

of Seattle and 100  
of Vancouver.  
he people that will  
in this summer's  
be billeted at the  
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## Bangor Summ

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vs.  
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## Spain

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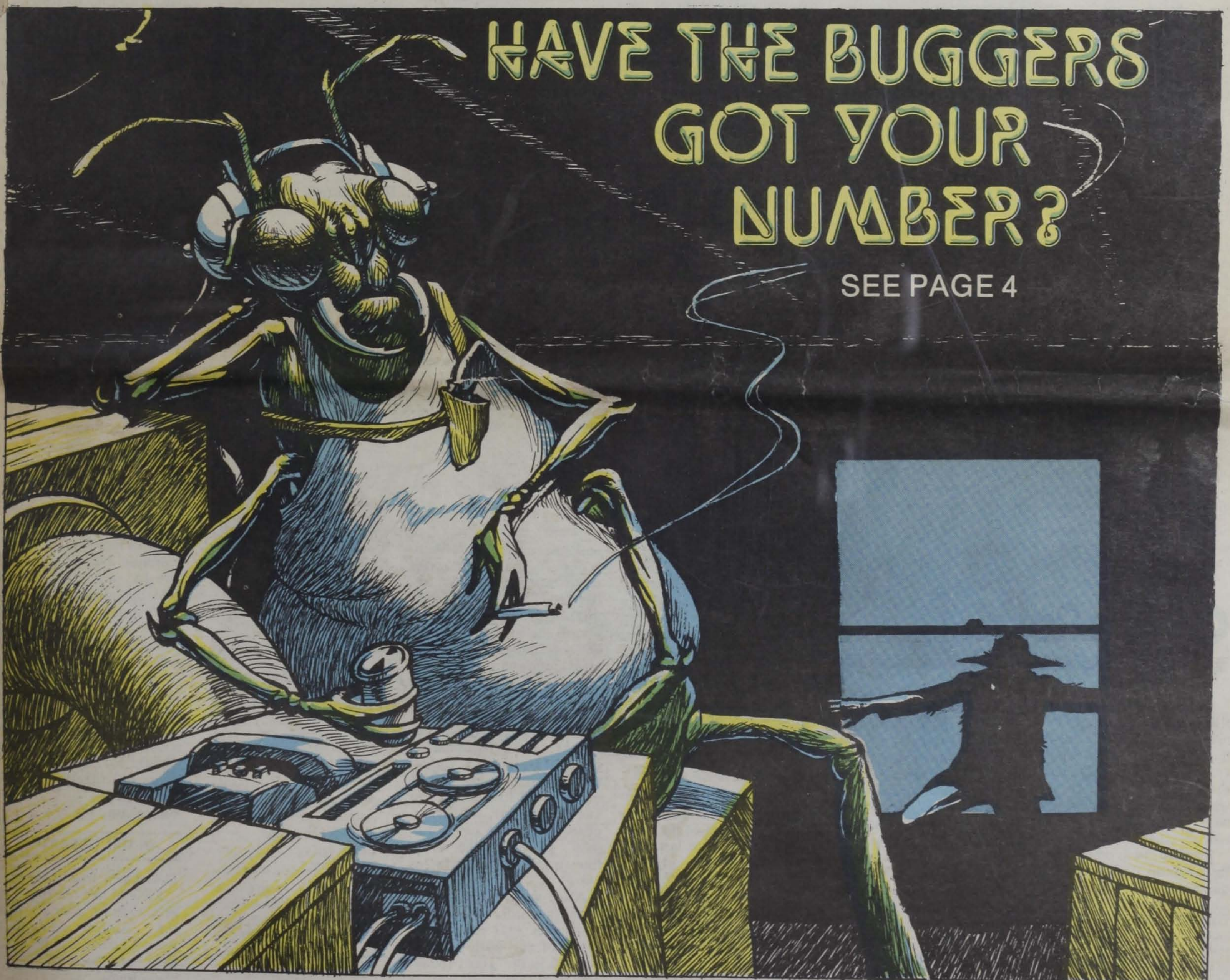
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# OpenRoad

60¢

Issue Three Summer 1977



## Blowing away the media's blackout

Seattle bombing backs Walla Walla prisoners  
GEORGE JACKSON BRIGADE/ p. 5

## Dying for a living

Smelter workers take the cure  
ALCAN UNIONISTS/ p. 5

# Roadside Notes

## JAMAICA

Dear Open Road;

Please continue articles on music and "popular" culture, especially on phenomena that requires a little digging—such as the Rastafari cult who come off to some (and originally to myself) as a group of religious freaks stoned on Haile Selassie! I would like to see (and if I can, contribute) some comment on Rock music and Anarchy, but nothing that would permit the journal to become a "Rolling Stone" of the far left.  
Ron Wood  
San Diego, Calif.

Comrades in struggle,

As lesbian-feminists it has repeatedly been seen by us that anarchism & feminism overlap in lots of areas. Particularly in the need for anti-authoritarian organizations created by ordinary people in struggle.

In view of this similarity, we feel that in your reporting it is your responsibility to inquire and pursue actively the condition of women in any struggle.

We thought the Jamaica story (issue #2) is a good example of your neglect of sisters. The story centers on cultural-social-anti-authoritarian lifestyles and responses to all the oppressive bullshit in Jamaica, but fails to even mention that women do live in that counter culture. We certainly believe that anywhere people are in struggle, that women are 50% of that force. We would like the opportunity to encourage dialog on the ideas mentioned in this letter. Also, we'd like to see more articles by and about

children — the revolutionaries of tomorrow. Keep up the good work, it is vital! Towards an anti-authoritarian revolution, Northwest Sisters of the coven to smash class, Seattle, Wash.

## BAKUNIN

Dear friends of Open Road,

Your magazine is a welcomed arrival here, what with the Mickey Maoisms and Democrats fighting it out on the Left. A small criticism: your article on Bakunin in the Spring issue edged toward a glorification of a man of the past — almost putting his thoughts into a rigid scheme ("a trajectory which the Russian Revolution — followed.")

To my way of thinking, we need to break with all the schemes of the past — not to make any absolute — but to create new forms for analysis and action derived from reality today and from our rich legacy of revolution.

Venceremos  
George Katsiaticas  
Ocean Beach, Calif.

Dear Open Road folks,

I've very much enjoyed the first two issues of Open Road & I'm looking forward to seeing many more. However, I'd like to comment somewhat critically on the article that appears to be an editorial of sorts on Bakunin. (page 3 of Spring '77 issue).

Although its good to see distinctions made between "authoritarian" and "libertarian" types of revolutionary activity, there's something in the overall tone of your description that bothers me. It's fairly clear that Marx's activities in the First Inter-

national were manipulative and there are quite a few examples in his work indicating he was contemptuous of many individuals and groups of people who should have been his allies. But to blame all the errors of socialist movements onto Marx or even to imply that, had he listened to Bakunin he might have been "right" is a bit much. It implies that we should expect someone to come up with all the right answers, that someone can lay down a doctrine which we can all follow.

What especially impresses me about Bakunin was his eagerness to be where resistance was fermenting and, even more so, where it was exploding. As well, he refused to be intimidated by the influence and brilliance of the political leaders of his day. (Unfortunately, he became something of a leader himself.) Some people hear a brilliant analysis and figure that that's all there is to the truth.

The importance of your article may be that it will encourage people to re-examine the ideas that came out of the mid-1800's in the light of the debate (both verbal and active) that occurred between Bakunin & Marx. And, of course, to defuse those loud mouth sloganeers who claim to be direct descendants of Marx (or Bakunin).  
Steve Izma  
Kitchener, Ont.

## DELGADO

Dear Comrades,

I applaud whoever it was that threw those pies on Jose "asshole" — Delgado it sure looked good on that sick motherfucker. Your centrefold was right on as well as your articles and I'll be

of some kind could go a step further!

We can't promise any free books or other inducements to would-be sustainers—we have none to offer. And, besides, that would in effect create two categories of supporters, with one category getting preferred treatment. So if you've got it, and you want to use it to help pass the word on the Social Revolution, why not invest it in the *Open Road*?

The letters (edited for brevity) on this page give some indication of the scope of response to our last issue, although we have only been able to print a fraction of the letters received. We appreciate the feedback. We have our own criticisms of the product, too. For instance, we are concerned about a possible imbalance to the disadvantage of explicitly feminist-oriented material,

looking forward to your...  
reading.  
In Solidarity,  
Billy Solosky  
Bath, Ontario

Dear Comrades,

I'd give up another year of this 4½-9 year bid I'm doing to have been able to throw one of those pies at Delgado. Right on Anarchist Party of Canada.

Thank you and Keep Up  
Jim Belknap  
Auburn, N.Y.

## CHILDREN

Dear Open Road,

Our lifestyle is probably a little different from most of your readers. We are living on 150 acres (self-sufficient) farm here in Central Texas and making just enough to get by on. Unlike most of your revolutionary types we have 7 kids, age 1 year to 11. So we moved out of the city for a better life for us, but we are still interested in what is going on, still hoping for things to change (they must) and willing to help when we can. With our style we are trying to raise our kids in a constructive way so they won't blindly follow the system.

Just a note on the question of children — bloody nuisance or revolutionary force — children are a bloody nuisance, you can't be active with children as not only are they dragging your time & energy they can be used as a weapon against you by the system. But, if we don't have children, what's a revolution for? We have to change the attitude, the thoughts and desires of the whole world, and it's a long hard job. We might not live long enough. So if you don't want kids spend some time around someone else's and pass the word along.

Peace,  
Bill & Pat Bowles  
Hamilton, Texas.

and we would therefore like to appeal to our readers to alert us to news of feminist activities in the anti-authoritarian spectrum. Hopefully, in the next issue we will be running a report on the awakening anarcho-feminist movement across North America.

The *Open Road* is mailed free to anyone who requests it. We have sent out thousands of copies of Issues 1 & 2. Unfortunately, we have lost part of our mailing list; so, if you know of anyone who is supposed to get the paper and hasn't got it, or who would like to get it, please let us know.

Also, we are looking for news, tips, story ideas, what-have-you, that reflect the scope of anti-authoritarian activity in the world today. That's another reason why we need a supportive, involved readership.

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

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

**Address all requests, correspondence, and contributions to:**

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

ers...  
article by  
Children are  
force," to be  
inspiring. She says that  
we must form communes and  
go to the land "squating if  
necessary." This is what we  
believe to be the true Revolution-  
ary path. It's good to  
hear someone else saying it.  
Communally yours,

Murray Propolis  
for Ochiltree Organic  
Commune,  
Williams Lake, B.C.

## LOCKED DOWN

Dear Comrades,

The latest OR sets as high a standard as the first one, and I hope that it continues to do so.

I have been in Milhaven Max. since 1971, and have spent about three years in solitary confinement. Since the October smash-up and the subsequent investigation by the Parliamentary Subcommittee Millhaven has been fairly quiet, but I wish to assure my fellow Comrades throughout the Canadian prison system that the prison revolution continues as strongly as ever here at the Mill, and that we are looking forward to a real show of strength on August 10 when we hold our annual one-day hunger strike in remembrance of our fallen brothers.

Howie Brown  
Millhaven Prison, Bath, Ont.

## looking for virtues

they bent  
the broken arm  
of the arrested  
revolutionary  
they wanted  
to know  
who still dares  
to be hospitable

## convention of geneva

there met  
some elderly men  
well fed dressed & taught  
and ordered  
how we may kill us:

in the water  
in the air  
and on the ground

there must be  
order ½

there must be  
order

## x-mas '76

merry x-mas  
said the warden  
and shut the door  
of my cell

Peter-Paul Zahl  
from prison  
Werl, West Germany

## ARMED STRUGGLE

Dear T.O.R.,

The O.R. is a much needed news communication on above-ground/underground actions and organization for those locked-down who seek the way to political-socio franchise. "We have nothing to lose but our chains!" Really sorry I missed the SLA letters on their conversion to anarchism.

The 'Weather Underground Explodes' article corroborates the observations of Bruce Siedel, deceased

George Jackson Brigade commando, and should put to rest criticisms against his accusations here in the Northwestern United States. You don't have to be a weatherman to know which way the wind is blowing. All Power to the People!  
Mark Cook  
King County Jail, Seattle

Open Road Comrades,

We consider your opening statement to reflect accurately the current libertarian level and direction of our revolution, even if we have severe reservations with some parts of it, e.g. third worldism.

Among the best articles are the pieces on Durruti, Makhno, Bakunin, Spain & Portugal, Phil Ochs, anti-stalinism, news from nowhere, book reviews, & the centre poster. Those things with which we disagree are the New Leftist fascination with the "third world" capitalists (including A.I.M., Timor, Dene), underground sensationalism/Weathermen, S.L.A. - too bad this group didn't study anarchist & situ literature before they decided to 'pick up the gun.'

What have these spectacularized activities to do with the end of wage labor, commodity-production, surplus value, capital accumulation, market exchange, division of labor, & the State, i.e. with the real communist project? We feel that your reporters should now concentrate on what the proletariat

of the global metropolis is doing in opposition to political economy & kiss off all "third world" stalinism.

In Solidarity,  
Ted Lopez  
for Tampa Narcissus

## TOO COMPLEX?

Dear Open Roaders,

Have some feedback on #2. I've received complaints that for lay people the analysis is too complex and high level. It's probably just right for re-educating politicians and ML's and other anarchists but we should be sure that each article also can hold the attention (at least the first part) of someone ignorant in political science. Malatesta's *On Anarchism* is a good example of this.

I don't agree with this criticism as I believe OR articles are easy to comprehend and educational but this sort of criticism is so important I thought I'd pass it along.  
Yours in struggle,  
Jim Hansen  
Bellingham, Wa.

## ANIMAL LIBERATION

Dear Open Road people,

I would like to express appreciation for your article on the Animal Liberation Front's activities in Britain. I have long been an 'animal liberationist' as well as a 'people liberationist', i.e., elimination of the Western Judeo-Christian hierarchy of god, man, woman, animal with other peoples placed somewhere below white man and woman. In an anarcho/communist society a sane, humane attitude toward the other creatures who share the planet with us is essential. So thanks for a report probably otherwise unobtainable.

Keep up the good work. A friend,  
Elaine M. Lattemann  
Berkeley, Calif.

## On the Road

This third issue of the *Open Road* is thinner than the previous two. We've taken this course in order to conserve our human and financial resources, and also to see whether we can produce the paper on a more rigorous time-schedule.

Issue No. 3 was produced in three months. That makes us a quarterly, which is about what we were shooting for, after taking 11 months to produce the first two issues.

We still haven't licked our other problems, however. For one thing, our money situation is precarious. We are a small political collective and we were able to finance the first two issues mainly out of the contributions of friends at home and comrades from all over the world, and we are hoping to squeeze by again on that basis for the third issue. But from now on, we are going to have to get organized if we want to keep up our income.

Our idea is to try to develop a system of "sustainers" who would agree to be responsible for guaranteeing the financial

base of the *Open Road*. We think that if 100 people from among our readership would each contribute \$50 we would be a long way towards financial stability for a year's operations (production and postage costs for this issue are about \$3,000). Then we could put the major part of our energy and attention into our main job—news gathering and reporting on anti-authoritarian events and developments in North America and the rest of the world.

This set-up would account for something approaching half our expenses. The rest would be made up in the usual ways: small donations (these are absolutely essential), newsstand and bulk sales, free-volunteer labor and special fund-raising events. We have been highly gratified by the large number of people who have expressed their support through tangible means in the past year; we couldn't have gotten this far without such support. Now if only 100 people who are working or who have substantial incomes

By Terry Glavin

It's being billed as a "summer of intensive resistance," and it will likely turn out to be the most volatile political scenario involving the mass movement on the West Coast during the current season.

Peace activists from all over North America are converging on the bucolic little community of Bangor in western Washington's scenic Puget Sound country to launch a massive attempt to stall construction of the Trident nuclear submarine base project.

Bangor Summer, which is to involve large-scale civil disobedience and other forms of non-violent direct action, is being coordinated by the Pacific Life Community, a transnational group of pacifists that has been active in the anti-Trident protests since 1974.

According to PLC spokesperson Jim Douglass, a former Catholic theologian and long-time peace activist, "It's too late to be just standing around outside the (base) fence. Unless there is a real breakthrough during the summer and the coming months in non-violent direct action, Trident won't be stopped."

The PLC stands on one side of the fence, a community that has grown from a handful of diverse people in Vancouver a few years ago to a far-flung network with chapters throughout Canada, the Pacific Northwest, the Atlantic states, the Great Lakes area, and Hawaii.

On the other side is the Trident long range undersea missile and submarine system, composed of apocalyptic 'first-strike' no-miss missiles, unlike any used or designed before, carried in as many as 30 mammoth submarines by the early 1980's.

"This summer is critical in stopping Trident" said Douglass, who along with 14 other PLC members has served jail sentences ranging from 30 to 90 days resulting from actions at the base.

The main civil disobedience actions, which will probably entail mass contravention of federal trespass laws by crossing the fence that surrounds the base, will take place in July and August. Each will be preceded by training sessions in non-violence.

The three crucial actions will take place on July 4, coinciding with the American independence day; August 6-9, coinciding with the anniversary of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki bombings in 1945; and at the close of the national convention of the War Resisters League in nearby Tacoma on August 14.

"In any particular action there will be many forms of involvement," Douglass said. "The people will choose their own roles, within the context of non-violence, and there will be a wide range of expression. Everybody and every role is important."

Participation in civil disobedience is not a requisite for involvement in the campaign. Public education, leafletting, guerrilla theatre, and symbolic actions will take place at or near the base every two or three days.

The base is located on the shorefront of Hood Canal in Kitsap County, about 30

miles west of Seattle and 100 miles south of Vancouver.

Most of the people that will participate in this summer's actions will be billeted at the homes of Kitsap county residents who have opened their doors to the growing resistance.

The "base camp" for the actions is only a half mile from the Trident base itself, and although there has been hesitance to accept the PLC by many Kitsap county residents, there has "nonetheless been a lot of respect anyway" from people in the Bangor community, according to Douglass.

Civil disobedience isn't new to the PLC, but their actions in the past have never penetrated more than a few feet inside the perimeter of the base.

But this summer, by what the group calls a "loving and truthful presence" on the base itself and throughout Kitsap county it hopes the agenda of symbolic, direct, civil disobedience, planned, and group-inspired actions will "create a moral and political crisis on the base and cause a disruption of its normal functioning."

The PLC hopes to "block the functioning of the machine itself", and, according to Douglass, "in that way the machine will break down and we will all be released from it".

The 'machine' has been denounced widely, including by church groups, political leaders, and the designer of the Trident missile itself, as

# summer of resistance...

Maybe "a sustained and living presence" can stop a nuclear monster.



Pacific Life Community protests at the Trident base. Alice Ray Keil cuts fence (top). PLC members parade through base after planting vegetable garden (bottom).

being "the most awesome and devastating weapons system in the history of warfare."

