. When people get involved in actually running the clinic, they have to deal with questions like accepting govern-ment money with strings attached to it-

Still they must be doing something right, to judge by the cries of pain from the former church leadership munity centre governing body was restructured along

As one resident recalls it: "The director (of the centre) wrote to the church board to warn them of what was hap warn them of what was nap-pening. He told them that their work was threatened by anarchists who wanted to willfully destroy the basis of society. Now, how's that for black-baiting?" (For more information on

Cascade, write the Community Association at 224 Minor Ave. North, Seattle, Wash. 98109.)

Braincutters stymied by pastry politics

By Fred Billingslea

Dr. Jose Delgado, the Father of Electrophysiology, didn't know what hit him when the first of two "brain pies" were shoved into his face at a recent Brain Sym-

The symposium modera tor had just called for audi ence participation when an action squad, calling itself the Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho-Marxist), in a parody of a local Stalinist launched the pies con taining barbecue sauce whipped cream, honey, cho

colate syrup, and cow brains.

"Why me?" asked Delgado, clearly mystified. By disrupting the deliberations of the 200 scientists and their camp followers, the anarchoguerillas managed to focus public and media attention on a major new prelations initiative by brain research fraternity. Delgado, a former Har-

vard University researcher who now heads the depart who now heads the depart-ment of physiological scien-ces at the Universidad Autonoma in Madrid, is one of the front-men in the attempt to rehabilitate the image of brain research and to secure more government funding for it.

George Adams, one of nin anarcho-guerillas, referred to Delgado as the "first of the new breed of brain loboto nists." According to Adams, the first great lobotomy craze occurred in the 1950's when more than fifty thou-sand brains were "carved out." Eventually public outrage forced practitioners of this technique to go underground.

Now, Delgado, who has been working quietly behind the scenes for 20 years, is experimenting with electronic receivers and stimu-lators implanted in the brain which make regular lobo tomies seem crude by comparison. Delgado's tech-nique involves the insertion of very fine electrode shafts into the brain. The ends of small socket anchored in the electrically stimulate differ ent areas of the brain causing the subject to react involun

Delgado boasts he can induce anger, fear, affection, pleasure and other emotions human subjects by telemetry stimulation of specific re-gions of the brain. Electronic stimulation of the brain (ESB) has an effect similar to slapping a child's hand every time he or she touches a forbidden object.

"We are now talking to the brain without the participa-tion of the senses," Delgado told a New York Times reporter. "This is pure and call it nonsensory communi

In experiments described in his book Physical Control of the Mind: Toward a Psychocivilized Society, Delgado dwells for many pages on how he could "turn on" a woman, making her "more fitratious, to the point of expressing a desire to marry the therapist."

On another, occasion he

describes stimulating an 11-year-old boy: "Following another excitation, he (the are, 'You're doing it And then he said, 'I'd like to be a girl' to please the male therapist."

Delgado believes that brain stimulation should be treated much like other familiar biological intervenquilizers, fluoride treatment of water and food additives.

Many of the researchers

have targetted prisoners as the prime guinea pigs for this stage of their work, and pro-posals have already been entertained by law enforce ment funding agencies in the U.S. One multi-million dollar project undertaken by the project undertaken by the Neuro-Research Foundation is to search for the "biological causes of crime and develop and test the usefulness of electro-physiological techni-ques for the detection of such

Two of Delgado's col-

leagues in the field have pro posed a parole system to con trol crime; a prisoner is equipped with an unremoveable electronic device im-planted in the brain. It transplanted in the brain. It trans-mits basic information to a central computer and "inter-venes electronically to influence and control selec-

"What I propose is the adoption of a strategy of mental planning," says Delgado. "The project of conquering the human mind could be a central theme for international congestion." international cooperation." He explains that current brain research supports the conclusion that "motion, emotion, and behaviour can be directed by electrical forces and that humans can be controlled like robots by push buttons.

All of the doctors and re searchers in the ESB field re cognize that legal, ethical, and religious objections to their programs must be dealt with. To such reservations one researcher responds, answer is to rudely disabuse people of the notion that there is any dignity involved in being a sick person or mentally disburbed person or a criminal person

"People will just have to

get over their 1984 fear that Big Brother is watching." The brain symposium's or-ganizer claimed the pie throwers didn't understand the purpose of the meeting But they understood it only too well. That's why they went into action with the c A pie a day keeps the brain



Brain surgeon Jose Delgado gets some

FROM PETITIONS TO BOMBS

Nuclear buildup triggers mass opposition

otice from the organized Left, a popular moveme involving thou sands of "ordinary" people is gathering momentum across Europe and North America in opposition to the whole sale development of nuclear nower plants

resistance movement — car-ried forward by hundreds of local, largely uncoordinated groups - has escalated from legal and electoral opposition to large-scale, non-violent recently, to militant street actions and even to bomb

The movement has a di verse base, including far-mers who stand to lose their many previously non-political individuals who have be come alarmed by the dangers posed by nuclear prolifertion. Their goals are simi larly diverse: some are work ing for more "safeguards" on the development of nuclear plants, while others seek the complete abolition of nuclear power and the use only of safer, decentralized, more eco-conscious alternatives such as wind and solar

Events are moving at their most rapid pace in Europe, where, because domestic supplies of oil and coal are relatively scarce, the push is on for nuclear power. (In France, for instance, government officials and industrial ists are hoping to meet 55 per cent of their energy needs with nuclear power within eight years.)

Rhine Break-Through

Although serious anti-nuc organizing has h going on in Europe since the going on in Europe since the early '70's, the first real break-through occurred in late 1974 in the French town Marckolsheim on the Rhine River, where a nuclear chemical factory oriented was to be built. A coalition of local farmers, ecology freaks, and anarchist types mobi-lized a combination of legal challenges and demonstrations, and succeeded in pre-venting the construction of the facility.

A significant aspect of the

Marckolsheim victory was that it brought together not only a politically disparate group of French people, but also Germans from the other side of the Rhine as well.

This international solida-rity was to be expanded a few months later in the G man Rhine town of Wyhl the site of a proposed nuclear associations put out a joint call for an occupation of the site. There was positive response from all over France nd Germany and the rest of

Initially, the police hoped to evict the occupiers forci-bly, but that plan had to be abandoned when the tactical squads brought to the scene were forced back off the land by the determined resisters. Following the initial conflicts, as the news spread of the police attacks, the number of resisters swelled to 20,000.

An atmosphere reminis-

cent of Paris in May-June, 1968 flourished, where a combination of ecology, nonlent activism, regionalism and anti-technocratic rebel-lion pervaded the political process. An open, anti-authoritarian process evol-ved, with continual discussions, meetings, films, sing ing, and local organizing

Impressive Logistics

The lack of a hierarchical authority in the occupation did not at all prevent the development of an impressive logistical system. example, a perimeter guard with a network of walkietalkies was organized to give immediate warnings in the event of a police attack. Thirty different towns in the area were mobilized to share the responsibility for occupy ing the site; on any given night, two towns would be present. But with the communications system estab-lished, a call from the walkiecould immediately talkies could immediately begin ringing bells through-out the countryside, bringing hundreds of cars full of people to the site within people to the site within minutes of an alert. After a month of occupation, the government caved in and killed the Wyhl project. The example of Wyhl has

served as a catalyst for antinuclear organizing, particu-larly along the Rhine and Rhone Rivers. Coalitions Rhone Rivers. Coantions have formed in many towns where reactor sites have been proposed or approved and many of these are using direct action tactics to stall and even stop projects.

Although non-violence has been the predominant tactic



ss to the effect that the Wyhl occupiers were no dif-ferent than the Baader-Meinhof gang), it is clear that tactics are rapidly coming into play.

tic example of these tactical took place Brokdorf in October and No. was given, a demonstration was called immediately for October 28th. At 1:00 A.M. on October 26th, some 800 police and workers closed off the site with barbed wire and concrete, in an attempt to fortify the site against the anticipated occupation. Nevertheless, the Satur-

people, equipped with heavy cutting tools and goggles Several hundred may get past police barricades ini tially, with several thous eventually coming on the 100 acre site. This was to be a acre site. This was to be a non-violent action, which it

marched against the occu-piers, burning tents and macing those sitting in. The occupiers were evicted.

Two weeks later, a second Two weeks later, a second attempt was made to occupy the site. This time, between 30,000 and 50,000 people came, many of them prepared with riot protection gear. The police, too, were prepared; in addition to more feetifications, bearing, and the second of the second fortifications, barbed wire, moats, etc., there were about 3,000 police, armed with tear gas dispensers and water cannons mounted on tanks cannons mounted on tanks and in helicopters. The out-come was obvious: a four hour battle for the site er-upted, described by some commentators as the most militant street action in West Germany since the end of the Vietnam war. Eventually the anti-nuclear forces were abut not without doing major damage to the fortifications and equipment inside

Cross-Country March

More recently at Brokdorf More recently at Brokdorf about 10,000 people defied a court order Feb. 19th and marched 18 miles crosscountry to the site after police had blocked off the roads. They were forced back by the 3,000 police armed with automatic wea-pons and mobile water cannons, who were ringing the area, with some scuffling reported and about 50 arrests on weapons charges.

Brokdorf are planning fur-ther attempts to occupy the site. Meanwhile, sabotage is increasing rapidly: a Ham-burg factory which produces chemical mace was burned to

continued on p. 29

SORWUC organizes bank jobs

By Jack Cavanaugh

Everybody gripes about their general working condi-tions, but usually there's one or two specific grievances in each work-place that anger each work-place that anger people enough for them to consider taking action. At least, that's what the Service, Office and Retail Workers Union of Canada (SORWUC) is finding as it tackles the job of helping British Columbia's female

ank workers get organized. A SORWUC member who played a role in organizing the first bank branch in downtown Vancouver summer recalls that in her branch there was "lots of dissension and people walk ing out" over having to work too much overtime because a staff shortage. "SORWUC had a leaflet on

"SORWUC had a leaflet on overtime – you know, how bad it is that it cuts into best of the control of the contro

did. Well, things happened exactly the way I'd hoped —

pinned it up on the staffroom

Up to this time, the SORWUC member, who was still in her six-month probation period hadn't talked union in the bank. But now she talked to one of her co-workers about the fact that

week later, and another crisis. Four of the five tellers wanted to quit on the spot over the overtime issue and instead, they decided to have a meeting about working conditions. Seven of staff members attended

We decided it was crazy to walk off the job because they would just hire new people," says the SORWUC

"Writing letters of grien writing letters of griev-ance was no good either. They just ignore them, and besides, they take note of your name and hold it against you. Some said we should join a union, but most felt it was impossible. The banks were too powerful, they would never allow it."

The meeting broke up with nothing definite decided, but tinued to talk discreetly to had seemed the most inter-

ested in unionization.
"We got madder and mad der at the bank, and then der at the bank, and then decided, well, a union may be impossible, but the hell with it, we should join anyway. At least that way, we'll shake them up a bit, and they might

We talked and talked and another meeting. This time signed cards to apply for cer-tification."

Canadian Union

Applying for certification is hardly the end of the story, because SORWUC, a small, independent and democrati cally-run Canadian union has a long and uncertain figh ahead to get the Canada Labour Relations Board to recognize it as a legal bar-gaining agent for the

SORWUC is hopeful that the CLRB will be forced to accept branch-by-branch certification, or at least to group a relatively small number of branches together into a bar-gaining unit. In B.C., there are about 800 branches be-longing to the five major national chartered banks.

Once they do get certified, the bank workers will have

For one thing, there's the blatant discrimination against women: the vast are women, yet few ever make management; men with only a few years' ex-

perience are routinely promoted over women who have been there for 20 years.

Pay for women bank workers is way below that in comparable jobs in other in-dustries, considering the skills required. Average salary is \$7,500 per year. SORWUC, with 17 bran-

ches already organized and many more on the way, has been more successful in the banks than any of the larger, more bureacratic unions. Partly it's the principle of own key issue, but also it's because SORWUC has been oriented toward women's issues since it started three years ago, and it has wide ex perience in organizing small ffices where women are in

the majority.
Control of SORWUC, and of its finances and bargaining practices, is lodged securely with the membership of each bargaining unit. The "na-tional" executive (SORWUC operates only in B.C. but has national jurisdiction) has no financial or policy-making power over the locals, and all elected officials are rotated frequently and are easily recallable.

The banks have had a low-They've moved some people around and given promotions to non-unionists, but they've shied away from heavy-handed intimidation.

Unfair Labour Practices

"Now that the organizing drive is under way, the banks would be hit with an unfair labour practices ruling if they tried to discipline anybody," says a SORWUC member. "That means, as long as you do your work, you can be open about your interest in the union."
"Our advice for other un-

organized workers is to con-tact the appropriate union office first. Be careful; if you must talk union to anyone at work, make sure she's a really good friend, then together you can approach other employees."

For more information, con-

tact Service, Office and Re-tail Workers Union of Canada (SORWUC), United Bank Workers Local No. 2, Room 1114, 207 West Hastings, Vancouver, B.C.,

Dene build sovereignty in Canada's North

An embryonic communa-list society and "nation" is taking shape across a vast tract of North American territory despite the best efforts of the authorities to colonize it and subdue it.

Already, in dozens of com

Already, in dozens of com-munities, a dual-power situa-tion exists, with the govern-mental organs of the old established order being shadowed by local institutions based on grass roots consensus and popular will.
At the same time, a

At the same time, a political apparatus is being built — it aims to be both unified and decentralized — to promote the trend in the communities while moving the struggle into the national and international arenas.
This new society, the Dene

west Territories, represents ably the last best hope of America's native people to achieve a signifi cant measure of sovereignty and popular self-determina-tion in their traditional

The Dene's main voice, the Northwest Territories, is in itself. It no longer aims ex clusively to unify the Den behind a single political lead-ership. Instead, it pushes "community development"

— building a decentralized
network in which local traditional band councils and general assemblies are taking on the job of inter preting and carrying out the popular will.

This reorientation is no academic or idealistic exercise. It's a practical attempt to strengthen the Dene society at its base, to build effective sovereignty with out bothering to wait for Ottawa to give the okay.

The highest-profile politi-cal initiative of the Dene is



Dene Family: Steve Cockney, Bertha Chicksi, and Steve Jr.

eir "land claim" over a 450,000 square-mile tract -twice the size of France extending up the Mackenzie River Valley from the British Columbia - Alberta - Saskatchewan border nearly to the Arctic Ocean.

the Arctic Ocean.

The Dene (pronounced Dennay, an Athapaskan word meaning The People) have occupied that land of extremes in isolated communal groups and roaming extended families since before history was written, and they insist they never signed away their aboriginal right to it in a treaty and they

want compensation for their land being alienated by the rush of oil and gas development, but they're not inter-ested simply in being bought out, or even in receiving a tract which they would "own."

For the Dene, the land claim is the basis of a political claim for the fight to exist as a distinct "nation" and culture — the right to establish a unique form of native sovereignty and autonomy within the wider framework of the white-dominated Canadian federal State. Without a communal land

base, the Dene would not be a people; and without a land a people; and without a land claim they would lack the clout to force Ottawa to recognize their distinctness.

Today, there are 10,000 Dene still the majority in their own land. Most still regularly hunt and fish for part of their food, and very few have entered the wage but decades economy, but decades of colonial rule has undermined self-sufficiency. Welfare is now the main source of come throughout the Mackenzie Valley

The discovery of large quantities of oil and natural gas in the Mackenzie Delta in

not the government of the Dene. The Government of Dene. The Government of the N.W.T. is not the govern-ment of the Dene. These governments were not the choice of the Dene, they were posed upon the Dene.
What we the Dene are

struggling for is the recogthe governments and peoplies of the world."

The Dene Declaration is not — despite the attempts of the white authorities to wilfully misrepresent it as such
— a call for an independent native State, of the United Nations variety. The Dene are not so naive as to believe Ottawa would give away ten per cent of Canadian terri-tory, or that the U.S. would llow it to happen.
But as one of the Brother

nood's staff members puts it: The Declaration does point oward a separate jurisdic-ion within Canada, with political powers roughly equivalent to those of a prouse of natural resources, and local governmental units devised by the Dene themselves in keeping with their traditions

There is nothing set in concrete about this, no blue-prints. The Dene need the prints. The Dene need ... right to experiment, to de-sign an initial constitution, and to redesign it."

One thing is for sure, the

"local governmental units" would not follow the southern municipal mode southern municipal mode with elected councils answer able only at infrequence lection-times. Ottawa already tried to impose this model in the form of settle ment councils in 150 munities across the terri-tories to make decisions on water, sewage, housing and similar matters.

The Dene have already re jected the settlement councils; they hardly ever vote in council elections, leaving that particular chore to the resident whites and the more English-speak ing Indians

BAND COUNCIL

The most respected insti-tution in each Indian com-munity is the band council, which, legally speaking, is only an advisory body, but which actually is the focus of public opinion. At present. ere are about 25 b cils, but the Brotherhood is now working toward estab-

ing those that exist.
"Already, it's getting difficult for the settlement councils to make decisions with out the band councils," says elected, too, but it operates lines: There is a great reluc-tance to make decisions in the absence of consensus. Meetings are held with the entire community, people offer differing opinions and a consensus develops. In that sense, you don't have to go

for majority rule.
"The Dene community is fairly homogeneous — there is no business class as such so the process for consensual

continued on p. 29

Tooth and nail battle for liberation

By Fred Mobile

ding up on its two hind legs in Great Britain. A new clandestine group, the Animal Liberation Front, has launched a guerilla offensive against those "sportsmen" and business types who traf-fic in the pain of defenseless

ALF cadre recently resfrom a pharmaceutical research centre in Thanet, damaged a badger digger's car in Cheshire and vehicles used to transport animals to vivisection centres in Rab-ley Heath, and vandalized eaps of angling equipment

group, the Band of Mercy, were recently released from three-year sentences on 14 counts, including setting fire to vivisection laboratories under construction, damag-ing animal-transport vehic-les and torching seal-hunting a sit-down strike in jail when the authorities tried to force to wear woolen leather garments made from animals. After a week sitting naked in his freezing cell, he won his point.
The ALF and Band of

Mercy actions may be more illegal, but they are not necessarily more militant, than a whole range of other direct-action tactics em-ployed by the broadening movement against cruel bloodsports and profit-crazy "research." Despite their image as sentimental animallovers, the anti-vivisectionists, who oppose experi-mentation on animals, and the anti-hunters are proving themselves tough-minded themselves their creativity militants; their creativity and resourcefulness has demonstrated that you don't need \$80,000 to hire a mine-sweeper (a la Greenpeace campaign against whaling in the Pacific) to raise con-sciousness about the need for fully with other species on

out for them in Great Britain, where fox and badger hunt ruling privileges (Princess Anne is a devotee) and there are 600 experimentation centres where animals are forced to smoke tobacco, have cosme-tics injected into them, given skin irritants and are force-fed (86 per cent of experi-ments are conducted without anaesthetics.)

number of experiments have been shut down per-manently as the result of demonstrations, occupations and other forms of public pressure, and hunt clubs which have had to cease advertising because of harrassment, are facing increasing restrictions in future from farmers, property owners and the govern-

Hunt Clubs Stymied

ciation, which has about 2,000 members throughout Great Britain, has co-ordinated many successful disruptions of fox hunts.

fox scents and chemical mix-tures to create false trails, and feed the dogs stinking cheese to foul their sense of smell. On one occasion the Liverpool branch of HSA hired a helicopter to hover over a field where a rabbit

before they could be killed. Though mostly legal, such tactics have naturally brought down the wrath of the hunters on the "sabs," with the result that quite a few animal-lovers have been physically assaulted on the field of honour. The police, who usually attend hunts these days, have tried to stay "neutral," but some of the more outrageous incidents have resulted in arrests and even occasionally fines for the hunters.

More information from the Hunt Saboteurs Association can be obtained from P.O. Box 19, Tonbridge, Kent,

rescue foxes, blow hunting horns to confuse the dogs, smear trees and grass with fox scents and chemical mixhunt was in progress, thus scaring all the rabbits away

> In July 1975, Dene from all over the Mackenzie Valley met at Fort Simpson, 900 miles north of Vancouver, to put their claim in a political context. The resulting Dene Declaration said in part: "The Dene find them-selves as part of a country. That country is Canada. But

the late 1960's, and the pros

pect of a highly disruptive pipeline through their eco-

fragile country, prompted the Dene to establish the

Indian Brotherhood and make a formal land claim.

(The neighbouring Inuit, or Eskimos, have a separate

Supreme Court of Canada in 1974, and while it lost on a

technicality by a narrow split

claim was firmly established. Further impetus for a settle-

ment to the claim was given last year when, after a mara-

thon series of hearings throughout the North, a federal commission of in-quiry into the pipeline project (the Berger Commis-

sion) tentatively concluded that the Dene claim should be resolved before any large

project goes ahead. (The commission's final report, to deal with whether the project should be approved at all is expected this Spring.)

Even Ottawa has finally admitted there is something to negotiate. The govern-ment is reportedly talking of

an outright cash settlement in the \$4 billion range. But

the Dene have already pro-fited by the experiences of the native people of James Bay, to the east of them, and

of Alaska, to the west. In both cases, the natives were

forced — literally by bull dozers at their front door —

to virtually surrender their land base for cash grants amounting to a few dollars

Walla Walla brothers slam behaviour mod

The Walla Walla Brothers had figured they'd seen just about everything in antihuman treatment during their years of militant struggle at the Walla Walla State Prison in eastern Washington. But that was before the establishment of the "mental health unit." (MHU) there two years ago to make Walla Walla a laboratory for behavior modification experience.

mayor monification experimental properties of the formal mayor of the formal drink lightly from a baby diapers, crawl on the floor and drink lightly from a baby bottle for weeks on end. They are handcuffed and chained to their beds for long periods of time and must defecate and urinate on themselves. "Co-operative" prisoners are bribed and threatened into forming goon squads to terrorize and beat their fellow prisoners. The idea of MHU is to despite the control of the control of

The idea of MHU is to destroy any speek of human dignity in the properties of the pr

The stakes in MHU are very high. The large number of suicides there, many of them under very suspicious circumstances, show the authorities mean business in their determination to put the lid on the Walla Walla Brothers — the organized prisoners' movement within the walls — and to terrorize the general prison pop-

The MHU is designed for

The sixtu is designed for prisoners who are considered adjustment problems, are politically active. The first stage is confinement in the hole, for up to 23 hours a day, with no recreational or educational opportunities. Release from the hole depends on the prisoner since complete submission to the authorities; the prisoner 'voluntarij's agrees to cut his hair, change his thoughts, restrict his associations. Contract violation, defined arbitrarijy by the authorities, is punishable by indefinite confinement in the

hole.

It's. a truly Orwellian world in which the prisoner is never sure of the bounds or correct behavior or what will land him in the MHU. Affection between prisoners is superful, so "weening" kind of literature and writing to newspaper or legislators about prison conditions. One man was punished because of his association with a radical in the country jail.

A class system is created in MHU in which those prisoners who cooperate are rewarded by being placed on



Prisoners at the infamous British Columbia Penitentary shattered a lew myths—as well as a great deal of masonry and steelwork—last Fall when they took over an entire 200-unit cell-block for five days. While the insurrection lasted, the prisoners directed their affairs in a model democratic manner—sharing out their food and work equitably, keeping the army troops on the perimeter at bay and

cratic manner—sharing out their food and work equitably, keeping the army troops on the perimeter at by and carrying out delicate negotiations with prison authorities. The prisoner's conduct during the occupation refutes the officially-encouraged mythology that a dog-eat-dog regime prevails inside the walls of every penal institution. The official strategy of control is based on divide-and-conquer, but the B.C. Pen prisoners spelled out their guiding sentiment on bedsheets strung across the cell-block's windows: SOLIDARITY. The insurrection, which included a hostage-taking, ended peacefully with a negotiated settlement over grievances involving living and working conditions in the Pen. In the past two years, there have been eight hostage-

takings and a six-day non-violent strike at the Pen to draw attention to conditions there, and the Federal Court of

Canada has ruled the Pen's solitary confinement unit to be so barbaric as to constitute cruel and unusual punishment. But so far, there have been few significant improvements

The prisoners' movement at the B.C. Pen is being monitored by the Bruce-Lucas-Wilson Defense Committee, Box 758, Station A, Vancouver, B.C.

committees that decide on work assignments, and make progress reports on and mete out punishment to their fellow prisoners. The case of Donald Snook illustrates how this operates: on his second day in prison, Snook was assigned to MHU for observation. As soon as he got there, he was assaulted by the resident attendants (the "good" prisoners) while the guards watched. He was handcuffed to a radiator during group—sessions at which he was ridiculed by other prisoners; he was hosed with cold water, tied between two mattressees

with rope, chained to a bed for 16 days, isolated in a strip cell, injected with massive doses of tranquilizer and maced. Legal calls were denied and his outgoing mail never left the unit.

never left the unit.

The angel of the MHU is
William Hunter. He was
fired last June after public

outrage over his brutality, but taken on later as a "consultant." He says, "the administration should call all the convicts out into the big yard and all the toughs should be executed, one a week, until nobody wants to be tough."

The MHU was established as a desperate attempt by the authorities to put the lid on the Walla Walla Brothers. In 1971, after a long and bitterly-fought work strike, the Brothers wonthe right to defacto self-government and

other progressive demands. The struggle intensified after the authorities reneged on the agreement. Two years ago, the prisoners seized the hospital and other facilities and took hostages, but the insurrection was crushed by force, the prisoners' governing committee liquidated and most of the militants placed in isolation or transferred. The prisoners have petitioned, filed suit, gone on hunger strikes and appealed to the public to keep the pressure

at present is that the authorites be made to conform to judicial and legislative rulings on prison routines. An outside support network, building a letter-writing and petition campaign to state legislators and planning a demonstration in the state capital of Olympia, is being coordinated through Rilly Bourgeois, c/o Morning Due, P.O. Box 22228, Seattle, Washington 98122.

Fighting at the point of consumption

Italy's "self-reduction" movement is a novel and effective way for ordinary people victimized by inflation to fight back at the point of consumption. According to a recent

According to a recent article in Radical America. Italians have been organizing in factories, neighbourhoods, and housing projects for the specific purpose of refusing to pay price increases in essential services like transportation, electricity, and rent.

In Pinerolo, a small city outside the northern industrial center of Turin, Italian workers head for the bus on a Monday morning only to find that fares have been raised 30 per cent. Like workers anywhere, they complain as they buy their tickets and ride to their jobs in Turin, worried about what the raise will do to already tight budgets.

But unlike workers in most other places, the Pinerolo workers decide to organize resistance. The next Monday some of them have set up a table outside the bus terminal under signs saying, "Refuse the Pare Increase." They've printed their own tickets, which they sell at the old price, and demand the bus company accept them. The company refuses. The workers do not go to work. After several days, work.

workers do not go to work.
After several days, workers in nearby areas organize
similar actions until the
regional government is
forced to suspend the increases and issue lower price
guidelines.

This is just one example of the "self-reduction" movement in action. In Italy, as elsewhere, workers fights for higher wages have often been negated by higher prices in the market place and in essential services. The "self-reduction" movement is a way to organize against this robbery outside the workplace. Moreover, there are large segments of the population who do not have a

"workplace" but are oppressed by the inflated prices. Just the same, a prime example are housewives, and it is these women who are often the backbone of the "self-reduction" movement, sometimes engaging in political activity for the first

time.

Some of the oldest self-reduction fights involve tenants organizing to refuse rent increases. In Magliana, a working-class district of Rome, two thousand families cut their rent payments in half for over two years on their own initiative.

Electricity Rates

But the most significant, and potentially far-reaching, self-reduction struggle has occurred over electricity rates. In an effort to resist rapid increases, Italian workers developed new forms of local organization, created links between neighborhood and factory committees, and presented committees, and presented committees, and presented committees, and presented committees.

siderable problems for the bureaucratic unions and Communist Party.

Communist Party.
In Italy, electricity is provided by ENEL, a state-run corporation mired in perspective properties of the properties of t

"In most cases," Bruno Ramirez writes in Radical America, "the mobilization involved setting up 'self-reduction committees whose task was to collect workers' electricity bills and issue substitute bills, often bearing the stamp of the unions. Workers would then enter the new amount, usually cut by 50 per cent and pay the stamp.

The movement spread throughout the country.

were "self-reduced" in every city. ENEL workers aided the fight when many refused to obey orders to disconnect service. Further solidarity was created by the alliance of neighborhood committees, who were mobilizing their

collectors.

The local initiative and spontaneous nature of the movement soon brought a familiar response. According to Ramirea, "the CP leadership did not take long to condemn this practice, calling it 'divisive' and a' provocation." Under CP direction, the trade unions gradually entered into negotiations with the government. Their official maneur.

cils and neighborhood committees.