The Trident submarine is four stories high, twice the length of a football field, and is equipped to carry 408 independently targetted nuclear warheads mounted on 24 missiles.

Each warhead can pack a punch reputedly ten times as powerful as the blast that destroyed Hiroshima.

The Trident machine is Hiroshima x ten x 408 warheads x 30 submarines—and exists, according to Douglass, "because of greed, arms corporations, and power, state power."

Presently there are about 1,200 civilian workers constructing the Trident base, and approximately 800 military personnel.

An added civilian workforce of 800 is expected this summer, with 200 more,

mostly construction workers, being added in the fall.

The first Trident submarine crew, an elite, hand-picked group of 150 officers, will arrive at the Bangor base for training this summer.

But already the "moral crisis" Douglass spoke about has begun to take effect, especially in the Seattle area and Kitsap county.

—In May, a local construction contractor stated that he turned down a contract with the Bangor base on moral grounds, and stated his support for the PLC.

—Seattle Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen recently sent a 40-page brief outlining his opposition to the Trident system to every parish priest in his archdiocese.

—And a construction worker from the Trident base burned his paycheque May 16 at an anti-Trident protest rally in Seattle.

Douglass said he does not "expect or count on miracles of non-violence" to stop the construction of the Trident system, but already, resistance is deepening, and communication is opening up with the workers at the Trident base.

Generally, workers at the Trident base have greeted PLC leafletters cordially. In a recent leafletting at the entrance to the base, only two out of several hundred who were offered leaflets refused them.

Although many fear for their jobs because of the growing sentiment against Trident, Douglass said Kitsap county residents are beginning to understand the campaign, "and some are even beginning to understand civil

disobedience".

Douglass said the consistent presence of the PLC at the base, unlike previous campaigns that have been sporadic and intermittent, may be the "beginning of its undoing, by breaking down the wall of fear that surrounds the base."

"Up to this point people have regarded the fence around the base as virtually a sacred object," Douglass said, "despite the fact that on the other side is the equivalent to thousands of Dachaus and Buchenwalds."

"This summer we have to go more deeply beyond it, to show that the fence is really illegitimate...to go beyond it in any way we can, in an open, non-violent way."

Through a "sustained and loving presence", the PLC hopes to turn off the power the Trident base has over its workers and the people of Kitsap county.

"The base depends on fear," Douglass said. "It depends on fear and obedience to security regulations, and on a steady stream of traffic going in there every day. It's depending on people not objecting to it, and staying out of the way of the genocide machine that it is."

Douglass said the normal functioning of the base can be disrupted through non-violent action, despite the fact that "as a people we have been brainwashed into thinking it's impossible. The Trident system only exists because of our acceptance of it."

He said "they're counting on people's fear, rather than the fence, to keep people out."

"The question is how far we can go in resisting a system that can't tolerate us to be passive."

Undoubtedly there will be arrests, and "the law will come down in its illegal fashion (Trident violates international laws regarding the preparation for aggressive war, which supercede federal law), but if we persist in our actions, it will result in the end of Trident."

Civil disobedience creates a dilemma on the part of the authorities, Douglass said, because on the one hand, they are reluctant to arrest and create unwanted publicity, "but if no arrests are made we can step up our actions."

But the construction of the Trident base is nearing completion.

Soon the massive vessels will be sailing through the narrow and hazardous inlets and channels of Hood Inlet, Puget Sound, and the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

Douglass said this summer will be an "experiment in the hope that people's lives, given deeply enough in non-violence, can and will make a difference. We're inviting everybody to explore that hope with us."

"We've got to maintain a form of non-violence that will effectively disrupt the functioning of the base," Douglass stressed.

"This summer we're not going home."

To get in on the action, contact PLC at 335 Eighth St., New Westminster, B.C. (phone 604-526-4329) or 331 17th Ave. East, Seattle, Wash. (phone 206-322-2447).

# Bugs, Taps and Beepers

By Willie White and  
Jane Black

This is to let you know that the modern capitalist State really cares about what you have to say. In fact they can listen in virtually any time and any place. Our purpose is to confirm your worst fears about electronic surveillance and to offer some equally drastic counter-measures.

Generally, explanation of electronic gadgetry will cover its use rather than its make-up. For more technical data, or simply a better overall understanding, the three books noted at the end of the piece are excellent.

The focus is on State-initiated surveillance because, while lots of private individuals and companies run around spying on other private individuals and companies, their personnel and financial resources are nothing in comparison. Further, our readers probably know goddamn well who is monitoring their activities and why. Before looking at the question 'How' let us briefly clarify two terms. Bugging means they listen to you by using microphones, tapping is the interception of wire communication (telephones, telex, intercoms, etc). However, your tapped phone can be turned into a bug, but more on that later.

## Tapping and Bugging

Before looking at the telephone tap, a widespread myth should be dispelled. Many times a person will say their phone is tapped because they can hear clicking and interference on the line. This is because there are vast circuits taking thousands of calls every minute, not because some ham-handed pig is camped under the telephone pole. Rest assured that through the use of capacitors and transformers, any competent tapper can ensure that the sound of your phone will tell you absolutely nothing about whether or not someone is listening.

The overwhelming majority of phone taps are the work of law enforcement

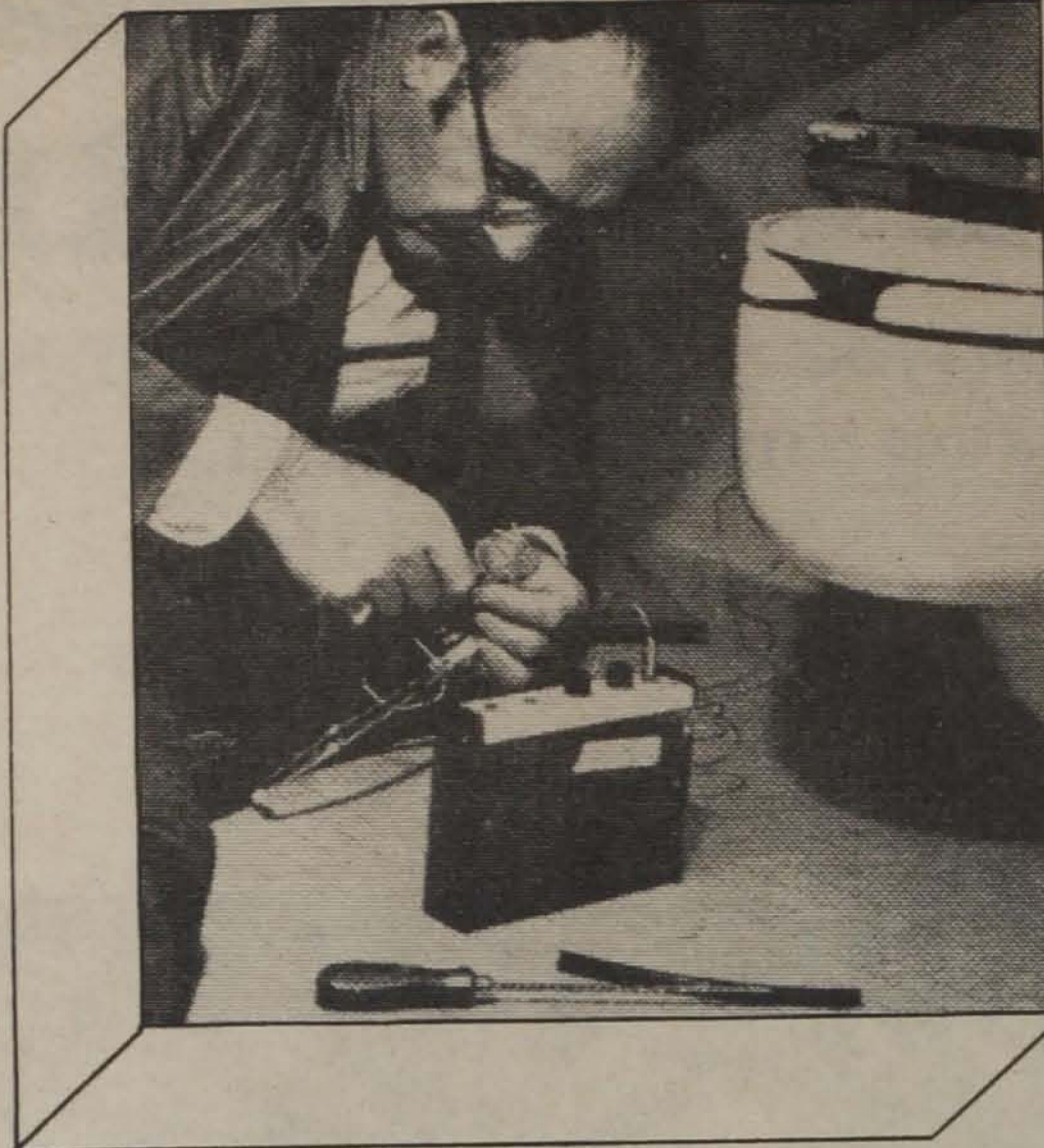
agencies aided by the telephone company. In every city the cops have one or more convenient locations into which the local telco feeds 'lease lines'. These rented lines connect the agency with the district exchange. When your call hits the exchange it is fed into a lease as well as to your friend across town. Just in case there is interest in your friend, the telco provides dial pulse registers which reconstruct each number you dial.

Lease lines can also be connected at the junction box on your telephone pole and run to a rented room in your neighborhood, often within sight, so movement around your home can be tied into your telephone conversations.

The party line affords another chance for spying, with the added feature that the target will be blocks away from the tapper. The same pair of wires that feed your telephone can be found in another junction box in your area with the help of telco cable diagrams and subscriber lists. Instead of sharing a line with the Jones' at reduced rates you share it unwittingly with the cops at a much higher cost.

The most potentially dangerous use of the telephone serves as an introductory warning about the bug. The telephone receiver is turned into an open microphone by what is essentially a bypass of the off switch. While a variety of devices can do this, each must be installed inside your telephone. Since the State buys the best, it would take an expert to examine your phone and tell you if something is wrong.

The wired bug, like your telephone receiver, is a microphone which transmits through wire to an outside listening post. Unlike your telephone receiver however, the bug can be the size of your thumbnail and can draw its power from your housewiring, or your next door neighbor's for that matter. It can be hidden anywhere, it can even send its message using metallic paint as a conductor instead of wire.



Willie White untaps his phone.

The wireless bug is a broadcast unit like a radio transmitter. The obvious advantage is that you cannot follow a wire to a listening post if no wire exists in the first place and in the second place since the signal travels in waves the listener is not limited to a fixed position. Depending on the model, the wireless bug has a range of between one and five city blocks and comes battery-powered or adapted to draw from household circuits. The externally powered or 'parasitic' bug is more popular because its use

doesn't require periodic break-ins to change batteries.

## The Bumper Beeper

The 'Bumper-Beeper' is basically a transmitter which puts out a tone at regular intervals so that your vehicle can be followed by another vehicle with a radio direction finder. The police have a tiny model which can be placed in your gas tank and gets its power from chemically reacting with the fuel. They also utilize a bug, battery-powered or hooked up to your electrical systems, which can act as a beeper as well as

sending out all conversations held in the car.

Lastly, if you successfully elude eavesdropping from phone, house and car, the same type of directional microphones used in sports broadcasting can pick up your outdoor communication. The parabolic or 'dish' microphone is highly directional and the so-called shot-gun mike can draw in conversations like a high quality telescope.

Those of you leaning toward hiring amateur or professional debugging services should beware on at least two counts. The amateur service will be flashy but half-assed and leave you with a false sense of security. The pros are very expensive and are likely to be private detectives, ex-cops or both. These people are very good for businessmen but people like you can trust them as you would a snake. If you do find a competent, honest and sympathetic firm, you can bet your ass the State has found them too. Several years ago in an eastern city a group was hounded out of existence by the local cops and many of their clients were subsequently busted. Recently, one of the world's top debugging experts was found with six bullet holes in his head.

Hopefully you are now sufficiently paranoid to seriously consider the following defense measures. Regarding telephones, avoid them like the plague. At

worst use them only to confirm the absence or presence of the person you wish to see. Don't use codes, you're only fooling yourself. Inspect your telephone, and pole junction box regularly. If you spot an addition in either, remove it. Remember, if you don't find anything it doesn't mean you are tap-free.

To circumvent bugging discuss nothing illegal, concerning yourself or your friends, in your home or car. If you have to plot, go to a shopping mall or a library or a restaurant. Most important, change your meeting places regularly.

The information and equipment is available to do your own debugging but to be totally secure the hardware will cost about \$20,000 and you'll need several years training in electronics before you can run it.

Your best move is a literal application of an old saying: Keep your eyes open and your mouth shut.

For more detailed information on bugs, taps, and beepers check out: **The Big Brother Game**, by Scott French, G.N.U. Publishers, Box 6820, San Francisco, Ca. 94101; **The CIA Diary**, by Phillip Agee, Penguin Books (Canada) Ltd., 41 Steelcase Rd. W., Markham Ont.; **How to avoid electronic eavesdropping and privacy invasion**, by William W. Turner, Investigators' Information Service, Los Angeles.

## 'WHITE LIKE ME'

# Piepeople find Cleaver

By Martin Van Lubin

"I seem to have changed color."

That was Eldridge Cleaver's immediate reaction to the white, gooey cream pie dripping down his face recently in Vancouver after he had become the latest hit for the Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho Marxist).

Cleaver was pied by an APC(GM) commando unit (their previous pie action was against Spanish brain experimenter Jose Delgado) as he addressed 1,500 mind-numbed Jesus freaks at an "I Found It" rally in the fanciest hall in town.

His comment was particularly apt. As the APC(GM) said in a press release: "We used an oreo cookie cream pie because oreo cookies are black on the outside and white on the inside, just like Eldridge Cleaver and his participation in the White Man's pseudo-religious "I Found It" shell game."

Frankie Lee of the APC(GM) said he pied Cleaver because he is a turncoat fink for what is probably a CIA-fronted religious group. According to Lee, most of Cleaver's former comrades in the Black Liberation Army are either murdered or rotting in jail while Cleaver himself is free to travel with the likes of Water-burger Charles Colson and William F. Buckley, who has admitted to CIA affiliations in the past.

The new, all-white Cleaver is a far cry from the Black Panther who terrified Ronald Reagan and the other champions of white supremacy. He comes on stage in a tailored three-piece suit with a goody-goody rap about both his grandfathers being Baptist preachers and about how he

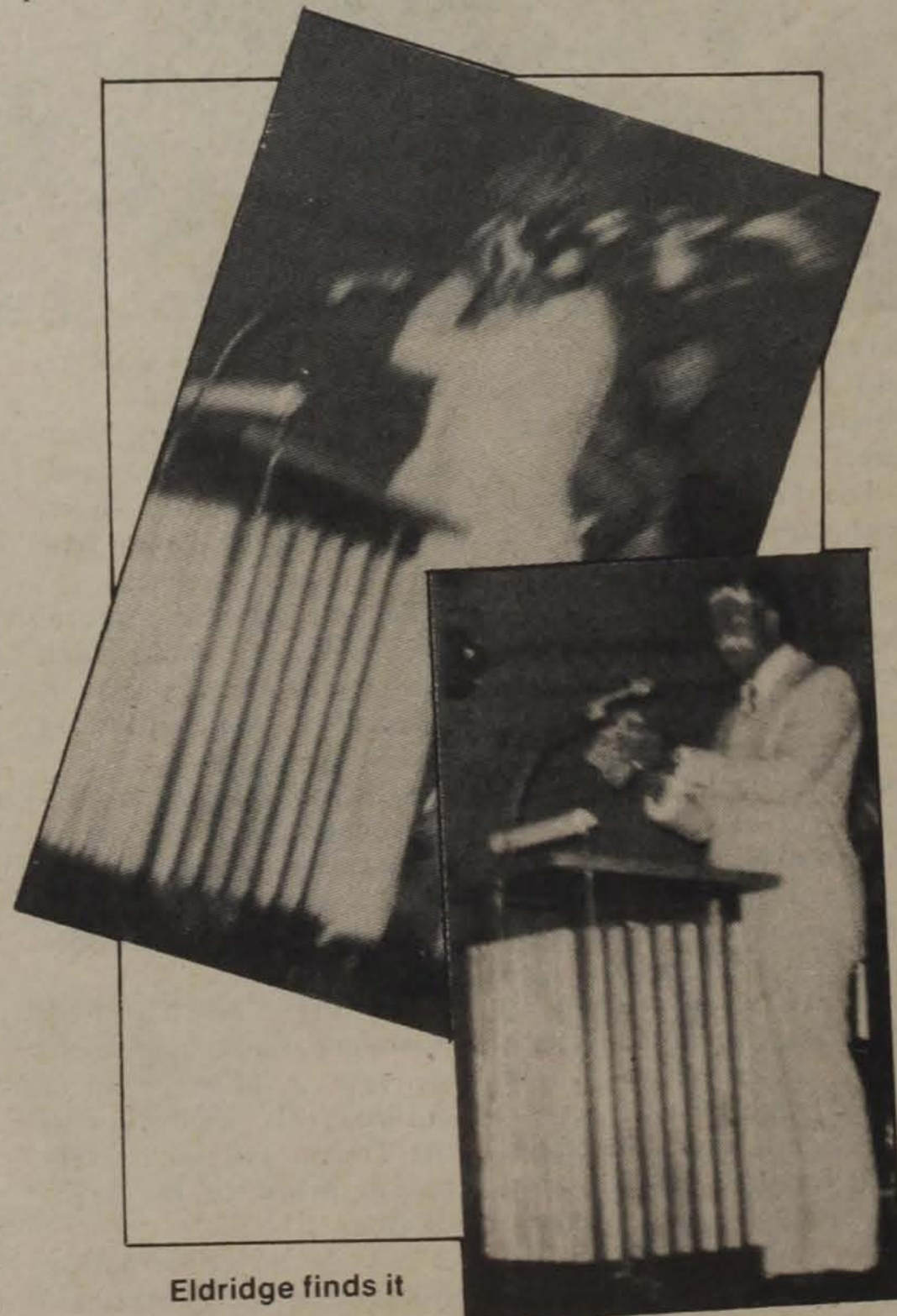
has left devil communism for Jesus. Cleaver also speaks at length about getting support from his new friends for the attempted murder charges he still faces from the 1968 Oakland California shootout in which 17-year-old Bobby Hutton was gunned down by the police.

The confusing thing is why Cleaver would come on like a pacifist "born again" Christian and then run after the APC(GM) pie man with both fists flying and a look to kill. Although Cleaver failed to catch the pie man his "Christian" friends did run him down in a parking lot and proceeded to punch him out.

But the confusing motives and murky background of "I Found It" seem even more sinister. In a communique issued by the Revolutionary Three Stooges Brigade of Dayton, Ohio, John C. Broger, the Washington, D.C. head of Here's Life, which is behind the "I Found It" movement, is exposed as having been a psychological warfare expert for the U.S. military joint chiefs of staff. He also developed the "Militant Liberty" program for General Edwin Walker of the John Birch Society, which attempted to brainwash U.S. soldiers into being anti-communist evangelists.

The "I Found It" movement is so far off into right field that even Nixon's old buddy Billy Graham has criticized it as "wrong for trying to organize evangelists into a political block."

As the APC(GM) says: "Remember, Eldridge, if you turn the other cheek—you're going to catch a pie on that side, too. Jesus isn't going to give us pie in the sky when we die, we're going to give it to you in the face right now."



Eldridge finds it

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# GJB blasts media blackout

The George Jackson Brigade, whose armed actions in Western Washington during 1975 and early 1976 precipitated a massive grand jury witchhunt of the Seattle left, has reappeared after a fourteen-month absence with the bombing of a bank vault in suburban Redmond on May 12th. The action, which was taken to protest the collusion of corporate officials in distorted news media coverage of conditions at Walla Walla state prison, was the first since Brigade member John Sherman was broken out of police custody by comrades in March, 1976.

In a communique accompanying the bombing, the Brigade detailed the prisoners' struggles of the past year in Walla Walla and at other state prisons. The communique stressed the role of the Seattle Times which has corporate ties to the target bank in providing the public with misinformation about prison conditions, and the activities of Walla Walla Superintendent B.J. Rhay.

In a style remarkably free of rhetoric, the group also candidly discussed details of its activities since the Sherman break-out:

"So, the GJB is back. We got our asses kicked real bad at Tukwila (an aborted bank robbery), and we've spent this last year licking our wounds and learning our

trade." Among other things, the Brigade claimed to have accumulated considerable amounts of equipment, and an "enormous amount of experience," much of which apparently resulted from six successful bank robberies in Oregon. The Brigade also indicated that ongoing (but unspecified) political struggle was taking place within the group, and it urged other left groups to criticize and analyze its actions publicly in order to create a dialogue between the underground and the aboveground.

The communique points out how the straight media had been printing and broadcasting nothing but the administration's version of the conflict at Walla Walla, and imposing a curtain of silence over the prisoners' complaints. It took a bombing for reporters even to attempt to seek out alternative sources of information.

A second bomb was placed in the vault of a bank in the upper middle class suburb of Bellevue, but was disarmed by police before detonating. The Brigade has promised to continue its campaign in support of prisoners at Walla Walla with further armed actions.

Washington prisoners' struggles at Walla Walla and at Purdy, Monroe, and McNeill Island prisons have intensified since late 1975,

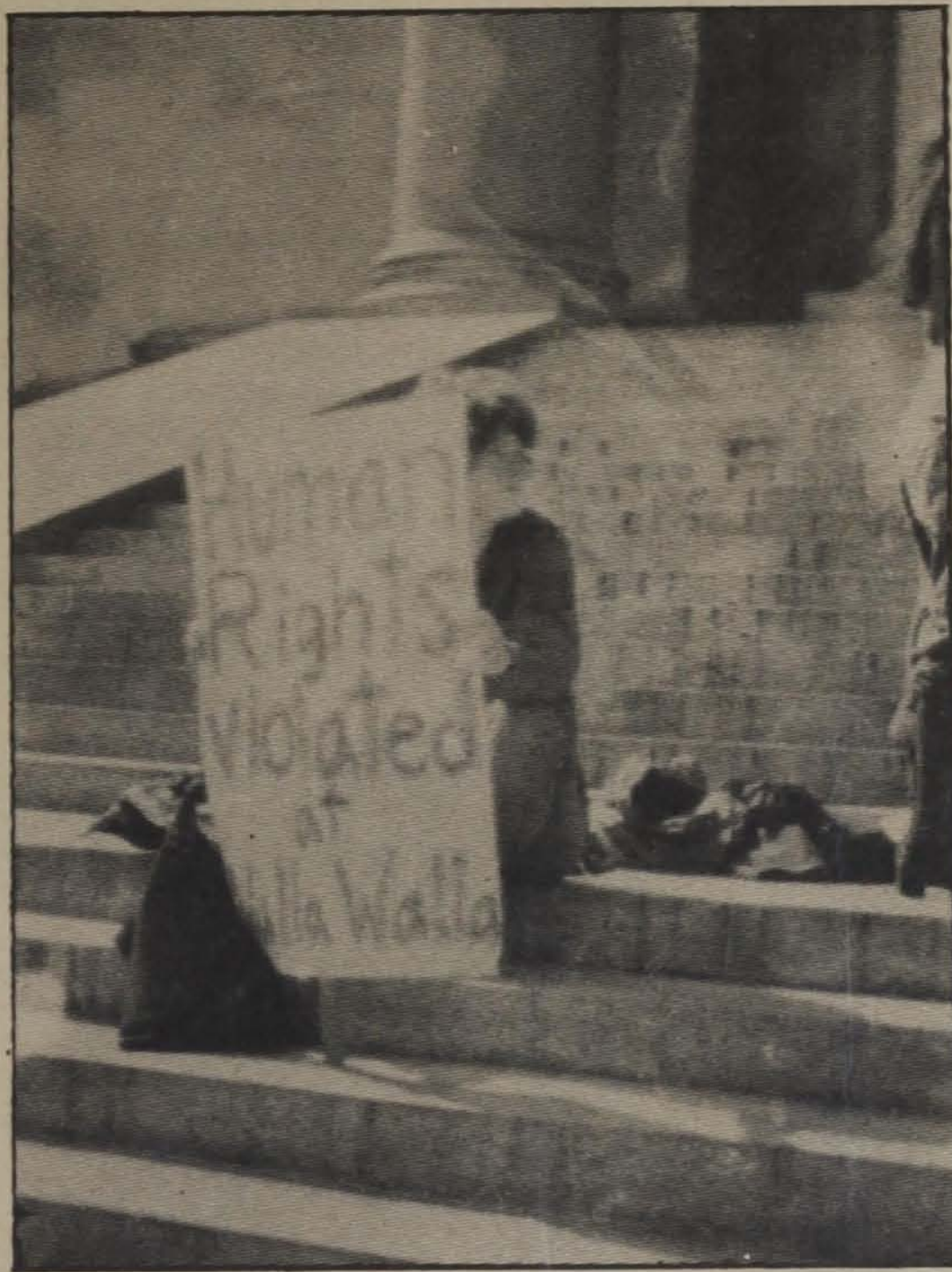
with an uninterrupted series of work and hunger strikes, demonstrations and uprisings. Much of the protest has involved conditions of brutality and degradation inside Walla Walla's segregation and behaviour modification units.

On April 5, a cigarette lighter bomb blew up in the hand of a particularly-hated segregation guard while he was escorting a prisoner to court. The administration responded with a new assault on prison organizing by launching a series of search-and-destroy missions on cells and meeting areas.

Five days later, about 300 prisoners in the general population carried out a well-planned and executed raid on the prison store, using fires as a diversion. Immediately afterward, they started a sit-down strike in their cells, and remained there for six weeks, while pressing their demands for outside investigation of racial discrimination by guards, lack of meaningful work and poor medical conditions.

State authorities finally agreed to make some changes in conditions, but so far there is nothing to report.

Meanwhile, warden Rhay has his own explanation for the discontentment. He told the parole board recently that the George Jackson Brigade



Demonstrator at rally in support of Walla Walla prisoners at Washington state capitol in Olympia.

has twelve members at Walla Walla and they were planning a break-out which would involve setting off three bombs inside while an outside unit would blow in a wall and attack three gun towers. Rhay said the GJB then intended to

attack the nearby Hanford atomic works, although he had no further details.

Prisoners at Walla Walla say there is only one GJB member there, Ed Meade.

In a "Message to the Progressive Community"

received by **The Open Road**, the Walla Walla Brothers, the organized movement inside the prison, write that "the reaction of I.S.U. prisoners upon learning of the bombing was positive, enthusiastic and unanimous... they (the GJB) were also able to put the rulers on the spot for their criminal abuse of the power of the press, and they did so in a manner that could not have been as quickly and effectively accomplished by conventional means. We see the Brigade action as an example of armed propaganda at its best... we welcome all levels of outside support—including from those who are armed, operate outside the law and are quick to use violence. We send the George Jackson Brigade our uncritical support and warmest revolutionary greetings."

(For copies of the Walla Walla Brothers' full "Message to the Progressive Community" write **The Open Road**. More information on the Walla Walla Brothers from Morning Due, P.O. Box 22228, Seattle, Wash., 98122, and United Family and Friends of Prisoners, c/o American Friends Service Committee, 814 NE 40th, Seattle, Wash. Background of the George Jackson Brigade in **Open Road**, issues 1&2.)

## CANADA WELCOMES MURDERER

# Spanish anarchist assassinated

One of the last of the old guard Spanish anarchists, Laureano Cerrada Santos, was murdered in Paris last October. His death was a heavy blow to the anarchist movement to which he had devoted his entire life.

Cerrada, an unarmed man of 74, was gunned down as he was coming out of a bar in the boulevard Bellevue in a working class suburb of the French capital. His assassin, Ramon Bericho Canada, alias Ramon Leriles, an agent of the Spanish secret police working closely with the French authorities, is now reported to be residing in Canada.

Cerrada was one of the founders of the railway union of the Spanish CNT, a disciple of Francisco Ferrer, a fighter in the Spanish Civil War and the anarchist resistance which followed it. He was particularly dangerous to the Spanish government because he was a skilled forger who provided ration cards, documents, identification and counterfeit funds for the struggle.

During the Second World War, Cerrada printed hundreds of official carnets for Jews (altering national identification) thus saving them from the Nazi pogrom. But Cerrada went even further than this, participating in the aborted anarchist attack on Hitler and Franco together during the war and again on Franco in 1948.

Cerrada's murderer struck at a time when the veteran anarchist was going to retire and write his memoirs. It was

also a time when the Spanish anarchist movement was reviving. After the murder the Spanish assassin was aided in his escape to Canada by the French police with whom he was collaborating.



Laureano Cerrada Santos

The role of the Canadian authorities in this dismal example of international cooperation is not yet clear, but if past record is any indication Bericho will find a willing harbour in this country. Canada has apparently offered itself as the official dumping ground for right-wing political slime. Fascists who have committed crimes against the people so odious that political circumstances make them unwelcome in almost every country of the world (including the one that pays them) seem to be showing up in Canada with unsettling regularity.

Already such despicable characters as General Quang,

the South Vietnamese war criminal who was chief of security for the Thieu regime, and Nelson Bardiesio, an organizer of the Uruguayan death squads, make their homes in Canada.

### Canada Home for Torturer

Quang was in charge of the infamous Operation Phoenix which saw tens of thousands of Vietnamese tortured and murdered. He was also a kingpin in the Southeast Asia heroin traffic. This sterling character has been in Canada for two years because no other country in the world, outside his homeland, will accept him if he is deported.

Bardiesio is a confessed political murderer whose role in organizing government-sponsored death squads was exposed by the Tupamaro guerrillas in Uruguay. These death squads murdered and tortured political opponents (and their families and friends of the right-wing Uruguayan regime. Bardiesio has been living comfortably in Canada for a number of years.

The Canadian government's policy towards left-wing political refugees is not quite so tolerant. Refugees facing certain death in their homelands because of their political beliefs have been deported routinely to such countries as Iran, Haiti and Ethiopia.

Both Karl and Dwight Armstrong, two brothers accused of bombing military research facilities at the height of the Vietnam war, were imprisoned and depor-

ted to the United States while Quang stays. Similarly, Leonard Peltier, the American Indian Movement activist, was imprisoned and extradited on the basis of flimsy concocted affidavits which now have been publicly repudiated, yet Bardiesio stays.

Canada has even denied

access to legal visitors if it did not like their political message. Anarchist Stuart Christie, of the Black Flag group in England, was denied the right to appear on Canadian television, yet the Trudeau government is allowing another right-wing murderer into the country in the person of Ramon Bericho

Canada, assassin of the anarchist Cerrada.

Protests should be directed to opposition Member of Parliament Derek Blackburn, who blew the whistle on both Quang and Bardiesio, and to Manpower and Immigration Minister Bud Cullen, both c/o House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario.

## Fighting green death

"Heavy industry is never a pretty sight." A company official admitted that much, at least, at the end of a recent press tour of the mammoth Alcan aluminum smelter at Kitimat, in northern British Columbia.

He might have added it's not a pretty smell or sound either, for the 1,800 members of the Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW), who are paid an hourly wage to risk their life and health at what is the second largest smelter in the world. One of the reporters who was escorted on the tour described the scene more aptly as a descent into the seventh level of hell.

On the pot lines, where the molten aluminum is produced, workers labor beside huge pots with flames licking eerily out of the bottom and the air hazy with smoke. Workers assigned to what is regarded as the worst job in the plant—pulling vertical studs from the pots—are perpetually envel-

oped in acrid green smoke, with the ventilation little more than a joke.

In the carbon plant, where a paste is made from carcinogenic tar, the air is filled with dust and fumes. The noise level is so high that conversation is impossible.

Despite bland assurances from the company, that the situation is improving, CASAW is mad about the conditions at the plant, and it's not going to take it anymore. Last year, the union pulled a rank-and-file wildcat for a week and barricaded the plant so that supplies had to be flown into the bosses by helicopter (see **Open Road**, issue no. 2, Spring, 1977). Working conditions were a factor in the wildcat.

CASAW, an independent Canadian union, has now gone a step further in its campaign against harmful working conditions by undertaking an unprecedented union-financed (\$150,000) health study of all the workers

in the plant.

The study represents a concerted effort by the union rank-and-file and the leadership to build a front-line workers' defense organization free of the taint of government or boss collaboration. By going it alone, CASAW is avoiding the trap of accepting partial responsibility for unsafe and unhealthy conditions, and it is directing its fire at the main target—not the government and its regulatory bodies, but the factory owners.

When the study is completed, CASAW hopes to have the kind of reliable, scientifically-valid data that will back up a militant direct action campaign, or even a big push in the political and legal arenas.

The study started in January with questionnaires, x-rays and lung function tests for hourly-paid workers at the smelter. The union hoping

continued on p.19

Spain's resurgent anarcho-syndicalists have a legal face again.

It's not that they've agreed to conform to the Juan Carlos regime's fraudulent new labor law, or even to ally themselves with one of the legalized leftist political parties. It's just that they've become so numerous and so militant that the government can neither suppress them nor ignore them.

In an obvious ploy aimed at taking the edge off the burgeoning libertarian movement, the regime extended legal recognition May 7 to the National Confederation of Labour (CNT), the trade union federation that represents the organized expression of anarcho-syndicalism in Spain. After a generation of suffering under Francoist repression, the CNT is in process of re-establishing itself as a nationwide force.

In the months prior to its being legalized, the CNT rebuffed numerous feelers from the government for cooperation in easing the transition from Fascism to liberal democracy. The CNT, which has been illegal for more than half of its 66-year-life, made it clear it wouldn't obstruct the gradual process set in train by Franco's death. But it nevertheless reaffirmed the revolutionary program adopted by its last open national convention in Saragossa in 1936:

- Refusal to participate in (parliamentary) political action;
- Insistence on unions independent of parties and the State;
- An end to capitalism and the State, and the establishment of a new society based on libertarian communism.

The granting of legal status followed by five weeks a huge public rally in a Madrid bullring filled to overflowing by 40,000 CNT militants and sympathizers—the first public gathering of the CNT in the capital after 38 years of underground existence.

The rally, on March 27, was fully reported by the Spanish press and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), but ignored by the North American news media. (For a first-hand account, see the accompanying IWW article.)

A few weeks earlier, the CNT had emerged from the underground to hold a news conference attended by more than 50 reporters in its Madrid headquarters on Liberty Street. CNT spokespersons denounced class collaboration and British-style "social pacts" and insisted that free unions can never be the instruments of any political parties.

As well, they said the CNT would not participate in the parliamentary elections scheduled for June 15 (expected to produce a conservative-centrist majority).

#### No Leaders

CNT general secretary Juan Gomez Casas, a 55-year-old survivor of the Civil War and of 15 years in Franco's prisons, told the news conference that there are no leaders in the CNT, only "comrades who exercise the function of the representation." He said the members of the interim "national committee" each work at their trade or profession and none are paid anything by the unions.

A CNT plenary session is expected to be held in mid-June to formally select a national committee, and a full national congress will be held in the Fall (see accompanying FAI article).

By disdaining to cooperate with the government, the CNT has retained its freedom of action under the new labour law, adopted on March 29. The law purports to establish the right of workers to form free trade unions, but in fact it provides for government meddling in collective bargaining and severely restricts the right to strike while attempting to confuse workers in their selection of bargaining agents and in the formulation of demands.

The Communist Party, in its campaign for legitimacy, has agreed to act as a brake on the workers' movement through its bureaucratic control of the workers' commissions, the network of workplace assemblies that have grown up since the 1950's in opposition to the official Fascist unions. Membership in the workers' commissions is now thought to number about 450,000.

The CP, which has emerged from the underground with the largest organization by far (one million members) of any Leftist party, is hoping to gain complete domination over the workers' movement through the workers' commissions. An equally distasteful prospect is the splintering of the movement into a myriad of unions and sects—clearly the strategy of the government.

Estimates of the hard-core strength of the CNT are now given out as 45,000 members, although some sources say 60,000. This compares to 20,000 last winter. The numbers will increase rapidly for some time to come.

The CNT has its greatest strength in such industries as construction, transportation, agriculture, machinery, manufacturing, teaching, the banks, motion pictures and the theatre. Outside of the major centres, however, the level of CNT organization is still fairly primitive; in most small towns where membership is still small, CNT locals are composed of individuals from all trades instead of being organized on a trade basis as specified in CNT regulations.

CNT militants have been especially active in supporting the decisions of democratic workers' assemblies. But it's probably the case up to this time that the CNT is not yet strong enough to call a major strike and carry it through to successful completion under its own banners.

The accompanying three articles give a picture of the scope of anti-authoritarian activity in Spain at the present time. Other North American sources of news about Spain include:

- News from Libertarian Spain, c/o Freespace Alternate U, 339 Lafayette St. New York, N.Y., 10012.
- Industrial Worker, 752 West Webster, Chicago, Ill., 60614.
- International Libertarian Labour Fund, Box 753 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. (Also asking for contributions to forward to CNT.)
- General Industrial Defense Bulletin, P.O. Box 306, Station E, Toronto, Ont.
- Iberian Solidarity Committee, 3934 St. Urbain, Montreal, Que. (Raising contributions to forward to CNT and to anarchist groups in Portugal.)

The organization that once served as the "brain and discipline" of the Spanish anarchist movement is starting to put itself back together again after 40 years of the Francoist nightmare.

The Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI), the ideological backbone and revolutionary driving force for Spain's mass-based anarcho-syndicalist movement, has regrouped in four regional centres, and has made at least one (abortive) attempt at establishing a nationwide network. So far, its efforts have been met with heavy repression by the new "liberal" Spanish regime.

Like the FAI of old, the newly-emergent organization aims to instill and preserve explicit anarchist ideals in the National Confederation of Labour (CNT), once the largest and most advanced libertarian-oriented trade union movement in the world and itself now undergoing a regeneration.