In spite of this turn around, the "self-reduction" movement promises to turn up again.

vers steadily superceded the activity of the factory coun-

The contrades at Genfuegos Press, "Over the Water", Sanday, Orkney Islands, KWI72BI, Scotland, are trying to drum up operating capital for their excellent book and pamphlet service. For a low 812 sustaining subscription you can get all their new titles for 1977, the review of anarchish literature, and a ten per cent reduction on all their present stock. This is a good deal, write for details and see.

Anarchist Youth is being organized for anarchists under age. 21. They seek to abolish ageism, public schools, and the State by boycotting all three. All interested anarchists write: Wayne Shaw, c/o Aurora, P.O. Box 1163, Madison, Wisconsin 53701.

For those who would rather hear their anarchism than read it, Our Generation, 3934 St. Urbain, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, is making a series of cassette tapes available, including talks by Augustin Souchy, Murray Bookchin, and Karl Hess. They want to trade for other

Free Spirit Press, Main P.O. Box 24112, Oakland, California 94623, is looking for print projects that "will help end capitalism and bring about as elf-managed society"... The Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy, 2743 Maryland Ave, Baltimore, Maryland 21213, so solicting manuscripts for an anthology of contemporary anarchism. They also have an annotated catalogue of 120 tapes on subjects like have an anotated catalogue of 120 tapes on subjects like have an anotated catalogue of 120 tapes on subjects like leave and the subjects like the subject of 120 tapes on the catalogue o

T-Shirts with a portrait of Lenin on a soup tin and the slogan "57 Varieties — All unfit for human consumption," are available from the Aurora collective, Box 1163, Madison, Wisconsin. Most sizes are available; cost \$3.00.

The International Anarchist Federation (IFA) conference planned for November 1976 has been postponed to April 9-11, 1977 in Paris. For further details contact: CNT, 33 rue des Vignoles, 75020 Paris, or Grigoroff, 20 bis, rue Tourlaque, 75010 Paris, France.

Comrades in Connecticut and surrounding states can tune their FM radios into None of the Above on WUNFM. 91.3. Mondays 8-9 or WHUS-FM, 91.7. Wednesdays 8-30-930 for programming suited to anarchists. Eric Gordon, 39 Vine Hill Rd., West Hartford, Connecticut 06110, who produces the show, would like to receive news information from anarchists. For The End of Prehistory, a 3-hour tape about contemporary capitalism and its suppression from a Situationsist point of view, write P.O. Box 1213. Berkeley, California 94701.

Anarcho-Feminist Notes has merged with Emma (Feminism-Anarchism). Copies of the new publication are avilled from Karea Johnson, 1821–8th St., Des Moines, Iowa 50314. Synthesis and Philadelphis Solidarity are in the process of joining forces. Subscriptions to the combined publication are \$2.28 for a year from P.O. Box 1858, San Pedro, California 90733.

The Redwing Workers Organization, c/o P.O. Box 1902, Des Moines, Iowa 65096, has circulated the first part of a series on the need for organization in the left libertarian movement. They want to engage as many people as possible in the debate.

There has been a flood of new publications dealing with all aspects of the anti-authoritarian movement. . The long awaited Issue 4 of Roots, Box 344, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y., the colourful 50-page publication of Ecology Action East is out. It is free for the asking, as is No Limits, P.O. Box 2005, Madison, Wisconsin 53701, an entertaining new anarchist publication arising out of a split with Free For All in that city. . Individualists will want to check out The Storm (A Journal for Free Spirits), 227 Columbus Ave. Apt. 2E, New York, N.Y. 10023. . . Libero International. C.P.O. Box 1065, Kobe, Japan, 650-91, is an excellent quarterly in English about the anarchist movement past and present in the Assix Pacific region. Donations past and present in the Assix Pacific region. Donations 429, Station 10, 100 Cm. A new issue of Leftward, P.O. Box 429, Station 10, 100 Cm. A new issue of Leftward, P.O. Box 429, Station 10, 100 Cm. 100 Cm.

News from Nowheretakes its name from the famous anarchist novel by William Morris. It is a column of anarchist and anti-underland phemera, notices, contacts, and brief reports culled from various sources. Suggestions and information for the column can be sent to: The Open Road, (News From Nowhere): Box 6135, Station G, Vancouer, etc. 3.



Mountie riot squad guards road into plant after breaking-up wildcat strike.

Workers' barricades fall in courts

Workers at a Canadian aluminum smelter who successfully defied the open threats of the company, the courts and the bureaucracy during an 18-day "illegal" wildcat strike last summer are finding they can't let their guard down even after the picket line action has sub-

The Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW), a charter member of the fledgling independent Canadian union movement, has been hit with

smelter in the world, in an isolated company town 400 miles north of Vancouver, represented one of the most militant Canadian labour struggles in recent times. For 18 days, the workers surrounded the plant and barricaded the road in, forcing the company to airlift supplies to its besieged management staff in order to prevent a costly shutdown of the machinery."

The workers repeatedly refused to accept recommendations of the union leader-

first such defiance in the history of the two-year-old board, which was designed by the previous social democratic government of B.C. to ensure "labor peace" by managing industrial relations along Swedish lines.

tions along Swedish lines.
As the strike progressed,
the barricades were strengthened by the presence of
hundreds of friends and relatives from Kitimat, nine
miles away. Messages of support poured in from around
the province and the rest of

Following tieser open are.

Kitimat workers re-creeted
their harricade across the
martied by the police. But
the work-stoppage continued.

Workers spoke of their
defiance of the three backtowork orders as the end
product of "an explosion of
bitterness after 20 years of
mistreatment by the company." Working conditions in
the plant had been described

labour solidarity between

workers of two "nations." New LRB orders had to be

handed down, and the Quebec workers were finally

ahandon

Following their departure.

as "horrendous."

According to a union strike bulletin: "CASAW union members manning the picket lines are determined to get justice and fair treatment from their employer... and are well aware that their strike is illegal. If a multinational corporation can use legal means to force workers into submission, something

has to give."

Having failed in their bid
to get the contract reopened, the workers, after a
tie vote decided to return to

work.
The collective militancy of
the workers subsequently
paid off when they beat contempt of court charges
brought against 12 activists
for defiance of the LRB
rulings. As well, 32 workers
got off on charges of ob-

The main penalty the workers have had to pay up till now is that 29 of them have been suspended for periods ranging from one to eight weeks.

Local president Burton, one of those suspended, emphasized that throughout the strike the leadership was carrying out the wishes of the membership.

"I try to be as honest as I can to the membership and then leave the decisions up to them," he said. "I don't abdicate my responsibilities, but I do think the union should not be run by a professional bureauerat or controlled only by the active element within

the union."
Follow CASAW developments in the Barricade, publication of the B.C. Law Union, 605 - 207 West Hastings, Vancouver, B.C. CASAW can be contacted at 334 City Centre, Kitimat, B.C.



Alcan union member

a \$1.3 million dollar damage suit by the multi-national Aluminum Company of Canada Ltd. (Alcan).

Canada Ltd. (Alcan).
What the company failed to accomplish on the picket line—namely, break or seriously weaken the union—it's hoping to do through the

The 1,800 members of the Kitimat, B.C., local of CASAW are taking the new threat very seriously. As local president Peter Burton put it:

"They are simply continuing the same kind of action that led to the original strike in the first place. There is an ongoing, continuous deterioration in the treatment of workers here in Kitimat, and that has not fundamentally changed since the strike. This damage suit only makes things worse."

The wildcat strike at the second largest aluminum

ship to lay off the illegal acts. Instead, they took the conduct of the strike into their own hands. They also had to defy the B.C. Labour Relations Board, which three times ordered them back to work with the threat of contempt of court. The wildcat began with a

The wildcat began with a walkout by union welders and electricians over the dangerous working conditions and other grievances, but it quickly spread to the entire work-force as the demand was raised to re-open the was raised to re-open the The strike was a direct challenge to the federal government's 'anti-inflation' policy of restricting workers' wage increases to eight per cent while wirtually ignoring

large price increases.

Each time the LRB ordered them back to work, the workers voted to continue the strike. It was the

fully-equipped riot squad of 200 Mounties (they have a long history of anti-union interventions), the siege was finally lifted on the tenth day. There was no violence, but a total of 32 workers were arrested in one of the most massive displays of police intervention in astrike ever seen in Canada.

After dismantling the workers' barricades, the police left a detachment be-

But in a pre-dawn raid by a

the company in securing its property."

However, only four hours after the arrests, a new picket line was set up by eight workers from Alcan's strike-bound Arvida smelter

hind to "stand down to ass

Members of the Federation Syndicale Sector Aluminum of Quebec, the eight workers had been flown in in an unprecedented gesture of

THE LINES THEY ADE A-CHANGIN'

Weather Underground explodes

By Mark Brothers

Weather ground Organization has ex-ploded, and the shock waves are being felt not only in its clandestine infrastructure, but in the aboveground left

Documents obtained by The Open Road indicate serious and possibly final split within the WUO over whether to continue its recent policy of attempting to commandeer the U.S. aboveground left through a WUO-controlled ontrolled economist oriented mass organization

The documents indicate that some or most of the organizati membership now repudiates recent WUO practice on the grounds it was opportunistic and that it represented an abandonment of the most advanced elements of popular struggle, including wo men, Third World Groups prisoners, and national liberation movements at home and abroad. As well, plans for the entire member ship to surface and play leading roles in the envision mass organization apparently been shelved

Bernardine Dohrn, former "first secretary" of the ments that "the split in the World comrades and organizations we have known and related to. . . all ties and relationships with the old organization are formally dissolved."

Dohrn, who earlier had endorsed the WUO's recent approach to mass activity, now identifies with the "Revolutionary Committee of the WUO," which indicts the old Central Committee's "deadly, grave crimes com-mitted against the women's movement, against revolu-tionary anti-imperialist poli-tics and organization in the oppressor nation."

According to Dohrn, "the aim of the WUO was nothing

less than to establish itself with its white and male sup remacist politics, as the leadership of the whole U.S revolutionary movement."
The WUO felt that "inversion" (surfacing) would spur a nationwide defense campaign that would help generate the new organization.

The policy has been well underway during the past two years, with the WUO ceasing all armed actions and instead establishing a nation wide network of above-ground Prairie Fire Orga-nizing Committees (PFOC) to carry forward the mass work. But the split seems to have left the PFOC's in a shambles, seriously impair ing their ability to function

Whether this means the reassume its traditional mili tant clandestine posture is still questionable at this point, although the Revolutionary Committee says it intends "to maintain and develop the history of the WUO in armed struggle."

The Revolutionary Committee documents say the WUO watered down its politics in order to "expand

among the working class. WUO strategy was to subordinate the women's, anti-imperialist left and national liberation struggles to the economist demands of the working class for higher wages. The effect was "to cover the left flank of (labour bureaucrats) Meany and Woodcock." The RC criti-Woodcock." The RC criticizes this strategy on the grounds that revolutionaries should "support the most advanced, not waiting for the most backward."

One of the documents Self Criticism of the WUO (issue Criticism of the WUO (issued Oct. 1), condemns the WUO's recent position that the women's movement is essentially a bourgeois phenomenon: "In every respect, the WUO's line has reinforced the domination of women by men. . The WUO had no comprehension of the revolutionary content of the independent women's move-ment, and a consistent line ment, and a consistent line that women could only be re-volutionaries if they worked in the whole movement. At one point, this meant the anti-imperialist movement, for the last two years it was the 'class struggle."

An RC document, dated

Nov. 20, says that Dohrn was set up as an "archtypical exceptional woman in op-position to all other women to enforce and be a cover for

Dohrn now denounces her former role as that of token woman. . . I opposed the political struggle of women and glorified the purely economic struggle." In a transcribed tape message, she says she no longer speaks for the rest of the central committee — Bill Ayers, Jeff Jones, Celia Sojourn, Joe Reed. Nor do I speak for the old organi

She says the WUO ignored women fugitives and instead squandered time, money and cadre on "opportunist and cadre on "opportunist and bourgeois men fugitives". "The most glaring example of this", she says, is the WUO's support of Abbie Hoffman. Instead of organi-zing support for prisoners, the WUO "removed cadre from prison work in order to do opportunist work-place organizing. We dismantled troyed activities in support of the black struggle." The RC slashes at the WUO for doing "nothing to support the Black Liberation Army" (BLA) which has been under

severe attack by the State The documents also con demn the WIIO's role in the in Chicago in January, 1976, which brought together which brought together about 3,000 individuals from groups such as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Black Panther Party (East and West Coast versions), Viet-nam Veterans Against the War and the Ar Indian Movement. American WUO, through the PFOC's, was the prime mover behind the conference, but its drive for a new mass organization, led by the WUO, was stymied when its proposed program for hard times' was rejected by the delegates.
Another WUO initiative,
the making of the feature

film Underground, is assail ed as "a crime against national liberation movements, women and the anti-imperialist left. . . it was a imperialist left. . . It was a conscious attempt to organize support for the individuals in the film—not to strengthen the revolution. . . the portrayal of ourselves as gentle, reasonable, wellgentle, reasonable, well-educated and WHITE was a move to disassociate our-selves from the alleged "extremism" of prison strug-gles, the BLA, FALN, SLA...

from armed struggle itself." Says Dohrn, "Along with the attempt to control the Hard Times Conference, we had counted on the movie and the establishment of a legal apparatus to implement this strategy of inversion." tent," they dug themselves. Osawatomie became an in-creasingly in-group publi-cation devoted to internal theoretical squaboies. Exclegal activities were virtually ignored; 'working class consciousness' became synconsciousness; the indepen-dent struggles of Blacks, dent struggies of Biacks, women, prisoners and Third World people were sub-merged in a melange of "class struggle"; freek culture was buried as an embarrassing opportunistic phase; and Leninism was enthusiasti-cally embraced.

By late 1975 Weather politics had reached the point where many revolution were suggesting that the vested interest and tie them

Days of Rage Their 1969 national action, the Days of Rage in Chicago, brought together a "Red Army" of 800 helmeted, pipeswinging Weatherpeople for four days of violent clashes with police

In early 1970, a step ahead of a whole raft of federal of a whole raft of federal indictments arising out of the Days of Rage, the "Weather Machine" reorganized into a network of tight affinity groups and went underground. For the next four years, they conducted a systematic tematic campaign of armed actions, with their bombs



Weatherpeople in Chicago streets during 1969 Days of Rage

in October, 1973, the WUO was "completely disorgan-ized" because of white and male supremacy within the organization and because of the politics of New Morning, a 1970 communique which miticized the "military riticized the "mi dency to consider only bombings or picking up the gun as revolutionary"—and proclaimed the revolution potential

Guerrillas Without Warfare Three years and numerous bombings later, according to the documents, Bill Ayers as to lead a move to re the crumbling organization. the crumbling organization. After another year of intense debate, the WUO published Prairie Fire, a 186-page political statement that reaffirmed the WUO's traditional stands on Black self determination, anti-imperal ism and the women's struggle, and condemned the "uncritical support to

Above all, Prairie Fire was a call for above-ground organizing: "We need organi-zation... We all feel the need to work as part of a whole, larger than ourselves, to see our individual contributions add up to something mean-

In keeping with their new emphasis on aboveground or-ganizing, the WUO began publishing Osawatomie, a quarterly magazine, in the spring of 1975. In the first issue they asserted that "the left is not dug into the people's discontent. Left analysis is seen mainly in papers circulated among left-ists, left solutions are heard mainly in meetings of the left." Then instead of digging Weather Underground "is just like any other Marxist-Leninist vanguardists ex-cept they bomb things." Then they stopped bombing

The logical extension of The logical extension of Weather's emphasis on mass organizing was the creation of a mass organization, and the surfacing of the WUO to organize it. In Osawatomie, they declared that "the need to develop Manufat Logical to develop a Marxist-Lenir ist party of the proletariat, with a correct political line and strategy, is a pressing question for revolutionaries today." As the new docu-ments indicate, the central committee annointed itself the leadership of the new party through the PFOC's: "It was the reflection of a hegemonic view of party building; an attitude that we alone build the party, that we were the only people capable of developing theory and strategy for revolution." The central committee tried to dominate the PFOC's be-lieving "that if it could con-trol this organization it would be an important step toward realizing its overblown ambitions to control the whole left."

The WUO's aspirations toward controlling the left are a relatively recent development. Throughout most of its history, since its genesis in the death throes of the old Students for a Democratic Society in 1969, Weather politics have stressed support for the Third World and Black selfdetermination, militant tactics, and the revolutionary potential of youth and women, while recognizing that "the white working class has very real (privileges)

reaching right into the Pen tagon and the Capitol. They also carried out numerous retaliatory blasts (after George Jackson's murder, the Attica massacre, the coup in Chile, the SLA shoot-

The WUO has made a sig-nificant contribution to the North American revolution-North American revolution-ary process. Whether the movement was at high energy or in despondent lulls, the WUO has respon-ded to outrages by the State with clean, tactically tactful actions. They have been a powerful force in raising consciousness around sexism, racism, imperialism and militant tactics. The publication of Osawatomie and Prairie Fire, and the filming

of Underground were clar destine victories in them-selves. Seven years of busy underground activity with equalled track record for con-temporary North American guerrillas in terms of secure

Authoritarian Ideology

Despite these exemplary successes the WUO has been unable to catalyse a great deal of aboveground activity. They have followed the pattern of movement groups who, by adhering rigidly to authoritarian Marxist-Leninist organizational forms, iso late themselves from people and attempt to form elitist working relationships. Just as they made a "militar error" when they looked a those unwilling to "pick up the gun" as their enemy, they recently erred by dis-missing non-Leninist revolu-

According to the RC, the According to the RC, the WUO "attacked the BLA for being 'militarist,' refused to give any form of aid or support on the alleged basis that they weren't Marxist-Leninist, or organized along the lines of Democratic the lines of Democratic centralism, as defined by us centralism, as defined by us. The same was true for Native American fighters." Much of the women's movement was shrugged off as "anti-communist" as, accor-ding to Dohrn, the WUO elevated differences on communist organization and Marxism-Leninism above op-pressor national solidarity with national liberation struggles.

Although Weather has Atthough weather has always considered itself Marxist-Leninist, the split between its "official" authoritarian ideology and its periodically expressed anti-authoritarian impulses has been the source of constant authoritarian impulses has been the source of constant tension. In New Morning for instance, Dohrn wrote that "one of the most important things that has changed since things that has challed since people began working in col-lectives is the idea of what leadership is. People—and especially groups of sisters— don't want to follow aca-demic ideologues or authori-While the recent docu

ments express many anti-authoritarian criticisms, authoritarian criticisms, willing to seriously look at concepts of non-hierarchical organization. They recognize the need for long-term, coordinated, strategically coordinated, strategically defined organization; the need for armed struggle; the need for amass organization to "pull together friends and comrades, whether three or thirty." Yet they never even consider that antiauthoritarian organization may be anything other than chas anything other than chas altist leadership the RC elitist leadership, the manages to come up with statements like "anarchism has also manifested itself within the organization through spontaneous con-cepts of strategy for revolution; and in concepts of organization and leadership that were not collective and not founded on political

Dohrn states clearly that the other central committee members' proposal for surfacing is not necessarily dead, but the split is sure to diminish the lustre and the impact of any Weather-people who do come out.

While the split may have taking control of the above ground left, it may also have impaired the WUO's ability to wage clandestine warfare. Because for the immediate fecture, it appears the move ment is faced with the pros-pect of two, three, many Weather Undergrounds.

(A complete text of the WIIO WUO documents, entitled The Split of the Weather Underground Organization
Struggling Against White
and Male Supremacy in Our
Movement", will soon be
available for \$1.00 from John
Brown Book Club, P.O. Box 22383, Seattle, Washington

revolutionary force

Children are the enemies of alienation. They don't fit into schedules. Doctors and nurses draw up timetables for looking after babies and then parents feel inadequate because the babies don't conform. Childcare because the babies don't contorin. Unitideare is a drag on women not only because it's done in isolation but because it always has to be done against the clock, to fit in with shop hours, men's or their own job hours, school hours, clinic hours, bank hours, post office hours, welfare hours, and its impossible.

No matter how many day cares they set up and how much maternity leave they intro-duce, children's needs will always be in conflict with bureaucrats' and bosses' needs; children will always be an obstacle to achieving those things which are so highly

this society.

So it's no wonder that the anarchist movement, which in so many other respects mirrors alienated class society, should be dominated by childless people and their values. Where you do find parents, they're likely to be middle-class, because middleclass neonle find it easier to get some free dom from their children (and because they predominate anyway on the left); conver-sely, where you find working-class anar-chists they are usually childless young

joins with capitalism in rewarding childless-ness. Its politics are recreational, based on the male employee's schedule, since it was men who started the left, and we follow the same patterns today despite women's liber ation — you go to meetings after hours and ation — you go to meetings after hours and on weekends and you do things that cost quite a lot of money, like printing leaflets. So naturally even though there are a lot of women in left politics today, they're mostly socio-economic men — they have lobs and fairer share of child-care, fasters play a secondary role to the childless men. The issues concentrated on are mostly

The issues concentrated on are mostly concerned with jobs or with comparatively remote things like frame-ups or foreign wars, seldom with the needs of families except as they relate to the wage-earner. Parents who can't get to meetings or who can't do their share of the leaflet producing, etc., or contribute money to the cause are made to feel like passengers. Instead of the left seeing its childlessness

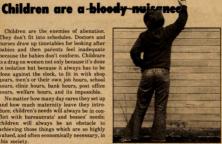
Instead of the left seeing its childlessness as a weakness, it sees parents as insufficiently revolutionary or it just ignores them altogether. One woman writes in support of abortion: "I don't think a single woman with kids is in a good position to be fighting the State." She offers revolutionary women the same choice as does capitalism marriage/cohabitation or childlessness (dismissing communal childners as something we haven't got yet!—only now it's imposed in the name of the revolution. She, like the rest of the left, doesn't know what fighting is. A single woman with kids is fighting the State with her very existence. The State hates her like poison. It stigmatizes her children, like poison. It stigmatizes her children, degrades her at the welfare office, labels her a social problem, and blames homelessness on "marriage breakdown" (society can't afford for women to have their own

Staying Childless
The State can afford to liberate childless women as they'll always be the minority. You don't fight women's oppression by staying childless, you just lessen it. Of course as woman who doesn't want kids shouldn't have them just for political reasons, but neither should she tell those who do want them that it's unrevolutionary

to have them.

The real reason why housewives (include ing single parents on welfare or men who stay home while their wives have jobs) are stay home while their wives have jobs) are dismissed by the left is that we are outside the power strucutre. No one in authority had to approve us for the job, we require no licence to do it (though plenty would like to introduce it, and the State's power to steal children is a negative kind of licence), we can organize our own work without a supervisor.

I think we should organize more private ommunal child care instead of pressuring or more State or industrial day care, which



are not the same as "community child care," although some leftists talk as though they atthough some lettists task as though they were. Institutionalized day care that frees parents to join the alienated work force really isn't freedom for women, men or our children. It's freedom for robots.

children. It's freedom for robots.
What we should do is try to bring work
patterns into harmony with child care. That
means more self-employment, job-sharing,
part-time and casual work, growing your
own and doing it yourself to cut down on
wages needed, going to the land — squatting
iff's necessary; everything, in fact, which is

The hard left considers all these things irrelevant, and self-employment down right reactionary. In this, as in the matter of children, it shares the values of capitalism which weights everything-respectable status, benefits, opportunities—in favour of the long term, full-time employee and make others feel almost the erriminats (which they literally are in Communist countries). The hard left is composed of power-oriented people who identify with union leaders and commissars even when they theoretically commissars even when they theoretically disapprove of them; after their sort of revolution they would just be union leaders under a different name and they don't like intractable human material.

under a different name and they don't like intractable human material.

Whatever their politics, most low-grade workers hate work and you're much more likely to encourage this natural source of revolutionary energy by offering the hope of some life and freedom now than by fantasizing about mass occupations, general strikes and revolutions 20 years in the future.

It's also important for people to form comment is also important for people to form comment is a subject to the strike of the strike of the strike revolution can occur at all while we are stuck in our little holes struggling to survive as families, overworked, depressed, always in terror of homelessness, pennlissness, harassment, while reserving "political activity" for our weekly night out.

Communes and the like are justly derided when they consist of rich, lesiured people who have no trouble buying houses and land, and imagine that their example will inspire the State to dissolve itself and the ruling class to give up their excess property

the State to dissorve usen and the range class to give up their excess property without a fight. It's much harder for poor people to form communes—the State's people to form communes—the State's housing policy shows that it's aware of the revolutionary potential of communes and revolutionary potential of communes and the repressive power of marriage. But we must start and are starting to do it, by squatting and treating council estates as communes. This makes it easier to survive on less wages and without child care which is alienated, inconvenient and inadequate (no evening, and weekend says.)

evening and weekend care).
We should make our politics revolve around our daily lives, not restricted to after job hours. (Every couple knows that after-job hours. (Every couple knows that when a meeting or demonstration is on, it's the person who stays home with the kids who's working, making a surffice, and the person who participates in the so-called struggle whôs having a good time.) We should reject the bureaucratic polities taken upmost typically by those who don't mess up their lives with anything so untidy and uncontrollable as children.

If his is a condensed version of an article written by Mme de Stael in the British magazine Amarchy, "Children are a Bloody Nuisance/Revolutionary Force". Amarchy's address is 29 Grosvenor Avenue, London, N.5. England, N.5. En

N.5. England.)

Invasion of the Stalinoids

the most extensively-deve loped alternative economic system in the U.S." But in more recent days, the North more recent days, the North Country co-operative move-ment, centred in Minnea-polis-St. Paul, Minnesota, has been lucky to make ends It wasn't that North Coun

try couldn't make a go of it in the world of business and finance, or that the co-op members got drained of their energy. Trouble came in the form of the misnamed Co-op Organization (CO), a self-styled Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist outfit that has at tempted to force its hi archical organizational forms and its authoritarian politica style onto an unwilling co-or

years. What started as a debate over the co-op movement's class orientation and its in-ternal policies eventually became a complicated series of mass meetings, position papers, occupations, arson, sabotage, threats and violence. In the process, the CO's escalating provocations and sectarian tactics virtual ly tore apart a loose, decen-tralized federation of more than 30 co-ops, warehouses, bakeries, cafes and other enterprises doing two million dollars worth of cooperative business annually.
The CO initiative

launched in early 1975 during time when many co-op members were questioning members were questioning why the co-op movement had failed to widen its base from its "hippie" origins to bring in working people. CO mem-bers, many of whom had been exists. bers, many of whom had been actively involved in North Country, were ob-North Country, were ob-viously frustrated by the un-willingness of the working class to accept their leadership, and, ironically, they carefully laid plans to reach workers through the muchstitutions by taking over North Country.

The strategy of the CO was two-fold. First, to infiltrate the key institutions, including "the means of production" (The People's Warehouse). Second, to push every debate into a meta-physical "two-line struggle," with the opposing line being labelled fascist and reaction clearly take sides in class struggle."

This authoriatrian form of

practical issues, such as single mark-up vs. dual mark-up, bulk vs. processed foods, etc. — disputes with valid arguments supporting either side. In a position paper prepared by co-op acti vists, anarchists and femi-nists, it was pointed out that represents an represents an "attempt to force reality to fit abstract theory. Of course, this is the opposite of a dialectical approach, which is open-ended and rooted in the concrete."

Community Control

The CO branded its most prominent opponents as bourgeois," and said they and "instituted a deceitful line — community control — to maintain its class ideology and control of the system." completely ignored the fact that, while all the co-ops met together to form some com-mon policy, each co-op was independent and run by a col lective of its own members

As one of those victimized y the CO's attacks explained later, North Country plained later, North Country was built on openness, trust and comradeship. No won-der, he said, it was "suscep-tible to any disciplined, un-principled group."

In early May, 1975, the CO

attempteda.putsch.CO mem bers circulated a plan calling for restructuring of the co ops, installing democratic centralism and themselves as the new revolutionary leadership. The CO claimed leadership. The CO claimed the People's Warehouse would go broke unless the hippies abandoned their anti-profit mentality. In a new twist on the two-line struggle, the CO said there's nothing wrong with profit, as long as it goes to benefit the workers rather than the

ruling class.
When its demands were shelved, the CO took the road of violent insurrection. Armed with pipes and other makeshift weapons, CO members descended in full strength on the warehouse and gave the non-CO wor-kers a half hour to leave. One woman who put up some verbal resistance was clubbed before she and her co-

workers were evicted.
The CO had already with drawn \$6,000 from the North Country bank account before the occupation. Co-op mem-bers gathered at the ware-

and sent away. A "third force" arose supporting the CO's criticisms but condemning its tactics

Effective Action

In the end, the only effective action was taken by the co-op members them-selves. They reorganized nearly all the co-ops in the network and established a new distributing wareh which was eventually for malized as the Distributing Alliance of the North Country (DANCe), an acronym taken from the Emma Goldman quote, "If I can't dance. I don't want to be part

f your revolution."
Without the co-ops' busi ness, the occupation col-lapsed in a week, but CO people were allowed to remain in control of the ware house operation, which was now in a weak financial situa-ation. As one co-op member said, "They (CO) thought that they had taken over the focal point of the co-ops, but now they found that the focal point was expendable, and we were capable of regener-

ating what we need." against DANCe, first by cal ling for the new warehouse to turn over its assets, and then by embarking on a camy embarking on of hooliganism, in-of hooliganism, in-g firebombing one cluding firebombing one co-op, destroying a truck and other acts of sabotage, beating up co-op

members CO's last gasp was an attempt to sabotage DANCe by getting the San Francisco Common Operating Ware house (SFCOW), the pri mary broker for the region and an avowed Marxist-Leninist organization to put Leninist organization to put pressure on the co-ops. Again, solidarity among co-ops prevailed, and SFCOW was dropped as the midwest broker — cutting its total business by one-third.

Purges have weakened the CO, and the People's Ware-house is in process of being sold to pay off the CO-incurred debts. North Country is hoping for a period of relative stability in order to recover from its authoritarian socialism and to rebuild itself as the model of the new, non-hierarchica

Keep in touch with North Country through Soil of Liberty, P.O. Box 3840, Loring Station, Minneapolis, Minn. 55403.

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

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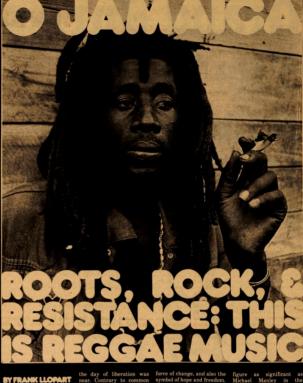
the economic and social cts of multinational pene-ation of Jamaica. Pros-trity and power for the few, leness and exploitation for e vast majority of the

vast majority of the nd's two million people. is in Railway Lane, nchtown, Concrete Jun-and the other urban stafari as the "most pro-nd dilemma faced by the ime." The present Prime inter, Michael Manley of

Rastafarian ambience which is trans-amaican society.

The Rastafari

"Just because i'm a



the late

ships how they brutalized our very souls
Today they say that we
are free
only to be chained in

poverty."
-Slave Driver, The Wailers

Grand Juries:

The New American Inquisition

BY HARRY GOMBE



You can't hardly get out of a jam in America anymore by "taking the "Fifth." That once-hallowed refuge of "Fifth." That once-hallowed refuge of civil libertarians and other believers in the essential beneficence of the State has been rendered a virtual dead letter by an intensified grand jury offensive across the

country.

Scores of individuals have gone to jail for refusing to cooperate with politically-motivated grand juries, and thousands of others have had their personal lives and political priorities disrupted in combatting the aura of criminality that the authorities

have attempted to bestow on all dissenters.

In the process, these resisters have shown In the process, these resisters have snown that the scope of political activity in a society depends not on the "rights" guaranteed by the government nor on the good will or good intentions of high officials and media managers, but on how well groups and individuals can mobilize to protect their own

interests.
The resistance to the grand juries has had The resistance to the grand juries has had only marginal luck in legal and bureauerstic challenges of the grand juries' patently unconstitutional abuses. The main successes up to now have been due to the personal courage of individual "martyrs" and to the organizing skills and energies of local antigrand jury coalitions and defense committees across the U.S.

Nixon's relatively minor tampering with he U.S. Constitution during the Watergate the U.S. Constitution during the Watergate after provided anguished and outraged protests from his "enemies" among the ruling either of greater provided in a distribution of the control of the control

established opinion-makers.

Maybe it's because the targets (for now.) least) of this new Inquisition are merely the dispossessed and the dissident, including native people, militant unionists, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, gays, feminists, anti-war activists, single mothers and urban

guerrinas.
Under the pretext of a war on organized crime and "terrorism," the grand jury has been transformed into a powerful-investigatory body completely subservient to the FEI and other police agencies aiming to destroy the broad progressive and Left communities. Prosecutors routinely use grand juries to extort information behind closed doors to which police investigators have

or Michelle Whitnack, last December 20th started out like every other long and boring day in the Seattle City Jail. But it got worse, and then better, in a

hurry.
Whitnack, a 21-year-old prison activist and anarchist, had been held in the jail since July for refusing to testify or even give her fingerprints to a grand jury probing Seattle's Left community. As things stood, she faced another 12 months inside.

On the morning of the 20th, without warning, six federal marshalls dragged her warning, six federal marshalls dragged her out of her cell, choked her into unconscious-ness, and forcibly took her prints and mug-shot. Then, without further ceremony, they gave her her walking papers.

The prosecutor's office issued a press release saying that the prints were obtained "without injury to the prisoner," and then went on to state that the evidence would be compared to prints taken from ar unexploded bomb found a year earlier in the Seattle courthouse

Christmas? I don't know," says Whitnack. "I'd like to say it was because of the big public campaign around my case, and their embarrassment at having me in jail, and they were looking for a face-saving way out, but that would be speculation.
"All Iknow is they picked a day when both my lawyers were out of town and the magistrate and the head marshal, both of whom

would have stopped the forcible finger printing, were on vacation."

Whitnack points out as well that the reference to the unexploded bomb doesn't reference to the unexploded bomb doesn't make much sense since it would have been more logical to keep her in jail until the com-parison of prints had been completed. The press release by the prosecutor's office was, in fact, part of a continuing official campaign, to discredit, the Seattle Left

among the general population by creating an aura of criminality around political activists.

little access and no legal right.

As things stand now, a grand jury witness is in as much or more jeopardy as the ostensible "target" against whom the prosecutor is supposed to be seeking an indictment. The witness is given little or no warning to appear, he or she has no right to know the cripred being investigated and re-night to know the mes being investigated and no right to crimes being investigated and no right to have a lawyer present in the grand jury room; the regular rules of evidence and other due process safeguards don't apply; there is no public presence at the

But the grand jury's main bludgeon is its compelled, on pain of being sent to prison to answer literally any question about their political ideas and associations, about their onversations and activities, and those their friends, neighbors and relatives. Jail terms can last up to 18 months — the term of the grand jury

In a chilling new wrinkle, the grand jury has been put to work on what can only be described as anthropological research. It's the sort of research that the CIA has been funding for years in Latin America and else where in an effort to anticipate, divert and control the forces of social change. Only now, "subjects" are home-grown comm in self-sufficient ways outside the

This happened clearly in Lexington, Ken tucky, where the FBI thought it had tracked down political bank robbers Susan Saxe and Katherine Power. Agents started asking heavy-handed questions in the small Lesbian community there and were baffled to find they were getting nowhere.

One of the people questioned in Lexington said the FBI was thoroughly spooked to learn there were whole groups of people in America whose internal dynamics were a mystery to it, whose members spontaneously nutrued and supported each other and built solidarity outside the pale of the Welfare State. "For them, it was a bureau-crats" nightmare," she says. "They just assumed there was a national network of Lesbians moving people around, and they had to find out how it worked. They got the grand jury to ask all sorts of personal and irrelevant questions: who people had lived with in the past few years, who they met when they went to meetings, what they majored in in college.

"It was tremendously destructive of the political community in Lexington. People became burned out and paranoid. It caused tremendous rifts. You never knew what was

Similar research is being conducted in Seattle (see accompanying article), where, as one lawyer put it, most of the subpoenees "obviously don't know shit from shinola' about any illegal political activities.

divics textbooks say the grand jury system was established way back when, in order to protect the individual against capricious prosecu-

individual against capricious prosecution by the government. In truth, the gran jury — mostly male, white, middle-aged and middle-class — has almost always been a middle-class — nas almost aways been a rubber stamp in criminal prosecutions and political persecutions, and in times of acute domestic stress or of abrupt or profound changes in official policy, most federal ad-ministrations — even "librati" or "progres-sive" ones — have allowed or encouraged and juries to stifle the voices of opposition

grand juries to stufe the voices of oppositions.

Abraham Lincoln used grand juries to silence critics of the Union cause; Woodrow Wilson to illegally imprison and deport hundreds of radicals to Russia following the Bolshevik Revolution; Franklin Roosevelt to put down Nazi sympathizers; and Harry Truman to provide a cover for the anti-liberal crusade waged by Joe McCarthy and the young and hungry Richard Nixon in their

ongressional committee. Nixon was following in this American tradition when he got the cooperation of a supine and supposedly liberal Congress and the U.S. Supreme Court to rewrite the Bil! of Rights and fatally weaken one of the more cherished liberal freedoms — the right against self-incrimination. High government officials had been looking for new methods to stem the Vietnam-era tide of popular dis content after the great conspiracy trials (Dr Spock, Chicago Eight, Wounded Knee, etc.) and 1984-type legislation, such as no-knock ventive detention, had failed to laws and preve

Nixon's brainstorm, embodied in the Or-ganized Crime Control Act of 1970, was "use This meant that a witness could immunity. This meant that a witness could be compelled to testify if he or she were "granted" immunity from prosecution based, directly or indirectly, on that eviviously open to subversion by unscrupulous

prosecutors.

The first wave of witchhunts was coordinated by the Internal Security Division (ISD) of the "Justice" Department. ISD prosecutors jetted around the country, appearing in more than 100 cities, sub-poening more than 2,000 people sympathetic action in validal causes, or people who poening more than 2,000 people sympathetic to or active in radical causes, or people who were simply friends or acquaintances of activists, forcing many of them to journey, activists, forcing many of them to journey, often on little or no notice and with no explanation, hundreds or thousands of miles from their homes to answer a series of wideranging questions relating to their friends, political associations and activities.

Sample question in Tucson, where the grand jury was investigating the theft of a quantity of explosives (the woman who

"I want you to tell the grand jury what period of time during-the years 1969 and 1970 you resided at 2201 Ocean Front Walk, Venice (California); who resided there at the time you lived there, identifying all persons you have seen in or about the premises of that address; and tell the grand jury all of the conversations that were held by you or others in your presence during the time that you were at that address."

Stalled by Watergate

The government's offensive got stalled temporarily as a result of Watergate and various court challenges, but these impedi-ments have now been largely swept away, setting the stage for a new initiative. Nico, Mitchell and that gang are gone now, and the FBI has taken over from the ISD as the main investigatory agency, but most of the politically-motivated prosecutors are still on the

Among the more active grand juries in cent months have been

recent months have been:

New York—a campaign is being waged to smear the Puerto Rican independence movement by linking the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), with the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican Liberation (PALN), a clandestine group which has carried out a series of . PSP militant Lucrida Torres was jailed for four months last summer for re

when the grand jury's term expired.

• Rapid City — as part of the continuing government repression of the native move ment following Wounded Knee, three people were jailed for refusing to talk about a sh out in which two FBI agents who invaded the

Pine Ridge Reservation were killed. An elderly couple was jailed for three months; they agreed to talk only because they had to get out to care for their young children. Joanna Ledieux, a tribal worker and medi-Joanna Ledieux, a tribal worker and medi-ator in the shootout, spent eight months in jail, and was only released because of public outrage: she was unable to nurse her new-born infant. In a related case, a Wounded Knee lawyer successfully resisted a sub-poena in Des Moines which called on her to

poena in Des Moines which called on her to give evidence against her client.

• Washington, D.C. — a grand jury is helping the Washington Post attempt to bust the militant Pressmen's Union. Eightyeight unionists have been subpoened to find out how Post presses got wrecked during a 1975 strike. Fifteen unionists have been indicted for rioting, destruction of machinery

and other offenses.

Scranton-Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
three separate grand juries are attemp
to probe the underground "network"
harbored Patty Hearst and other S bionese Liberation Army members in their travels. Two local activists, Jay Weiner and Phil Shinnick, went to jail in December after tying up the panel for months on procedural challenges and on direct "outreach" appeals to the jurors to take an independent stand

against the prosecutor.

• Seattle — a fishing expedition against the entire Left community resulted in the jailing of Michelle Whitnack for six months. Ten other people — most of them women, including four single mothers — have been

including four single mothers — have been threatened with jail for refusing to talk. • Denver — FBI police-vigilante offensive against the Chicano movement is being aided by a grand jury, which is purportedly investigating a 1974 bombe spotsoion that killed six Chicano men (Los Seis) in a car. Veronica Vigil a Chicana activist, spent seven months in jail for refusing to talk. • New Haven— two formerly non-political women. Terri Turgeon and Ellen Grusse, went to jail for seven months a part of a

went to jail for seven months as part of a grand jury inquisition of the Women's and investigation is linked to a similar witchhunt in Lexington, Kentucky, ostensibly aimed at ferretting out Susan Saxe and Katherine Power. In Lexington, Jill Raymond spent 17

four Chicana women have b indicted for aiding "illegal" immigrants from Mexico as part of a grand jury attempt to scapegoat undocumented workers for the

continued on p. 30

Whitnack out of deep freeze

The grand jury is ostensibly probing the activities of the George Jackson Brigade, a clandestine group that pulled off is political bombings, a bungled bank robbery and a successful jailtoneak during 1975 and 1976. (The courthouse bomb has been claimed by the New World Liberation Front, based in the San Francisco Bay area.)

That wasn't the first time the prosecutor had attempted to discredit Whitnack when he refused no vive in to his threats, Months he refused no vive in to his threats. Months

she refused to give in to his threats. Months earlier, he had announced that he had disearner, he had announced that he had dis-covered a housewife who claimed to have seen a woman vaguely fitting Whitnack's description lodged in a tree near a suburban power station that was bombed the next

day.
Whitnack recalls: "When I first heard whitnack recaus: when I have heard about this housewife's statement, I ran up to Ed Mead (a GJB member then and now in prison), and I said to him, 'Ed, I wouldn't ask you this if I didn't need to know, but was there anybody who looked like me in the Laurehurst bombing?

"He told me, 'nope, there were no women involved.' Now, since then, friends have gone to look at the tree and they have told me there was no reason to climb the tree to see the power station, and that only one tree thereabouts would hold my weight — I'm neither slender nor athletic — and it lacks branches for its first ten feet."

To this date, Whitnack has yet to be

charged for either the Laurelhurst or the courthouse bomb. But the guilt-by-association tactic has had some success in splitting the Seattle Coalition against Grand Jury abuse by driving a wedge between those who give critical support to armed struggle and those who oppose it out of principle or out of fear of a repressive backlash.



The Left Bank Book Collective (of which Whitnack is a member), the main anti-authoritian voice in the area, has quit the coalition rather than stifle its outspoken critical support of the GJB. The move to muzzle Left Bank came not from the nervous liberals, but from the Leninists, many of whom are Weather Underground Organization camp-followers who were peddlin WUO's mass party-building line at the Whitnack herself has been critical of those GJB actions which endangered innocent people — like the bombing of a Safeway

"Except for the Safeway action, I would rate the GJB's actions as good to real good," she says. "The real good was breaking out John Sherman (GJB member) who was in a hospital prison ward after a bank shoot-out."

example and a warning of Whitnack after six months of failure in their witchhunt. Every witness, with only one minor exception, has steadfastly refused to talk to the FBI or the

grand jury.
In all, 11 individuals have been subpoenaed. in an, il individuats have been subpensaed, many of whom have only marginal connec-tion to the Left or underground scenes. Four of those subpoened have been single mothers with very young children — an ob-vious attempt to intimidate a vulnerable group. Police search-and-seize raids on le's homes have followed the same random pattern.

dom pattern.

Despite its internal conflicts, the Grand
Jury Coalition has mounted an effective
campaign, including fairly favorable coverage in the news media and energetic inter-

age in the news media and energetic inter-vention by the National Lawyers' Guild.

"Our basic line is 'Co-operating with the State is like eating potato chips — once you start, you can't stop." says Whitnack.

"They (the authorities) have it in their

minds that there's one big conspiracy going on. I think it's more comforting for them to think it's coming from some sort of central command than that folks are acting independently

Safeway Bombing
Whitnack was subpoened because of her friendship with Ralph "Po" Ford, a Left Bank member who was killed in late 1975 when a bomb he was attempting to place in a closed Safeway blew up prematurely. (The GJB Safeway bombing came in response to

She had lived in Seattle about two years, she was involved in outside support work for risoners' struggles in Folsom and San

After she went to jail herself, the grand jury offensive seemed to stall, probably be-cause of the adverse publicity over the jailing. Since July, there have been no new oenas, although the grand jury con

But that's not all: as soon as she went inside. Whitnack got busy helping organize a side. Whitnack got busy neiping organize a propaganda barrage about the lack of health care facilities in the jail. When, as a result, she was transferred to the Tacoma jail in punishment, the Seattle women prisoners staged a hunger strike to demand her return. She finally made it back, but mainly

return. She finally made it back, but mainly because of the string pulling of her lawyer. Now that she's out, Whitnack has to try to pick up the pieces of her totally-disrupted personal life. She had been sharing a house with Laurie Raymond (sister of Jill Raymond, who spent 17 months in jail resisting upon the companies of the Lexington. Kentucky, grand jury), and Laurie's two young children. But now Raymond is in jail and outle remain there until mond is in Jan and could remain there until summer on two convictions: destroying federal property at the Trident nuclear sub-marine base, and "assaulting" six marshalls at Whitnack's contempt hearing. Raymond's two children are temporarily staying with

"My immediate priorities are to settle my home life and to transform my defense committee, Deep Freeze Life Support Systems (P.O. Box 12497, Seattle, Washington 98111), into a defense committee for Laurie," says Whitnack.

"Was six months in jail worth it? You bet it was. The thing they didn't realize was when my energy runs out, my stubbornness switches in."

Quebec separatist win - whose victory?

home-grown secessionist movement has shifted into movement has shinted into second gear in French-speaking Quebec with the election victory last December of the Parti Quebecois under the leadership of former Liberal Party technocrat Rene Levesque. It's not the Social Revolution by a long shot, however, since the PQ is the kind of social demo-cratic party that won't really disturb the basic social equation, even while it brings in a fair number of

welfare measures.

The PQ, or at least its ruling Levesque faction seems to visualize Quebec in dependence in the form of a with English-speaking Cana-da-a sort of common market for the free movement of goods, labor and capital. The goods, labor and capital. The PQ hopes to separate peace-fully after a "national" (Quebec-wide) plebiscite, promised for within the next two years. (Recent polls seem to indicate that most French-speaking Quebecois, are happy to remain Canada.) The plebiscite based on the assessment that the federal government won't use force to keep Canada from unravelling.

In speeches since the elec-tion, including an important address to the international financiers of the Economic Club of New York, Levesque has advertised Quebec as a safe and stable place for foreign investment. Still, with a militant trade union elements in most key popular organizations, the potential for some significant social transformation can't be dis missed now that the inde-pendence option has an authoritative forum from which to propagandize.

The political climate in

The political climate in Quebec has been moving left ward since the late 1940's, especially since the historic 1949 strike of asbestos miners. That strike which miners. That strike which was violently suppressed, created the first breach be-tween the old reactionary regime and the Queber people, and it baptized a whole generation of intellectuals and workers into politi

Quiet Revolution The early Sixties in Quebec were marked by the "Quiet Revolution" — the development of the educa tional and social infra structures demanded by a modern capitalist economy The movers and benefici aries of these changes were a new stratum of highlyeducated, French-speaking professionals and managers employed directly or indi-rectly by the burgeoning Quebec State.

The original political vehicle for this elite was the Liberal Party, but the Liberals were eventually Liberals were eventually cast aside because of their corruption, inefficiency and involvement in federal politics. During the late Sixties, the PQ came into Sixties, the PQ came into being to represent these new interests, along with trade union elements, student groups and Movement



Rene Levesque (right) confers with banker David Rockefeller (left) and New York

The birth and develop-ment of the PQ coincided periods of social agitation in periods of social agitation in Canadian and Quebec his-tory. The urban guerrilla Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) capped seve-ral years of bombings and rai years of pombings and other actions with two poli-tical kidnappings in October, 1970. The federal govern-ment responded by imposing the War Measures Act (virtually a State of Siege) and sending in the Army to detain hundreds of Quebec activists in a vain attempt to stem the growing tide of separatist opinion.

In April, 1972, more than 200,000 public service wor-kers in a Common Front of

strike, but were forced back to work by reformist leader ship. When three militant union leaders were jailed as a result of the strike, the workers disrupted the province for ten days with demonstrations, occupations and walkouts.

More recently, another Common Front general strike occurred in the construction industry, and there have been major strikes in the asbestos, metallurgical, hydro-electrical and textile organized workers have confronted the State directly or indirectly in the past few years. Even teachers have defied court orders to return

electric company continued their defiance right through the election campaign.

Much of the impetus for this militancy has come from this militancy has come from the Confederation des Syn-dicats Nationaux (Confeder-ation of National Trade Unions),the closest thing to a mass-based syndicalist trade union federation existing in North America. The CNTU, 150,000 workers in the public service and industrial sectors, is somewhat to the left of the social democrats, and has a strong tradition of workers' control of union

Macho Challenge Since the election, opinion-moulders in English Canada

bers of the industrial and

construction unions across Canada, while public service

have attempted to characterize the PQ victory as mainly a against and against the corrupt Liberal machine. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau (himself a Quebecer but a federalist) has said he in-tends to stake his political career on the outcome of the plebiscite and he has issued a macho challenge to Levesque

to do likewise.
The federal Liberal party's main selling point to the has been its ability to keep Canada together. But there has been a lot of indifference and outright opposition to attempts to increase the use of French in the federal civil service and Summer. English-speaking air traffic controllers, joined air traffic controllers, joined by English-speaking pilots, successfully struck against the use of French in com-nunications in Quebec airspace. The capitulation of the federal government to their demands and the massive, barely disguised racist support which the con-trollers got all across English Canada, can only have the effect of increasing national

ist and separatist sentiment It'strue that the PQ down played the independence issue during the election (the original PQ position was that independence would follow necessarily once it got elected). But it may have its hands full keeping the more avid separatists in line from now on. The more militant elements of the PQ are sorely under-represented in Leves-que's cabinet, which is made up mostly of middle-class professionals and techno-

However, the election was a result of strong working class support for the PQ. Levesque, whose attitude Levesque, whose attitude toward labour up to this time can be described as negative tending toward hostility, is going to have to be prepared to offer some concessions in terms of more social services and more favourable labour legislation. But this comes at a time when Quebec is plagued by one of the highest rates of unemployment and inflation in the country. The Quebec economy is already facing problems due to a lack of a large industrial base and mammoth debts to pay for the Olympics and the James Bay hydro-electric project.

The strategy of the PQ will be to attempt to isolate the militant left in the labour movement by appealing directly to the rank-and-file. directly to the rank-and-file. There will be the familiar calls for "self-sacrifice" for the nationalist cause in an attempt to defuse labour militancy and wage demands. This may backfire, though, because it was the rank-and-file, and not the union bureaucrats, who took the lead during the major strikes and in defiance of the

(Thanks to Our Genera-tion, Vol. 11, No. 4, an English language libertarian socialist magazine, available from 3934 rue St. Urbain, Montreal, Que., for much of the information in article; for another check Canadian Dimension, Vol. 11, No. 7, available at Box 1413, Winnipeg, Man.)

Canadian labour runs on the spot

North America's first nation-wide general strike last October 14 may have drawn over drawn over one million Canadian workers off the job, but it also exposed sig-nificant weaknesses within the Canadian trade union

Ms well, it failed to convince the federal government to release its strangle-hold on wage increases of

hold on wage increases of Canadian workers.
Organized by the Canadian Labour Congress — a national labour body affiliated to the AFL-CIO and consisting of 2.2 million unionists — the "Day of Protest" was promoted by the CLC organizers as an op-portunity for Canadian workers to show the governworkers to show the govern-ment they were prepared to fight the year-old wage con-trols imposed on them as part of the Trudeau govern-ment's anti-inflation mea-

Claiming that labor costs are the main cause of in flation, the Liberal govern ment has limited the ment has limited the annual wage increases of over 1,000,000 workers to an official guideline of 8 per cent since October, 1975.

Hundreds of thousands more workers have had their negotiated wage increases rolled back. Those appealing of the government of the gove

the rulings of the govern-ment's Anti-Inflation Board

(AIB), which administers the anti-inflation program, have been penalized by further wage cuts.

wage cuts.

During this time, prices and profits have gone unchecked and continue to climb, while the government, in a further attack on the living standards of Canadian workers began a program of "restraint," cutting back on needed social service expen-

joining the protest rallies on October 14 had mainly eco-

simply to protest the wage controls. Their show of strength was clearly visible.

The work stoppage in
Ontario, Canada's most pop-

ulous province, was the la gest with 440,000 trace ulous province, was the iargest with 440,000 trade unionists participating. Over 240,000 downed tools in Quebec. British Columbia, a long-time bastion of labour militancy, had 190,000 off, the largest demon-ions proportional to strations

In B.C. the forest industry was almost completely shut

struction projects in and around Vancouver were at a standstill; and waterfront activity was non-existent.

No Reprisals

Demonstrations of up to 10,000 workers took place in major Canadian cities. Re-prisals in the form of firings suspensions were virmost bosses took the position that it was healthy for the workers to blow off some

The strongest support for the protest came from mem-

sector workers were con-spicuously weak. And with only half of its membership out, the CLC obviously lacked the full participation it desired, especially from the key transport sector. The railtransport sector. The rail-ways were not shut down, and except for a stoppage of a few hours in Vancouver, nation-wide city transit drivers continued working. Support from unorganized labour was just about non-

The call for a general strike originated at a May CLC convention in Quebec City, where labour delegates City, where labour delegates from across Canada man-dated the CLC executive to "organize and conduct a general work stoppage or stoppages if and when necessary to defeat the wage control program."

Labour Manifesto

At the same time, they had approved a CLC "Manifesto for Labour," which, in denouncing the wage controls, also called on organized labour to enter into a sharing of national power with busi ness and government in a "tri-partite" arrangement "tri-partite" arrangement.
The proposals for "tri-partism" were aimed at

continued on p. 29



Day of protest brings 10,000 workers into Vancouver streets

or 19 exhilarating months during 1974-1975, the Portuguese working class was the stalking horse of revolution in all the advanced industrial societies. In the power vacuum that prevailed following the power vacuum that prevailed following the anti-fascist military coup of April 25, 1974. Portuguese workers were able to create a variety of popular self-defense and self-management organizations aimed at furthering the cause of socialism. They had a rich history of anarcho-syndicalist activity dating back to the turn of the century to draw on, so their natural inclination was toward libertarian solutions in the work place, in rural areas, in the neighbourhoods,

and even in the military.

Phil Mailer, an Irish libertarian who has lived in Portugal for 15 years, has written a truly comprehensive account of these struggles in his new book, Portugal—The Difficult Revolution. In 450 pages of text, illustrations, indexes and documents, describes the successes and failures of th gescribes the successes and natures of these popular institutions, and the deep relevance they have for popular struggles in the rest of Europe and in North America. If there is one theme that informs the book, it is that restoration of State power and the installation of the social democratic order that lation of the social democratic order that exists today in Portugal was in large part the responsibility of the vanguard, elitist and sectarian "Revolutionary Left," which time and again interfered with and manipulated true revolutionary initiatives of the

Portugal-The Difficult Revolution is Portugal—The Difficult Revolution is being published simultaneously by Black Rose Books in Montreal (price, \$4.50). Free Life Editions in New York and Solidarity in London, England. The following excerpts were adapated from a pre-publication manuscript made available by Black Rose, 3934 Rue St. Urbain, Montreal, Que., Canada).

The 25th was a cold morning for April.

A17-45 a.m. the following radio announcement stumed hundreds of thousands of Portuguese into a realisation that a control of the property of the prope

At 8-15 a.m., my neighbour wakes me up, crazy look in her eyes as she stands there, in men's pyjamas. She tells me not to go to sehool today: all schools are closed, the Army has taken over, shooting, everyone to stay at home. She speaks in broken Portu-guese to help me understand, firing her fin-gers into the air.

I close the door thinking she's mad, turn on the radio and return to bed. Nothing: the usual ads. I can't believe it. I can't sleep though I need to. I try other stations. Marchusic on the National Radio, Could she

At 9:10 a.m., already late, I arrive at school. No buses outside. I meet R, a teacher who is bursting with the news. D, the school fascist, is also there. We ask if it's from the right or from the left, or even from which forces on the right: the generals or Spinola? question remains ing. No one knows.

morning. No one knows.