Until recently, the new CNT has been taking its orientation mainly from the old-guard militants who spent the years following the Spanish Civil War in exile, mainly in France. They are generally syndicalist in outlook, and their immediate goals have been to preserve the security of

their organization, to regain a broad base among the working class and to win improved contracts through collective bargaining and militant direct action.

The new FAI, which has about 500 members now and is similarly expanding, has relatively few direct links with the pre-war militants (except in Valencia). Its members belong to the CNT as well, but they see the union federation mainly as an instrument to bring on the Social Revolution at all possible speed.

FAI involvement in the CNT has focussed on the call for a national congress of the whole CNT membership to choose a formal "national committee" and a statement of principles that reflect the aspirations of the new generation of CNT militants (90 per cent of whom are under the age of 30).

The CNT rally of March 27 reaffirmed most of these anarchist principles, and the defacto national committee (mainly exiles) has now agreed to a full-dressed national congress this fall to set the course of the CNT for some time to come.

Meanwhile, a plenary session is being held in mid-June to select a new national committee. About 40 delegates from all parts

# SPAIN:

## Resurgent Anarchists Confront Regime



of Spain are attending the plenary as representatives of their regional and local federations.

A Canadian anarchist who visited Spain during February and March and talked to FAI and CNT militants in all parts of the country estimates that the syndicalist current represented about 65 per cent of the CNT membership at that time, and that anarcho-syndicalists and anarchists of other stripes comprised the rest.

"The non-anarchists in the CNT feel the time is not yet ready for revolution, that Fascism could make a come-back if they try to move too fast," he said.

"They are more interested now in trade union rights and social reforms, and in building up the strength of their unions, especially in competition with the Communist Party's workers' commissions. Their long-term goal is workers' self-management in the factories.

"The anarchists are against any collaboration with the State, and for the prompt expropriation of all means of production. They feel the situation is such that the workers are ready to take over the factories. All they need is the chance, and this could come within five years."

#### FAI Members Tortured

The Juan Carlos regime is obviously sensitive to this possibility as well. While the CNT with its mass base was allowed to meet more-or-less openly under its own banners (even before it was legalized at the beginning of May), FAI members have been arrested and tortured at every turn.

The FAI's main attempt so far to organize a national structure took place at the end of January when about 50 militants from four regions—Catalonia, Castile, Andalusia and Levante—gathered in a bar in Barcelona. The meeting took place during the height of the anti-"terrorist" scare whipped up by the regime following the kidnapping of government officials by an alleged Maoist group, GRAPO. (Many Spaniards think right-wing elements engineered the kidnappings.)

The FAI meeting was broken up by the Guardia Armada (civil police) and everyone arrested. Most of the militants were detained for at least a couple of weeks. Amnesty International comments on their treatment: "The torture reportedly includes beating with fists and truncheons while victims are wrapped in towels to avoid leaving marks. Others receive kicks in the spine. Most of the detainees have been hung by the hands from hot water pipes on the ceiling."

FAI members are organized in the traditional affinity groups of ten-to-25 people. They publish pamphlets, show movies, conduct study groups, give lectures and use other media to propagandize about anarchist principles. In the CNT (and in neighborhood committees and other groups in which they are active), FAI members constantly push for more radical solutions.

The FAI has also started working closely with two other pre-War anarchist groups which have been renewed in the past year. One is the Iberian Federation of Young Libertarians (FIJL), which is imparting anarchist ideals to a new generation of Spaniards, aged 17-to-25.

"The Libertarian Youth are reorganized in every part of Spain," said the Canadian anarchist.

"They are anarchist, and not syndicalist. They are very militant and take part in all the strikes and neighborhood activities, as well as reprinting old anarchist pamphlets and engaging in other propaganda work."

#### Mujeres Libres

The other allied, but autonomous group, is Mujeres Libres (Free Women), which is attempting to steer a libertarian course between bourgeois feminism and anti-male separatism. It is already operating in Madrid, Valencia, Andalusia, Barcelona and other regions.

As one member of Mujeres Libres told the Italian anarchist journal *A-rivista anarchica*:

"We don't describe ourselves as feminists because of the profound and substantial differences that separate us from the (bourgeois) feminist movement. Of course, as women we want to fight for the emancipation of the woman, but we are also anarchists and therefore clearly aware that if we want to really change the whole of life we can't stop short on one single aspect of inequality, but must remember that there is a whole range of unequal and discriminatory social categories. You have only to think of old people, invalids, children, homosexuals, lesbians, etc., and these are questions that

don't seem to exist for the feminists."

Later in the interview, another member of Mujeres Libres was asked what sort of activity the group had been engaged in. Her reply:

"At the moment we're supporting the workers of the Roca who have been on strike for more than two months. We're doing this together with libertarian groups from various districts, collecting money and so forth to help the families to survive and toys for the children, and helping out in every possible way. The last thing we did was a pamphlet called 'The Women of the Roca Speak', in which we collected statements direct from the women on the situation they are faced with and on their everyday problems. We are distributing this pamphlet.

"We're now planning a series of documents on various subjects such as marriage, divorce, abortion etc., and we think in this way we can explain to the various districts what Mujeres Libres is

about. We have also been preparing a surgery (clinic)."

In attempting to provide ideological direction for the mass-based CNT, the new FAI is fulfilling a historic mission. Since the time of the First International, there have generally been two parallel Spanish libertarian organizations, one syndicalist and one explicitly anarchist.

The first anarchist group was established in 1868 with the help (from afar) of Michael Bakunin whose clandestine Social Democratic Alliance provided the program. Its main principles are still pertinent for the contemporary Spanish anarchist movement:

Abolition of classes, complete economic and social equality, abolition of private property and inheritance, everybody's right to a proportional share of what is produced, collective ownership of the earth and tools by associations of producers, universal right to education, the absence of any kind of State and any revolutionary action not having as

## Roca workers baffle bosses, unions

(The following article gives details of how the CNT actually operates in a strike situation. The strike was one of the more important and hard-fought labor struggles of recent times in Spain, involving 4,800 workers at the multi-national Roca Radiadores, S.A., electronics factory near Barcelona.

(The Roca workers stayed out for 95 days to press their main demand that their democratically-chosen workplace assembly represent their interests. They had to battle not only the bosses, but the competing Leftist parties and their allied unions vying for hegemony within the factory. Only the CNT was unreservedly on the side of the workers' assembly. While the strike cannot be counted a complete success, the assembly has survived, and a recent report indicates that the workers are discussing possible formal affiliation with the CNT.

(The following account is adapted from a report produced by the Iberian News Service, a collective of English-speaking journalists working in Spain and fluent in Spanish and Catalan. The collective is now preparing articles on the re-emergence of the CNT and other related topics. For a fuller account of the Roca strike, or to contact the Iberian News Service, please send correspondence c/o Open Road.

By Joanna Archer  
Iberian News Service

The issue central to the struggle was the workers' right—and power—to control the struggle directly by submitting all decisions to a daily assembly of all strikers. This principle of worker control was attacked not only by management, which immediately fired all the representatives elected by the assembly, but also by reformist trade unions and political parties, particularly the Communist Party (PCE), claiming to represent the working class.

It is highly significant that management met regularly with representatives of the unions while consistently refusing to negotiate with the strike committee elected by the workers.

Roca workers insisted on their right to make the decisions.

Over the last two years the creation of workers' assemblies and the undertaking of negotiation and fund-raising by committees responsible to the assembly has become the norm in strike situations. In the virtual general strike of December '75 and January '76 in Madrid, leaders of the clandestine labor organizations and left political parties acknowledged that the situation was not controlled by them but by the assemblies.

The CC.OO. (workers' commissions) has more members among the workers at the Roca factory than any of the other unions, though the number is far short of a majority. The CNT had three or four militants in the factory when the strike began.

Yet it was the CC.OO. headquarters which criticized the strike, abandoned it at crucial moments and collaborated with the Roca company. Such divisive actions, however, did not sway the strikers, who openly attacked the CC.OO. for its role.

And it was the small CNT, backed by a Trotskyist-dominated UGT local, which championed the strikers nationally and abroad and supported every decision of the workers' strike assembly.

Aside from the efforts of the small CNT, Roca strikers were effectively alone. For three months the Roca corporation indicated no inclination to settle the strike. Strikers were physically assaulted at various times by the police and right-wing commandos. Both the bourgeois and Communist Party clandestine press injuriously and inaccurately criticized strike methods. But it was the unanimity of the strikers in the face of such opposition which carried the day!

Up to the 95th day of the strike the workers refused to return to the plant by unanimous vote under the slogan "[Readmission of] All or None!"

Then in the 85th strike day, on February 2nd, the Barcelona magistrate's court (La Magistratura de Trabajo) found the company at fault and ordered the readmission with the back pay of 35 Roca-Gava employees in whose names the court action had been brought. The 35 had been fired on November 13 immediately following their election as representatives of the strike assembly.

The court decision served to vindicate the strikers' claims and to establish the strike's credibility. The verdict was given front-page headlines in most Barcelona dailies. And the CC.OO. quickly released a statement calling for readmission of those fired and solidarity with the strikers.

The company has ignored the court order and is appealing the case to higher courts.

The Roca-Gava factory is located in Baix Llobregat, a part of the Barcelona industrial belt which has seen some of the country's most intense labor conflicts and where a strike of these proportions has tremendous repercussions. Factory owners in the area had to form their own association, SEFES, to try to combat the frequent strikes and the massive solidarity work stoppages which quickly spread from one plant to another.

#### Workers' Control of Strike

Since a 41-day strike at Roca which ended in March, 1976 the issue has been the workers' right to control their own struggle. The workers drew one lesson from the earlier strike: the CNS "enlaces" (fascist union representatives) had not confronted management, whereas other workers without positions in the government-sponsored union had emerged to lead the struggle.

The workers decided to elect their own representatives by a show of hands in open assemblies, to subject all decisions to assembly approval and to develop their own organization within the factory.

Since March '76, the process had been one of trying to pressure Roca officials into negotiations with assembly-elected representatives and to accept the worker-controlled organization in the factory. The company answered with periodic reprisals.

In June '76, the workers elected 43 representatives subject to immediate recall by the assembly. These 43 elected a Workers' Committee (which in November became the strike committee) to lead negotiations with the company over their collective contract. The CNS representatives were forced to resign, and in early October, after several one-day strikes, the company agreed to negotiate the contract with the Workers' Committee.

It was the first victory for the workers!

its immediate end the emancipation of workers and the transformation of political and authoritarian States into the simple administration of public services.

The FAI was formed in 1926 during a time when it appeared the CNT was moving into the political spectrum, i.e., parliamentary politics, and within a decade it had grown to 30,000 members. By that time the CNT had two million.

During the years prior to the war, the FAI achieved immense influence within the CNT, although there was dissension by some CNT unions over perceived domination by the anarchists. During the war, the two organizations became structurally linked—in fact, virtually indistinguishable—and both suffered internal conflict over the necessity of collaborating with the State apparatus in the fight against Fascism and the terrible repression in its wake. With Franco's triumph, both were crushed and dismembered.

The conflict leading up to the recent 95-day strike centered around the firm's attempt to speed up an already forced rate of production in poorly ventilated workshops with work methods that frequently lead to severe back problems among workers. Production had been accelerated ever since Roca's entry in the international market.

A worker was charged to falsify chronometer readings in order to facilitate the speed-up. He resisted and repeatedly showed that the recordings were correct. As a result, he was subjected to such threats and pressure by the company that at the end of a month's time he suffered a nervous breakdown and was admitted to a psychiatric clinic, where he is still in residence.

The workers' assembly reacted to the case, and in consequence one of its representatives was fired on November 8. Work stoppages began at once, and the following day the company called in the Guardia Civil to clear the factory. The entire plant was suspended from employment and pay for four days. The assembly voted to go out on strike.

In issuing the strike call, the workers were acting independently of the four trade unions which later became involved. Only one of the 43 representatives who had been elected by the workers' assembly in June was a member of the PCE-dominated CC.OO. Another belonged to the anarcho-syndicalist CNT.

In fact, the CC.OO., the Socialist Party's UGT and the PTE (Partido de Trabajo de Espana, a left split from the PGE) actually opposed the move to go on strike in the first days of the conflict.

Roca officials fired all 43 representatives on November 13 and then refused to sit down at the negotiations table with any workers whose employment had been terminated.

Nine of those dismissed were reinstated before the end of January, including the CC.OO. representative. The remaining representatives took their case to court.

The Barcelona magistrate's court found that mere election as representative by a workers' assembly is not sufficient grounds for termination of employment. The court pointedly overlooked the fact that the strike itself was illegal, although the company's defense was limited to this point.

Individual judges and courts are increasingly putting liberal interpretations to repressive Spanish laws or even disregard them.

#### Roca's Vicious Campaign

From the earliest days of the strike the Roca corporation waged a vicious campaign against it. The company's accusations focused on the alleged sabotage of the plant kilns and twisted facts in what was in actuality an attempt to sabotage the strike.

All of the company's charges were echoed in the meetings and press of some left-wing parties and unions as proof that the strike and its methods were incorrect and prejudicial to the workers.

The CC.OO. and USO even went so far as to issue releases carried in the regular press in December cancelling a demonstration called by the workers' assembly!

Under attack from the left, the Roca workers were also immediately subject to threats and assaults from the right.

CNT, the monthly bulletin of the CNT

continued on p.18

## News from Nowhere

On the road this summer? Anarchists and anti-authoritarians can check out these gatherings and actions: The **Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (SRAF)** Continental Conference is scheduled for Milwaukee, July 29-31 and promises to be one of the more productive gatherings of anarchists in quite some time. All anarchists are invited and more information is available from **Mil-SRAF**, Box 92246 Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202....Two fund raising picnics for the anarchist movement will take place on July 10 and September 11 at Santa Theresa Park in San Jose, California. These picnics have raised many thousands of dollars in the past. Contact Bob Scofield, 2414 V St., No. 6, Sacramento, Calif. 95818 for more info....This year's **Camping International Libertaire Ecologique** will be held at Rouse-Renaix, Belgium from July 15 to August 15. Details of this anarchist campout are available from Eric Sobrie, Zonnestraat 3, 9792 Wortegem-Petegem, Belgium....A **Peacemakers** two-week orientation-to-non-violence program will be held August 14-27 in Michigan. Contact John Leininger, 1255 Paddock Hills Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45229. The tenth annual **War Resisters' League** Conference is happening August 11-14 in Lacey, Wash., near Tacoma. Non-violent actions are planned in connection with the **Bangor Summer** protests against the Trident nuclear submarine. Contact the **Pacific Life Community**, 331 17th Avenue East, Seattle, Wash. 98112....And in the East, the **Yippies** are planning a summer of weekend rock concerts at P Street Beach in Washington, D.C. leading up to the **8th Annual Marijuana Smoke-in**, July 2-4. Contact them at 1007 K St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20001....Last, but not least, is the **North American Vegetarian Society**, 501 Old Harding Hwy., Malaga, New Jersey 08328, congress to be held July 25-31 in Arcata, Calif.

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One of the more active anarchist groupings on the continent operates out of New York City's **Freespace/Alternative University**, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012. They produce the weekly **Freespace Newsletter**, a libertarian sheet of local and international tidbits....Also working out of the same address is the newly-formed **North American Black Cross** of which recently-released anarchist prisoner **Martin Sostre** is the secretary. This group hopes to aid prisoners directly with reading material, correspondence, and special assistance....**Murray Bookchin**, **Abe Bluestein** and **Sam Dolgoff** are collaborating on **News from Libertarian Spain**, a news packet to fill the information void on the anarchist resurgence in Spain. It is available free from the Freespace address....If you happen to be in the Big Apple on a weekend drop by Freespace around one o'clock Saturday (or is it Sunday?) for a rousing and dramatic tour of revolutionary New York conducted by **Bob Palmer**, the renaissance anarchist.

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**Totally Eclipsed**, Box 223, Jordan Station, Ontario, is a new Canadian group which believes, "Social change will be achieved through libertarian organs of popular self-activity consisting of delegates who will be subject to immediate recall and elected directly by the people involved". The **Monash Anarchists**, c/o The Union, Monash University, Clayton, 3168 Victoria, Australia wants to contact student anarcho-syndicalist groups....**Against the Wall**, POB 444, Westfield, New Jersey 07091, is celebrating its fifth anniversary as one of the few libertarian publications to survive such a stretch in the Northeast USA....The **Anarchist Workers' Association (AWA)** has changed its correspondence address to AWA, International Secretary Robert Howell, 14 Whitman Road, London E.3, Great Britain....**Mother Earth Books**, Box 30097, Wallingford Station, Seattle, Wash. 98103, is a not-for-profit anarchist mail order book service. Send for a catalogue.

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Some new anarchist and anti-authoritarian publications on the scene: **Zero**, BM Box 746, London VCIV 6XX, England, is an ambitious new anarchist publication which will feature articles on the new Fascism, Feminism & Anarchism, and the situation in Ireland and Germany in its first issue....Detailed information on the political situation in West Germany is available in **Verboten**, publication of the **Campaign Against Repression in West Germany**, 35 Wellington St., London WC2, England....**Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review**, Box A, "Over the Water," Sanday Orkney, KW17 2BZ, Great Britain, contains 66 pages of reviews of anarchist-oriented literature, including a history of the anarchist movement in Poland and extensive coverage of the literature on Spain....Some not-so-new publications worth reading including **Libertarian Education**, 6 Beaconsfield Rd., Leicester, England, Issue 22 will feature Donald Duck & Walt Disney and the teachers rank'n'file movement....Among the best is the well-established, lively, non-violence oriented **Peace News**, 8 Elm Ave., Nottingham, England.

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Many of the publications mentioned in this column, including **Open Road**, are distributed in Europe by the People's Distribution Co-op, 31 Clerkenwell Close, BOW DOW EC1, London, England....In North America a new group, **Carrier Pigeon**, 88 Fisher Ave., Boston, Mass. 02120 is attempting to set up a similar alternative distribution system.

# NWLF: good hit, no pitch

By Celine Hagbard

The New World Liberation Front, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization which has carried out an uninterrupted urban guerrilla offensive around the Bay Area and Northern California for almost three years, may well be the most tactically advanced guerrilla group in the United States. As a result of recent theoretical pronouncements on subjects such as anarchism, feminism, homosexuality and Zionism, however, they have made themselves the most controversial guerrillas within the revolutionary left as well.