April 26th, Day Two: The headlines are startling. Spinola, the leader of the new Junta, has promised the 'democratisation of politics', new elections as soon as possible, an end to all fascist institutions, negotiations over the war in Africa. Caetano and Tomas over the war in Arrica, Caetano and Tomas have been exiled to Madeira. Some PIDEs (political police) have been captured, one with his trousers down.

We go off to lunch and pore over the

we go off to funch and pore over the morning papers. The photos are telling. Masses of people are involved. This is clearly more than just a coup d'etat. Already the old structures seem to be falling apart. We just aren't reading the same newspapers as yes aren treading the same newspapers as yes-terday though the names, lay-out and style are much the same. Nervously, faces on the streets are beginning to smile. Whiffs of freedom are rising over Lisbon and people are passing them on to one another in their speech and laughter. It is fantastic, shat

sign. We hear about Caxias, the notorious political prison: 170 prisoners have been re-leased and about a hundred PIDEs put in

PORTUGAL: **TheDifficult** Revolution





eir place. I'd had friends who'd been sent there, then beaten and tortured. The pic there, then beaten and tortured. The papers are tremendous. Thousands had been to Caxias to welcome the prisoners. We hear that the Junta had only wanted to free a few of them, but that the crowds had noisily insisted on releasing the

to mouth, underground, were surfacing and making statements: the Communist Party (PCP), the Socialist Party (PS), CDE, LUAR. We pinch ourselves to see if it is really true. There was other news, but it didn't interest us. Someone mentioned that Mitterand stood a chance in the French

For forty-eight years there had been no demonstrations of joy in Portugal. Two generations had passed without being able

to walk the streets freely: now fathers and to walk the streets freely: now lathers and sons were there together. An old man in rags, an old man for whom Salazarism hadn't done anything, carried the Republican flag. He was embraced so much I thought he'd have a heart attack. I asked him if it was like nave a near tattace. A skeed nim it was nice this in the days of the Republic and he said it had never been so good. I too wanted to embrace him, he was so like a baby. I shall never forget the First of May. The noise, the noise, the noise is still ringing in my ears. The horns tooting in joy, the shou-

my ears. The horns tooting in joy, the shou-ting, the slogans, the singing and dancing. The doors of revolution seem open again, after forty-eight years of repression. In that single day everything was placed in per-spective. Nothing was god-given, all was mad-made. People could see their misery and their problems in a historical setting. How can words describe 600,000 people

demonstrating in a city of a million? Or the effect of carnations everywhere, in the barrels of rifles, on every tank and every car, in the hands of troops and demonstrators alike? It is the climax of a week of hectic, alike? It is the climax of a week of hectic, data-moving events. Working people have left an indelible mark on the situation. The deal is for socialism and masses of ordinary people have been involved in making it. What started as a milltary copy is assuming new dimensions. The Junta is still in power, but it is the people who have called the tune, in particular the working class. A week has passed, although it already feels like many months. Every hour has been tived to the full. It is already difficult to remember what the papers looked like before, or what people had then said. Hadn't there always been a revolution?

he immediate response of the workers to the need for autonomous organisation was the General Assembly or "plenario". All those employed in a given enterprise would get logether to discuss their situation. The plenario would usually elect a Workers' Committee or ad-hoc Commission, which would be entrusted with the task of drawing up a list of demands. In the organisational vacuum that had followed April 28th the Committees had not seen that the second of the committee of the co mes, for a restructuring of industrial life Many called for an end to exploitation: profits should no longer be left in the hands of private individuals. Although the Committees were not revolutionary organisations (very few of them called for the abolition of wage labour or for an end to the capitalist mode of production), they showed an extreme distrust of the unions (created an extreme instruction of the unions. Accelera-by the Fascists) and, in many cases, of the new institutions created by the MFA was unpopular. Workers just wanted things to move faster. By the end of October 1974, some 2,000 such Committees existed.

move laster. By the and of tectooner year.

The Committees with Committees existed. From the Committee of th

the assemblies. Firstly there were union members, seeking to find a base by getting themselves elected onto the Committees. Then there were the various left groups, using the Committees for purposes of propaganda and recruitment.

In the plenarios there would often be dif-ferences of opinion concerning the demands to be formulated. Sometimes these would to be formulated. Sometimes these would reflect differences in the composition of the work force in a given firm. At other times differing policies would be dictated by obviously differing managerial attitudes — or by varying relationships between the management and the MFA.

Program as indictable to the composition of the composition

Propan, an included and the property of the property of the same property of the property of the property of the same property of the same property of the same property of the same property of the property well of the workers. But then the bosses began to question the "legality" of MFA interventions in such matters. One of the workers on the Administrative Committee war fired and the other two could do nothing Sackings began in the offices. The manage ment took advantage of the August closure for holidays to dismiss a large number of

Spanish anarchism: 'growing like mushrooms after rainfall'

he anarcho-syndicalist trade union movement in Spain, once the largest and most advanced in the world, is out in the open again after 40 years of Francoist repression.

nal Confederation of Labour (CNT) is taking full advantage of the prese confusing and still-dangerous situation in Spain to formally re-establish itself as a nationwide organization and to begin mili-tant activities under its own banners. The spontaneous appearance of anarchist groups and unions in all parts of the countries, in the large cities, villages, rural areas, modern in-dustry, small industry, construction, among darmers, students, banks and the profes-sions was described by a Spanish journalist in the legal daily press as resembling the sudden growth of mushrooms out of the soil

In post-Franco Spain, where Fascist nions are still the only ones permitted, the CNT is illegal. Its unions are not recognized. CNT is illegal. Its unions are not recognized, its press is banned, its strikers are attacked by police, its demonstrators are arrested, its activities are virtually blacked-out in the legal press. The "liberal" Juan Carlos monarchy, which desperately needs to legitimize itself in world opinion, is finding itself powerless to contain the burgeoning movement without resorting to unacceptable

In recent months, the CNT has staged numerous strikes under its own name in Catalonia, Asturias, the Basque Country, Aragon, Andalusia and even in the Madrid region. Despite government disapproval, bosses have to bargain face-to-face with the semi-clandestine CNT unions or suffer their

Barcelona, the traditional Catalonian heartland of Spanish anarchism, the entire working class is still anarchist, with the CNT especially vigorous in the telephone, transit and textile workers' unions. Bank and office orkers, who formerly belonged to the ocialist UGT union, have joined the CNT. Department store workers, who are mos time; it's the CNT.

The entire city of Barcelona is

The entire city of Barcelona is papered with the distinctive red-and-black CNT pos-ters. As one old CNT militant recently remarked after his first trip back to Spain in many years, "Barcelona is still our city." He said he attended CNT meetings of 300-to-



CNT resurgent: "Neither bosses nor owners — Communism and Liberty."

400 people in Barcelona at which most of the ilitants were 30 years of age or younger. Another area of great CNT influence is the Madrid construction syndicates. Their organ Construction recently carried a cover photo of CNT Civil War military leader Juan Miro, who died in France. It was the CNT that was the most militant and effective in last year's construction workers' strike, and also in the

ansportation strike.
The CNT is the main tendency among the the tox I is the main tendency among the textile workers and metal workers of Saragossa (long an anarchist stronghold) and the Metal, Construction and Textile Workers of Valencia. In Andalusia, a largely agriculvalencia. In Andalusia, a largely agricul-tural province, anarchism is still the main political tendency among the population, while in areas where the socialist UCT has always dominated, such as Madrid, Asturias and the Basque Country, the CNT is making a strong showing, often in cooperation with the UCT (also semi-clandestine). An ignortest measure of the CNT is

An important measure of the CNT's re-surgence is the many regional and national

meetings and congresses that have been held in recent months to build a new appa-ratus of federation and coordination. Most of these meetings have hundreds of authorized

Every province in Spain now has a regional federation, with a network of local and district federations. In Catalonia, there and district lederations. In Catalonia, there are 27 local and district federations, and in Valencia there are 18. The Madrid local federation has 15 affiliated unions.

Last Fall, the CNT held a mass meeting in

a municipal stadium at Mataro, an indust suburb of Barcelona. An audience of 7,000 (most of them under 30 years of age) over-flowed the seats to fill the corridors, the steps and every inch of floor space. sands had to be turned away because there was no more standing room. The mass meeting spontaneously sang the Spanish anarchists' song "Hijos Del Pueblo" ("Sons of the People") and "A Las Barricades" ("To

the Barricades"). All the way from Barce-lona, the walls were plastered with the dis-tinctive red and black CNT posters and

Slogans.
On November 2, several thousand people
participated in a demonstration called by the
CNT in Madrid in front of the Irish embassy in support of Irish anarchists Noel and Marie Murray (see story in Open Road, this issue The demonstration was broken up by police and 13 people arrested. A week later, the entire Barcelona subway system was covered with red and black banners.

Two national congresses were held in Madrid, in July and October, to re-establish the CNT on a national basis. The first meeting drew delegates from regional federations in Catalonia, Valencia, Basque South, Asturias, Andalusia, Santander and elsewhere. It was decided to launch official national organ, CNT, and a confeated defense organization to defend CNT militants from attacks (armed fascist forces ad already attacked the CNT headquarters

Immediate labor demands agreed upon in-uded higher wages, the 40-hour week. cluded higher wages, the 40-hour week, retirement at age 60, social security paid solely by the boss, workers' compensation at solety by the boss, workers compensation at 100 per cent of wages, one month paid vaca-tion per year for all, an end to industrial security forces and free trade unions. As well, it was agreed that skilled and unskilled workers would be organized together, to prevent elitism. (The "syndicato unico" is a

prevent elitism. (The "syndicato unico" is a long-standing CNT principle. An encouraging note at the national con-gress was the participation of the two French-based CNT groups-in-exile. They put aside their differences to announce they would cooperate with the new national organization and would work together the control to the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the con through the medium of whatever apparatus

The second national congress was held to implement these decisions. Declaring itself "allergic to... authoritarian centralism," the new CNT centre was organized from the new CNT centre was organized from the bottom upward, as under past repressions. In late October, after reporting they had reached into every town in Spain, the CNT Regional Federations (formed by the regional sections of CNT's industrial unions) created an administration for "Confeder-ation," or association of federations, with a national committee of federation represen-

nlike the Spanish Communist Party and some other Left groups, the new CNT has rejected any collaboration with the Juan Carlos regime. It said it would stick to "the time-honored working class path toward the social revolution," and it counselled workers about "the garrisons of reaction now crouching in the antercoms of

The CNT was invited (through an inter Enrique Mata Gorostizaga, to join the "new" labor front. It refused, giving the following reasons, which were published in the legal

continue to be illegal. Only the Communist Party wishes to maintain the Fascist unions because it controls the workers' commissions in these unions, and it hopes by this means to prevent the rise of the free, independent unions of the CNT and UGT. . The CNT refuses to accept the pact" with the bosses to keep down wages in the face of inflation. The Communist Party

as accepted it.

While the CNT will not obstruct the intro duction of liberal democracy, it will support such an evolution in its own way.

 All other labour organizations are the instruments of a political party. The CNT will continue to be an independent working class movement dedicated to fight for the

class movement dedicated to fight for the interests and demands of the workers. Illegal libertarian and CNT papers are now appearing in all parts of the country. In Barcelona, Solidaridad Obrera has a circupaper called Castilla Libre, as well as the paper called Castilla Libre, as well as the national CNT organ. The CNT has its own clandestine broadcasting service, Radio Liberation; it's theme song is "Hijos del Pueblo" "Sons of the People."] In repeated meetings and conferences the

CNT has rejected alliances and pacts with any of the political parties. Indications are that a new political organization along the lines of the old Federation of Iberian Anarchists (FAI) is in the process of being estab-

CNT presses roll again

was deeply moved to see the first edition of the new CNT, the national organ of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism, almost 40 years after I last saw the old CNT during the Siege of Madrid by Franco's forces.

Today's CNT is an eight-page publication, photo-offset, 81/2 x 14 inch paper. It is full of information, hope, courage, dedicated to liberty at home and abroad. It is laying the floundation for an ongoing struggle for free-dom and justice at home, in Spain, and also devotes considerable space and attention to issues of oppression and injustice in other

The old paper was printed on full-size newsprint; not tabloid. It was a legal news-paper, sold openly on the streets. At that time, November, 1937, Madrid was observ-ing the first anniversary of the siege. The Fascists were outside the city, and the Com rascists were outside the city, and the Communist Party was imposing its control inside. The walls of all the buildings, every bill-board in the city, every lamp post was covered with signs and slogans celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Large, monster-sized portraits of revo

nutionary leaders were on display every where, watching the Madrelinos in their seige. The portraits were of Stalin and Lenin. Not a single Spanish figure was on

Madrid was a sheet of paper, completely white on both sides, except for the Masthead, containing the date and the name CNT. The CNT, and the Communist Mundo Obrera were both offered for sale aggres-sively side-by-side on the streets of the city. the one empty, the other fully printed. Cen sorship was in the hands of the Communis sorsing was in the hands of the Communist party. The scene I shall never forget that took place every day for the ten days I was in Madrid in November 1937 was that the empty CNT was bought out every day while

e Mundo Obrera was rarely bought.

The new first issue of the CNT printed in December 1976 very directly speaks to me and all who lived through the Spanish civil war, with a cartoon bearing the slogan, "courage grandparents, we are coming, signed CNT.

Great Handicaps
Because the CNT cannot operate legally they are working under great handicaps. Their opportunities to organise, print and distribute publications are limited only by a

lack of funds. They have appealed to liber tarians all over the world to help them at this time. When they will be able to work in the en with free union memberships and regu

open with free union memberships and regu-lar dues they will be in a position to help others. At this time they ask our help. The International Libertarian Labor Fund, Box 753 Cooper Station, New York 10003, was established to give such help. The ILLF has already sent \$1,000 directly to the CNT in Madrid, but more is needed. Dona-tions should be marked "CNT organ" in a corner of the check or money order, to dis-tinguish from ILLF's overall campaign for

The ILLE was created and is administered in New York by a board of representatives sponsored by and accountable to a range of national and local organizations including the Ad Hoc CNT Committee, Catholic Peace the Ad Rice CNT Committee, Catmon Feat Fellowship, General Defense Committee Industrial Workers of the World, Liber tarian Book Club, Local Internacional d Nueva York, and the War Resisters League.
The ILLF board is legally chartered as Local
of the General Defense Committee.
Copies of CNT are in short supply in North

America. It's impossible to contact the CNT directly in Madrid, but approaches might be made through Espoir (editor, Antoine Turmo); 4, r. Belfort; 3100 Toulouse, France.

reports of anarchist groups being formed all over the country, even in places where there are no CNT unions. These groups, such as the newly-reorganized Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth, are especially strong Libertarian Youth, are especially strong among younger people and students, who were not even born when the Civil War anded. Some of the groups have engaged in armed struggle, generally bank exprepriate predictions of the property of the

monthly magazine, Mujeres Libres is available c/o Sara Guillen, Plaine des Astres, Montady 34310. Capestang, France.)

ntil the end of the Civil War, the main strength of the Spanish anarchist move-ment was among the workers and peasants. But the old generation of CNT fighters — numbering about two million — is mostly dead, aged or in exile. The CNT ideal was nurtured during the long Fascist night by the guerrilla underground (names such as Sabate and Facerias), with its ceaseless activities from 1939 to the present.

Today, credit for resurgence of the CNT in the control of the control of the control of the control of the CNT in the control of the control

belongs to the spontaneous movement of students and young workers, most of whom were not even born when the Civil War ended. Ninety per cent of the current mem bership is young people, with an average age

of 30.

As Espoir, the organ of the CNT-in-exile, noted in predicting a strong CNT revival:

"Neither the politicians of the centre or the left, nor the Communists stimulate or tell, nor the communists stimulate or orientate the class struggle in Spain, which arises spontaneously from the working class. Those who animate and stimulate the demands and the direct action of the workers, are to a great extent, our comrades

of the CNT underground."

This view has been recently confirmed by non-anarchists. The late Andre Malraux, a non-anarchists. The late Andre Mairaux, a Gaullist minister who was an air pilot on the Republican side during the Civil War, said, "What the French people do not know is that the only real, non-Communist working class movement and mass organization in Spain is the anarchist one." Pedro Schwartz, prothe anarchist one. Fedro Schwartz, pro-fessor of economic doctrine at the University of Madrid: "The tradition of anarcho-syndicalism in Spain is very much alive be-cause the organization and tactics of the spontaneous underground workers' organizations (decentralization, direct action self-rule on the shop floor) correspond anarcho-syndicalist tradition.

anarcho-syndicalist tradition.

Juan Carlos is pushing through with
elections, planned for this Spring, to legitimize his rule. The Left parties can be expected to make a fairly strong showing.

Augustin Souchy, an anarchist for more than 66 years, toured North America last Fall to raise funds for the CNT. He said (reported in Industrial Worker) the election results would probably force the government to legalize several non-Fascist unions rather than just a Communist-dominated central (like the CP's Intersyndical in Portugal):

"As the Gr's intersyndical in Political
"As the great majority of workers are
against being obliged to belong to one
national labor confederation, I think that
what will happen is that the CNT, the UGT,
the Basques and the Catholics will end up

what wan appears at the CAST, the COST, the Basques and the Catholies will end up with full liberty to organize as they want. There will probably be four, maybe five labor unions, since the Communists and have a national confederation also. This will probably be the picture of labor in Spain within the next year (1977).

The CNT stands on a program of struggle or, the immediate demands of the day, together with the goal of libertarian commism. It addresses people with their economic problems and at the same time offers them a view of themselves as free and whole human beings. It emphasizes that decisions do not originate at the top but at the local shop and at the local community. In a world wareked by dictators, nationalism raised to a feverish pitch, militarism and oppression the anarchists of Spain are following the road to freedom, international brotherhood,

(Thanks for much of the material in this article to Abe Bluestein, the CNT's Englishlanguage broadcaster in Barcelona during the Civil War; and Sam Dolgoff, author of The Anarchist Collectives: Workers Self-Management in Spain, 1936-39.)

continued from p. 19

workers. A plenario, on August 28, decided that a strike was the only solution. One worker recalls: "Our demands were the sacking of the management for incompetence, and the right to work..." The government approached us and asked us nicely not to release our decisions to the press, to avoid 'shocks." The hoses has recently becume vriting things on the walls, and also writing lying letters to the government. He has also written to the parents of the younger employees, saying what bad company they were keeping. . ."

Among the problems discussed in Com-mittees were whether or not workers should natices were winerer of not workers should take part in the management of companies which still remained in private hands: in a nutshell whether or not they should help em-ployers increase their profits. This was generally and increasingly rejected. Atti-tudes were more varied in relation to firms which the workers had taken over and where the employers had fled. At stake were issues central to the whole discussion about self-management, about its recuperation under capitalism, and about its central role in the institutional framework of a socialist

The real problems within the class were "status", of age, of sex, and between employed and unemployed workers.

Calls to narrow the range of wage scales

Cains to narrow, the range of wage scales produced considerable opposition from the better paid workers. Generally, as in TAP, this was got round by raising the lower scales and freezing the top ones. But in the case of specialized categories (like pilots, who threatened to sell their labour power to another company) these questions were not easily dealt with. There was moreover a de-finite tendency for the better-paid workers, who were often more articulate, to dominate and sometimes even to manipulate the plenarios to such an extent that other walked out.

What the workers were seeking to do (and in many cases achieved) was to tackle cer-tain aspects of the relations of production: the relations they experienced in their daily lives. This had the effect of lessening the separation of the workers from their means of livelihood, allowing them to situate them selves more consciously within the total pro-cess of production. As long as capitalism re-mained, all this was little more than the self-management of their own exploitation: it did not abolish the exchange of labour power for wages. But the insights achieved could be of

wages. But the insights achieved could be of lasting value to the building of socialism. The older workers (and in the last analysis the revolution would have to mobilize their support) tended to be more conservative. They had the most to lose. They often warned against "adventures." "Who would pay the wages if the firm was taken over they asked again and again. There were often no funds to start with. There was no security. To lose one's job was to jeopardize ne's survival. They knew about labour. Organization was paramount, they

one's survival. They knew about wegen labour. Organization was paramount, they At Nefil (a furniture factory in Guimaraes, and Porto) the old management had been completely routed. The workers sold the goods produced at the gates and to street hawkers. But how was the money to be shared? As one worker put it: The ques-tion is very difficult. It has really been a headache, this workers' control. People want to adopt a more united, more socialist workers and the same of the control of problems. One proposal was to pay out ac-cording to the type of work. Another was to pay severone the same. People realized that everyone couldn't be paid equally. If this happened it would cause disnulty among the happened it would cause disunity among the workers. We still haven't reached agreeworkers. We still haven't reached agree-ment over this. The proposal to cut some wages and increase others (where there is real need) is the most popular."

The questions of common ownership and

of judicial and effective power over the means of production were rarely raised ex means of production were rarely raised ex-plicitly (though they were always in the background). Many groups called for nationalisation as a means of achieving such control. Only a few could see beyond this reinforcement of State power, could envi-sage a genuinely communist society. Prob-lems of immediate survival inevitably lems of immediate survival inevitably surged to the forefront. The workers in oc surged to the torerront. The workers in oc-cupation needed raw materials, machinery, money. In the absence of any other source of help they were forced to call on the govern-ment or on the MFA.

In many firms under self-management the

vorkers continued to produce the same type workers continued to produce the same type of goods. In most instances there were major problems of distribution. Many of the bigger firms had so scattered their production units that many of their plants only turned out components of the ultimate product. There was no question of being able to self or dis-tribute such components within the country without a treatured distribution network. without a structured distribution network and without an awareness of overall demand. The fundamental question was re-structuring the whole economy in terms of communist production, of production for use. This task could only be tinkered with on



"The doors of revolution seem open again, after fortyeight years of repression."

a local basis.

One of the main shortcomings of the Workers' Committees was the lack of any ofganization controlled from below. The unions and parties fought for domination of the plenarios. In many cases, the Committees didn't represent the majority of the workers, despite the fact that they had been workers, despite the fact that they had been democratically elected by them. The workers in many cases put the onus of struggle on the Committees and remained passive themselves, expecting the Committees to get on with it, alone. Power was a hot

f the Workers' Committees were to pro vide a real alternative to capital they would sooner or later have to face up to

would sooner or later nave to lace up to some political and institutional problems. The most important was how to organise themselves into a larger federation. This was talked about on many occasions, but it was usually the political parties who were behind such moves, not the workers them.

In January 1975 it was decided, on the iniin January 1918 was decided, on the in-tiative of worker committees of Efacec-Inel (electrical firm), to set up a Federation of Workers' Committees under the name of Inter-Empresas. This linked 24 firms, among Inter-Empresas. Ins inked 2a tirms, among them the largest in Portugal, "to aid and support workers' struggles." Inter-Empresas formed a bloc on a par with Intersindical (PCP-dominated union federation) and in many ways soon became more popular.

A large demonstration on Feb. 7 organized by Inter-Empresas in the face of organizate the transfer of the continues of the continues and the second interessing unemployment and a possible NATO threat was the culmination of meetings between various Workers' Committees. Inter-Empresas soon weakened, and for good reasons. It was the obvious place to be for to get into for any vanguard party worthy of the name. Every Leninist group: in sight (and some invisible ones) made for Inter-Empresas.

At first certain delegate from Inter-Empresas. Through them the PCP sought to push its "battle for production" within the portain of Inter-Empresas. Through them the PCP sought to push its "battle for production" within the portain of Inter-Empresas stepf. The result was that many Committees stopped sending delegates to general meetings. This facilitated

gates to general meetings. This facilitated the manipulation of the Inter-Empresas skeleton by Party delegates or sympathisers (PCP, PRP-BR, MES, MRPP, FECml), and

ontributed to its further dessication.

Within a year, Inter-Empresas had fragented into various "inters" controlle different political parties. These fought even over the salvage of the fragments.

Another attempted regroupment which appeared at this time was the "Federation of

Covilha," Covilha was a town in the centry Covina. Covina was a covina was a covina was a covina was a covina was concentrated many textile factories, and which had a rich history of workers' struggles. Here some 93 different was covina was Committees met over the weekend of September 26-27, 1975. Fifty-two of them were

mandated by their plenarios.

Topics discussed at the Congress included: Workers' Control (forms of control exercised by Workers' Committees over production and consumption, self-manage-ment, etc.), working hours, arming the working class, purges, unemployment, workers-peasant alliances, nationalizations,

This Covilha Congress was, however, sup-orted by the MRPP (Maoists) and ported by the MRPP (Maoists) and thousands of their highly characteristic red and yellow "non-party" posters had ap-peared all over the country, publicizing it in factories and public places. The MRPP had infiltrated the original Inter-Empresas and through such Workers' Committees as through such Workers' Committees as Efacec-Inel were now attempting to infil-trate all the other Workers' Committees related to this Inter. The weakness of the State apparatus and

the discredit in which the political parties found themselves left the task and burden of elf-organization firmly in the hand (and or the shoulders) of the workers. Both the the shoulders) of the workers. Doth the State and the political parties were aware of this reality and attempted to manipulate it by creating supra-party structures. The PCP were most notorious in this respect, the MRPP coming a close second. The PS PCP were most notorious in this cost.

MRPP coming a close second. The PS
(Socialist Party) too, realising its falling support within the working class, were pr Covilha

The Workers' Councils (of the PRP-BR) offered a different field for party man-oeuvres, more eleverly disguised but just a manipulative. In a leaflet distributed on August 2 we read: "The Councils are the pro-August 2 we read: "The Councils are the pro-posed organisation of the workers at their place of work, in their neighbourhoods, in the barracks. The Councils seek to form the barracks. The Councils seek to form structures to take power, both political and economic, in order to establish socialism. The CRTSM (Revolutionary Council Work-The CRISM (tevolutionary collies work-ers, Soldiers and Sailors) can't become the tool of any particular party because of the way they are elected. But this is not to say that they can't play an important role in the socialist revolution. Theirs is the task of ideologically organizing the militants and of presenting proposals to the class. It will be up to the class, and the class alone, to decide

up to the class, and the class alone, to decide what they want."

The Councils appeared at the very moment when, after the fracas at Inter-Empresas, the workers began to feel the need to create new forms of organization. But they were not born directly of working class struggles. As Combate put it (July 17, 1975): "It is in the moment of impasse in the autonomous workers' struggle when people are saturated with party polities — but also at a time when the workers haven't yet created autonomous organisations relating various struggles to one another — that this wide open space for opportunist adventure appears."

appears."

Councils managed to implant themselves in a few companies: Lisnave, Setenave, Efacee, Cambournac, etc. There is no denying that their demonstrations had an effect on Otelo, and on the "left" of the MFA in general. Because of this the CRTs could support COPCON and the "progressive" wing of the MFA without any serious thought being given to the whole question of State capitalism

State capitalism.

As a reality the Councils hardly existed except in the minds of PRP planners and in tellectuals who had made a fetish of the "council" form, i.e., who had a tradition perspective. While workers participated demonstrations organised by the PR of th demonstrations organised by the I Councils, these bodies had little real lif Councils, these bodies had attie read the factories except as yet another political faction. Of the 1300 workers in nave only two or three dozen actively ported the Councils. Other workers ported the Councils temporarily, as on demonstrations organized by the searching for new means of self-expression But workers soon reverted back to their original instruments of struggle: the Work ers Committees. Throughout, the Councils remained more an idea than a real

These experiences provide rich lessons in These experiences provide rich lessons in the techniques of manipulation, and in methods of resisting them. But these lessons were not assimilated fast enough. The majority of the workers who wanted to light capitalism never took the lead themselves. It was during this period that they could most continued on p. 22

continued from p. 21

easily have taken the initiative - but they easily have taken the initiative — but they didn't. Some, admittedly, were moving in this direction. Party banners were probibited on demonstrations (there were workers who forced groups like the Trotskyist LCP to take down their banners and shouted "here there are no parties"). People moved from a situation which ridiculed the claims of particular vanguard

parties to a situation where they were openly saying that there were too many openly saying traat there were too many vanguards. What was needed was to go a step further—and see that vanguards were superfluous. If the parties could not bring about radical change—and if radical change was what one wanted—one would have to consider alternative means of achieving it. If consider atternative means of acnieving it. It the dream was to become reality, self-mobilization on an enormous scale have to be undertaken and certain new institutions created. Throughout the whole of the Portuguese revolution, this was to remain the biggest problem of all. And it was to remain the biggest problem of all. And it was

There can be no lasting revolutionary upheaval without a change in how people live. If one compares everyday life in 1975 with what it had been in life in 1975 with what it had been in 1973, or even 1974, there was clearly a difference. The external symptoms of upheaval were obvious enough. Politicians toured the villages in the South, holding 3 to 5 large meetings per day, in which they would "turn nice marxist phrases round in their mouths." The radio stations blared out songs of so-called revolt. But the gestures and cultural habits were also in upheaval and it is here that the most imortant changes it is here that the most imortant changes were to be registered. It was in the depth of this feeling that the real revolution was taking place. It is much easier to change regimes than to change lives. If the workers struggle successfully the only person to lose out is the boss. It is he who panics, flees, has a heart attack or emigrates to Brazil. The workers are dazed, left

to start anew. Their stories sometimes show in a few lines what pages of statistical data

a new lines what pages of statistical data innot possibly show. The agricultural cooperative of Casebras as set up in February 1975 and comprised was set up in February 1975 and comprised almost 4000 hectares. It was in many ways a model occupation and promised to be a model cooperative, one to be held up as an example. The old bosses had left the land fallow and used the best part as hunting grounds for Portugese latinudarios and their German and American friends. New soil had been turned and the land was growing a variety of new crops. The workers were full-blooded communists: the land and everything on it was for everyone, they said. In March 1975 they erected a large sign at the entrance proclaiming "The dictatorship of the proletariat."

Alvaro Cunhal (PCP leader) was to visit Alvaro Cunnal (PCP leader) was to visit the cooperative and a troop of aides went to sound out the reception. The sign at the gate was "ideologically correct," the PCP explained, but would have to come down. "The elections had to be won

"But it's in your writings," one of the workers argued. "We saw it there." "There's some mistake," the PCP delegate explained. "The Seventh Congress of our Party voted spinet the distriction."

against the dictatorship of the proletariat."
But it's there," the workers insisted.
They took out a well-thumbed copy of The
Works of Marx and Engels to prove it. The
PCP militants from Lisbon were completely

This story show a deep sense of class justice and real communist principle. But there This story snow a deep select of the story snow a deep select of the story and real communist principle. But there were darker sides, too. In a cooperative which had two tractors there were often which had two tractors there were often squabbles over who should work them. At Aveiras de Cima, a cooperative about 40 km north of Lisbon, this problem was to lead to fighting between workers. Other problems concerning the division of labour also at concerning the division of labour also at times caused bitter disputes. Housework times caused bitter disputes. Housework was a case in point. In the canteen of the "comuna" (a 19th century mansion belonging to a Portuguese Count, which included a library, meeting rooms, a school, and a medical centrely a sign on the kitchen door testified to this struggle. "He who leaves his dirty dishes in the sink for someone else to wash leaves behind his socialism." A meeting there criticised the lack of mitiative of the men in this direction and a "strike" by the women forced the work to be divided the women forced the work to be divided the control of the women forced the work to be divided the control of the women forced the work to be divided the control of the control of the women forced the work to be divided the control of the women forced the work to be divided the control of the women forced the work to be divided the control of the women forced the work to be divided the control of the women forced the work to be divided the control of the women forced the work to be divided the control of the work of the the women forced the work to be divided more equally. In fact, the women continued to do the housework and washing up, despite their complaints. The division of work varied from co-operative to cooperative. In the better or-

ganized ones a rota was set up. But often work was not done when it should have been, and in most cases it was left at that. There were cases where workers were disciplined by the other workers.

Another serious problem was drunken-ess. Portugal, after France, consumes most alcohol per inhabitant. In fact it is quite pos-sible that with all the home-made brews (both wines and aguardentes) Portugal actually consumes more. Most of this wine is

actually consumes more. Most of this wine is drunk in the countryside. In cooperatives near Evora, in Alentejo, many men consumed up to 5 litres and more per day. At the cooperative of Torre Bela, in the region of Azumbuja (north of Lisbon) the women held a meeting to discuss the drinking habits of their men. It was decided that they were drinking too much and that a limit had the best 4 acrossories was faulted. limit had to be set. A compromise was finally worked out: the limit would be 4 litres per

day per worker!

At the Nefil textiles factory near Porto, the workers had entered into self-management in late 1974. Relations within the ment in late 1974. Relations within the factory improved greatly and one of the most popular "improvements" was the con-struction of a bar within a factory. The only problem was that the workers began using it. Production slumped. When a member of



"Despite the freedom to demonstrate, everyday relations had changed less."

the Workers' Committee was discovered snoring merrily in a drunken stupor under one of the machines, the workers called a meeting and resolved to close down the bar. They later rescinded this decision and decided to keep it open during certain hours.
This case was not unique.

Despite all the freedom to demonstrate

and go to meetings, etc., everyday relations had changed less. Men continued to go to the tascas and women, while they could

tascas and women, while they could now at-tend meetings, usually remained at home. More change took place within the agri-cultural cooperatives than in the etities. Clearly the mode of living is not altered overnight. The organisation of ereches and parks which was taking place all over the country was positive. It was not related to the necessities of State planning. While it liberated women from child-minding, the level of unemployment was some 12% and thus no new work-force was recoursed imthus no new work-force was required im-mediately. Creches were on the whole organized by the women in the area, often aided by progressive teachers and other young professionals. In general they emerged from the Neighbourhood Com-

mittees.

Within the cooperatives and self-managed factories working relations changed in a definite way. Workers had more freedom in coming and going, in many cases they could come late and leave later. What was important to the composition of the composition portant was not being parasitical on the work of others. But this experience varied from cooperative to cooperative. In some cases the CTs began to behave as though they were the new bosses. Decisions were not always taken in common and the Comnot always taken in common and the Com-mittee went around snooping on the other workers. The textiles factory of Jotocar in Vila Nova de Gaia near Porto was a typical case. The CT (Workers' Committee) which case. The CT (Workers' Committee) which consisted of members of the "Union of Tex-tile Workers," spent more time doing political work on a national level than concerning itself with the factory. For this it was "fired" by the workers, who accused it of being party-oriented (PCP). There were many other cases where the workers weren't so vigilant and the Workers' Com-

mittee became a bureaucratized organiza-tion, having little contact with the base. The cooperatives were what their members made of them. Some were far more radical than others. Cooperatives with names like 'Red Star' or 'The Steps of Leini' functioned through instructions re-ceived from the 'Union of Agricultural Workers' in the ICP stronghold Boja. Life was organized communally and members could not avoid some of the problems incould not avoid some of the problems in-herent in this. Other more autonomous co-operatives tried to establish quite different working relations to deal with their

Argea, a village of about 300 inhabitants, 20 km from Santarem, was an example. The cooperative was set up initially by a group of intellectuals from Lisbon. Because of the level of unemployment in the village it quickly integrated many of the local inhabitants and the latter soon became a majority. The initial suspicions with which the inhabitants had viewed the cooperative was eventually transformed into enthusiastic support. A collectivized butcher's shop was set up in the village (to the annoyance of the resident butcher who was forced to lower his A communal canteen was lished. People not connected with the co-operative could eat there provided they helped on a rota of duties shared by

supporters.

Perhaps the most difficult problem of all Perhaps the most difficult problem of all was the organization of housing on the occupied farms. Accommodation was scarce and when two or three houses existed they had to be shared. The family unit underwent a certain change. The idea of individual families struggling on their own was overcome: the economic survival of the entire cooperative was a communal preoccupation

he counter-coup: in no way were the workers going to support one side or the other. After 20 months of the "revolutionary process" and of leftist talk they had drawn one conclusion: revolution and counter-revolution were jobs for specialists. And anyway, they had to work tomorrow.

A group of us went to the local barracks, genuinely expecting (if only half the folklore had been true) to be given guns. But the soldiers on guard said they didn't know what was on — they hadn't heard the know what was on — they hant heard the news. The commander came out, brusquely asking what we wanted. We wanted to say "guns" or to talk about great things like "to fight for the revolution." Instead, we just asked him if he knew what was happening. "It's nothing, nothing really" he said, signal-ling his men to get inside. The soldiers, stepping smartly to attention, almost jumped back into their barracks. So much for our guns!

We went to the LUAR headquarters, near where we live. There we found a bunch of confused militants. . . trying to pick up to the BBC. No guns. No leaders. No plans. Nothing. Only the myths of the past. Towards midnight the streets rapidly became deserted, everyone going off to bed as

What had happened on November 25 was that one of the bureaucratic military groups (actually an alliance of groups) had managed (actually an alliance of groups) had managed to impose its will on all the others. But there were enormous differences between the old PIDE and the new police: the new regime regarded the "opposition" parties as essential and concentrated its attacks on the base groups. During the first waves of reprisals, the parties moved to defent themselves first and foremost. They "forgot" all their former fine phrases about "the defence of the workers." Their first reflex was to tighten up their own apparatus. But really they had up their own apparatus. But really they had up their own apparatus. But really they had little to fear: they were essential to the new

The government moved more cautiously in relation to the working class in general. They were confronted with some 800 industrial cooperatives and with some 200 cases of workers' control, not to mention the thousands of cases of "workers vigilance" (a term coined by a Lisnave worker to describe the situation in that firm). In addition there were over 600 agricultural cooperatives (only 390 of them legalised by February 1976). This meant that over one-fifth of all agricultural land in Portugal (one million hectares out of 4,974,158) was under some form of collective control. House occupa-tions, which had reached 35,000 before November 25, continued. Squatters were not prepared to give up their rights just because the PCP and left parties had lost a

few ministries.

November 25 was, however, to affect the November 25 was, however, to affect, the workers in a very direct way. Prices had been frozen after March 11 "for the remainder of the year." They were now "re-fixed" and this meant they now incorporated all the hidden, State-supported inflation that had occurred in the intervening three months. After January 1976 there was an allround 40% increase in food prices, People complained and there were cases of refu to pay. But no organized opposition developed, despite attempts by UDP and PRP. The workers tried to increase their pay packets, to get the extra month's wage which most had "won" over the previous year, but which many private and State enterprises were refusing to pay. During February and March 1976 some 380 factories were on strike and thousands passed protest motions against the new policies. The bosses had found a new confidence and the State

had found a new confidence and the State was gradually taking things under its wings. The Portuguese experience is modern in every sense. So is the Portuguese revolutionary movement. Modern not just in the attitudes of the workers and in the nature of their demands but also in the pattern of State-capitalist counter-states, which the working class practices unleashed. It is a movement which has transcended the sterile arguments between Leninists and left commissts that have rared for over 50 years. munists that have raged for over 50 years. The advocates of the Vanguard Party are The advocates of the vanguard party are forced to disclaim the very core of their beliefs and to say that they are not parties. Council forms are fetishised and put on show, even if they have no socialist content. And people who call themselves materialists (even historical or dialectical materialists) refuse to see the material reality that stares them in the face.

Portuguese experience between and 1976 shows that revolutionary activity does not develop as the result of strategies devised by systems analysts or bourgeois planners, masquerading as revolutionary generals like Otelo or Costa Gomes. It emerges in the course of the struggle itself. and its most advanced forms are expressed by those for whom it is a necessity to

The cooperative movement was not born as a revolutionary challenge to capitalism but as a State-capitalist attempt to control the crisis and to guide it into land, houses, factories. The State then comes along with promises to "legalize" some of their achieve-The workers, in order to survive were forced to accept these recuperated results of their own self-activity.

Why was the government interested in in dustrial or agricultural cooperatives? The answer is simple. Believing that the land or factories were their own the workers would work twice as hard as they ever did for private bosses. The government lacked hard cash to invest in the restructuring of capi talism. They found something else to invest labour power. Through this means the government secured its objective of increased production. While the workers worked towards their own integration, the worked towards their own integration, the technocrats congratulated themselves at having avoided a complete breakdown of the system. Many agricultural workers toiled 10 to 12 hours a day to reorganize the farms. In

to 12 hours a day to reorganize the farms. In industrial enterprises they produced more surplus value than any private employer could ever have extracted from them. They self-managed their own exploitation. Hundreds of thousands of workers entered the struggle. But the enemy con-stantly appeared before them in unexpected garb: that of their own organizations. Every time they set up an organization they found garbt that of their own organizations. Every time they set up an organization they found it manipulated by so-called vanguards or leaders who were not of their class and who understood little of why they were strug-gling. Even the groups who paid lip-service to a critique of State capitalism did so because of their weakness. They were forced to support the base organization for the to support the base organization for the time being. They were no less Leninist for having a critique of State capitalism for their denunciations proved to be denunciations of particular sets of bureaucrats, not critiques of the system per se. The revolutionaries the problem, not part of the solution. In this the Portuguese experience may proved to be a pre-figuration of revolutions to come. The lessons should be pondered while there is yet time. The alternative is clear. It was put concisely many years ago: "the liberation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves."

Flavio Costantini - Artist of Anarchy

By Bill Nowlin

"It is hard to pass judgment on lives such as these. One stands bewildered and astands bewildered and a-ghast before men capable of such deeds; and, if they defy frivolous judgment, even to explain them seems beyond the power of men who, in the presence of the same wrongs that so deeply moved them, can still remain inert.

—Robert Hunter

Violence and the Labor Movement, p. 86

Peopled with so many daringly defiant, rebellious, and romantic individuals, the history of the anarchist movement holds a distinct fascination for many. With so many colorful and tragic inci dents, attempts, and experi-ments in social revolution the movement has never been easy to deal with superfi-cially, other than by those who would dismiss it out of

Writers, both anarchist and non-anarchist, have found themselves challenged to deal with the depths of commitment, insistent puri ty of ideals and tragic mar tyrdom evident throughout the history of the anarchist movement. Now the movement has found its chronicler art, Flavio Costantini.

Unlike some of the writers, Costantini does not deal with an incident or two e history of anarch and then move on to other intent on creating an exten-sive artistic documentation the movement in his works. The first 43 painti in the series are presented in The Art of Anarchy, released in September 1975 by Cien-fuegos Press, London. Costantini has plans for many

Working from a studio in his apartment in Rapallo, Italy, he has already comadditional paintings on McKinley's assassination by Czolgosz and the martyrdom of Wobbly Frank Little and has begun several more and has begun several more. The originals are painted by Costantini and from each original, 100 silkscreen prints are made by an associate in Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

One thing in Costantini's work becomes evident im-mediately. He is particularly drawn to the violent — the assassinations, bombings, arrests and executions. Ravachol is clearly the figure who intrigues him the most.
Ravachol symbolizes to
many the unruly criminal
element which frightens most people. This symbol of olent anarchist, in the case of Ravachol a figure who bombs, murders and plun-ders graves, is effectively exploited by the enemies of a "prove" the dangers and chaos which would descend upon us, were we to dispense with the restraining influences of Party or State.

Costantini, though, in-volves himself with the real man, the individual charac-ter of Ravachol, not solely with a symbol, much in the way Emma Goldman showed great compassion for Leon Czolgosz, the assassin of

President McKinley. And ret, Ravachol does symbolize comething for Costantini — he will to act.

Kafka was a very impor-tant and early influence on Costantini's work, predating his decision to draw and paint. Costantini, now 45, was the son of a professor in northern Italy, and began his professional career as a tex-tile designer and commercial graphic artist. In a recent interview, he said, "I started to draw because I read the Kafka books. And I like them very, very much. But it was impossible to write like Kafka, so I began to draw."

The isolated, buffeted and bewildered subjects in bewildered subjects in Kafka's works, always near the edge of hysteria and collapse, captivated Costan-tini and he remained in-volved with them for many years. Always in mind, though, was an alternative — Communism. For Costantini was Communist in this period until a one month visit

Russia Disappointing

Costantini was disap-pointed and disturbed by Russia. In Moscow he saw "an endless stream of tourist peasantry who were strange-ly silent, neither sad nor happy, but, rather canalised in a disenchanted, uncon scious pilgrimage. T step in the changing of the guard in front of Lenin's Mausoleum. Sleek black cars with drawn curtains filed through the walls of the Kremlin. The revolution had

had hated and forgotten: Memoirs of a Revolutionary by Victor Serge. He felt that perhaps this was an alter-native, an isolated but in-sistent voice. Serge's book, particularily the section on the French anarchists in-spired him with new hope. Since that time, Costantini says, "I have tried, within the scope of my own possi-bilities, to publicize this uncompromising alterna-tive."

Costantini agrees with Serge that the French anar-chists, although "shot throchists, although "shot thro-ugh with contradictions," were people who "deman-ded, before anything else, harmony between deeds and words." These were often very lonely and isolated individuals, sensitive in their own way, who chose to act, and not simply wander about confused and disoriented in a bewildering world Indeed, their reaction to con-fusion and bewilderment was precisely to act, to refuse to

Observers of Costantini's work have said that some of his prints show a love of the decorative but that this is betrayed by an underlying feeling of loneliness bor-dering on morbidity. Costantini adds: "Before

Costantini adds: "Before my trip to Russia I was in-spired by Kafka. My draw-ings of that period were in-troverted. I don't mean to say that my work now is ex-troverted, but I think I've reached a greater objec-tivity. Kafka has grown into Ravachol. Ravachol places

door of his persecutors. With Kafka one remains isolated and vulnerable; with Rava-chol one feels comradeship. He acts to challenge the forces which threaten us all.

"Then I loved Kafka but I
was a Communist — though a
logical, rational choice, not a
sentimental one. I was Communist because I thought Communism was the sole solution of logic and justice for humanity. Something that could replace the fraud that is Christianity. My Russian voyage made me under-stand the new deception of

of the had conse spite of the bad consequences for the movement, have done something. They had no other choice but to fight, at that time. It was truly a class war; the workers were like slaves.

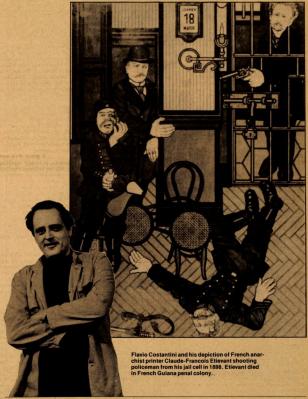
Individual Acts
"In bourgeois ethics it is not a crime to wage war; on the contrary, it is honorable. The anarchist ethic sees war as a horrendous crime. The same goes for the accumu-lation of capital, etc. The same act can be considered criminal or not according to the norm by which it is

pulled off by Durruti and by Costantini's focus on in dividual acts rather than col lective manifestations re-flects his concern for the sub-jective. Individual courage and will dominate all his works; only a few, like the 1879 McCormick Works massacre in Chicago, and the 1894 peasant revolt in Ghibellina, deal with group

struggles. There is another element as well. Costantini says, "I feel the violence very deeply. I am very shocked by these people who gave their lives for an idea. An idea. It's ter-

wooden, with the posed photographic faces often staring in unnatural directions, appearing distant and eerily oblivious to all that goes on around them. What is portrayed is thus like a frozen frame of film of a particular incident. A mo ment preserved for the viewer is presented in a star tling fashion, underscoring the startling subject matter of the print itself.
Costantini's work is both

documentary and artistically perimentation in technique and pattern is evident, and his exceptional talent has



logically I accept libertarian socialism but psychologically I am attracted by anarchoindividualism.

"My individualism pre-dates my anarchism — it is inherent in my nature. The one step forward that I've one step forward that I've made is only one: now I am able to analyze my solitude. My choice today for liber-tarian socialism is fully

In reply to those critics of anarchism who lump anar-chists with bandits, Costan-tini says: "These people

Sabate are not in my opinion

"La Bande a Bonnot — in my opinion — is symbolic in another sense: it concluded the epoch of frontal struggle of the Ravachol era between the bourgeoisie and the pro-letariat and initiated that of negotiations and conformism negotiations and conformism in the unions; the last sur-viving remnants of the irre-ducible ones who were iso-lated from the rest of the pro-letariat and had only the option to join the system or succumb." people fighting in proportion to the power ranged against

In Costantini's work, we In Costantin's work, we roun up against a certain paradox of style. In almost all of his works, hardly anyone but the direct participants are portrayed and their faces are drawn directly from available photographs, often from police files. This touch police files. This touch played off against the increasingly stark simplicity of the backdrop.

The characters are oddly

een widely recognized. As he scope of his work be comes more familiar to anar chists and art critics alike cussion of anarchism and a

(The Art of Anarchy, by Flavio Costantini, containing 43 full-page black-and-white reproductions, is available from Cienfuegos Press Ltd., Box A, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, Scotland Sanday, Orl KW17 2BL.)

BUT THE MUSIC NEVER STOPS

State plays 'musical dungeons' with SLA

The long and complicated saga of the now defunct Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) is still unfolding in the courtrooms and prisons of California. Russ Little, Joe Remiro, Bill and Emily Har ris, the group's four surviving members, are all now serving one or more life sentences each and the Harris' face even more trials growing out of their urban guer-rilla activities in 1974.

While one-time kidnap victim, Patty Hearst, (now the Harris's co-accused tur-ned prosecution witness) is freed on \$1.5 million bail and given a half hour national television time to slander the SLA, the Harris's have been forced to endure a game of what Emily calls "musical dungeons." They have been shunted from jail to jail and systematically prevented ystematically prevented rom preparing their legal

red in Oakland, California, when Judge A. Kindsay atwhen Judge A. Kindsay at-tempted to arraign the Har-ris's on the Hearst kidnap-ping charges. Before pro-ceeding, the judge appointed two lawyers of his own choice for them over their objections. He then refused even the appointed lawyers' request that they step down and let Susan Jordan and the Harris's. In the face of this outrage, Emily attempted to leave the courtroom rather than be arraigned without counsel. She was manhandled by the bailiffs and a scuffle broke out which seven deputies and a matron sprawled in a pile on the floor. Undaunted Judge Lindsay proceeded with his

arraignment.
In spite of a bleak outlook Emily has said, "I hope my friends and comrades don't think that I have become bitter and cynical, as the probation officer seems to think. A cynic sees 'what is' and s her head away in despair because she feels help-less to do anything about it; a revolutionary sees 'what is' and uses this perception as the impetus to 'what could be.' I am a revolutionar,
I never lose my hopes for the
future even in this atmosphere of a kangaroo court." On another front the Har-

ris's close comrades, Russ Little and Joe Remiro, have completed their round of trials and have been locked down in separate maximum security prisons where they continue revolutionary ac-

In a letter written while the two were lodged in the infamous San Quentin Adinfamous San Quentin Ad-justment Centre, Russ Little describes their relief at fi-nally being out of the court-room arens. He spoke of the resistance they have put up since their capture in 1973. "The pressures of being subjected to these different

forms of physical and mental torture were offset mainly



Joe Remiro and Russ Little during 1975 trial.

by our efforts to continue growing and evolving as con revolutionaries; scious revolutionaries; by reading and analyzing our own practice and theory, es-pecially as members of the SLA; and by corresponding with above ground revolu-tionaries on the streets and locked down POW's about

the struggles going on in this country and internationally.

"The pressures," Little writes, "were also offset by our attempts to resist by all possible means — from the limited, corrupt framework of the judicial process to the direct action that led to our third trial for attempted escape — to resist the State's power to hold us in captivity."

this third trial Remiro and Little did not deny the fact that they had tried to escape, but based their defense proving that the attempted jailbreak was triggered by their belief that they would be murdered in the They focused their case on the racial warfare, guard the racial warrare, guard brutality, stabbings, murder and suicide in the prisons. Escaping from jail, they ar-gued, is not a "crime" but an nstinct for survival.

To support their case, Remiro and Little subpoenaed a number of revolutionary convicts from California prisons as witnesses. In a typical over-reaction the State of California called out the largest security force ever assembled for a trial.

The San Jose Civic Centre took on the character of a mini-Vietnam, with at least two hundred sheriff's deputies sporting machine guns and battle fatigues sur-rounding the area. The personal searches of spectators were so close that three women with Tampax in their purses had each individual Tampax scanned with a

"Doc" Holliday, a widely re-spected revolutionary in California's prisons, testified that the authorities at San Quentin felt threatened by the fact that Remiro and Little had relationships with Black, Brown, and White pri-soners. He explained that race wars have been going on for years in the prisons, and that guards use the racial antagonism to pit prisoners against each other.

The kind of multi-racial unity that was sparked off when Russ and Joe got to the prison was in direct contra-diction to the way the officials try to maintain control," Holliday testified. "At first the guards tried to instigate the Blacks to attack Russ and Joe, by reminding us over and over had been convicted of killing a Black man. When that didn't arouse our anger, the guards spread the word to the whites that Russ and Joe were "nigger-lovers", hopin

Several other prisoners testified that guards offered to give them weapons if they would "hit" Little and Remiro at San Quentin. One convict said a guard promised to get him hacksaw blades in exchange for the dead.

Speaking on his own behalf Joe Remiro described inci-dents like the time he and Russ were taken on a "tour" of the gas chamber. Also, the times guards threw scalding hot water on him, set his asleep, and encouraged a-nother prisoner to urinate on his food. He said the guards always smiled when they told him he wouldn't live five

years in prison.

At the close of the trail the judge instructed the jury to ignore the defense case and stressed that "prison conditions have absolutely nothing to do with facts." Subsequently, Little and Remiro were convicted and given their second life sentences.

Since the ordeal of court room activity has ended, Little writes: "We are continuing to study non-heir-archical, anti-authoritarian theory and practice. I try to use my access to anarchist and situationist literature to tarian marxist-leninist pro-paganda that is generally the only left-wing literature sent into California prisons. . . We are in the process of starting a study group in our exercise yard, during the rest peri-ods, between basketball games that keep ourselves in good physical shape."

Little concludes: "Joe and I have both been studying the situationist theories on the situationist theories on alienation of everyday life in modern, highly technical class societies. We are trying to figure out how armed the subjectivity of small groups of revolutionaries can function as a catalyst to en-courage other alienated people to overcome their taking direct action against all forms of domination that exist in bureaucratic class

Meanwhile, Bill and Emily Harris are facing a barrage of upcoming political trials where their vision of a "future humanistic society composed of free indivi-duals" will grapple with the dead hand of the State. "After that we just went through here in the past few

months our dream would seem idealistic and impos-sible," Emily Harris has said. But I know it's not, because I realize we start moving Change begins with each of us. As one man named Bakunin said, 'By reaching for the impossible we discover the possible and those who limit themselves to what

seems possible will not advance a single step." More information on the Harris's case can be obtained from their defense commit-tee: 204 Avenue B, Redondo Beach, California 90277. The latest addresses of the four are: Russ Little (B-66002), Tamal, California 94964. Joe Remiro (B-66003), Folsom State Prison, Represa, California 95671. Bill and Emily Harris, Alameda County Jail, 1225 Fallon St., Oak-land, California 94612.

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British Columbia co-ops Fed-up

By John Thomas

"Are we a movement for mass social change, or are we a group of hippies pro-ducing food for ourselves and our friends? If we are the latter, we are achieving our goals; if the former, we are failing badly."

That's how the British Co-

lumbia co-operative move-ment, in a recent article in its newsletter, assesses the choices facing co-op mem-bers as their movement economic and organizational

The co-op food movement has probably been one of the more lasting contributions of the North American counter-culture. But its initial idealism as a perceived engine of revolutionary change has given way, in some cases, to a "small business mentality" that emphasizes up to 20 per cent savings for its mem-

bers.

In B.C., the co-op movement has grown to include more than 50 co-ops and worker-controlled production units spread out over a mostly mountainous area the size of California. The co-ops are mainly small groups of consumers, some in city neighborhoods and towns and the rest in the country, while the production units are collectives turning out canned and baked goods, canned and baked goods, granola and other food stuffs.

The B.C. movement with an estimated 5,000 members, the largest and most poli tically-advanced in Can but it's only medium-sized in terms of North America. It s coordinating body is the Fed-Up council, which has its own distribution warehouse in Vancouver and which han-dles about \$600,000 worth of goods annually. Fed-Up has economic links with its counterpart in Toronto and with federations and co-ops down

the U.S. West Coast. After the first rush of organizing fervor, growth of the B.C. co-ops levelled off in 1973. Co-ops had first been extablished in the province two years earlier as part of the general flowering of the Left and counter-culture communities, and unpaid or-ganizers had fanned out ac-ross the province and even into the Yukon and Alberta. The co-ops were an organ ized response to the demands for collective democracy and

Neighbourhood Collectives

The basic unit of the co-op is the neighborhood collective, usually consisting of 15 to-30 people. The collective, generally meeting in some-body's house, acts as a small-scale co-op. It takes orders from individual members, groups the orders and subgroups the orders and sub-mits them to an area co-op or directly to Fed-Up. Food is distributed in the reverse order. Since money is han-dled in the same way, the system removes the need for

Some co-ops run store-fronts. These usually operate in the cities, sometimes with part-time paid staff. They generally serve a larger group of people, keep regular store hours and have an in-

ventory on hand, much like stores-for-profit.
Fed-Up buys in bulk from producers throughout B.C., and as far away as California. Most of the suppliers are small, independent operations. Purchasing policy is to seek out foodstuffs grown under relatively natural consuder relatively natural conunder relatively natural con ditions, and to avoid highly processed products with ditions, and to avoid highly-processed products of the processed products of the processed products of the processed products of the products

council meets every months and decides general policy, as well as with questions arising out of

day-to-day operations.