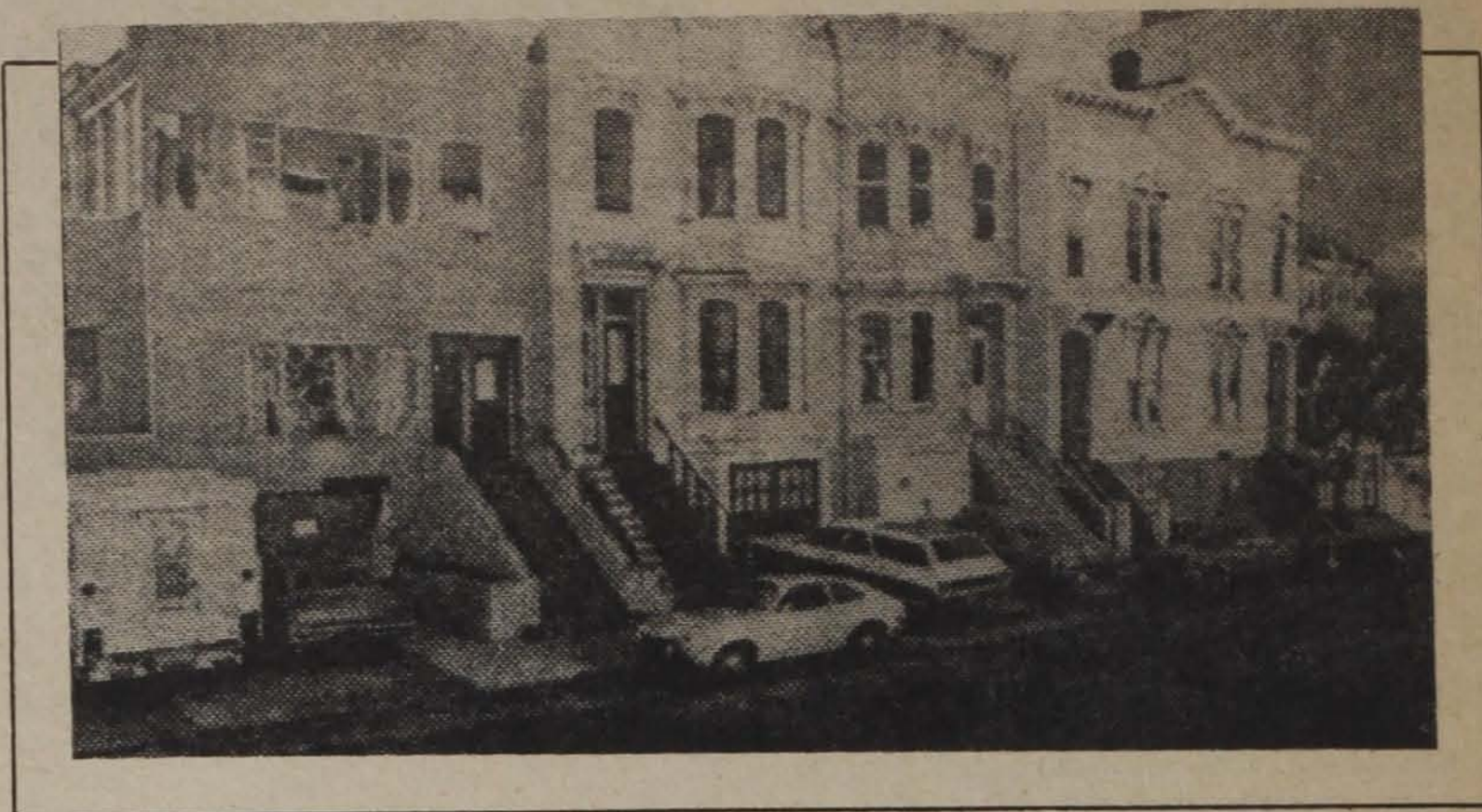
The NWLF first appeared in the wake of the SLA drama, with a bombing in September, 1974, directed against a San Francisco stock brokerage firm. From the beginning, the NWLF has distinguished itself from most other guerrilla organizations in the U.S. by two characteristics. First, although the bomb has remained its primary weapon, the NWLF's attacks have been focused mainly on local, concrete political issues rather than abstract symbolic protest; and, second, the group has made extensive use of a demand strategy, that is, revolutionary extortion.

As far as its paramilitary activities are concerned, the NWLF has a record of success which verges on the astonishing. The organization has carried out almost fifty successful bombings, including power stations, banks, office buildings and motor vehicles, without causing a single injury to anyone. Even more amazing is the fact that in the process of all these actions, not one underground member of the organization has ever been identified or apprehended.

The structure of the organization is somewhat unusual, and its size is unknown. A number of clandestine "combat units" apparently function with some degree of autonomy under the overall control of the "Central Command". Individual cells such as the Lucio Cabanas Unit, the Nat Turner/John Brown Unit, the Sam Melville/Jonathan Jackson Unit, as well as the Central Command, have each claimed credit for numerous actions. Many have been carried out in conjunction with ongoing campaigns declared by the Central Command against targets such as Pacific Gas and Electric, slumlords (scumlords) in the Bay Area, and the recent campaign against the County Board of Supervisors for improved jail health facilities. Other attacks have been one-shot deals, such as the bombings of the South African consulate, or the spectacular bombing at the San Simeon mansion during the Patty Hearst trial.

### Underground Network

In addition to the underground combat units, a public support structure has evolved, featuring an aboveground unit with an office, printing press, and press credentials called People's Information Relay No. 1



Four buildings on Capp Street in San Francisco which were renovated at insistence of NWLF.

(PIR-1) and several "intelligence units." PIR-1 has been active in distributing communiques from the NWLF to the press and to targets of NWLF campaigns, as well as in publishing the group's magazine **The Urban Guerilla (TUG)**.

These activities have resulted in federal prosecutions against PIR-1 members Andy Lougher and Jacques Rogier for threatening public officials, extortion, destroying evidence and conspiracy. Despite numerous house searches, grand jury subpoenas and other harassment of PIR-1, Lougher has been acquitted, Rogiers has not yet been convicted, and PIR-1 has continued to function.

The intelligence units are apparently responsible for the rather extensive research into the names, addresses, and power relationships of public and corporate officials in the Bay Area which appear frequently in NWLF communiques and their publication. This intelligence serves the dual purpose of publicizing corporate and government collusion, while inviting the public to join in attacks on targeted officials.

Despite the considerable successes of the NWLF in organizing and sustaining their armed attacks, the NWLF has managed to make itself highly unpopular within much of the left. In several instances, suspicions and distrust of the group have arisen around the unclear role played by the NWLF in relation to other left groups.

Even more controversial, however, have been several abstract theoretical pronouncements issued by the Central Command. The most recent such statement, entitled "Notes on Anarchy" published in TUG No. 4, appears to be an attempt by the NWLF to counter the rapidly-increasing anarchist and anti-authoritarian tendencies appearing among militants engaged in revolutionary armed struggle in the U.S., and their supporters. The criticism, which contains traditional Maoist condemnations of "ultra-democracy" and "petit-bourgeois" unwillingness to accept orders from "leadership," mistakenly equates anarchy with lack of organization and leadership with proletarian dictatorship.

While the authoritarian, hierarchical politics of the NWLF have tended to isolate them from many who would otherwise support their tac-

tics, "Notes on Anarchy" does represent a significant and comradely attempt to engage in dialogue with anarchists and anti-authoritarian communist militants. The statement says, for example, that "The concept of Anarchy covers a broad spectrum of political thought, and it is important to remember that the contradictions between those who call themselves anarchists and the New World Liberation Front are not antagonistic." In the final paragraph, the organization also seems to recognize the possibility of "leadership" based on experience, talent, and example, rather than on position in an organizational hierarchy.

### Feminism & Homosexuality

The NWLF particularly outraged large segments of its sympathizers, though, with a series of statements in mid-1976 on the role of feminism and homosexuality in the revolutionary movement. These edicts, passed down on high from the Central Command, relegated feminism and the struggle against sexism to a position subordinate to the economic struggles of poor and working people. The gay movement was essentially denounced as being entirely reactionary, the outgrowth of a petit-bourgeois sexual perversion. This "more oppressed than thou" position met with almost total condemnation from other revolutionary people and organizations. A number of written criticisms, including those from the Left Bank Collective of Seattle, Emily Harris, George Jackson Brigade member Ed Mead, and a collective of working women, have been published in **Dragon**, the discontinued periodical of the Bay Area Research Collective.

The NWLF got itself into trouble again with a communique in August, 1976, on the "Zionist-American ruling class" which postulated a mythical Jewish conspiracy of bankers and capitalists reminiscent of Hitler's anti-Jewish propaganda. The statement was accompanied by a cartoon depicting a board meeting of Jewish bankers, complete with yarmulkes and caricatured hooked noses. An excellent statement detailing the anti-Jewish racism in the communique, which also discusses the importance of distinguishing between anti-imperialist opposition to

Zionism, and racism against Jews within the left, can be obtained from O.K.A., Box 4344, Sather Gate Station, Berkeley, California 94704.

The NWLF is clearly one of the most significant and important urban guerrilla organizations which has yet developed in the United States, and its successes can not be ignored. Its recent campaign to improve health care in San Francisco County Jails, for example, is costing the city \$147,000 per month in security precautions for members of the Board of Supervisors, who live now under constant armed guard. Even "respectable" liberal columnists like the San Francisco Chronicle's Herb Caen have pointed out the injustice of a government which would rather surround itself with expensive police protection than provide decent medical care to prisoners. And last year, the Bay View Savings and Loan Association, one of the ten "scumlords" on an NWLF target list, put the organization on the front pages of the nation's newspapers when it capitulated to NWLF demands to upgrade its slum housing.

No other North American guerrilla group has attained the technical proficiency or the tactical genius of the NWLF, and the organization's commitment to direct action, respect for human life, and uncompromising militance have earned it the deserved respect of revolutionaries and its corporate enemies alike. But until the NWLF recognizes that the "total liberation" to which it so frequently refers means just that—freedom for all of us, not the dictatorship of the "most oppressed" over the rest—it will no doubt continue to receive only limited, critical support from others within the revolutionary left who endorse its tactics and smile with the news of each new NWLF victory against corporate power and the State.

### BULLETIN

As the **Open Road** goes to press, word has just been received that PIR-1 has broken from the clandestine NWLF. However PIR-1 has said it is still willing to handle NWLF communiques if requested.

Sources indicate that the split results from PIR-1's dissatisfaction with NWLF's authoritarianism.



## RACIST JUDGE SILENCES DEFENSE

# PELTIER NAILED FOR TWO LIFE TERMS

"Sometimes circumstantial evidence is the best there is."

That's how the prosecutor complacently summed up the government's case at the trial this Spring of Leonard Peltier, a 34-year-old Chipewewa-Sioux Indian militant charged with murdering two FBI agents during a gun battle two years ago at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

The prosecutor got his conviction from an all-white Fargo, N.D., jury, but he didn't rely on circumstantial evidence to do it. It took a combination of intimidated witnesses (an FBI specialty), doctored documents, a hamstrung defense and an outrageously biased judge to railroad the defendant into two consecutive life terms in the penitentiary.

Peltier's lawyers are already preparing their appeal, and they are fairly confident they will get a new trial because of the obvious misconduct of the FBI, the prosecutor and the judge. But in the meanwhile, Peltier, an American Indian Movement (AIM) activist and veteran of Wounded Knee,

## Murray Slammed Again

Marie Murray, a young Irish anarchist, has been given a life sentence at her second trial in less than a year before a juryless Special Court in the Republic of Ireland. The decision took the special tribunal less than ten minutes.

At her first trial Marie and her husband Noel were sentenced to hang for the killing of an off-duty policeman following a bank robbery in Dublin.

After numerous international protests the Irish Supreme Court reduced Noel's death sentence to life at hard labour and declared a new trial for Marie before the same politically motivated tribunal which had convicted Noel and her in the first place.

Ronan Stenson, the Murray's co-accused who was unable to appear at the first trial because of the severe tortures he had received at the hands of the authorities, was found *Not Guilty* in a separate trial shortly after the Supreme Court action. His freedom has been attributed to the climate created by the international solidarity campaign waged on behalf of the Murrays and the recent public revelations of the widespread use of torture in the Republic's prisons which confirmed both his and the Murrays' allegations of torture.

At her second trial, Marie Murray was defended by a lawyer who was able to show many gaps in the prosecution's circumstantial case. These included the fact that the bullets discovered by the police at the Murrays' home were not the same as those which killed the policeman as the prosecution had alleged.

The three man Special

will be obliged to sit inside for the next six months at a minimum, and that's on top of the eleven months he languished in solitary confinement in a Canadian jail fighting extradition.

### Courtroom Test

Both sides agree on one thing: the political implications of the case easily make it the most significant courtroom test in 1977 involving a Native American. The shoot-out at the Pine Ridge village of Oglala, which is near Wounded Knee, and the subsequent victimization of Peltier crystallize the ongoing confrontation between traditionalist native people and the U.S. government over control of the resource-rich Indian lands across the continent.

During the month-long trial and the Canadian extradition hearing that preceded it, Peltier's lawyers and defense committee have documented the state of war that exists on the Pine Ridge Reservation, with a heavily-armed, quasi-military FBI force and its Indian goon squad allies terrorizing the local population and fostering a climate of violence that led to 300 unnatural deaths in a three-year period following the occupation of Wounded Knee.



Leonard Peltier

The FBI has targeted Peltier as part of its dirty tricks campaign to harass and intimidate the militant native movement, to tie up its activists in endless court battles (more than 500 charges after Wounded Knee, and only six convictions) and to sap its energy and its resources in purely defensive measures.

Court tribunal was also apparently split by the evidence that Marie's alleged confession, the only "real" evidence against her, was made during the torture of her husband. However, the tribunal majority ruled that the confession was admissible despite the circumstances under which it was obtained.

It is expected that Marie will lodge an appeal of her conviction for non-capital murder. The Murray Defense Committee which has been co-ordinating the Murray solidarity campaign, has not yet made a decision on what course of action to pursue in the future. The Committee has thanked the many thousands of people who have supported the Murrays' cause. They report that although Marie is kept in strict isolation she was aware of the many demonstrations held on her behalf April 23-

## Marion Brothers Win One

Prisoners in the infamous Long Term Control Unit at Marion (Ill.) Federal Penitentiary have forced the prison administration to back down from its announced policy of banning all leftist and "suspect" literature from going inside the walls.

The reversal followed numerous public protests and the threat of a law suit. The authorities had been hoping to further isolate the prison population as part of their strategy of defense against another lawsuit aimed at abolishing the Control Unit as cruel and unusual punishment. The class action suit by the prisoners is expected to be heard in federal court in the next few months.

The Control Unit was opened in 1968 as the key element in a new and more systematic approach to brainwashing and mind control of prisoners. Since then,

Marion has been a trailblazer in use of such methods of control as involuntary behavioural conditioning and drug treatments, constant electronic surveillance, denial of fundamental religious rights and physical and psychological torture.

Brainwashers at Marion use a perverted combination of various group "therapies" in order to attack the ego of the prisoner with the object of reducing him to a state of helplessness. As a reward for this self-humiliation, the "model" prisoners are allowed to live in a separate, more comfortable cell-block and are accorded small luxuries and privileges.

For the uncooperative prisoner, however, the reward is the Long Term Control Unit, a prison-within-a-prison where sensory deprivation is a key tool in enforcing discipline.

The investigation following the killings was the most intensive in FBI history. Two of Peltier's co-accused, Bob Robideau and Dino Butler, went on trial last summer in Iowa, but they were acquitted by the jury, which accepted an argument of self-defense—virtually unprecedented in conflicts between ordinary citizens and government agents.

### FBI in a Panic

The acquittals of Robideau and Butler threw the FBI into a panic, and the conviction of Peltier became a top-priority goal, even though there wasn't a single shred of direct evidence linking him to the deaths. FBI misconduct at the earlier trial had turned the Iowa jury against the government's case, but in North Dakota, where anti-Indian racism runs stronger, and with a judge who had proven himself anti-Indian during the Wounded Knee trials, the FBI was able to go all-out to fabricate its case.

A few examples (selected from many):  
—The main "evidence" against Peltier at the Canadian extradition hearing was an FBI-sponsored affidavit by Myrtle Poor Bear declaring she was his girl friend and was with him when he killed the two agents. But Poor Bear was never called as a witness at the Fargo trial, and, in fact, the prosecution opposed defense

25.

In Canada, a protest was held in Toronto and in Vancouver a petition and poster/leaflet was distributed.

One of Marie's recently released sister-prisoners says that Marie "has the strongest will-power of any prisoner I have seen... I can barely understand how she has survived at all." Marie's cell is roughly nine by six with a toilet in the corner and 24 hour presence of two matrons who use the same toilet. She is not allowed to receive any outside mail and the visits of relatives are strictly limited.

Donations to cover the costs of the Murrays' campaign and requests for more information can be sent to the Murray Defense Committee, 155 Church Road, Celbridge, County Kildare, Republic of Ireland.

Prisoners in the Control Unit spend 23½ hours a day locked in their cells for indefinite periods of time.

The ultimate sanction at Marion is to be stashed in the "boxcars," cells from which all sound and natural light is blocked. Many prisoners, after languishing in the boxcars, have become mentally unbalanced and suicidal.

Marion was built 100 miles from the nearest city in order to cut the prisoners off from outside contact or support. Still, the prisoners have managed to fight back through work stoppages and other forms of direct action (despite retaliatory beatings and other indignities) and through some partially successful law suits.

The struggle on the outside is being coordinated by the National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers, 6199 Waterman, St. Louis, Mo. 63112.



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

attempts to call her. Reason: Poor Bear, who had never laid eyes on Peltier, had subsequently admitted she was forced to sign the affidavit by the FBI under the threat that she herself would be charged with murder.

—In a Watergate-like turn, an FBI stenographer told the court she had destroyed all her notes of the radio transmissions made by the two FBI agents who were later

killed. As well, she testified that much of her official record of the transmissions was produced under dictation from an FBI higher-up, and not from the actual radio messages she had monitored.

—Of the three witnesses who claimed to have seen Peltier in the area where the agents were shot, two of them were Indians who subsequently admitted on the stand they were told what to say. The

third witness, an FBI agent, was discredited when he admitted his "sighting" was made through the scope of a rifle at a distance of a half-mile as "Peltier" was running away with his back to him.

### Defense Steamrollered

The judge routinely dismissed defense objections to such irregularities, prevented the defense from in-

roducing evidence as to the conditions of government-fostered lawlessness on the reservation, and even silenced Poor Bear and other possible defense witnesses. As well, he imposed severe restrictions on the defense committee's outside support work, and sent AIM national secretary John Trudell to jail for contempt of court.

The defense committee is now gearing up for the appeal. For more information (and to send contributions), write to the committee c/o Native American Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 3426, St.-Paul, Minn.

Meanwhile, back in Canada, Frank Blackhorse still is receiving much the same brand of hospitality that Peltier got before his extradition.

Blackhorse, an AIM militant from the Lakota Nation, was arrested with Peltier at a remote Indian en-

## German Guerrillas Raise The Ante

On March 29, the Red Army Faction (Baader-Meinhoff gang) prisoners in Stammheim, a prison fortress constructed especially to hold the West German guerrilla group, embarked on a hunger strike. In addition to being a protest against prison conditions, the total lack of constitutional rights for the prisoners, the differential treatment they have gotten and the violations of the Geneva Convention, the prisoners demand that the government cease maligning (e.g. by claiming RAF planned to poison the drinking water of a city in 1974) and end the isolation of the imprisoned.