Operation of the Fed-Up warehouse is carried out by four full-time workers, who ordination, plus seven or eight co-op members who do much of the actual ordering, repackaging and consolida-ting of co-op orders. Co-op members from around the province contribute their labor for a week at a time on a rotating basis.

Participation from member co-ops, although causing certain logistical pro-blems since the people may have to come hundreds of

miles, gives Fed-Up much more of a mass base. Over the year, up to 700 - 800 people may work at Fed-Up; this builds links among the various co-ops and keeps the warehouse from becoming too distant from the people i

The very nature of a mem ber run co-operative, i which sharing the work is requirement for member ship, limits its appeal. Most working-class families, partiworking class tamines, parti-cularily if all the adults are working 40 hours per week, whether paid or unpaid, want to get their food with a minimal amount of work

Limited Incomes

In the main, the member ship of the co-ops consists of individuals on limited incomes. Most of them chose to comes. Most of them chose to be poor when they dropped out of the system some years back. But now many are find-ing that, with current high unemployment rates, it's harder to drop back in. With-out a saleable skill, and lacking even much saleable job experience, they find they are marginal to industry's needs and must make do with poorly paid seasonal or tem porary work, or with wel

The culture of food is es sential to understanding the co-ops. People were simul-



Co-op food is distributed via neighbour-

taneously switching their diets, learning how to cook and appreciate food, learning about nutrition and develop ing this new organisation. Through their mutual activities, people began to look to the co-ops as a means for ing together and sharing an on-going project enabled people to develop a sense of community. This was parti-cular ly important for people who felt isolated or, as in many rural areas, didn't have other ways of making con-tact. For a large number of

came an intrinsic part of

Moreover the co-ops provide valuable political experience rooted in the conrete problems of running a crete problems of running a democratic organization which people depend on for food. Questions raised in-clude the relationship be-tween leader and led, worker and consumer, and the funda-mental problem of how to get people to be active parti-

The co-operative move-ment will never be able to supersede capitalism on its own. It is still ultimately dependent on corporations; direct links between the prodirect links between the producers and the co-ops are at a tenuous stage. There is the ever present danger that if they get to a point where they threaten corporate interests they will be destroyed with State collusion.

However, the co-ops are a "propaganda-by-deed" organisation. They demonstrate that people can come together to meet their own needs. This creates the awareness that perhaps we don't need the State or the capitalists. Participation in a co-operative is not sufficient for politicization but can be a

For further information on Fed-Up, write to them at 304 E. 1st Ave., Vancouver, B.C.

Everybody needs nobody sometimes

By Steve Conliff

With a clear plurality of American electorate the American electorate voting for their presidential candidate, the Yippies have Nobody to blame but them-

They fought a long, hard campaign, and their cool-headed strategy and their tenacity paid off in the end where it matters: in the vote count. Twenty-seven per cent of eligible voters swal-lowed Carter's line but a heart-warming 47 per cent voted for Nobody.

Campaign manager Wavy Gravy (Nobody's Fool) took a moment out at the Yippie inauguaration party to ex-plain how Nobody came to

get the Yippie nod:
"Nobody is perfect. No-body cares. Nobody under-stands you. Nobody loves you when you're down-and-out. Nobody lowered our taxes. Nobody gave us jobs. Nobody will stop imperialist wars and legalize pot." Nobody wasn't the only

somebody in the Yippie campaign. Lots of other people made a dent, and managed to leave their mark during the campaign. For instance, there was the Aron Kay Commando Unit which gave New York Senatorial andidate Daniel Moynihan a taste of a different kind of medicine when it pushed a mecha cream pie into his face in front of the assembled National media. The unit had previously pied Rennie Davis and William F. Buck ley, spat on John Erlichman and was to go on to fulfill a pie contract on Watergate bagman Tony Ulasewicz.

And there was Ben Masel, who, with 49 busts, is rapidly closing in on Abbie Hoff-man's outdoor world record for arrests. Masel was scooped up last spring when he allegedly assaulted Pre-sidential hopeful Scoop Jack



YIP's 1976 presidential candidate

son, the Senator from Boe son, the Senator Irom Boot ing, with his deadly spittle in Madison, Wisc. He got 15 days on that one (now under appeal) after the judge said he didn't want to make a martyr of him by meting out a stiffer sentence. Since then, Masel was arrested at an anti-anti-abortion demon-stration just after the inauguration when he and the Aron Kay Commando Unit chained themselves to the White House fence. They all got off on that one on a techgot off on that one on a tech-nicality, but Masel was re-arrested for "assaulting a federal officer" after a cop beat him up. (The federal assault charge is no laughing matter.)

Sostre Urges Coalition

The main speaker at the Yippie inauguration party was Black Puerto Rican anarchist Martin Sostre, who is celebrating his first anni-versary on the street after spending more than nine years behind bars on a drug frame-up. Sostre urged esta-blishment of a coalition of all Left groups to push for amnesty for opponents of the Vietnam War. This means deserters, people with less-than-honorable discharges and civilian offenders, and not just draft dodgers, as Carter intends.
The Nobody-for-President

campaign had been building for almost a decade, as the Yippies played out their role as the anarchist Id of North

Whether crusading a-gainst the Indochina War and the CIA Police State or for the removal of President Nixon and the flaunting of Marijuana prohibition, the Youth International Party has always rejected the rigged U.S. electoral system. In '68 in Chicago the Yip-

pies nominated a pig named Pigasus for president and, of rigasus for president and, or course, a pig was elected. In '72 the Yippie candidate was a rock, and when the dust settled after Impeachment Summer, lo and behold, Nelson the Rock was running

the country.
For the 1976 Republican nomination, the Yippies joined with the Native American Pow-Wow Committee, local radicals, the militant prostitutes' group

Coyote, the National Coalition of Gay Activists and other ex-communicants of the New Left Church of the Sacred Marx and Lenin to form the Kansas City Con-vention Coalition. For ten days, they distributed for free 50 pounds of domestic pot, one pound of Colombian gold, two canisters of nitrous oxide (laughing gas), a wash-tub of peyote, champagne, innumerable kazoos, bal loons and red plastic noses, and 5000 New Nation flag iron-ons. Though few leftist ed out Yippies received gratifying support from K.C.'s poor people—freex and gays and straights, black and white and Indian.

and white and Indian.
K.C. Convention protests
were more peaceful than the
legendary '68 Democratic
and '72 Republican riots, less
peaceful than the '72 and '76
Democratic meetings. There
were only about 35 arrests,
all misdemeanors, the result

ment effort to avoid focusing media attention on protes tors via mass busts, and a paralysis of terrified city officials and police faced with "big city" protest problems, which resulted in a takeover of security by State Police. The State Pigs were anxious to bloody heads until faced with Yippies made up as clowns and visions of clowns and visions of morning-after headlines screaming: "POLICE BEAT UP CLOWNS AT G.O.P. CONVENTION!"

CONVENTION:
Meantime, thousands marched for Nobody for President in San Francisco, Austin, Tex., and Madison, Wisc., with election-eve rallies held in New York and Ohio, and the running-dog media lapping it all up, as well they might. Nobody had built a mass. recompant built a mass movement. Better than the Rock in '72, better even than the Rock in 12, better even than the Pig in '68, Nobody in '76 had captured the elusive zeitgeist, the spirit of the times.

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

BOLSHEVIK BASHING IN THE OLD UKRAINE



anarchists of Ukrainian Insurrectionist Army are surrounded by 150,000 troops of the Bol-shevik Red Army. Not fearing the inevitable, the anarchists shout "live free or e fighting" and charge into the Bolshevik ranks.

The Red Army panics and an entire battalion is caped. The officers are shot and the soldiers are set free Most are stunned by the humanity of the Ukrainian anarchists after being told by

million troops.

Nestor Makhno,

peasant who had been prisoned by the Czarist regime for his insurrectionary activities, made his way home in the general confusion of the times. Joining with a small group of peasants, including Peter Arshinov, he took to the hills to commence guerrilla activi-ties against the landlords and er mainstays of the old order.

A price was soon put on Makhno's head and in Sept.

liberated a voluntary labour unions were encouraged. For exunions ample, when Aleksandrovsk was liberated, the railway workers established a volun union to organize the network

region. The Bolsheviks were to show their true colors later on, but the first great re-actionary threat came from the disposed Monarchists who fielded two large armies, the first under

Bolshevik camp and started carving out its own territory. So, Trotsky temporarily abandoned the campaign against Makhno and sent an urgent telegram asking the insurgents to joint the fight against Grigor'ev.

The Makhnovists, follow ing a trail of Grigor'ev's pogroms, swiftly won two major battles and pushed his forces to the north. As soon as Grigor'ev was weakened the Bolsheviks resumed their campaign against the Makhnovists. They reneged on the agreement to supply

the idea, the Makhnovists of Sentova on July 27, 1919.

When the day came, both armies, 20,000 in number, met in an open field. Grigor'ev spoke first with an appeal for a united front against the Bolsheviks and even a suggestion that they join forces with the Czarist general Deniken. Makhno poke next and immediately accused Grigor'ev of being a reactionary and racist anti-Semite. Sensing that it was Semite. Sensing that it was going badly, Grigor'ev reached for his gun, but Makhno had the drop and shot him in front of his whole army. A few of Grigor'ev's senior staff reached for their weapons but they too were shot down. This coup totally disintegrated Grigor'ev'

By this time, the Mahno vists were very low or supplies and munitions. They were immediately put on the defensive again by the much larger Denikinist army, but their characteristic audacity

and courage more evened the odds, Deniken's general staff was captured and the army liqui-dated. Thus ended the gravest threat to the Russian

The hope among the Ukrainian Insurrectionists was that the Bolshevik regime would now recognize ney were a genuine revo lutionary movement and leave the region alone. Weary of fighting and weak from casualties and disease, the Makhnovists chose to re relax the military front and concentrate on the much needed social construction. But the Bolsheviks had other

Early in 1920 Trotsky ordered the Makhnovist Army to go to the Polish front. The Makhnovists re-plied that they were under no obligation to follow Bol-

Red Army detachments de-fected to the Makhnovist Lettish and Chinese troops who couldn't speak the lan-guage and had no knowledge of the Ukrainian peoples' movement.

Reign of Terror

In a reign of leashed against the common villagers, the Bolsheviks murdered an estimated 200,000 people. Outnumbered, the anarchists fought on for six months but fin even their courageous tactics could not overcome the weight of 150,000 Red troops. In August of 1921 suffering from numerous wounds, Makhno was smuggled out of the country France where he died 1935. Prior to his death he counted among his comrades a young anarchist from Spain who himself would become a major historical figure. The was Buenaman's name ventura Durutti. Since Arshinov's book was

translated, another impor tant book has been publishe which is also required read-ing for anyone interested in the other side of the Russian Revolution — The Unknown Revolution by Voline. The section on the Ukraine is basically a reproduction of Arshinov's work with certain criticisms added on. Voline feels that the Makhnovists had tendencies towards "warrior mentality" tl hindered the consolidation of military gains into more solid social structures which could have resisted Bolshe vik aggression. He also criti-cises the Makhnovists for such personality traits as "excessive womanizing and alcohol drinking."

novist Movement is for the student of history who still recognizes the truth of a story not told by the win-ners. It offers a well-docuners. It offers a well-docu-mented chronology of the real content of the Russian Revolution—that the self-activity of the people, what they created and what they defended, was essentially anarcho-communist in na ture. The book is also for the series of half-truths and out right lies into the equa spurious realm of historical inevitability.

Some Bolshevik apologists claim the Ukrainian episode was just the "rough side" of an otherwise good revolution. This ignores the out-right genocide of the free Ukrainian people and their deliberate slandering by deliberate slandering by Lenin and his successors in order to bring them under Bolshevik domination. As Arshinov said, "It is not diffi cult to recognize in these Bol-shevik traits an ancient breed of master."

breed of master."

It should be noted that both the Arshinov and Voline books will soon be out of print, so they should be ordered soon from Black and Red, Box 9546, Detroit, Mich. 48202.

Other mention of the Makhnovist Movement can be found in The Russian Anarchists, by Paul Avri Princeton University
Press); Obsolete Communism: The Left Wing Alternative, by Daniel Cohn-Bendit; and The Philosophy of the Urban Guerrilla, by Abraham Guillen.

"It is not difficult to recognize in these Bolshevik traits an ancient breed of master."

Trotsky's Red Army Commibandits and enemies of the

This is just one incident from The History of the Makhnovist Movement. It's no dry, historical rehash, but action-packed an action-packed thriller detailing the struggle of the people of the Southern Ukraine for self-determina-tion and the right to create a libertarian society next door to the emerging Bolshevik State.It's a story of Soviet treachery, of astounding treachery, of astounding heroics on the part of com-mon peasants, and of a tragic finale in which the peasant army-after three years of unceasing battle against the enemies of the Revolutionis decisively crushed by "revolutionary" forces and its outstanding figure, Nes-tor Makhno, driven into

Written in 1921 by Peter Arshinov, a Ukrainian anar-chist and close friend of Makhno, the book has only recently been translated (by Lorraine and Freddy Perl-man), and published in a joint effort by Black and Red Publishers and Solidarity Book shop. It provides a welcome corrective for the official histories of the time as concocted by the Bolsheviks and their admirers.

The setting is the Southern Ukraine, where, following the 1917 Revolution, a spontaneous flower-ing of freedom is underway. The estates of the wealthy landowners are being taken over by peasant collectives, and voluntary village cooperatives are flourishing. But this freedom is soon to be curtailed, as Lenin has rectionists were primarily signed the Brest-Litovsk peasant people, whenever

1918 his small group of 30 insurgents was overtaken and encircled by 1000 soldiers, leaving no chance of escape Rather than surrender, the guerrillas turned and char-ged right into the middle of the over-confident enemy. The Austro-German troops panicked, dropped their w pons and ran for it.

Libertarian Army

Word of victories such as these spread rapidly across the Ukraine and united the numerous rebel bands into a coherent force that came to be known as the Makhnovist Army. The army's structure reflected its basic libertarian philosophy: the three funda-mental principles were voluntary enlistment; election of officers; and self-discipline instead of authoritarian discipline.

When the army came into a new area it declared, "We do not represent any kind of authority, our armed forces obligation and we have aim other than to protect the freedom of working people."
The first thing it did upon entering a new area was to blow up the prisons.

Free communes were es tablished in many parts of the country, but with the changing fortunes of war they were often overrun, with the inhabitants being executed. During the period when the region remained free there were three open congresses where the pea-sants formulated the policies that decided the economic and political tasks of the Revolution. And, even Revolution. And, even though the Ukrainian insur-rectionists were primary General Deniken and the second under General Wran-

Early in 1919 Deniken's y invaded the Ukraine the Makhnovists soon army put them on the retreat. The courage of the insurrec-tionists was reported favorably in the Bolshevik press, and in a fraternal spirit the Makhnovists sent a captured train of 100 cars of grain to starving workers

In mid-1919, when the Red Army showed up to help fight the counter-revolution-ary forces, the Makhnovists entered uneasily into a united front, a strictly milito interfere with the political

But as the "White threat" temporarily weakened and the Red Army poured in more troops, the united fr came unravelled. The Bol sheviks started setting up their bureacracy complete with Chekas (secret police) in the previously liberated villages and were met with liberated hostility, and in many instances violence from the indignant peasants. In turn this brought mass arrests and a vicious campaign of slander against the insur-

rectionist movement.

The Russian press accused Makhnovists of being Kulaks (rich peasants), secret Czarists, and anti-Secret Czarists, and anti-Semetic pogromists (raping, looting and murdering in Jewish villages). However, just as they declared Makhno and the peasant leadership to be outlaws, the Bolsheviks had to reverse direction.

.Trotsky Flip-Flops One of their strongest tending to be sympathetic to

arms to the insurgents and at the worst possible moment weakened their own front allowing Deniken's Mon-archist army to break through and occupy the whole of the central Ukraine. The Red Army pulled back to Russia and the Makhnovists were once again on their



Nestor Makhno (1889-1935)

own, retreating in the face of vicious White assault.

The path of the Makhno

vist retreat was toward the area of Kherson where the Bolshevik renegade Gregor-'ev had sent a message to cease hostilities and unite against their common ene-my, the Bolsheviks. Pre-

because of a rampant typhus epidemic. The Insurrectionist army were declared outlaws and the Ukraine was invaded by several divisions of

Red troops.

The Bolsheviks had learned their lessons from their previous campaign against the Ukraine, when entire

Suppressed memoirs of a young anarchist

By Helene Ellenbogen & Wayne Parker

Once again the suppression of a free press in West Germany has become a cause celebre all over Europe. This time the target is a political autobiography written by a fugitive anarchist and one-time member of the urban guerrilla June 2nd Move-

The book, Wie Alles Anfing (How It All Began) was written by Michael "Bommi Baumann, a working class youth who describes his ascent into adulthood via rockdope, the sexual revolution, street actions and existence as an urban guerrilla. Bommi is now in his late twenties and seems to be floating somewhere in Germany in

What makes the book so repugnant to the German authorities, is the total lack of respect Bommi exhibits toward the authority of the State. Example: the city of Berlin is barricaded from one end to the other. Massive numbers of heavily armed police are checking every car

after a particularly heavy siege of political bombings and bank robberies. Bommi, dressed in his most colorful clothes (even more repug-nant to the German than to the North American bourgeoisie) is driving a hippie van, also multi-colored, with an inscription on the back which savs: "Caution. Dy-namite Transporter!" Like every other car, he gets stopped. An earnest copper peers in, takes a disgusted look at him, sees the writing on the van and says, "Idiot! Get out of here." For once Bommi follows orders and drives on with his van filled

This is just one example of an incredible number of capers in which more often than not the State is the oser. But everything is not fun and games in the book. Bommi criticizes the Red Army Faction (Baader-Meinfor their vanguardism, and their attempt to beat the State at the one game in which the State will surely be superior—technology. He also criticizes his own group for their sexism, how they got caught up in the momen-tum of their endless

Katharina Blum's honor

released she finds herself the

with (you guessed it) dynamite and bombs.

bombings and bank rob-beries, and most of all for the fact that they seemed to forget that the point of the revolution was freedom from

to the book when it appeared in 1975 was true to form. A massive raid involving 40 cops and prosecutors armed with submachine guns was staged at Trikont, a small left publisher in Munich. The cops (including members of the German secret police who bear the awesome name of Protectors of the Con-stitution) ransacked the Tri-kont office taking all of the files, orders, bills, names of customers and the remaining copies of Bommi's book along with the publisher's 1600-volume library. Then they went to the print shop, took the plates for the books, s for a women's maga zine, printing equipment in-cluding the composer, book prospectuses, typewriters and generally everything. This was not enough. All the apartments in the building were searched, ostensibly in the belief that the fugitive author might be found somewhere in the building. Needless to say, the search

terrorized in one of the ad-

Following the raid, similar actions took place in left bookstores throughout Germany. Public pressure to stop these outrages forced the police to begin to return some of the confectated. ome of the confiscated aterial within a week of the aid. Almost immediately eading left and liberal intel lectuals from all over Europe, including Jean Paul Sarre and Heinrich Boll, along with left bookstores, publishers, and groups and individuals from every left tendency print the book. As a result, in early 1976, the book re-appeared in 10,000 copies (the original printing had (the original printing had been 3,000) with the names of co-publishers on cover and front pages. This Yippiel act of book-guerrilla effectively forestalled a re-confiscation of the book. The book was the first to be confiscated under Ger-

many's new wave of fascist suppression laws (the heaviest passed this Summer under the popular label of muzzle laws). Since 1969, when the Social Democratic arty came to power on the logan, "We want to dare more democracy," Germany has moved toward a totali-tarianism that is rivalled only by that of Spain and the Republic of Ireland in Western Europe. The main attack on the mass movement has been through the "Berufs verbot" — a series of laws seriously restricting the freedom of thought and political action of anyone on the public payroll, about 20 per cent of the total workforce.

The two people responsi-ble for the original publi-cation of Bommi's book, Gisela Erler and Herbert which is widely viewed as a

landmark test case of the new muzzle laws. These laws include provisions making it a criminal offense to write, publish, display, advertise, sell, etc., anything which either condones "violence either condones "violence against the State" or fails to demn it. Needless the book burning potential of

manuscript and hope to have it in print by the middle of somewhere

The campaign in support of Trikont and Wie Alles Anfing goes on. People inter



such legislation is rather

Considerable.

Because of the attempt to suppress the book by the German authorities, its re-

nown has spread throughout

Europe. As a result, editions

are now either in print or

awaiting publication in French, Danish, Greek, Swe-

dish, Dutch, Italian, and En

considerable.

By Mark Brothers

Directed by Volker Schlondorff and Margarethe von Trotta; based on a novel by Heinrich Boll. With Angela Winkler and Mario Adorf. A New World Pictures release

Lost Honor Katharina Blum, a 1975 German film, is an emotion derman film, is an emotionally powerful account of a woman's response to the repression of a "liberal democracy." Directed by Volker ndorff and Margareth von Trotta, this fast paced screen adaptation of a novel by Nobel Laureate Heinrich released to North American

Winkler), an "apolitical" housekeeper, and Ludwig (Mario Adorf), a fugitive guerrilla, meet at a party, they spend the night together at her apartment. The next morning her breakfast is interrupted by an invading force of SWAT-styled commandoes. Ludwig has al-ready left but Katharina is hauled down to police headquarters where she's si badgering interrogation, im prisonment and a bourgeois press gone wild. Ace reporter Totges of "The News", a sensationalist News", a sensationalist right-wing newspaper (bas-ed on the German Bild-Zeitung), hacks out a series of features which denounce Katharina as a product of the "false ideas of socialism."

After the first session of aestioning, Katharina's refusal to eat prompted a dis-concerted cop to comment, "amazing how people find it hard to make a distinction between private and busi-ness life." But for her such distinctions were rapidly

disintegrating.
When Katharina is finally

released she linds hersell the target of constant crank calls, vandalism, and letters attacking her as a "commie's whore." Her anger slowly builds into a radical awareness. "I know how those pigs work" she tells the prominent lawyer who employs her. By contrast the lawyer typifies a liberal's reaction to repression. When attacked bomb into the News' office (he doesn't). He declares that he will punch in the jaw a con-servative professor who had been Katharina's lover (he

Katharina had provided Ludwig with the key to the professor's country villa. Her phone call to Ludwig tipped off the authorities and when she arrived at the "safe bears" he found swape of ', she found swarms of soldiers, tanks, and heli-copters which had just en-circled and captured him.

Pushed past the breaking point, Katharina agreed to an interview with Totges. He began by asking, "How about fucking for a start?" Pistol shots rang out as her

At the police station when At the police station when informed that Totges' photographic assistant had also been killed, Katharina calmly questioned, "Why not him too?" The photographer had represented the liberal half of "The News" team. He was critical flunky, often un settled by his companion's behaviour. Still, he had gone along. Although he was sup along. Although he was sup-posedly the objective obser-ver (how can pictures lie?), the film repeatedly focused on his photos which had covered the front pages of "The News". They were close ups of Katharina's face, taken as she was being mangled by police or crowds to depict her as the arche-typal "deranged defiant

After the photograph Katharina death Katharina again appeared defiant as she tore m guards to embrace Lud wig, now her comrade as well as lover, as he passed by in a jailhouse hallway. But this time her outraged expression was for real. The photo-

grapher was dead.

The film ends at Totges funeral where the reaction-aries were out in force. So graphers (of course her lawyer boss showed up too). In the end the media creates its own lie to report. In his eulogy/press release, the owner of the News decried "The savagery of anarchy" and its effect on "our young democracy." His concern, he promised, "was far beyond personal considerations. . . whoever attacks the News attacks all of us."

Katharina Blum's experience occurs during a festival season and the entire society season and the entire societies she is consumed by takes on the appearance of a gigantic costumed spectacle. A bizar-rely costumed populace en-meshes with the assorted disguises of undercover cops until the audience can no longer distinguish between Even the question of Katharina's "guilt" (in bour-geois terms of guilt) is sometimes obscured. Al-though her "innocence" is always established immedi-ately, the blurred distinc-tions — guilt/innocence, agents/assholes, personal/ business—only add to the ultimate vagueness, liber-alism/fascism.

sion has disappeared—
"These people are murderers—all of them. It's their business to rob people of their honor—sometimes—their lives."

Flight to Babylon North

By Anna Chroness Flight: The Last American Poem, by Charles Tidler. Pulp Press, P.O. Box 48806, Bentall #3. Vancouver, B.C.

forget the Vietnam War --not our culpability in the mass slaughter of an inno-cent people, nor our now-embarrassing idealism in protesting that slaughter. We need to be reminded if we are to help prevent such atrocities from occurring again Tidler has achieved his pur pose with this powerful and explicit book, one which has

The central conflict in Flight is the struggle with the tender and sad, bitter and despairing feelings that overtake an individual in the process of rejecting his or her country. Tidler takes us with him on his fragmented and chaotic exodus from America in a series of poems designed to make us

The journey begins at the point of decision - the burning of the draft papers — and progresses across the Mid-west to the Pacific. The landscape is one of pollution and destruction. The sharp, evocative images gives us a sense of how the vista is affecting the protagonist:

I would siphon a poetry from the pool of our history but only choke on a mouthful of gasoline

to measure the octane of our burnt-out versification

An ambivalence floats through this section of th book, the ambivalance of someone who doesn't want to see what he sees. The cry is too loud, the condemnation too severe to be totally convincing. The protagonist is caught in a trap: he doesn't want to leave, but must.

Leave he does, and arrives in Vancouver. He spills the contents of his suitcase — his guts — out in the bus station; he cames a W. he camps on Wreck Beach; finally he takes the train

ested in joining the endorse

ment list or otherwise sup

ment list or otherwise sup-porting Trikont should write to Trikont Verlag GMBH; Josephsburgstr. 16; 8 Mun-chen 80; West Germany.

English-language edition should contact Helene Ellen-

bogen; 5224 12th Ave. N.E. Seattle, Washington 98105

he experiences Canada through the people he talks to, but, and more impor-tantly, he struggles con-tinually with his ambiva-lence. Tidler has successfully illustrated this struggle by personifying Honour, Decay

Honour and Decay are bro-

ther and sister, hatch from one egg, spawn Treason.

Each is ever the other's shadow

The definition is signifithe source of his ambivalence he can proceed to deal with it. Throughout the journey he finds these three shady, underworld figures, manages to avoid them, is tormented by them again and again, and finally, in Montreal, he has it out with them as they attack him on the platform

maeouver in such a way that continued on p. 28

Pa Chin's Chinese anarchist novel

Family, by Pa Chin. Anchor Books, \$2.95.

mily is Pa Chin's semiautobiographical novel about growing up in China in the 1920's and breaking out of the family and society. The book contains a fine explibeliefs and their application. It also contains valuable information about China in that turbulent period.

Pa Chin was one of the nost popular modern authors in China. He depicted real situations, and showed people a possible way to be-have with integrity. His integrity.

heroes and heroines were all anarchists—a fact he was forced later, by the Chinese Communication Communist government, to

Pa Chin (a pen-name con structed from the Chinese for Bakunin and Kropotkin) bandoned his family ties for the anarchist movement in the 1920's. He wrote many essays on the libertarian movement and translated anarchist works into Chi nese, including the entire

works of Kropotkin.
The anarchist movement in China developed from the early 1900's and reached its

greatly weakened by the Japanese invasion of 1935. Japanese invasion of 1500. The following year was a year of revival buoyed by great hopes for the Spanish Revolution. In Shanghai, Pa Chin and other anarchists re organized and held demon strations in support of their

mese Anarchist group dumese Anarchist group during this period.

The Chinese Communist
Party approved of the parts
in Pa Chin's work that
condemned the old family and society, but they didn't like the references to anarchism. He tried to cooperate with the Party,

partly because he believed things were better than before the revolution. His works were published by the Communists, but with the parts about anarchism deleted, making them historically inaccurate. He was alternatively praised, criti-cized, accepted, and condemned, according to the to the

"Finally, after months of threats," writes Olga Lang in her introduction to Family, on June 20, 1968, Pa Chin was dragged to the Peoples' Stadium of Shanghai. Those present and those scene television saw him kneeling on broken glass and heard shouts accusing him of being a traitor and enemy of Mao They also heard him break the silence at the end and shout at the top of his voice 'You have your thoughts and I have mine. This is the fact and you can't change it even

For his defiance Pa Chin. now an old and frail man, was "sent to labour for re-education."

Three Rich Brothers

In his work Family, Pa Chin tells the story of three

brothers growing up in a large rich patriarchal family in the 1920's. Each of the brothers has a different attitude toward struggle and how to live his life.

The oldest brother, Chueh n, was mentally and otionally broken through a life policy of the "silent bow." This means—obey and go along with others on the outside while maintaining your own philosophy to your-self. His father had died and Chueh-hsin swore to keep the family in order. He con-

and out of it are equally necessary and each makes the other possible. It is noted trate the same destruction. but the language lacks the over-all obstinacy of the first section, as if the protagonist has gained not only strength by his struggle on the train, but also insight. He is tested once again by his love for the woman as he watches that

made him a revolutionary. His rebellion in the family

love torn asunder by his decision to leave. The last poem in the book, "Flight", reaffirms the against one's country, one's government, the act must be performed to become free of the rule of authority. The protagonist is strong in his decision now,

and the language of the poetry reflects that strength.

already promised to the few

and the lie, the sack of shit the sack of lime

I'm turning myself inside out with bitter laffter. quiet tears. H.V. , soore

Family demonstrates that life and social change are de pendent on more than exterior oppression and blind historical determinism. While the choices we're given in an oppressive society are limited, we can society are limited, we can still (as each of the three brothers did choose to fight and struggle or to submit and be destroyed. To some exthat of others when we make

How Now, China? A new 80-page pamphlet, Class Struggles in China, presents a critical historical summary of social trends from a rev lutionary perspective. A minimum donation of 50 cents per copy is needed to cover printing and mailing costs. Write: Charlatan Stew, 264 Bowery, New York, N.Y. 10012.

Eyewitness accounts of current events in China are carried in Minus Eight, an carried in Minus Eggh, an anarchist journal published by Chinese anarchists based in Hong Kong. Copies can be obtained by writing to 180 Lockhart Rd., First Floor, Wanchai, Hong Kong.

For an overall history of Chinese anarchism, check



in the Twenties and

Books Received

Letters of Insurgents, Sophia Nachalo and Yarostan Vocheck, Black and Red, Box 9546, Detroit, Mich. 48202, A novel, taking the IIS.A tween two comrades/lovers een separated for 20 years after participating in a workers' uprising in Eastern Europe. Yarostan Eastern Europe. Yarostan spent 12 years in jail, Sophia fled to the U.S. The novel deals with a variety of poli tical issues in a very personal

of the Ashes Press, P.O. Box 42384, Portland, Oregon 97242. of-consciousness novel dealing with various topics of an existential, political nature.

The Failure of the Sexual Revolution, George Frankl, Kahn and Averhill, London. Frankl does a pyschoanalysis of sexuality, the sexual revo-lution and its failure. His lution and its failure. His basic thesis is that a sexual revolution can't happen with out a class revolution, particularily whea sex is distorted and exploited by the market

Anarchism and the National Liberation Movement, Al-Dubh Collective, 83 Langside Terrace, Port Glascow, Scotland. This pamphlet ex-plores the question of national liberation from an anar-chist perspective. Bonanno sees national liberation struggles as expressing the yearning for self-organisa-tion and freedom of the national minorities warning against the machi nations of the national bourgeoisie of both left and

The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement edited by Albert Meltzer, Cienfuegos Press, Box A, "Over the Water," Sanday, Orkney Islands, Scotland. Details the history of the First of May group and their Islands, Scotland militant struggles against Franco, the American State and various European gov-

volume to the above, discussing the role of the anarchists in the development of British radicalism.

The Russian Tragedy, Alexander Berkman, Cienfuegos Press. This contains three essays written by Berkman on his experiences and per ceptions of Russia during his travels from 1919 to 1921. Berkman was originally sym-pathetic to the Bolsheviks and had a unique opportunity to examine the Bolshevik methods of consolidating their revolution

Alternative America, Rich ard Gardner, Box 134, Harvard Square, Cambridge Mass. 02138. \$4.00, A ve comprehensive directory lis 5,000 alternative ung 5,000 alternative co-operative, community, and political groupings covering a wide variety of political activities. Listed by geo-graphical location, subject

The Quebec Establishment, Pierre Fournier, Black Rose Books, 3934 St. Urbain St., Montreal P.Q. A Montreal P.Q. A power structure analysis of Quebec studying the connections between the corporations and the business elites and their relationship to the Quebec State, interesting in light of the recent election.

Unity Press, 13 E. 17th St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Donation. This letter from Bakunin to S. Nechaev reveals the humanist con ception of Bakunin and counters Bakunin's alleged authorship of Catechism of the

Homecoming, Azul and Jomo, Union Square Press, Box 40130, San Francisco, CA 94110. A book of original drawings and stories about Native American oppression

Two Essays by Murray Bookchin: "Spontaneity and Organization" and "Hierarchy and Domination." This is This is ist Books (formerly Buffalo Black Rose), available for \$1 The Anarchists in London,
Albert Meltzer, Cienfuegos
Rochester, N.Y. 14603. his family's wishes, including a marriage to a stranger instead of to the woman he The two younger brothers

managed to escape the family. All three brothers read articles about the "new thought" but only Chueh-min their ideals. Chueh-min's struggle was mainly to marry the woman he loved, thinker. In Family, romantic love is depicted alternative to the old-style family and arranged mar-riages. Pa Chin seems to hint, though, that Chueh-min might stop at this accomplishment whereas Chueh

hui went further. Chueh-hui was the fighter both in the family and out-side, publishing a radical magazine with some friends. Chueh-hui had both a broad social outlook and acute per sonal consciousness of hi oppression. This is one of my favorite things about this book: its demonstration of the relationship between personal and political strug-gle. Chueh-hui's conscious-

feminist as well as anarchist because of the emphasis on family and personal change, women's liberation, and Pa Chin's treatment female characters. Although the women in the book do play as important roles as the three brothers, they have their own struggles and characters and aren't just objects necessary for male At one point I was amazed that Cousin Chin's (one of the two main female characters) greatest concern was wheth to cut her hair. It seemed as though the girls' struggles as though the girls struggles were shown as being sillier than the boys'. Later, reading some Chinese history, I discovered that hair

in Origins of the Chinese Anarchist Movement that the later success of the

the later success of the Chinese Communists may be due in part to the work of the

anarchists in overcoming family domination and religi-

ous superstition "all of which the Marxist considered

beneath his notice, but with

the disappearance

which Marxism could never have come into power."

I consider Family to be



"Now they say we're supposed to support Chile and Iran and Pakistan and..." often involving whipping,

Flight

continued from p. 27

they no each other in, where-upon "I leap up and grab Honour;/I wring his neck like a chicken,/ring it like a bell."

The next section in Flight, "Four Poems", takes place in Boston, where he has gone to meet a woman friend. Once again he is in America, but the sense of ambivalence has vanished. The images illus

public denouncement as a

prostitute, or sale into pros

titution as a punishment from the woman's family and

I'm flying the coop, the whole rat's nest of your promised land

promising the gun

tant and powerful poem, one that deserves a wide audi-ence in both Canada and communicate, through his skill with language and the ease and directness of his metaphors, not only the intense, personal struggle many people experienced be-cause of the Vietnam War, but also the ambience of a significant period in our his-tory. And while some would rather not be reminded of that period, we are con-fronted with it in Flight, an achievement in itself and one that deserves recognition

The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China, a well-documented, 18-page booklet available from Solidarity Bookshop, 713 Armitage Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60614.

continued from p. 6

decision-making is not con-tentious. That means that consensus can be a powerful apon to resist the efforts of the government and the oil companies to split people and create a new bureaucracy

In building the new Nation from the grass roots up, these band councils would form the basis of local "government." They would have to be federated into a ssembly to carry on the familiar legislative work of provinces within the context of Canadian confed

Canadian provinces enjoy more powers than do Ameritates, especially in th field of resource control and management. A dene-orien-ted provincial government how the vast public lands of

This means ensuring that a larger measure of the profits go back into the communities and not down to southern Canada or the U.S. And it means ensuring that projects are planned in har-mony with Dene needs, to prevent, for instance, dis-ruption of traditional migroutes and feeding

"The Dene tradition of the land is strongly communal, but that doesn't mean the Dene will be anti-develop-ment," says the Brotherhood staff member. "The Dene have the same problems as other Third World peoples. They are going to need outside, foreign investment to overcome the terrible deprivation that has been imposed

Or, as one Dene put it in testimony before the pipe-line commission: "We are saying that when developments do take place, and many already have. Indian

people are entitled as owners of the land to receive reve-nues, or royalties. These

royalties would then be put to work to create community enterprises. That way we would create a long-term economic base under Indian control, and native people would be free of dependence

would be tree of dependence on the government and the developers to create jobs."

A considerable body of legal opinion is developing that a Dene province is a constitutional possibility, even if there are ticklish legal problems to be worked out as the status and citizenship

of non-natives. Ottawa is clearly playing for time. It's pushing white emigration to the North in hopes of making the Dene a minority, and it's giving northern Mountie units special training in the hand-ling of "extremism" in case Wounded Knee-style mili tancy began to take hold (Threats of sabotage of the pipeline were made several nes during the hearings) The main problem for the Dene now is whether they can capitalize on their un doubted moral and historical claim to the Mackenzie



Valley before the North is lost forever as a unique human habitat. For more information on "I think this is clearly a

position of class betrayal. The whole CLC manifesto

the Dene struggle, contact the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories Box 2338, Yellowknife Farlan. "October 14 was a

among workers that day

workers in Canada." He said "It shows that one million

workers are prepared to demonstrate for their econo-

gave no thought to having any continual struggle to fol-

low the protest. They really were quite frightened at

"Obviously, the leadership

mie rights.

N.W.T.; or the Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, 251 Laurier Ave. West, Ottawa, Ont.

October

continued from p. 14

bringing about joint social and economic planning by a council of business, govern ment and labour, where, ac cording to CLC statements, organized labour would act as an equal partner with business and government in

In essence, the manifesto was a protest against "unfair" wage controls, sug-gesting that the CLC bureaucrats would agree to a pro-gram of such controls if they were involved in making major economic decisions. centralized control of all important areas of economic and social planning was being called for by the CLC. The CLC "tripartism" was actually ap-proval for a new kind of economic system — "social corporatism" — which would allow capitalism to operate more efficiently, with the fullest co-operation between the representatives of labour and capital.

Intent on forming this "partnership" with govern-ment and capital, the CLC brass intended to use October 14 to strengthen their executive. control within the CLC, and to convince the government that they had the strong support of their members

The response of the Canadian government to October 14 was hypocritical. Labour Minister John Munro spelled this out before the strike at first by suggesting that the protest would create instability undermining the sanctity of collective agreements, and that the powers the CLC sought would undermine legislative authority

A few days before the strike, Munro jumped the fence to side with the CLC executive and said he didn't want to see the Day of Protest flop because, if it was it would have a entralizing influence on the bour movement," and labour movement," and would help in discussions with the government. The actual protest against wage controls was not the top priority with the CLC leadership. In fact, neither before nor after October 14 did the CLC ever provide any material support for unions fighting the AIB.

Since the protest, wage control guidelines have become more stringent, re-duced to 6.6 per cent, with no active opposition from the

Many Canadian leftists had mixed feelings towards October 14, and participated with misgivings, realizing the sellout by the CLC leadership and critical of the economist demands of the strike, but conscious, too, of grievances of Canadian

In an interview with The Open Road, Jim McFarlan, past president of the B.C. Teachers' Federation, and an

active trade union militant agreed that the CLC leader-ship wanted to use October 14 to give them bargaining power to bring about tri



"Accept no substitutes." Even the vanguard

tremendous lesson in the sellout by social democracy and trade union bureaucrats in failing to develop the kind of sentiment and militancy speaks of co-operating with other parties in making capi-talism work," said Mac-On the plus side, MacFarlan sees October 14 as "a milestone in the history of

what was happening across the country, of the potential for truly militant action by the workers. Since then, absolutely nothing has been done to continue this done struggle.

According to another local labour militant, Al Engler, a

member of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway and Transport Workers: "October 14 really didn't mean very much, because it wasn't part of anything ongoing.
"It's obvious that the strike was a one-shot affair

not part of

Looking back on the actual work stoppage, Engler feels that the day itself, "was a

"With 50 per cent of organized labour out for one day, it represents the most significant industrial action ever staged in Canada. It showed the power of labour, but the leadership didn't follow it up.

He noted that since the 14th, there has been an offensive by the right wing in the trade union movement to put the lid on any simmering labour militancy.

Antinuke

continued from p. 5

the ground in December, and trucks have been damaged to prevent work at the site. A list of all of the contractors for the plant is also being circulated as a target list for sabotage actions.

And at least in several European countries, the anti nuclear movement appears to be moving toward clan-destine armed resistance. In France, a group calling itself "Commandoes Resisting with Explosives the Self-Destruction of the Universe" did over \$5 million in damage several simultaneo explosions at a uranium mine explosions at a uranium mine in Limoges on November 14th. And in Sweden, police found and defused a 55-pound dynamite bomb outside a nuclear reactor in Vargberg on November 28th. A communique claiming the action threatened to ing the action threatened to place the next device inside the facility unless the plant were shut down.

In the United States, the mass anti-nuclear resistance is just starting to heat up, with the most advanced struggle taking place at Seabrook, N.H., the site of a

showed up on Oct. 14. proposed twin-reactor generating station.

Opponents of the Sea ok plant had delayed the project for six years through legal and licensing challen-ges. But after the government juggernaut ignored a non-binding referendum in Seabrook last year that we against the project (768-to-332), it became clear that less polite measures were called

Regrouping as the Clam-shell Alliance, the opposition staged a mass demonstration last August during which 18 people were arrested after they entered the site and attempted to plant trees and set up camp on the bulldozed

site. Three weeks later during a rally of 1,000 people another 179 entered the site and were arrested. A later rally was attended by 2,000 people, and further actions are planned around Mayday

The government has had to backtrack somewhat on the project, and a few of the minor contractors have now pulled out, but the Clamshell Alliance still has its work cut out for it. The alliance is a New England wide coalition of about 30 groups, with a strong, Quaker-influenced strong, Ginelination toward

The member groups in the alliance have a great deal of autonomy, but all major decisions must be okaved by the 15-member coordinating committee. The committee was criticized at a recent regional congress for its top down leadership tendency so it's possible there may b some changes to make the apparatus more directly de

On the West Coast, the battle against a proposed reactor at Sedro Woolley. Washington, in Skagit Coun ty, near Seattle, promises to intensify in short order. Skagitonians Concerned A-Nuclear Power (SCANP) are at the court suit-petition-demonstration level, but are considering more direct action tactics.

The Sedro Woollevsite has international implications, as well, because it's located near an earthquake fault, and prevailing winds would carry air-borne debris over the Canadian border into the Vancouver, B.C. metropoli-tan area, less than 100 miles

A favoured tactic in many parts of the U.S. has been to place anti-nuclear initiatives on state ballots. The referendums generally call stricter safety measures for power plants, safe storage o vastes and full liability the nuclear industry for pe sonal and property damag An initiative in Californ

was defeated 2-to-1 Summer, and other lost in more states in the Fall. nuclear industry has clasive, however, and had to spend millions of dollars to combat the initiatives. Actiworthwhile because of its educational effect, and are now pushing referendums in several other states.

More information is avail able from the Clammshell Alliance, Box 162, Seabrook, N.H. 03874. Skagitonia Concerned About Nuclear Power (SCANP), Box 137, Burlington, Washington

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

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



The strategy of resistance to grand juries is summed up in the sloga Community — Not Immunity. It's strategy that depends on the personal courage, discipline and committment of indiiduals called to testify, but also on the willviguals called to testify, but also on the willingness of diverse elements in the Left community to unite behind a political movement
that will put intolerable pressure — mainly
in the form of public opinion — on the
authorities

authorities. After a period of initial confusion over how to respond to grand jury attacks, a nation-wide consensus has now developed (with only one significant exception — more of that only one significant exception. In the control later) that absolute non-collaboration is the starting point. In the past six years, nearly 200 people have refused to talk in the face of government coercion, compared to maybe 25 in the previous 20 years. As one anti-grand

jury coalition puts it:
"What happens if you testify? (1) You have been one person who does not resist. (2) You been one person windoes indresses (2) 324 may have made real what they were only guessing. (3) You have increased your chances of being called again. (4) Without knowing it, you may have made connections they did not know. (5) You have increased the momentum for more grand juries. (6) However innocently, you may be respon-sible for someone, perhaps yourself, going to

This tactic applies to dealings with the This tactic applies to dealings with the FBI as well. The watchword is **Don't Talk**. There is no federal law requiring anyone to answer questions of the FBI, but it is against the law to lie to the FBI or other police agencies. Don't try to outsmart them, either; they are professionals at their work. The suggested line is, "I have nothing to say. Goodbye," and keep repeating that till they

The jailings have provided the main focus The jalings have provided the main focus for organizing activities. But, except for a few cases, the resistance has not been all that successful in actually springing people from jail. The courts have run roughshod over just about every legal objection, and it takes a unique set of circumstances for the government to eave in to jubile pressure. Example: Joanna Ledieux of Pine Ridge got most way begoed in the embarrassing position of denying her access to her new-born baby.

position of denying ner access to me new born baby. However, the intense public campaigns around these cases has almost assuredly prevented the heavier use of jailings by the authorities, who are beginning to find this tactic counterproductive. Most of those who need to jail were threatened with new subwent to jail were threatened with new sub-poenas on their release, but the government rarely followed through on the threat.

In many cities, after someone had been

jailed, the subpoenas for subsequent wit-nesses were quietly dropped, especially if the witnesses made a public show of resis-tance. In Los Angeles last June, widespread tance. In Los Angeles last June, widespread public protest in the entertainment industry led to the dropping of subpoenas against three filmakers working on Underground, a major documentary about the Weather Underground Organization.

All forms of media have been used to bring the contract of the cont

the message home. There have been mass demonstrations, public meetings, cultural events featuring everything from specially created operas to puppet shows, public statements inside and outside of court, torrents of letters and telegrams to public officials, letter-writing campaigns to local newspapers, establishment of "Peoples" grand juries" to investigate crimes by those in public office

The mass media has been used effectively in a number of cities to educate the public on the broader usages of repression. This has been especially so when there has been a "martyr" (usually female) involved. Two ex-amples: when Jill Raymond came out of jail, three of the four leading papers in the State editorialized that the grand jury investi-gation should lay off; and when Michelle Whitnack went in, the local red-neck rag in Seattle ran an extremely sympathetic inter-

view and profile letting her mention the word "anarchist" and talk about her prison movement work, and even running a poignant photo of her peering through the jail-house visitors" peephole.

Another type of educational campaign has been directed at the grand jurors themselves. Nearly all uncoperative witnesses issue statements or hand them to the jurors. pointing out the various sins of the govern-ment and advising them they don't have to be in the thrall of the prosecutor. In a few cases, this has resulted in juries taking a

somewhat more independent tack.

However, a "courier" for the underground However, a "courier for the underground New World Liberation Front was charged with threatening a federal grand jury last October in San Francisco for handing the jurors a document warning them their "safety will be in great peril" if they per-sisted in their investigation of the NWLF. She beat the charge after several jurors testified in court that they did not feel frightened or intimidated by the warning.

The NWLF is the only major group that

The NWLF is the only major group that has a policy of talking to the grand juries. NWLF above ground couriers say they have no direct connection with or knowledge of the underground, so it can't hurt for them to talk. They also warn others who communicate with them to bear in mind that communicate with them to bear in mind that "nothing is secure" at their above-ground headquarters. The rationale for this strategy is that it's better to keep politically active and free rather than tied down in legal battles or locked-down in jail.

This strategy is nothing if not controversial. The Bay Area Research Collective (BARC), a Berkeley-based above-ground guerrilla support group with strong anti-authoritarian tendencies, calls it arrogant, individualistic and dangerous. BARC asks, "Can anyone know so well what information is useful or will be used — even illegally in a set-up?... Doesn't this move at once under-cut the strength of non-collaboration while also under-cutting support for the NWLF?
Many people simply don't want their enemy, the State, to be privy to either the fact or content of correspondence and/or conversations with (even above-ground) members of the NWLF."

Attempts to reform the grand jury system through legislation are also being made. The most comprehensive reform bill is one spon-sored by liberal Rep. John Conyers of Michigan and 24 others. It would abolish use immunity, strengthen the independence of the jurors and give witnesses more proce-dural protections. This bill is now stalled in Congress, and has been for the past couple of

However, Congress is also considering another bill which represents a grave threa another bill which represents a grave threat to civil liberties, the freedom of the press, and the right to mobilize for social change. Formerly called Senate Bill S-1, this legislation would, among other things, reinstate the death penalty, expand federal criminal jurisdiction, establish a new category of jurisdiction, establish a new category of classified "national defense information" more sweeping than anything now on the books, and beef up prison sentences and the obscenity and insanity laws.

nada has its own version of the grand jury. It may not have been used as much as the Nixon grand jury (up to now), but

it has potential for even greater abuse. As the result of a decision last year by the As the result of a decision last year by the Supreme Court of Canada, the provinces have the power to establish "special crime inquiries" to probe organized criminal activities. These commissions, which are composed of government appointees, can subpoena witnesses, authorize wiretaps and

ouse searches and seize books and records
There is no limit to the length of time the commission can sit nor to the types of questions it can ask, and there is no necessary accountability to the public. Protections against self-incrimination

tections against self-incrimination are already considerably weaker in Canada than in the U.S., since a witness in a Canadian court can be compelled to testify without immunity from prosecution. The Supreme Court decision involved an The Supreme Court decision involved and without the Canada of the Canada of the Canada criminal operations in the Montreal area. Other provinces, especially British Colum-bia, are considered likely to move against the heroin trade and the organized trafflect. the heroin trade and the organized traffick ing in stolen property. But, as the Nixon experience proves, they could hardly stop there when they have such a powerful weapon for combatting "subversives," organized or otherwise.*

(For more information contact the Grand Jury Project, Room 1415, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.)

JAMAICA



Bob Marley, after being shot

economy. The CIA operates in force in Jamaica (nine operatives exposed in the Jamaican press in the past year), and there have been dozens of DND dozens of PNP organizers and sympathizers killed in

and sympathizers killed in right-wing pogroms. Since the second decisive electoral victory of the PNP on December 15, the cam-paign is sure to intensify. There is already an inter-national squeeze on the economy. The stakes are high because of the strategic bauxite reserves inecessary.

high because of the strategic bauxite reserves (necessary in production of aluminum) that Jamaica possesses. Manley knows where his strength is: "I listen care-fully to the new reggae songs. We have to keep a moral focus on the terrible suffering and poverty we have here. I listen carefully to the new reggae songs be-cause they remind me that ims are still there and that they are among the worst in the world. The middle-class tells me we are moving towards Socialism too fast. The reggae and Rastas tell me we are moving

As for Bob Marley, he is like most Jamaicanstical of politicians and their talk about the people in power, ya haffa be a politics man. Me don't deal wit' no politics. Me deal wit de truth."

The Music

"Often times I sit right down and I remember those chains

How my people was enslaved time and time and time -Africa, Might Diamonds

Reggae music has roo drilled deep into the heart of Jamaica. It embodies the his-Jamaica. It considers to trical experience of the Jamaican people—it reflects and in reflecting, reveals the contemporary situation of

the nation.

Reggae is the natural music of the people. Like all oppressed peoples—culturally and economically throttled—Jamaicans have turned to themselves for an alter-native to what has been orced down their throats. They have combined the transistorized static of transistorized static of American rhythm'n'blues with the distinctive rhythm of the Caribbean, the old pulsing of their African eland and the experiences of everyday life to produce "Rebel Music." Until 1962, the year of

Jamaican independence from Britain, popular music on the island mainly followed American and English trends, with very little indigenous music hing the media.

An important exception was the Burra dance, an African based rhythm that represented an open cele-bration of criminality and used to welcome charged prisoners back into the community. It was an occasion for the outpouring of grievances against the

In the Forties the Rasta fari began clashing regularly with the police, because of the Rastas' radical lifestyle, and aliaison began to develop between the Rastas and common criminals. The drift towards a consciously antiestablishment and anarchist position was assisted by the police, who labelled the Rastas as dangerous criminals who were merely using mysticism as a front for their mysticism as a front for their subversive activities. Many Rastas openly embraced their outlaw status. In time the criminal am-bience which surrounded the

music was incorporated and eclipsed by the Niyabingi dance which replaced the Burra, essentially an act of resistance, with an open comto revolution. The Niyabingi were an Ethiopian version of the Mau Mau warriors who carried out a the guerrilla war against British in Kenya between 1952-60. In Jamaica, the Niyabingi had staged smallscale localized uprisings which terrorized the rulers

but amounted to nothing. The Rastafari, who came to the urban jungles in the first flush of neo-colonialism following 1962, steadily gained influence and in-volved themselves creatively in the production of popular music as an outlet for their message. The embit-tered youth of the West Kingston slums, abandoned and oppressed by a society which claimed to serve them, were ready to look to the Rastas for explanations, to listen to their music, and emulate their posture of withdrawal.

In retrospect, the rise of the Rastafari signalled a trend away from the undi-rected violence, bravado and competitive individualism of the early Sixties (stunningly portrayed in the reggae film
"The Harder They Come" and to a more articulate and informed anger. The once "rude-boys" acquired the Rastas' terms of reference and became the movement's militant arm. As the music evolved and passed into the hands of the Natty Dreads there was an accompanying expansion of class and colour experieures. consciousness throughout the communities. The official Black Power left, centred on the University of the West Indies, came to the Rastas doorstep in the late Sixties translating their mystical anarchism directly into Mar-xist dialectics in the pages of

"So who's gonna stay home When the freedom fighters are fighting" —Talkin' Blues, the Wailers

their newspaper Abeng

Today, a wave of anticapitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-establishment reg-gae hits has bolstered Manley's left-wing policies

and exposed the source of Jamaica's problems to ordi nary people. Songs wit titles like: "Foreign Press' titles like: "Foreign Fress", "Revolution Conference", "Kissinger", "MPLA", "We Should Be In Angola", "Arab Oil Weapon", and "Hear Talk of Inflation" are being produced by the hundreds and serve to communicate resis tance consciousness where e high-sounding phrases of Manley's government create confusion.

The impact of reggae/ Rasta philosophy has been aided by the economics of record production and distri bution on the island. For all their faults, the rip-off their faults, the ripon recording studios permit almost anyone with talent to make a record using studio equipment. They also allow the production of dub (sound-track) sides which the permers can take with them on the important backyard party circuit.
In a society where the

public public cannot generally afford to pay for concerts (there is very little live music in Jamaica) and the musicians cannot afford instru ments, the dub-sides enable to accompany performers to accompany their records live at parties The disc-jockey philosophers and poets like Big Youth U-Roy, I-Roy and others can get the message out by scatting (talking) over dub-sides. In this way the people have direct and intimate contact with uplifting subcontact with upinting surversive ideas.

Another important factor is the ability of ordinary people to distribute and promote their records through the decentralized in-

dependent record shops which have grown up in the record shops absence of strong mono-polies. Songs, political or otherwise, make it on their own merits rather than on manipulated radio programment Thus, tunes banned by government or media estab lishment can become run away hits, appropriately termed "heavy shots," regardless of official sanctions. Examples of these are "Legalize It," calling for the legalization of ganja, and "Discrimination," warning employers not to hassle astas, both of which were

banned by the government.
Without a doubt reggae
and the resistance culture it represents has performed a liberating function in con-temporary Jamaica, and a secularized version of the secularized version of Rastafarian credo is defin ly on the upswing. Whether the Natty Dreads can continue their development is another story. It remains to be seen if reggae music and its rebel content car withstand the pressures of North America's spectacular commodity society. Or if it will be denatured and coopted, absorbed without a whimper, like the protest movement and "San Fran-cisco Sound" of the Hippy

Bob Marley says phatically, "It never be mon, because Rasta-man him not like a hippie... Him hold-a on long time an' hippie no hold-a him fail.

on, nim tail."

At the present time the Dreads believe that their example, their message, and the strength of their vision will prevail in the world. If Bob Marley says nously, "Is better to die fightin' for yar freedom than to be a prisoner all da days of yar life."

Notes

continued from p. 2

together and "straight-shootin" papers to come out of the underground Press. Most of the brothers who've read it echo my sentiments and shout a colle We would be most On!" We would be most grateful for a subscription or two which would be widely circulated here in Millhaven (Penitentiary) Max. and Super Max. All we can offer in exchange is a free copy of the Millhaven Momentum which hardly compares to heavyweight rag After all we are in security while you are in minimum! However, anything you may wish to print from ours feel "free" and we hope you'll extend the same privilege to us. Hoping to greetings from the guys at Millhaven Max.