In addition to the protest, the hunger strike is an expression of solidarity with all other anti-fascist revolutionary prisoners. It has brought massive publicity for the RAF prisoners and has created consternation in the government, which fears some of the prisoners may die as a result of the strike.

Members of the June 2nd movement and prisoners in Frankfurt, Hamburg, Berlin and other cities have joined in solidarity with the hunger strike. In April, two churches were occupied in Frankfurt and Bielefeld to publicize the plight of those on the hunger strike and to force the church to take a position. Expressions of solidarity have also come from Italy, where the non-government radio stations have covered news about the strike, and from Switzerland where a concert was interrupted to spread the information.

The fear aroused in the authorities by the Siegfried Bubach assassination has further tightened security around political prisoners. Bubach, West Germany's Chief Prosecutor, was recently submachine-gunned by the Ulrike Meinhoff Action Committee while waiting for a traffic light to change. He had played a major role in the trial of the Red Army Faction and had helped initiate "anti-terrorist" laws which eliminated the confidentiality of lawyer/client relations and enabled the State to hold suspected guerrillas up to five years before trial.



Dickie Picariello, escorted by FBI agents to arraignment in Boston after his arrest in Fall River, Mass.

## New England Bomb Trials

The case against three New England prison activists charged in connection with a series of bombings has been thrown into limbo now that their chief accuser has been declared physically and psychologically unfit to stand trial himself.

Police informer Joey Aceto has had his own trial on bombing and bank robbery charges postponed indefinitely after a judge barred him from entering a plea. Aceto's testimony was instrumental in convicting Dickie Picariello, Everett Carlson and Edward Guillon in separate trials in Maine on the first charges against them—interstate transportation of explosives—and he was expected to testify in further trials.

Defense committee organizer Kathi Picariello, whose husband Dickie got ten years in prison, said Aceto's breakdown casts

doubt on his previous court testimony, and will certainly be an element in an upcoming appeal. Aceto had claimed that he, Picariello, Carlson and Guillon were members of the Fred Hampton Unit, a guerrilla group that assumed responsibility for a bombing at the Central Maine Power Company's headquarters in May, 1976, and "involvement" in a spate of blasts that rocked New England shortly before the bicentennial festivities last year.

Guillon and Picariello, former activists in the now defunct statewide prison organization SCAR, were convicted by Maine courts for crossing state lines with intent to bomb the A&P regional office and Polaroid Company headquarters neither of which was actually bombed. Carlson, also an ex-SCAR member, was found guilty on similar charges

stemming from the July 1, 1976 bombings of an Eastern Airlines plane (Boston), a National Guard truck (Dorchester, Mass.), and the Essex County Courthouse (Newburyport, Mass.). While Guillon and Picariello were acquitted of that charge, all three are still to be tried in Massachusetts on the same charges.

Meanwhile, the New England bombings continue. The Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit, which bombed two county courthouses and a bank in 1976, celebrated Jimmy Carter's recent visit to Massachusetts with a blast at the Ideal Roller Company, in solidarity with imprisoned Puerto Rican nationalists.

For further information about the Carlson, Guillon, and Picariello trials contact the committee to Secure a Fair Trial, P.O. Box 1946 Portland, Maine 04101.

## Plug Pulled On SWAT Squads

Do one or two swallows make a Spring? A few communities, including Cleveland, West Hartford, Conn., and Santa Cruz, Calif., have recently disbanded their SWAT squads as a waste of money and personnel.

Seems they were just sitting idle, with all their high-powered weaponry going to rust and all their high-powered commandos going

to seed. Indications are that a number of other small-to-medium towns are also having second thoughts.

It's only a dent, though, because at present about 3,000 police departments across North America have assembled SWAT (special weapons and tactics) units to deal with highjackings, kidnappings and other forms of "terrorism." About 150 new units are formed each year,

many of them getting special training at the FBI academy in Quantico, Va.

SWAT squads found their raison d'être during the 1960's when it looked like the hairy hordes were about to take over. Several California communities got theirs going as a result of the 1964 Free Speech Movement in Berkeley, but the big impetus was the black riots later in Harlem, Watts and Detroit.

campment in the Rocky Mountains of Alberta in January, 1975, and was immediately told he would be deported to the U.S., where the authorities want him on Wounded Knee charges.

A year and a half later, Blackhorse is still languishing in a cell at Fort Saskatchewan Penitentiary. His crimes: possession of one joint of marijuana, for which he was sentenced to 14 days

in jail (later reversed on appeal) and attempted jailbreak, for which he got 20 months.

Blackhorse was first held on an immigration warrant, but this was switched to the dope charge only after the Canadian government was unable to prove he had entered the country illegally.

Defense lawyers have argued that Blackhorse (Indian name: Shunka Wakan Sapa) is the victim of an abuse of legal process in that the government is using the criminal charges as a cover to deport him. They haven't yet been successful with this argument, and time is running out: his sentence on the jailbreak conviction runs out in October.

Contact Blackhorse's defense committee at P.O. Box 264, Sub 11, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alta., or write Blackhorse directly at Box 10, Fort Saskatchewan, Alta.



Frank Blackhorse

## Links Without Chains

### Another Armstrong Snatched

Yet another chapter of the Vietnam War is unfolding in Madison, Wis., where Dwight Armstrong is awaiting sentencing for second-degree murder in connection with the 1970 bombing of a University of Wisconsin war research facility in which a researcher was accidentally killed. Armstrong, 25, was arrested in April in Toronto, Ont., after having spent some time in Canada underground. He is the third person to go to trial for the bombing: his older brother Karleton, who was picked up in Toronto in 1972, got 23 years; and David Fine got seven years. Dwight's lawyers are hoping for a relatively light sentence, considering Carter's various amnesties. More information from Armstrong Defense Committee, Box 962, Madison, Wis., 53701.

### Women Guinea Pigs...

Massachusetts correctional and mental health authorities are trying a new tack in their assault on the rights of women prisoners they consider to be potentially "dangerous." For the past couple of years they have been attempting to transfer them to an all-male psychiatric institution, but because of adverse publicity they are now in the process of creating a federally-subsidized "Intensive Care Unit for Emotionally Disturbed Women" at Worcester State Hospital. This unit, scheduled to open in the Fall, will likely serve as a laboratory for testing experimental psychiatric techniques and be used as the ultimate threat to prisoners and mental patients in other institutions (Stay in line or you'll go to Worcester). Potential "patients" are already being screened for enrollment. Opposition is being coordinated by the Coalition To Stop Institutional Violence, P.O. Box 1, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

### French Anarchists Languishing

More than two years after they were picked up for questioning in connection with the International Groups of Revolutionary Action (GARI), three young French anarchists are still under detention, with no indication of when they will even face trial. The three, Michael Camilleri, Mario Ines Torres and Jean Marc Rouillon, were picked up in the sweep that followed the wave of protest across Europe over the 1974 execution of Spanish anarchist Puig Antich. GARI has claimed responsibility for kidnapping a Spanish banker in Paris and successfully negotiating a \$250,000 ransom and the reading of all their demands over Spanish TV. Write to the three prisoners at Prison de la Sante; 42 rue de la Sante; 75014, Paris France; or contact the Comité d'Informations sur les Detenus des ex-GARI, Martin BP4098; 31030 Toulouse, France.

### One Step Forward, Two Backward...

Jay Weiner, the 22-year-old former sportswriter jailed for refusing to talk to a Philadelphia grand jury about the Patty Hearst case, has won his release after four months. Weiner was ordered sprung after he convinced a judge that he would never talk, and therefore it would be senseless to keep him behind bars—possibly an important legal precedent.... Meanwhile, a New York grand jury investigating bombings attributed to the Puerto Rican Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) have imprisoned two women associated with the Hispanic Commission of the Episcopal Church in an obvious attempt to stifle church involvement in the Puerto Rican cause. The two women, Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, face 14 months behind bars for refusing to talk. More information from the Grand Jury Project, Room 1415, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Also see *Open Road*, issue no. 2 (Spring 1977).

### U.S. Prisons Crammed...

"What we're seeing is a massive counterattack against programs like probation that allow offenders to remain in the community. The climate has shifted in favor of punishment." That's how Harvard criminologist Loyd Ohlin explains the all-time high figures in 1976 for prisoners in U.S. federal and state institutions. The totals reached 249,000 behind bars, an increase of eleven per cent over the previous year. Every state except California, which has instituted new parole procedures, showed increases in prison populations.

### CNT Militant Sprung...

Fernando Carballo Blanco, 52, the longest-serving political prisoner in Spain, has been released by the "liberal" Juan Carlos regime. Carballo Blanco, a life-long working class militant and anarchist, was sentenced to 30 years in 1964 after being accused of involvement in a plot to assassinate Franco. Since his release he has been actively involved in the rebuilding of the CNT, and he addressed the CNT rally of 40,000 militants on March 27 in a Madrid bullring (see article this issue).

Meanwhile, Spanish draft resister Manuel Escariz Magarinos remains in custody despite Juan Carlos' vaunted amnesties. Magarinos was drafted in October, 1975, and decided to become a conscientious objector in July, 1976, after coming into contact with a CO support group that was on a hunger strike in support of another CO. He has since been confined to a tiny cell with three other prisoners for 23 hours a day, and his lawyer has been arrested for trying to defend him. Demonstrations in his support have been held in several Spanish cities. He can be contacted at 2nd Regimiento de la Infanteria Mercanizada, Wad-Ras 55, Paseo de Extremadura, Madrid, Spain.

# Emma Goldman

"I want  
freedom, the  
right to self-  
expression,  
everybody's right  
to beautiful,  
radiant things."



Emma Goldman, anarchist and feminist. For more than 50 years, she spoke out, wrote and organized on behalf of the Social Revolution.

POSTER #3

**OpenRoad**

Newsjournal available on request:  
Box 6135, Station G  
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

# Peeling away the taboo

By Luciente

The battle lines are being drawn on many fronts... including beach fronts.

The most controversial direct action many people make is to take off all their clothes on a public beach. With this act of defiance may come a realization that the taboo against nude sunbathing is a totalitarian repression of a very natural activity.

Nudity in our society creates a double bind. On the one hand, our naked bodies are considered lewd, obscene and always sexual, and we are told we should be ashamed to be seen without clothes. Even children learn to hide their nakedness behind a wall of cloth and to feel uncomfortable when they are undressed. The fashion industry thrives on this artificially inflated need and puts enormous effort into emphasizing our coverings instead of ourselves.

At the same time, capitalism exploits our naked bodies, especially the bodies of women, which are objectified and used as commodities to sell goods. In fact they become commodities which are themselves sold. Many people see a naked woman only as a commodity.

In essence, people, and especially women, have become mannequins to be dressed and undressed according to the dictates of external forces.

There are two major responses to this manipulation of our bodies: some people wear baggy, out-of-style clothing to avoid being seen as sex objects; others defy society by public nudity. By either behaviour, they consciously operate outside the rules defined by capitalism.

Part of the double-bind is that we can feel wrong whether we are clothed or unclothed.

Unclothed, we often feel uncomfortable and very conscious of the role our bodies (especially women's bodies) play as capitalism's sex symbols. Yet, when we are forced to stay dressed on a public beach, for example, a real physical barrier is maintained which contributes to the alienation we already feel from each other. Clothing prevents people from getting too close to each other and inhibits the development of our natural interdependence. It is essential to capitalism that we remain separated and fragmented in many ways—economically, socially and physically. We want to overcome barriers which separate us and force us to remain isolated both symbolically and actually.

Therefore we have to be able to remove our clothes—remove at least one layer of our oppression—on our own terms. We want our bodies to become our natural physical selves. When we want to take our clothes off,

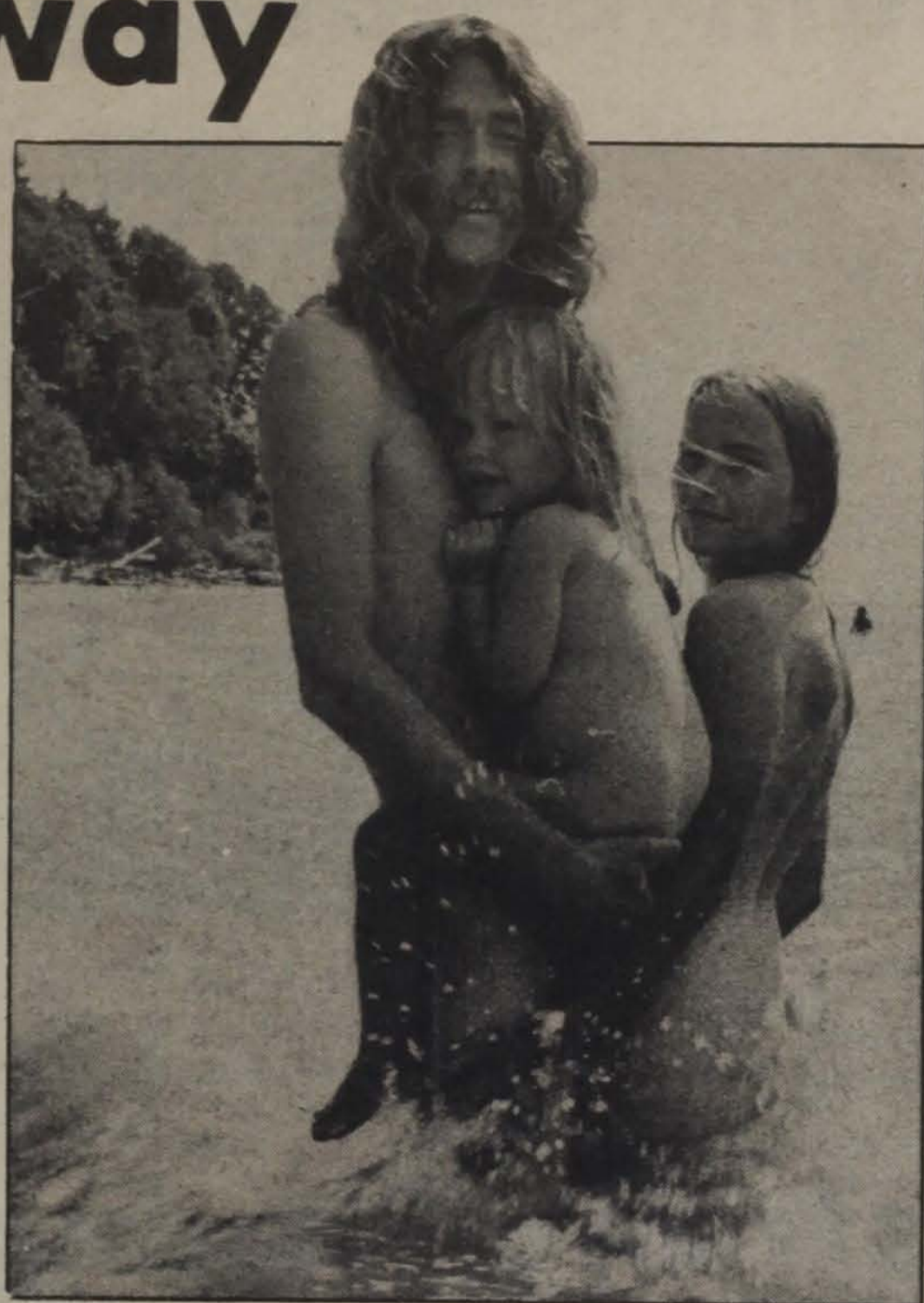
we will; we will not allow ourselves to become commodities when we do.

This is what the thousands of people who go to nude beaches are doing. They are taking back control of their bodies from the society that has co-opted them for its own uses.

In Canada, there are no "legal" nude beaches, but there are places that are used by thousands of nude bathers which the police now overlook.

At Wreck and Towers beach in Vancouver in 1970, thirteen people were arrested on obscenity charges for being nude. They were found not guilty. Soon after that, a nude-in at the beach attracted three thousand people, and it has been publicly known as a nude beach ever since, with no harassment from the police.

In many countries around the world, nude sunbathing is now considered to be quite



Summer day at Wreck Beach in Vancouver.

acceptable. In Holland, much of the country's shoreline has been designated as naturalist beaches. The Justice Minister of the Catholic People's Par-

ty has declared that nakedness in public is not necessarily sinful or criminal as long as the special beaches are clearly marked.

## Moving for grassroots social change

You could call it the largest conference on non-violent activism on record—and it was all financed (however reluctantly) by the government.

It was 691 anti-nuclear protestors of the Clamshell Alliance under detention in the Manchester, New Hampshire, national guard armory for two weeks, conducting workshops in non-violent direct action, democratic group decision-making, street speaking and other techniques of social change. And they didn't stop at talk: they staged a sit-in forcing the state police to back down from their attempt to collar 33 protestors for an initial round of trials over the Mayday occupation at the nuclear plant site in Seabrook, N.H.

The workshops, and similar ones in four other armories, were coordinated by the eight-year-old Movement for a New Society (MNS), an emerging national network of training centres and action collectives which represents the largest (350 members and 2,000 friends in 20 locations) active anti-authoritarian organization in North America. MNS was invited by the Clamshell people to help prepare the protestors for non-violent confrontation with authorities, and 29 MNS members were among the 1,500 who were eventually arrested.

MNS describes itself as radical, non-violent, feminist, decentralist. The following excerpt is from an article by Cynthia Arvio which appeared in *Communities* magazine. For more information, contact MNS at 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19143.

Movement for a New

Society is a network of small groups connected by a similar radical analysis of the problems of society; a vision of what a new society can be; and a strategy of nonviolent direct action to help bring it about. Its member groups are engaged in different kinds of grassroots social change action, from neighborhood organizing to pressure to eliminate the military. Many of these groups live communally.

### Living the Revolution

MNS members sometimes debate whether to use such phrases as decentralized socialism or communitarian anarchism to describe our vision of the society we would like to see. If you like such terms, fine; if you don't, it doesn't matter, because it's not the terms but the society we're working toward and the strategy we use that make the difference. We believe in taking charge of our lives starting to live the revolution now, creating new institutions alongside the old, developing new forms of human relationships; but we acknowledge that as this happens the old order will feel threatened and confrontation will be necessary. We are pledged to do this non-violently because violence only begets more violence.

Collectives are the working units of MNS, groups of 2 to 12 people who work at a project relating to our overall strategies. For example, the Peace Conversion collective in Philadelphia is working on a long-term campaign against militarism; the Namibia Action group is joining with others in efforts for self-determination for South West Africa; and collectives opposed to nuclear power

have carried out actions in several parts of the country.

I'm a member of a feminist collective. These women's support groups in Philadelphia and several other places are dedicated to

Fatted Sprout, a catering collective, another.

### Training Non-Violence

Training is a very important part of MNS program. Several collectives in



Seabrook protesters create free zone inside Concord Armory.

eliminating sexism within MNS, relating to the larger women's movement, and providing emotional support for their members. Men's groups are meeting for somewhat the same purpose.