Yours in Unity. John Patrick O'Sullivan

Bath. Ont. THE THIRD WORLD

Dear Comrade, Many thanks for the size able contribution to our work and also many thanks for the

copy of Open Road.
Open Road seems to advo-cate a sort of "anarchist united front" and so it skims over the important differ ences between anarchist groups and types of practice. The result of this is that there are articles on Martin Sostre (who, despite what he says, is no anarchist) and the SLA. These articles will confuse and alienate and will raise questions within the anarchist movement as to what is a proper course of

action. Open Road joins the authoritarian left in supporting third world struggles which are not anarchistic. This is excused, I imagine, by the statement or understand that "other revolutions" find it necessary to create a State and industrialize but that "our revolution," based as it is in an industrialized country, can and will liberate people from exploitation. Exploitation of the third Exploitation of the third world is okay—or excusable at any rate—if it is carried on by former Timor guerrillas or the MIR, if that organi-

zation gets into power.
You say in effect, but not in words, that the "socialists" countries are moving to-wards anarchism, that authoritarian third world groups are okay and you imply that groups like the CNT-FAI really couldn't do a lot as they weren't in a technologically advanced country. These are not, I must say, the most anarchistic of

The layout is good, the print is readable and most of the articles are well written. I'm glad Open Road came out and I wish it success, but I hope that it becomes a bit more class conscious and proanarchist

Fraternally.

Tony Pestalozzi Flushing, New

Dear Comrades, I was recently shown a copy of Open Road and was immediately impressed and excited by its very existence

as well as the content of the few articles I was able to read. I have for a long time wanted to see a paper that contained both serious dis-cussion and analysis from an point as well as being cur rent as far as Third World struggles and armed struggle within this country concerned.

In love and struggle, Richard Hamlin Orange, N.J.

"THE WORKERS"

Friends. The shipment of the Open Road arrived yesterday. Congratulations! It looks and feels very much like a West Coast product. This has for Coast product. This has for the rest of us disadvantages as well as advantages. The negative element is that it is sufficiently working-class in the sense that it can appeal more broadly to ordinary

ople. This should not be inte preted as meaning that we do not see the importance of cultural questions like film, song and so on. But we must identify with and deal with the real anguish of the working people—at their place of work, and where they live.

These are a few remarks nat we put together, while we wish you our best wishes and our firm solidarity intend to support Open Road in every way

Fraternally Dimitri Roussopoulos Our Generation Montreal, Que.

Dear Open Road, The article extolling unions fails to meet any reasonable minimum stan-dard of liberation. Even "democratic" or spruced-up unionism—in fact, exactly this kind of unionism—is wage-labor's perhaps last effective police force. But rather than regard unions as the bodyguards of the owners, you maintain (incre-dibly) that they are "a seri-ous threat to the control of capital." The truly anti-authoritarian is the truly revolutionary, just as the truly reformist is hanging oourgeois instituti such as unions. We point out these

amples not from a desire to sh Open Road at its beginning, but from a desire to see it advance, armed with critical thought and a passion For the end of all forms of

minatio Paula & John for Upshot San Francisco, Calif.

FELLOW TRAVELLERS

Dear Friends, Would you please send me six copies of your first issue. Emily Harris, who I have recently worked with on her case, gave me a copy which I passed on to Assata Shakur

in New Jersey. I was really impressed with that issue and would like to subscribe for myself. As soon as I hear from you I would also like to enter subscriptions on behalf of about 4 or 5 other people.

Sincerely, Leonard I. Weinglass Los Angeles, Calif

Dear Friends, A friend and colleague of

mine lent his copy of the first issue of Open Road. After reading this issue I am reading this issue I am deeply grateful to him be-cause he had done me a great favor. I can't remember the last time I got so excited after finding out that someafter finding out that some-thing really great is going on. I only have to read the first two pages to know that your spirit and concerns are very congruent with my inner-most predilections! The combination of Walt Whit-man, Emma Goldman, and man, Emma Goldman, and your statement ("Still Crazy After All These Years") "spoke" to me at a deeper level than anything I have seen since the Sixties!

Warmest regards. Michael S. Littlefarb Auburn, Ala.

P.S. Even though I have a "male" name, I am a woman, and vitally interested in that aspect of human liberation

Four times a year the Italian comrades hold a fund raising gathering among themselves. On December 4 they got together and col-lected \$1040 for the anarchist movement worldwide. Of this total, they decided to send \$50 to Open Road. The comrades thought very highly of your first issue and hope that another issue will soon be forthcoming. We wish you the best in your continued work.

Robert Friedman Sacramento, Calif.

Dear People, Dear People,
Thanks for sending me
Open Road — very good job
and good luck. Keep your
black flags flying!

Arlene Meyers Chicago, Ill.

Much impressed by the first issue of **Open Road**. Hope to read many future issues of equal quality. There is a particular need for periodicals that direct attention to factual news of basic social change in progress.

In Solidarity.

George Crowley Seattle, Wash.

Dear Friends, Dear Friends,

Thank you for sending
your first issue; we are
entirely agreeable to regular
exchange of publications
with you. If there are some titles on our list that you haven't seen let us know & we'll send them.

Best regards & surrealist greetings,

Franklin Rosemont Chicago, Ill.

Just saw a copy of your paper at my buddy Vern Harper's house. Please rush me a copy. Looks great! I'm an anarchist and I'm a coordinator of Prisoners Rights Committee here. Vern, a native lawyer, and We also set up a Toronto Martin Sostre Defense Committee. Can't wait to read your next paper.

Revolutionary Regards, Bill Lewis

Toronto, Ont.

I would like to stay on your mailing list. The Open Road is great. Thanks.

Truly yours David Peel New York City

I'm appreciative of your work and found your 1st issue very welcome for the changes, referral contacts, excellent format. M. Ochs

Slippery Rock, Pa

Dear Friends. I found Open Road to be a

very interesting publication. Good news, different viewpoint, better written, good format; higher quality than similar journals. Keep it

In solidarity Diana Lerman Movement for a New Society Outreach Collective Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Brothers and Sisters, We applaud the first issue and await the second, and third. . .

With warmest revolutionary greetings. Bruce Ellison

for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee Rapid City, South Dakota

Revolutionary Greetings, We have never seen this publication but would like to. Judging by the name Open Road and its anti-authoritarian theme, we gather it to be an anarchist tendency. If so, place us regularly on your mailing list. We're presently interested in revolutionary anarchy. The pacifist forms or syndicalist anarchy is out. All Power to the People,

Information Collective Black Panther Party New York, N.Y.

Thanks for sending copies of **Open Road**. They're really interesting. Feel free to reprint any articles from FPS. In struggle.

Keith Hefner for FPS and Youth Liberation Ann Arbor, Mich.

Dear Fellow Dreamers, Murray Bookchin mer tioned your magazine to us (Buffalo Black Rose) and we just got a copy in our box. Very pleased with it — after laboring through tons of schlock leftist rags, it was good to find a publication that was both graphically good work and had worth-

We (now speaking collec-tively) believe that anarchocommunists should organize and have their own (self-) disciplined organ, but the need for a general crosstendency magazine is ap-parent to us, also, Ron Linville & Rick Sprout for Black Rose/Mutualist

Books, Rochester, N.Y. Dear Gang,

We were really glad to see Open Road. All our feedback - very positive! Love and Struggle,

for the Bay Area Research Collective Berkeley, Calif.

Our priase for a really well done August issue (the last one we got). Open Road is known and re

spected in these parts, even by those who anarchistic. are Yippie!

Paul Shettler Youth International Party Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Friends.

We want to be kept on your mailing list as an ex-change publication. We have sent you Synthesis #3. first issue was very im-pressive and interesting. We would have appreciated less emphasis on the violent approach, however.

In Solidarity.

Bob Long League for Economic Demo cracy, San Pedro, Calif.

PERIODICALS

Open Road,

It's an impressive first edition. Radical America doesn't consider itself anarchist, but our independent socialism, which is ex-plicitely anti-Stalinist, does have much in common with certain parts of anarchism. Especially those of us who try to be socialist without being Leninist tend to "deviate toward anarchism" as our more disciplined comrades would say. Anyway, keep up the Good

Ann Withrow Radical America N. Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Friends Please keep sending Open Road. You are on our m list too. Best wishes. Walk in Balance,

Nimimosha, for the Bear Tribe (Publishers of Many Smokes Native American Magazine) Spokane, Wash.

Friends.

We are anarchist feminists working on this paper. Your first issue is beautiful. Special Request — Could ja make your next centerfold a graphic of Emma G? She's

en a great inspiration. Much Support.

Lucha for Feminist Communication San Diego, Calif.

Comrades!

I am tremendously excited by your efforts. Please keep us on your mailing list we'll try to scrape together a contribution — much success Love and Anarchy,

Robert Ellsberg, Managing editor Catholic Worker New York, N.Y.

The first issue of or is making a big hit here in the Big Apple. Happy Trails,

Gabrielle Schang Alternative Press Syndicate New York, N.Y.

Dear Friends, In a few more months The Other Woman will be cele-brating our fifth birthday as a feminist newspaper in Canada. The feminist philo sophy contained in our pape tend toward anarchist philosophy.

I found the content (of OR) very promising, especially in terms of the women's issue. I hope you can find the finan-

cial means to continue as there are anarchists in the world who tend to be a little erratic in supporting things. In Solidarity and Struggle,

Pat Leslie for The Other Woman Collective, Toronto, Ont.

ANARCHO-HIPPIES

Friends,
I would like to criticize one point made by Mark Brothers in the article "The Movement Ethic." He writes about the "mass exodus" from the movement by people going back to school

people into "country s." I agree that many trips people have gone back to school and become a part of the system, dropping out of the movement, but I believe that the "back to the landers" are dropping out. I believe that they are the forefront of the revolution. An effective revolutionary force needs an agricultura networks of agricultural communes to support the movement, take over from the agri-business conglomer ates, reclaim our dying, over chemically-fertilized and supply the people with good ORGANIC produce and meat. These agricultural co-operatives cannot be started overnight, they take years of building and learning to raise healthy organic stock. I feel the movement has the responsibility to free all the keeping in prisons for so long, the "chicken factories", pig farms, feed lots, etc. We all have to get our hands

I feel that this whole idea as missing from The Open oad, when it is of great importance to the continuing revolution.
Murray Propolis
North Vancouver couver. B.C.

Open Road, Open Road,
To say the least we found
Open Road to be very interesting. We must commend
you folks on the layout and

the quality of the print job but we find many differences but we find many differences in our "political line" as opposed to yours. We reject the notion of "hip culture." While we do

not condemn people for lifestyles we feel that placing "hip culture" along with working class revolution is rather absurd. "Hip culture" is dead, pushed to the way side many years Through the struggle Through the struggle for social revolution, working and building, we gain "spirit, unity..." and "human freedom, solidarity and social justice"; this can not be achieved by pushing the "anarcho-hippy" line. If the "hin-culture" was a way to "hip-culture" was a way to revolutionary lifestyles why then did people get caught up in shooting dope, speed and Why eating downers, etc? Wh "jocks"? The answer is simple: the anarcho-hippy dream was a failure. We found the SLA article

we found the SLA article to be very interesting. By the way, we never got into the SLA's "theory", but this article made us think a bit more seriously about the four remaining survivors. Best of luck in all your

endeavors, For a self-managed society,

Zoe Harris, for the Solidarity Collective Bristol, R.I.

The Open Road Box 6135, Station G Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6R4G5

Second Class Mail Registration Number 3887

OpenRoad



Dene Indian Annie Robert. The young woman in the photo is herself

Our people have a saying that the real owners of the land are not yet born.

MURRAY RAILROAD SWITCHES TRACKS

begun to pay off. In mid-December the Irish Supreme Court, bowing to public pressure and confronted committed by the Special Court, quashed the convichalf of the Murray's has with the gross injustices tions of capital murder imposed by the tribunal on the However, the conviction of Noel and Marie Murray, in Dublin in October 1975. Nine "You're dead, Murray!", the young anarchist couple, screamed the Irish garda nolice officer) who arrested months later, the president of a Special Criminal Court in the Irish Republic confirmed the garda's capital sentence. Since then the Murray's



27. the Supreme

posing the death sentences. In effect this means that the

Murrays spent a record six months in the death cell in solitary confinement as a result of legal incompetence. The Murrays ordeal began on September 11, 1975 when a suburban Dublin branch of the Bank of Ireland was robbed of over \$11,000. As the raiders drove away, an fired upon and managed to off-duty policeman gave chase in his car. He was not bunal without ever having been before a jury, without having been permitted to present a defense, on the sole Now, after months of anan international olidarity campaign on beshadow of the gallows. They stand convicted of murder by pasis of "confessions" extracted under torture by the politically-appointed trirish authorities.

Marie Murray

follow the raiders to a near-DF ANGRY BRIGADE ALLEGED MEMBER

British Anarchist Freed

Birlianias urban guerrilla missions of the American.
Angry Brigade, has been re. Spanish and Italian governafters exerving front years of a Mendelson, who is now 29,
the response respector for the company of the co Anna Mendelson, an allebombings in the early Seventies. Among the tar-gets of the bombings were the tar-

year terms and are still in ted on October 9, 1975 and prison. Organization activist, com-pletely broke down and was declared unfit for trial. He is showing crisis upset of panic The Murrays were arres-Stenson, a Prisoners' Rights still reported to be "tense. extremely agitated and When recounting his tor tures on the witness stand trial—one of the longest and most costly in British his-tory. The other three, Hilary Creek, John Barker and Jim Greenfield, also received tenthe homes of cabinet ministers and diplomatic missions of the American, Spanish and Italian govern-

torture were not admitted as son's and the Murrays' by park, where he was ap-

luring a scuffle.

In their judgment the five-

because they were anar. Gaelic language and activism chists who were active in the Official Republican Jaelic-speaking region of reland) and involved Irish revolutionary movement and had a history of supporting international solidarity movements. The fact that Noel had jumped bail on another political charge was used to portray the Murrays as the "Irish Bonnie and The Murrays met through a common interest in the

the tortures at Long Kesh detention centre in Northern opposed State violence for ten years, from the antinuclear warfare campaign to ting in the civil rights move-ment in the Gaeltacht (the movement, which they left in 1973. Marie was participa-

group active in the Dublin area. In 1974, one of the groups members had been Both Noel and Marie were members of the New Earth Collective, an anarchist charged with a molotov cock tail attack on the Spanish cul tural institute to protest the political prisoners. Noel, one nany activities on behalf of of the principal organizers of anti-Vietnam war demon-strations in Ireland, had

and were planning to start a monthly In spite of this setback and the group remained active called New Earth Resistance libertarian

when the entire group was arrested, and four were and with various quickly revoked and Noel opted for the underground where he remained until his bombings in and around Dub initially granted bail released, but the bail (including The accused Murrays),

Marie was convicted with the other members of the New Earth Collective and given a two-year suspended sentence which was arrest in 1975.

mittee has been intimidated and attacked by the Up to this point, the com-LYDIA GIBSON

Original logo taken from Alexander Berkman's anarchist journal "The Blast" [1916-17]

Noel and Marie Murray were chosen to be railroaded evidence at the SCC tribunal. even though injuries consisknowledged by prison auth-orities. The "confessions" extracted under extreme duress were allowed to stand as the only evidence against tent with beatings were ac the accused. of this, the authorities an-nounced confidently that the An enormous reward was There was no evidence as licting descriptions. In spite posted by the police, and on September 23 they started to the robbers' identify, and eye-witnesses offered conraiding the homes of all known anarchists, including the relatives and friends of ed and considerable brutaity was employed during ling to Peace News has a strong aversion to violence of any kind," was brutally ortured and told he was bout 200 raids were conduc Ronan Stenson, the Murays co-accused, who, accorsubsequent interrogations. culprits were anarchists. imprisoned anarchists.



seing taken to the mountains be shot by the police.

have occurred on a regular basis in Australia, France Japan, Italy, Holland, Swecoordinated with the most In North America suppor-has been isolated and un den, etc. In Spain, severa thousand people participated in an illegal CNT demon stration in front of the Irisl Embassy in Madrid, re sulting in 13 arrests. considerable financial burauthorities every step of the way. Its work has been made extremely difficult by the gag rule imposed by the tribunal. Almost all the original committee members have been arrested for putting up posters, walking in peace related offenses, imposing a Facing impossible obstacles the committee has mari deildesta firmly establish itself in Dublin and other Irish marches with leaflets, and den for legal fees.

Murray Defense Committee in New York which aided in Devlin McAliskey on behal mounted by the Ad Ho tour of Bernadett groups have picketed Air ingus, sent telegrams and held hunger strikes. impressive effort the Murrays. cities. They organized a march of 3000 people in support of the Murrays and have circulated petitions and

Church Road, Celbridge, County Kildare, Republic of Ireland. Murrays and an end to The Murray Defense Com for a jury trial for the mittee in Ireland need money to continue the figh capital punishment. and political groups. Outside country, the German Irish Solidarity Campaign Boll, Jean-Paul Sartre, and gathered statements of support from unions, churches, gathered 15,000 signatures including those of Heinrich Ernst Bloch. Support actions

inks Without Chains

Bar None, an important source of anti-authoritarian news PRISONERS' VOICE HUSHED

folding because of lack of money. Since most of its sub-scribers are behind bars, it must look to donations to pay the bills. This is its first public appeal for money. Send donations They have a comprehensive mailing list of interested prisoners to whom they forward anarchist material, magazines, pamphlets, newspapers and books. They would for and about prisoners in North America, is in danger of Speaking of anti-authoritarian publications for prisoners Black Market Books, (P.O. Box 306, Cambridge, Mass 02139), is a staging point for written material going inside to Bar None, P.O. Box 124, West Somerville, Mass. 02144. appreciate receiving extra copies of relevant publication

Death Penalty, Juvenile Justice, Sex Offenders). Lots of anti-authoritarian content. Next issue will focus on racism. ... A new quarterly named Us provides a full range of prison-related articles and letters in its first issue (examples Us is available for \$9 per year from Box 3816, Loring Station, Minneapolis, Minn. 55403. for forwarding.

Labour Day weekend was

Situationists in Strasbourg,

an active one for anarchists and anti-authoritarians in

In regard to State harass-

bombings.

ed we don't leave the rest to pig justice. We are not Continental Conference in ment, Mendelson once com-SRAF groups from around resented, and there was nization in the very positive talked of the need to make anarchism believable to. any kind of esoteric cults or North America. The Social Revolutionary Anarchist Anarchist Federation (SRAF) held its the continent were well repmuch discussion about orgatmosphere. Sam Dolgoff people in modern society, Do not be side-tracked by Champaign-Urbana,

tation. We're going to shout. We are not going to timidated. This is confronany kind of crap! Get down to business!" he said. The 1977 SRAF conference has been SRAF, Box 92246, Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202. set for July or August in Milwaukee and will be co-

were holding their 35th syndicalist Industrial Wor-kers of the World (IWW) General Convention and they Meanwhile, the anarcho

over a proposal to forbid the IWW from signing contracts successful in recent years. The 73 delegates from 21 ocalities had serious debates declared it one of their most

producer cooperatives nto the union provided they are non-exploitative, and do vention ballot that goes out to the general membership. The Wobblies decided to adwith no-strike or manage-ment rights clauses. This received enough support to place it on the conundercut wages for proposal

Member

similar work with substan-dard pay. They also launched a campaign to increase the 30614, by offering six month subscriptions for a In Buffalo, N.Y., the same circulation of their newspaper, the Industrial Worker 752 W. Webster, Chicago, III.

1975 by neighbouring Indo-nesia, indicate that the 60,000 Timorese (10 per cent FRETILIN liberation forces are now in control of 85 per cent of the countryside. The Indonesian troops, who have of the population) and have gical warfare against the unarmed rural population, are pinned down in their urban murdered an planned to establish a news-letter to keep in touch. Con-tact Joe Cain. 206 Rodney St., Buffalo, New York 14212. ideas on how anarchism weekend, dozens of "anar-cho-dykes and faggots" met create communities." Participants relates to our lives and our "exchange and

her husband would be killed, Marie made a "confession" to stop the torture, but the police continued attacking Noel until he, too, made a gruelling torture. Marie was forced to sit in an adjacent hung upside down with his urinated into it. Convinced room while her husband Noel visciously beaten and head jammed in a toilet bowl police flushed it and They said they were inno-cent of the Angry Brigade The defendants, originally known as the Stoke Newingon Eight, were former the France, and by the May-June, 1968, events in Paris. mented, "When we're nick-

The full accounts of Stenverbal confession.

A number of publications **Notes From** The Underground We have learnt the strength of working togeth-er. When we're nicked, we nave learned not to be inhanging our heads in shame

actional and urban guerrilla truggles have closed down chist press, "devoted to more produced by or covering operations. Osawatomie, oreased publication as a result f the split in that group. Mit round organization.

prise just a small segment Teilung, produced by the International Archive Team in London, has suspended publishing because the anar-The Bay Area Research Collective (BARC) which underground in U.S., has ceased publiation with issue ten. BARC points out that, "The revoutionary movement in (the oublishes Dragon, a forum important topical issues, has not been utilizing the dialogue between the sletter's information.

the larger movement." They feel that Dragon often gave strength and active level of members will remain to-gether as an organization. To nining the suspension of Oak St., San Francisco, Calif. 941021, fifty cents an issue). the movement is more advanced than it is. The BARC btain the statement ex-One remaining source World Liberation Fr impresion that organ of the P.O. Box 3erkeley, Ca. 94704. UG (The Urban World U.S.) is not large. Those who

> Mendelson was actually bly for fear of adverse public reaction. One Conservative Parliament immediately denounced the ole as an "encouragement

Anna Mendelson

released last November, but the announcement was withseld until February, proba**ETILIN** Gains In Timor

Recent reports from East

FRETILIN (Revolution- Pary Front for an Independent East Timor) has put the invaders on the defensive with an army constructed on literacy and health programs and the development of popegalitarian principles: all unit leaders are elected and subject to recall and all major iively. The political program strengthening at the grass ular organizations for wordecisions are made collec-FRETILIN calls for roots level through Timor, the former Portu-guese colony invaded in late napalm and bioloestimated

14850; or the British Campaign for Independent East Timor, 40 Concanon Rd., campaign is developing to pressure the U.S. and Indonesia to lay off, and to deliver aid to the East Timorse iberation fighters. For more Cornell-Ithaca East Timor East State St., Ithaca, N.Y. London S.W.2, England. nformation, contact Defense Committee,

Most of the IMRO workers collaboration with any of the off wide-spread strikes at re politically-conscious leftsts, but they have avoided ects. They also ther plants.

Peltier, 34, a veteran of Wounded Knee, is charged with killing two FBI agents during a 1975 shoot-out on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. His two co-accused were B.C., for ride under-guard to nearby airport after losing a ten-month battle against extra-dition from Canada. The FBI will now go all out to fabricate a case against Peltier. The trial, expected to be held in late Spring in Fargo, N.D., is shaping up as one of the major Indian courtroom acquitted of the charges last summer after the jury decided it could have been selfdefense, since the FBI started shooting first.

Peltier is being held in the Clay County Law Enforcement Centre in Moorhead, Minn. His defense is being coordinated through the Native American Solidarity Committee, P.O.

Occupation Continues French Printers

Association (AWA) in England is coordinating an international campaign of support for the IMRO workers. For more information (or to send lonations) contact AWA groups of workers. ecupation of the Imprimirie Rouennaise (IMRO) print-works in Normandy, France, 1975, is among the longest which began in September most advanced ever The 120 IMRO workers nave maintained production on a limited scale (their own unning their affairs through other workers' pamnumber of democratic comlets and leaflets).

for Noel and Marie and to abolish once and for all the death penalty in Ireland. Marie's retrial before the same SCC judges as previously, is a legal travesty and must be opposed on an international basis. Although the Supreme Court's decision is a victory efforts to obtain a jury trial of sorts the Murray Defense Committee is redoubling its Noel Murray

ment three years later. At the time of his conviction, he was an illiterate relugue, forced to forage for food from garbage cans because he couldn't find a job. He has since taught himself to read and write, has carned a college degree and has aught a prison course in Purch Rican culture. He writes that he was heartened by the release a year ago of Black Puerto Rican anarchist Martin Soste because it represen-After spending more than half his life in prison, Agron intends to work for Puerto Rican independence and for in 1959 for the killing of two other young people during a street rumble. His sentence was commuted to life imprision-Salvador Agron, the last victim of the New York City youth gang wars of the 1950's, has finally been freed from prison after receiving Christmas clemency. Agron, a 33rear-old Puerto Rican, was condemned to the electric chair ted "a victory of strength for all the oppressed of the world."

INDIAN INCOMMUNICADO

Conference of Indigenous Peoples, the first world-wide gathering of representatives of the "Fourth World", held in 1975 in Port Alberni, B.C., Canda, Lima, a lawyer and glass-entire, has been exist on phelding the Aymarans for more than 20 years, he has been arrested twice before by the Bolivian military regime, for a total of four years, and fear greatly for his life. They ask for letters demanding his release be sent to Col. Juan Pereda Asbun, Ministro del Interior, La Paz, Bolivia, and to via, was arrested last June in his home and hasn't been heard from since. His "crime": attending the International was brutally tortured (knees and ribs broken). His friends Constantino Lima, a 43-year-old Aymara Indian from Boli-WITCH cast its spell the Witches

is coming from Chilean resistance support groups, such as the Vancouver-based Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Chile (#906 - 307 West Hastings Street, Vancouver, B.C.). There are about 120 new arrests every month in Santiago alone. Of these, only 6% are made by official orders. Of those arrested, 77% disappear. Women and children are particularly prone to becoming non-recognized, thus disappearing" prisoners. Because of their non-recognized Meanwhile, a very different picture of the Chile situation junta can torture and kill them without accoun ting to such as the Red Cross. and death in 1973. status, the

> oublicans and socialists have challenged evidence of police witnesses in the SCC. The Murrays conviction was a foredrawn conclusion, since

dence do not apply.

PACIFIC LIFE SCORECARD

charges there for trespassing at the Pentagon and demon-strating without a permit at the White House, PLC, which is allied to Catholic Workers and War Resisters, can be con-tacted at 381 Seventeenth Ave. East, Seattle, Wash. 98112. Pacific Life Community members and friends who are in jail n Seattle or facing charges as a result of PLC's campaign of ivil disobedience against the Trident nuclear submarine project under construction on Puget Sound. At one point this winter, there were ten people sentenced or serving ime of up to 90 days for various trespassing and willful damage convictions. These included Jim Douglass of New Westminster, B.C., on a 31-day hunger strike. He had just finished a 30-day fast in Washington, B.C. and must also face It's getting so you need a scorecard to keep track of all the

FORMER GANG WARRIOR PREVAILS



Sioux militant Leonard Peltier waits in helicopter at Oakalla Prison near Vancouver,

conditions of repression in he Irish Republic rival those

ordeals of 1977.

Box 3426, St. Paul, Minn.

The continuing workers' "creating a cooperative in one factory, a little island of socialism," preferring instead to put their energy into direct contacts with other The Anarchist Workers 136 Kingland High Street, London E. 8, England.

nissions and rotating jobs in order to break down the division of labour in a highly-The occupation was launseen so successful in propaandizing their cause among

support armed struggle com-

reading "Male Chauvinist rig -new Ford Courier." After Conspiracy from Hell WITCH) covens have been Women's

> ched as part of a campaign to stifle lay-offs at the plant. The IMRO workers have

> > kers, students, peasants and An international support

skilled industry.

nist pig-Oink, Oink." Ten dorsed the actions. In a press declared, "Enough is enough. boards read "Male Chauvicommunity organizations enstatement the formed some colourful guer-rilla theatre at a Halloween demonstration in support of Michelle Whitnack, who was In Santa Barbara, WITCH in jail for refusing to cooperate with a grand jury. Witches worked their magic and perregrouping in some eattle

the

send in

reluctant to

egion that the government police for fear it would touch

other workers and population in

zeneral

billboards defaced Ford

Court (SCC) was originally set up in 1939 and revived

again in 1972 as an organ of repression aimed at controlling the militant Republican underground Irish Republi-Under the SCC tribunals, the right to a jury is denied and the normal rules of evi-Since 1972, over 1,000 Repeen sentenced on the un-

movement, specifically

can Army.

Despite UN condemnation of the Chilean junta, the Red RED CROSS WHITEWASH

behalf of political prisoners in Chile before May of 77. The organization's president, Alexandre Hay, explained this was due to the "rather liberal attitude" of the military junta towards it's political prisoners, which has led to conditions being improved "month after month." Hay conceded that the junta has still not accounted for "about 1,000" persons

missing since former President Salvador Allende's ouster

Cross has announced plans to terminate its activities on

act that it is 1976 and women no longer are chained to their

3olivian embassies in all countries.

pot-bellied stoves, looms and

Bakunin Centenary 1876~1976

"All that individuals can do is elaborate,

clarify, and propagate ideas corresponding to the popular instinct and contribute their incessant efforts to the revolutionary