The Macro-analysis Collective wrote, sells and constantly updates a manual for a self-directed 24-week study course now in use in about 60 places in the U.S. The manual contains a list of readings on such subjects as ecology, domestic and foreign policy, women's struggles, and hunger, as well as a detailed plan for an egalitarian process for the course.

Another type of collective is an economic institution which earns a livelihood for its members (as the "political" collectives do not). Here in Philadelphia the Community Associates Printing Collective is one and the

Philadelphia now carry it out. Training is a word broad enough to cover a multitude of experiences in learning: individual change, group process, community living, and organizing and carrying out nonviolent action campaigns. Orientation week-ends are held each month in Philadelphia. Two-week sessions are being held four times a year for those who have already had some experience in organizing in their own localities and want to be more effective in, for example, community action organizations, women's rights groups, or alternative economic institutions. Long-term training involves two years of living and working here with a group bent on absorbing as much as possible in order to become active in nonviolent social change work elsewhere. Trainers are those who have been through

nude for years at Sumerland Beach. In the summer of 1975, hundreds were arrested by mounted police during a series of raids and harassments.

On the east coast, nude beaches have also encountered problems. Truro Beach on Cape Cod has been a nude beach since the 1800's. In 1974, the Cape Cod National Seashore administration decided to intervene because the beach (a U.S. Federal recreation facility) was getting too crowded. This beach is now closed to nude bathers because it is considered to be an ecological hazard to have the beach so crowded. However, in their enforcement of the ban, the Park Rangers are doing further damage to the environment: they have cut roads through the fragile vegetation so that National Park Service jeeps can patrol the area and catch skinny-dippers.

Public nudity by itself will not bring the revolution. It managed to co-exist with fascism quite comfortably in Germany. It can be either a symbol of liberation or of oppression. It can be a very real declaration of personal freedom and control. We have many layers of oppression to remove and our clothes may be one of the easiest and most clearly liberating layers to take off. Try it!

the process themselves, not experts from anywhere else. Though the Philadelphia Life Center has become a center for such training, MNS philosophy of decentralization is leading to the development of training programs in other parts of the country.

Each working collective (not necessarily the members of one house) is independent but responsible to the wider MNS network to communicate what it is thinking and doing and to provide help to others in a crunch. We agree to be egalitarian in our group structure; to work nonviolently; to analyze society from a radical perspective; and to relate our work to the work of other collectives. The people in each group are closely associated in their personal lives as well. More and more, community living and radical action seem to exist in combination.

### Decisions By Consensus

MNS is becoming known among movement groups for its group process. In brief, we use facilitators, a role which each of us fills from time to time; a planned agenda, modified if necessary by participants; and agreed-upon amounts of time to discuss separate items, e.g. 5 minutes or 20 minutes. These result in meetings which are productive, seldom drag and cannot be dominated by one or two vocal individuals. Everybody, not just the facilitators, is responsible for good group process.

Decisions are made by consensus, which works best when people know and trust

continued on p.19

# Battered women: breaking ties that bind

By Jannit Jones

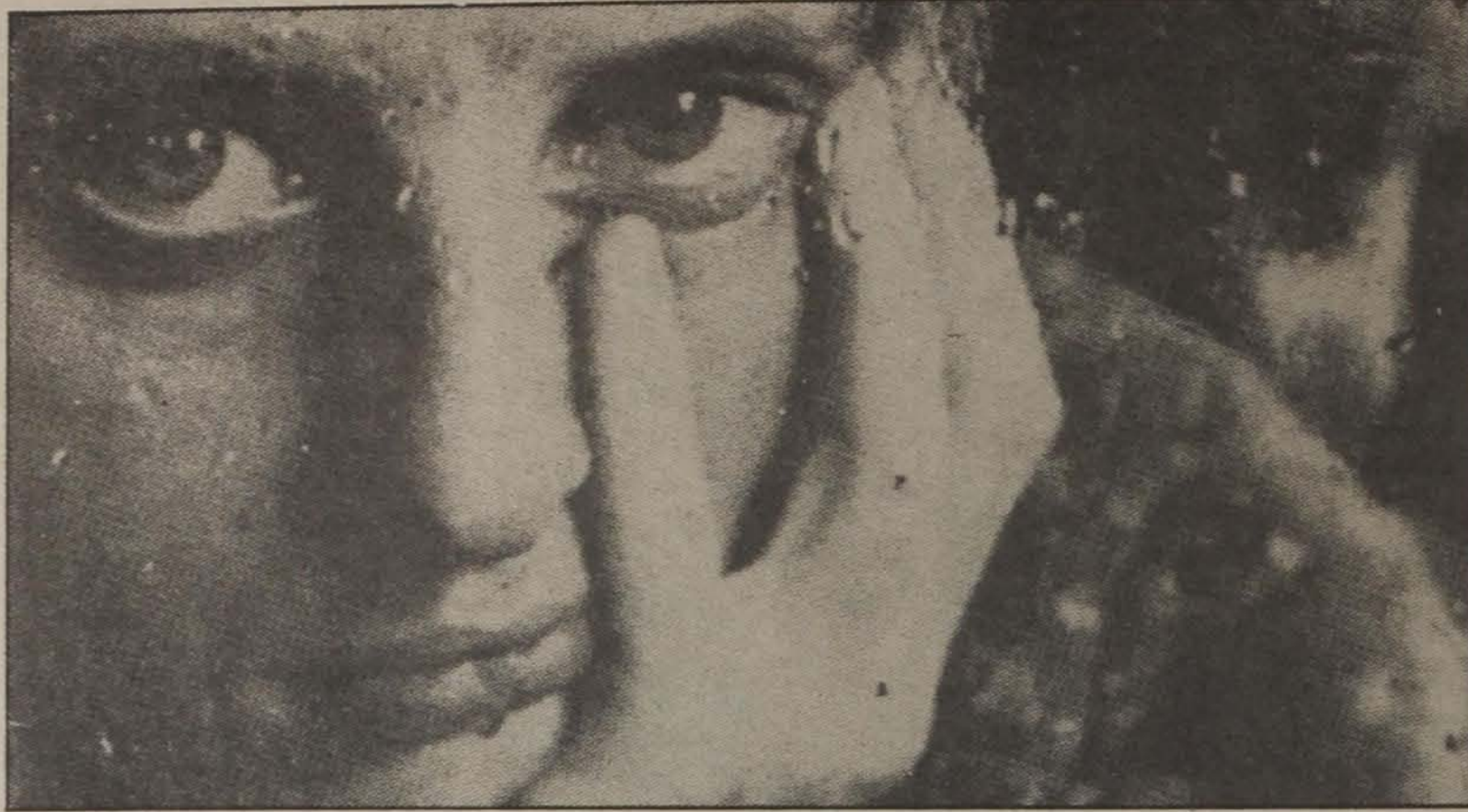
Police like to call them "family disputes"—the better to ignore them. In Atlanta, they comprise 60 per cent of night shift police calls; in Boston, they average about 45 per day, or 18,000 per year; in Vancouver, the official police policy is not to "interfere."

Give it its proper name: wife-beating. Like rape, wife-beating is considered by the male authorities to be a form of aggravated assault; it's the woman who has brought it on. Example: a recent *Time* magazine article quotes three Massachusetts psychiatrists to the effect that battered women are "aggressive, efficient, masculine and sexually frigid" (but doesn't comment on whether being beaten by her husband might dampen a woman's sexual ardour).

It's no use waiting for the authorities to provide proper refuges for battered women. The traditional solutions—convents, hospitals, asylums, charitable institutions and poor houses—were aimed at serving the needs of the nuclear family unit, and by extension, of the State. Women who sought shelter there were treated for their wounds, given advice on how to adjust to their situations and then sent back to their husbands.

A slowly-growing network of "transition houses" is now being posed as an alternative by feminists and battered women themselves. These smaller, more human-scale settings still rely on government financial support for the most part, and this ensures they can never fully meet the demand (in Vancouver, the transition house has to turn away as many women and children as it accepts). But for those they do serve, they are clearly able to put the interest of the victim as their first priority.

In France, feminists have



established a refuge where the victims "will take themselves in charge." In the shelters that exist now, the residents are

taken under guardianship, treated as boarders and minors. They are continuously reminded that they

are in a situation of failure. "Our focus, to the contrary, is to break the vicious circle of violence and depen-

dence, and not to encourage passivity."

Modern refuges set their task to help battered women repair their own self-esteem. These women are often haunted by feelings of guilt and inadequacy over their socially-imposed roles as wife and homemaker. Women who do find the strength to end their marriages must then contend with the attitudes of landlords, courts, police, welfare departments, prospective employers and others intent on preserving the nuclear family and male domination.

Men are encouraged by mainstream societal values to consider women as their personal property; the more so in the husband-wife relationship. Men who beat their

wives generally suffer from feelings of inadequacy because of failure to fulfill their role as husband-provider. One researcher found that British men, during a period of high unemployment, were "frustrated, bored, unable to find a satisfying outlet for their energy." The researcher adds:

"Britishers who are reduced to life on the dole meet adversity like men: they blame it on their wives. Then, pow!"

(Thanks to Betsy Warrior, anarcho-feminist and author of *Wifebeating and Working on Wife Abuse*, available from her at 46 Pleasant St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

## Castro strengthening hold on Cuba

In a curious role-reversal, the Western press has been acting as cheerleader for Fidel Castro and the Communist Party of Cuba (CPC) as they strengthen their grip on the Caribbean island's seven million people. Even such staunchly anti-Red news services as *Reuter* and the *Associated Press* have been playing it relatively straight when it comes to reporting on the recent round of elections which chose delegates to municipal, regional and (indirectly) national assemblies.

Helping to set the stage for some needed foreign policy adjustments on the part of the U.S. and its allies, the news reports have characterized the Cuban constitutional changes as an advance of sorts toward western-style democracy. Or at least, they have downplayed their usual emphasis in Communist-style elections on such fixtures as the 99 per cent voter turnout and the virtually mandatory

requirement that candidates be party members.

Just how "democratic" is the new Cuban constitution? Sam Dolgoff, an American anarchist and historian who has researched the Cuban Revolution, concludes that the changes represent an attempt by Castro and the revolutionary elite to institutionalize their power and consolidate their rule by "creating a permanent, legally-established bureaucratic, administrative apparatus."

In an article in *Interrogations*, the Paris-based international anarchist quarterly, Dolgoff says:

"To implement institutionalization, Castro, in 1970, launched the reorganization of his government and the drafting of a new constitution, proclaiming that the Revolution had now come of age and the people could now be trusted to more self-rule. Castro promised the enactment of measures to expedite the decentralization of his administration; expand local autonomy and workers' self-management of industry; democratize the mass organizations and create new state agencies designed to encourage more participation of the people in local and national affairs."

### Castro's Revolution

Dolgoff notes that Castro personally controls the main levers of State power by virtue of his position as prime minister of the government, head of State, commander-in-chief of the armed forces and

minister of the Interior.

Since Castro is also the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and since every major and ministry and agency head is a member of the CPC and is appointed by Castro, Herbert Matthews (a Castro sympathizer) reluctantly concludes that: "all the organs of state power are under Castro's direct command. He is all-powerful and it is his Revolution... Castro does not want—or dare—to create a self-governing administration; a managerial apparatus; an autonomous political party; a powerful military elite; because any one of them, could threaten his power."

Following the Stalinist pattern, the Cuban State is a structured pyramid in which absolute power is ultimately exercised by an individual (Castro) or by a collective dictatorship as in post-Stalin Russia.

The CPC, which dragged its feet in the fight against the Batista dictatorship, is allowed to exist only as an instrument for Castro's rule. Castro sets the policy, and the party, which has infiltrated every corner of Cuban society, mobilizes the Cuban people to make sure it is carried out.

Dolgoff characterizes as a "brazen fraud" the much-heralded experiment in decentralization and self-management in Matanzas province, where an elected Organization of People's Power (PPO) has been sup-

posedly carrying out local governmental and administrative functions since 1974. He quotes a PPO official who says: "the CPC is the principal, the indispensable organism for the construction of socialism in our country, and, as such, directs as it deems best, all the organizations and organisms, including, of course, the PPO."

With reference to the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR), the rank-and-file groups that deliver social services to the population, Dolgoff says they have degenerated into virtual appendages of the police and of the CPC.

### Conformist New Cuba

This New Cuban Society, according to Dolgoff, also includes mind-numbing conformity imposed on young people, systematic speed-ups and productivity drives at the work place, rigged "union" elections and rigid, hierarchical decision-making structures in industry and the military.

Dolgoff observes that the first phase of institutionalization of the Cuban Revolution has served to strengthen Castro's personal dictatorship for the time being, but that he will inevitably come under pressure from such other power centres as the CPC, the armed forces, the educational establishment, the economic agencies, the trade unions and the various levels of government.

"As these formidable

power blocs expand and become more firmly entrenched, Castro's machine will be obliged to share power with them. Personal rule will give way to collective dictatorship and tyranny will be perpetuated."

Dolgoff says the Cuban people have resisted these developments mainly through individual acts—everything from loafing to sabotage—but it will take a mass underground movement to sweep away the dictatorship. He concludes the article on a pessimistic note by observing that modern totalitarian regimes—whether of the "Left" or "Right"—seem to have developed the ability to withstand mass discontent indefinitely.

For the complete article, entitled "The Structure of Power in Cuba", (June, 1967) send to *Interrogations*, c/o Georges Yvernel; 32, Passage du Desir; 75010 Paris, France; single copy \$3, year's subscription \$12.

For more favorable recent accounts of Cuba, check *Win Magazine* (anti-authoritarian), "Why does the U.S. still fear the Cuban Revolution?" Dec. 9, 1976 and *The Guardian* (Marxist-Leninist), "People's Power Elected." Dec. 15, 1976.

Sam Dolgoff's latest book, *The Cuban Revolution; An Anarchist Perspective*, is now available from Black Rose Books, 3934 St. Urbain, Montreal, Que., Canada.

### OUR GENERATION

a journal of libertarian socialism. current issue (Vol.11, No.4) includes an article on Bakunin's Theory of Revolution and a critique of the Parti Quebecois program for Quebec separatism; \$1.75. 3934 St. Urbain Montreal, Quebec.

### BLACK ROSE BOOKS

a libertarian socialist publisher and distributor of books on anarchism, Canada and Quebec. new titles include: *Portugal—The Impossible Revolution?* by Phil Mailer; *The Cuban Revolution* by Sam Dolgoff; *Durruti—The People Armed*, by Abel Paz; (all \$5.95); and *The Russian Tragedy* by Alexander Berkman (\$4.95) For free catalogue: 3934 St. Urbain, Montreal, Quebec.



announces publication of the English-language version of *How It All Began*, by Bommi Baumann; a personal account of the rise of the West German New Left and its urban guerilla underground. (German edition was suppressed on release.) Available mid-Summer. For information on distribution, contact Pulp Press at Box 48806 Station Bentall, Vancouver, B.C.

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

# 'Patagonia' vividly recreates insurrection

By F. Maggon

Rebellion in Patagonia is an exceptional full-length feature film about anarchism as a revolutionary movement. Set in the early Twenties amongst the anarcho-syndicalist-influenced rural proletariat of southern Argentina, **Rebellion in Patagonia** clearly portrays the ideas and methods of the anarchists while carefully unfolding a dramatic story of contemporary political significance.

Argentine director Hector Olivera completed this film in the early Seventies during the triumphant re-emergence of the Caudillo, Juan Peron, onto the political scene. **Rebellion in Patagonia** focusses on the character of an earlier period of Argentina's history: Colonel Varela, the

Killer of Patagonia. Olivera exposes the socio-political forces which turn Varela, who appears, at one point, to be the peoples' friend and saviour, into their mortal enemy. The implications for Peron's Argentina were obvious.

## Anarchist Attentat

**Rebellion in Patagonia** opens with the assassination of Varela by the anarchist worker Kurt Wilckens on January 27, 1923. It is a classic attentat. The story then flashes back to the struggle of workers in Patagonia for a minimum wage and decent working conditions. This struggle which took place in 1920-21 was organized by anarcho-syndicalist groups who were the main force in the Argentine labour movement of the day. A general strike called



Action during Rebellion in Patagonia.

by the anarchists paralyzed the entire region, resulting in armed forces being dispatched by the central government in Buenos Aires.

At first the Colonel

(Varela) in charge acquiesces to the workers just demands (and overwhelming superiority) and the strike is called off in victory. But soon the bourgeoisie goes to work

precipitating incidents and cultivating the military with the carrots of patriotism and obedience to duty. To defend their gains the workers launch a second general strike

which quickly escalates into a full-scale uprising. This time the Colonel, in the pocket of the national bourgeoisie, ruthlessly suppresses the popular movement and massacres two thousand workers in the process.

Using a spartan, almost expository style, director Olivera systematically outlines these events in a masterpiece of cinematic reporting. He presents anarchism with all its beauty and blemishes. Each aspect of the anarchists' organizational methods: the meetings, solidarity, songs, direct action during strikes, propaganda plays, the printing press, the tireless and selfless emissaries, collective decision making, the attentat, are all explored in the human dimensions.

## Ordinary People

In all of this, authenticity is Olivera's watchword, from the portraits of Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin which decorate the anarchists' meeting hall to the crude pyrotechnical device which stuns Varela or the banners which festoon a Mayday memorial for the Haymarket anarchists.

The interplay between the various factions of the anarchist movement (philosophers, guerrillas, syndicalists, etc.) is complex, yet the viewer feels directly the humanity and even the nobility of all these working people who are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the Idea. The Old Timer talks too much, the anarcho-syndicalists often have too much trust in their enemies, and the undisciplined actions of the anarcho-guerrilla "Red Council" often makes them indistinguishable from agent provocateurs and bandits. The anarchists, although often acting heroically, are not heroes but ordinary people, with the faults of ordinary people, yet they represent the hopes and striving of all humanity for a world of social justice and freedom.

In contrast to this, the poverty of the bourgeoisie, even in their moment of victory, is complete and utter.

**Rebellion in Patagonia** ends with the camera frozen on the horror in Varela's eyes, not from the approaching assassin, but as he attends a dinner put on in his honour by his bourgeois masters. Colonel Varela, the Argentine patriot, the Killer of Patagonia, who abandoned every vestige of dignity and sacrificed all compassion and humanity to the icon of obedience, is devastated as the assembled bourgeois sing "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" to him in English.

Every anti-authoritarian group that can get an audience together is encouraged to sponsor a showing of **Rebellion in Patagonia**. It is being distributed by the Argentine Information and Service Centre: P.O. Box 4388, Berkeley, Ca. 94704, or on the East Coast 339 Lafayette, N.Y., N.Y. 10012. It is relatively expensive (\$250 for public showings, \$150 for classrooms, and \$75 for small groups) but well worth it.

## ABRAHAM GUILLEN'S GUERRILLA STRATEGY

# Out of the jungles, into the streets

By Ken Ascaso

Abraham Guillen's name is not well-known to North American revolutionaries, but the theoretical work of this veteran of the Spanish Civil War has been a seminal influence on virtually every urban guerrilla group in Latin America. His book **Strategy of the Urban Guerrilla** (1966) has been described as the maxi-manual of urban guerrilla warfare.

A partisan of the anarcho-syndicalist CNT in Spain, Guillen escaped from Franco's prisons after the Civil War. He migrated first to Argentina where his political writings earned him a further exile to Uruguay. In the early Sixties Guillen began to question the "rural foco," which had dominated revolutionary theory since the Cuban Revolution, and started piecing together the building blocks of a functional theory of urban guerrilla warfare.

Guillen worked directly with emerging guerrilla groups in Latin America, including Chile's MIR, Argentina's ERP, the various Brazilian formations and in particular Uruguay's early Tupamaros. Ironically Guillen was one of the last people Che Guevara consulted before embarking on his ill-fated campaign in the jungles of Bolivia. The old anarchist cautioned Che against employing the rural foco, citing the changing demographics of much of the Third World and the increasingly sophisticated repressive technology of the modern State.

## Anarcho-Marxism

Abraham Guillen's theory combines the revolutionary dialectics and economic theory of Marx with the anarchist doctrine of Bakunin. Guillen dubs this synthesis anarcho-Marxism: "Marxist in its economic conception of capitalism, the contradictions of capitalism and the means of overcoming them; anarchist in its concep-

tion of direct democracy, self-managed enterprises and federation of freely associated workers. Marxist and anarchist forms of socialism are reconciled in the socialism of self-management, when the organs of production and administration are based on direct democracy and not on a bureaucratic state disguised as an illusory dictatorship of the proletariat."

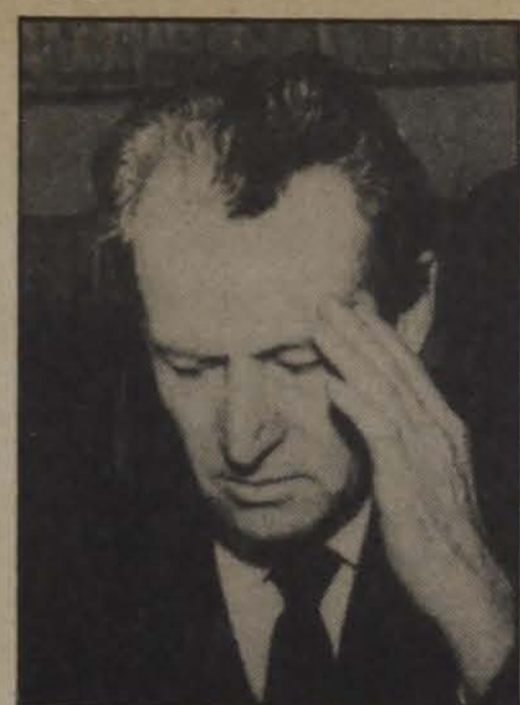
Guillen recognized that the State with its arbitrary and absolute power always acts as a fetter and brake on the Social Revolution—whether the State is of the monopoly capitalist variety or that of bureaucratic State capitalism. For anarcho-Marxists, public property managed by the State through a bureaucracy as the dominant elite does not put an end to alienation; it perpetuates it in another form. According to Guillen, people can only recover their integrity as non-alienated subjects by managing their own products through organs of direct socialist democracy and an administration of things rather than of human beings.

Guillen's basic theory sought to correct the "Stalinist terror," with or without Stalin, engendered by the authoritarian Marxist conception of the State and of methods of revolutionary struggle. Similarly, he wished to overcome what he calls the utopian and unrealistic elements in traditional anarchism (its social moralism, apolitical idealism, and economic simplicity) which were not capable of liberating workers from monopoly or State capitalism.

In applying anarcho-Marxism to the problems of revolutionary warfare, Guillen's theory cuts equally against the socialist bureaucrats and the monopoly capitalists. As he explains, "The struggle against the bureaucratic State, which abuses its power over the lives of its citizens, has to have an anarchist content. For the first time in

history (today) society has undertaken a struggle against the State—not as an isolated class or a front of oppressed classes but virtually the whole people against the government's system of organized oppression." The method of struggle is not the mass insurrection but erosive guerrilla actions which undermine the authority of the State.

According to Guillen,



Abraham Guillen

revolutionary strategy is not created by geniuses or generals, but by the development of the productive forces, the logic of events, and the weight of history. The revolutionary must first examine the material base, the objective conditions containing the revolutionary project. These include the demographic character of society and the defining conditions of space, time and force (firepower and numbers).

The urban guerrilla must continually contend with these fundamental strategic factors, for the epi-centres of revolutionary war will be located primarily in the urban zones, Guillen maintains. This is particularly true in those countries with a high proportion of urban population in which the economic system is concentrated upon one or two major centres. In such cases, and here Guillen contradicts Guevara and Debray, the centre of guerrilla operations should be in the cities, for the revolution's potential is

where the population is.

"Each system of production," Guillen argues, "has its own law of population: slavery distributed population between the cities and the country; feudalism polarized the masses around castles; capitalism has concentrated the population in the industrial cities at the expense of a decrease in the population in the country. Wherever capital centralizes and accumulates, there are its servants: the workers bound to wage labour. . . . If 70 percent of a country's population is urban, the demography and the economy must dictate the specific rules of the strategy of revolutionary combat. The centre of operations should Never be in the mountains or in the villages, but in the largest cities where the population suffices to form the army of the revolution. In such cases the countryside must support the actions of urban guerrillas. . . ."

## Concrete Jungles

The space of an urban centre must be studied strategically in the same manner as rural guerrillas study the country-side, jungles, and mountains for military advantages. An analogy between rural and urban terrain provides a graphic example of how the urban environment can be utilized in the conduct of a revolutionary war. The city is as geographically complex and protective as rural terrain: there are hidden jungle trails through alleyways, sewers, and across rooftops. To be effective the enemy must use the well-beaten path and is thus subject to ambush at will. There are meadows, arroyos, and trees because the concrete jungle is multi-dimensional with plazas, narrow passageways and skyscrapers.

Fighting can take place in areas where small numbers of guerrillas can immobilize the firepower and numerical strength of a far superior repressive force. In addition,

the pulse of a great industrial city, sometimes the heart of a whole nation, can be paralyzed almost any time by an urban guerrilla offensive, an advantage not afforded by the rural environment.

Guillen stresses, "The initial revolutionary force, a small army of liberation, must be employed where it leads to the most strategic results and has the most possibilities of mobilizing the population, so that the people become the subject of history instead of passively submitting. . . ." Confronted with a favourable terrain and a favourable population, Guillen says, "The army of liberation must choose the population and not the terrain."

## Hearts and Minds

In the long run, Guillen maintains, "The conquest of space is less important than the defeat of the enemy, or the winning of more and more of the population by deeds, the force of example, to the point of converting the guerrillas into the armed fist of the people. In revolutionary war nothing is more important than the political consequences of our actions; everything else is secondary, proper to generals for whom the art of war consists in compelling the adversary to retreat."

Like Che Guevara, Guillen believes that, "A revolution in a given country or region can only be made under particular historical and political conditions in which the ruling class has lost prestige: when it is responsible for wars, for social and economic crisis, for financial speculation and immorality, thereby incarnating all the crimes, disgraces, miseries, and frustrations suffered by the popular classes."

Support from as much as 80 percent of a given population is necessary to carry forward the revolutionary project, according to Guillen. This support

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# Abbie and Jerry; you can't go home again

By Mark Brothers

**To America With Love: Letters From The Underground, by Anita & Abbie Hoffman.** Stonehill Publishing Company, \$3.95.  
**Growing (Up) At 37, by Jerry Rubin.** Warner Books Editions, \$1.95

The intelligent thing about Abbie Hoffman's and Jerry Rubin's early writings was that they could actually be perceived as being stupid by some people. The former Yippies didn't write diatribes that only other leftists could understand. Instead, they wrote readable, "popular" books which reached into the irrational, raw anarchic emotions of millions. Generally, a revolutionary's political consciousness develops through a long, drawn out process, starting out conservative, then changing to apathetic, then liberal, progressive, radical—until, ultimately, becoming revolutionary. Non-politicos who picked up **Do It!** could avoid this slow transition. Their imaginations were ignited and they could make the leap from conservative to revolutionary instantaneously.

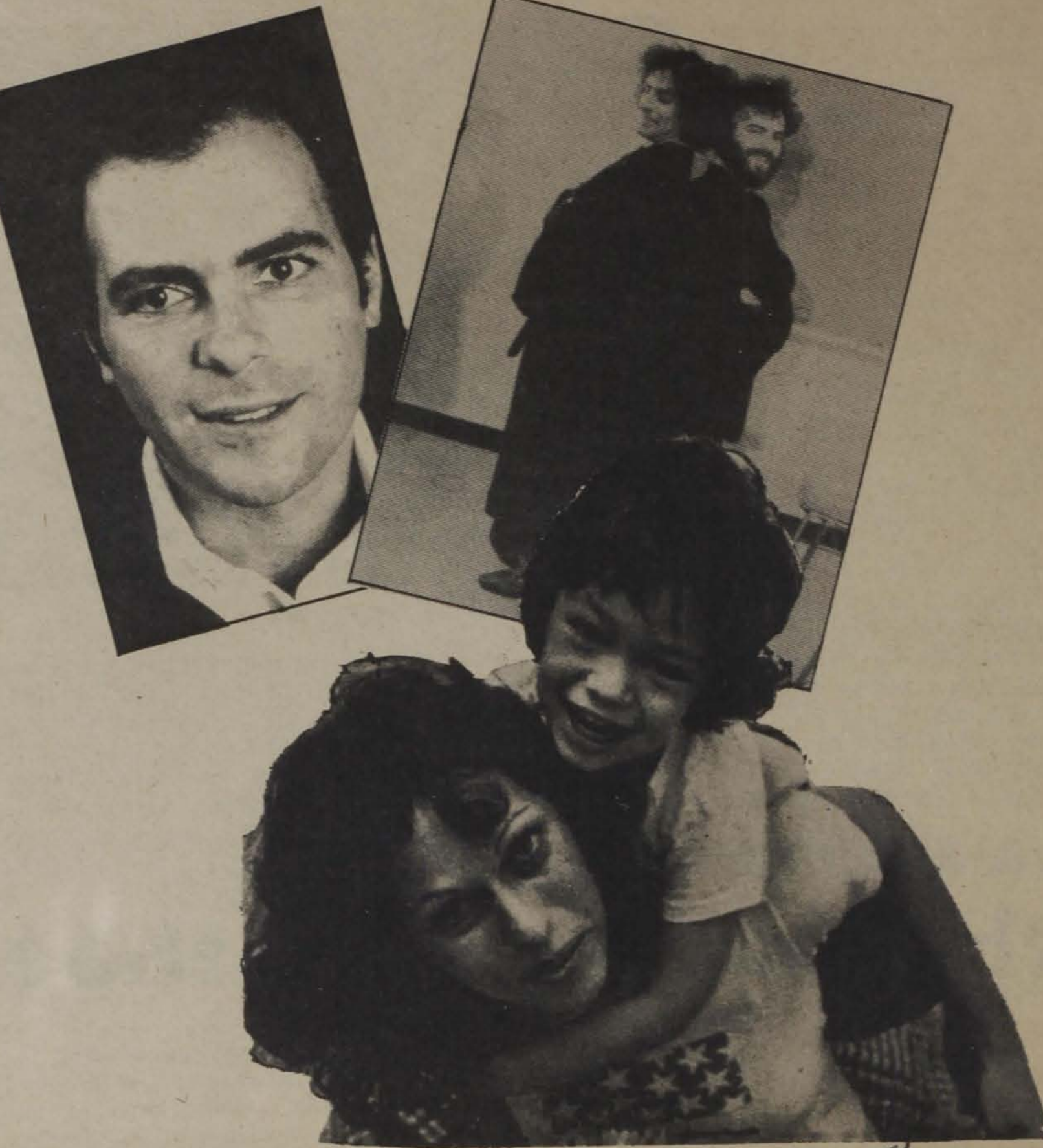
In Jerry's latest autobiography, **Growing (Up) At Thirty Seven**, he describes the incidents that led him from a life of "exciting, involved, relevant" activism in 1970 to a feeling he was "dead at thirty-four" in 1972. Nancy Kurshan, his

"movement sweetheart" of five years, left him and he was "publicly retired" by the Youth International Party. **Growing Up** ignores the complex personal/political dynamics that led delegates at a 1972 YIP conference to "require the resignation" of Abbie and Jerry as Yippie spokespeople because of their public endorsement of McGovern and their rejection of "collective leadership" during the Miami convention, protests.

## "Consciousness Revolution"

After Miami, Jerry felt that the movement was over so he headed for San Francisco to immerse himself in what he calls the "consciousness revolution." Between 1971 and 1975 he "directly experienced est, gestalt therapy, bioenergetics, rolfing, massage, jogging, tai chi, Esalen, hypnotism, modern dance, meditation, Silva Mind Control, Arica, acupuncture, sex therapy, Reichian therapy, and More House."

When he checked out Erhard Seminars Training (est) Jerry says he "felt like leaping out of my seat and strangling the motherfucker (Werner Erhard)", who said that "Vietnamese babies created the napalm that fell on their heads, that Jews constructed Auschwitz, that rape victims desired to be raped." Instead, he proceeded to shell out \$200 to enroll in the four-day course. Like Jerry writes,



Jerry, Abbie, Anita, america.

"Who says human beings are without contradictions?"

Through Fischer-Hoffman, Psychic Therapy, Jerry set out to exorcise himself of negative parental program-

ming. So he did a Linda Blair schtick, complete with vomit and venom: "Thanks, Mommy. You white-skinned-no-good sexless asshole cap-toothed cancerous venom of

a snake... I HATE YOU! You bitch... MOMMY I AM GLAD THAT YOU DIED. IF YOU HAD NOT DIED OF CANCER, I WOULD HAVE HAD TO KILL YOU..." Through this process Jerry finally realized all the implications of his 1960's slogan "KILL YOUR PARENTS." It meant kill "the parents-in-you"—their negative programming. After this therapeutic experience he says he loved his parents and understood that their fuck-ups were the result of negative programming too.

Jerry writes an open account of his sexuality (insecurities about his cock size, masturbation and impotence) and credits the women's movement "for widening the choices for me as a man. I can not marry or have children and still feel good because the social definition of adulthood has changed in the past ten years... Thanks to the example set by women, men in America are starting to re-examine the concept of manhood... given me space to be less of a "man" and more me."

While Jerry has tested an assortment of psychic therapies, he has, to his credit, steered clear of the Eldridge Cleaver/Rennie Davis ozone. He stresses that the growth movement must be politicized and must "eliminate its internal contradictions of authoritarianism, sexism, economic barriers, spiritual escapism."

**Growing Up** includes an open letter to Abbie Hoffman in which Jerry explains, "I want to be politically active again—but not... in a crazy movement that psychologically drains its people." While Jerry still shares "the feelings of extremist revolutionaries," he says his days of "running

around the country advocating anarchy (are) over for the time being."

## Destroy Power

Jerry's "partner-in-excitement", Abbie Hoffman, used to be into anarchy, too. In a 1969 **East Village Other** interview he commented, "I want to destroy power. The reason I would accept the label of anarchy is because it throws back on the individual his own responsibility... I believe that due to our technological capabilities, we can really have an anarchist, utopian, future in this country." In **To America With Love: Letters From The Underground**, a compilation of correspondence between Abbie and his wife Anita during his first year underground (1974-75) after being busted for allegedly dealing cocaine, she writes him about her renewed interest in anarchism, and Murray Bookchin's **Post-Scarcity Anarchism**.

Abbie responds that now "I'm a communist, not an anarchist, and believe in democratic centralism, not small groups working things out for themselves. I'm not anti-Bookchin. His voice is necessary and he's correctly trying to adjust what history has taught him to the American experience. He's like a good architect but he's an architect without engineers."

When Abbie came to the realization that it takes more than the spiritual solidarity of Holden Caulfield, Lenny Bruce and the Brooklyn Dodgers to make revolution, he didn't just alter his anti-authoritarian politics to include tight (yet still anti-authoritarian) organization. Instead, he rejected those politics altogether and embraced staid, authoritarian, linear ideologies. He separates "communist" and "anarchist" rather than synthesizing the two (anarcho-communism) to combine his individual spontaneity and creativity with solid non-hierarchical organization.

While his head has drifted towards authoritarian ideology, Abbie has retained the healthy, hedonistic, anti-authoritarian impulses that made him "Free." He seems a lot more comfortable writing "I've already pulled some bits that no central committee would have ever tolerated. Fuck 'em." than "I sense Communism—the boring, crass, even building of a party, tied to an international movement—is what people should be doing. I realize the people that do it will be the worst of us, in the sense that they'll be the least creative, the tyrants of group-think..."

Abbie writes that "being alone and hunted has forced me to examine my political side much more than rolling around the hay with our friends did." He still feels "our task in the U.S. is to build countercultural institutions that make the raising of children breeding grounds for revolution and rebellion against the wishes

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## The politics of no-politics

By Frankie Lee and Tom Blue

**Letter of Insurgents, by Sophia Nachalo and Yarostan Vocek, Black & Red, \$4.50**

No dates or placenames are provided in this vivid novel, but it appears from clues given by the author that the two main characters, Yarostan and Sophia, live respectively in Eastern Europe and the United States, and the series of letters they exchange that form the basic structure of the work stretch into the present.

Through the letters, Yarostan and Sophia relive their experiences of twenty years' previous in a workers' uprising and they ultimately share a profound disillusionment with their earlier political involvement. The letter exchange is commenced during a period of relative political thaw and renewed insurgency in both their countries, probably about 1968: "Corpse-like husks with shrivelled capacities, dried-up imaginations and used-up lives are beginning to exhibit new gleams in their eyes and new energies in their limbs."

The two correspondents, along with many of their compatriots reach out to test their newly-claimed freedom. The breaking-down of external constraints allows them once again to experience free

human activity. Yet, they discover their own characters have been maimed by their past experiences.

Yarostan served two prison terms totalling twelve years for what he now sees as "a puppet show" put on by one political clique aiming to supplant another. Sophia fled from persecution, only to discover (in the U.S.) a different kind of prison in which objects and possessions are idolized while communication between people seems impossible.

### Acting out Fantasies

People, even conscious revolutionaries, seem to act mainly out of fantasies, or they attempt to model themselves after "influential" people or ideologies they encounter, or they substitute symbols for real flesh-and-blood relationships.

Yarostan is filled with despair at the realization that any State or organization that uses and dominates people towards its own end depends to some extent on the voluntary subservience of the people it controls. Even as these individuals slowly begin to awaken to the possibilities of life, even as they slowly grope toward freedom, they are already slipping back under external domination.

**Letters of Insurgents** exhaustively explores these human contradictions, but it's rescued from the ordinary

novel-of-despair genre by its spirit of resistance. This means not only struggle against wage slavery, private property and the nuclear family, but also against a too-rigid adherence of "revolutionary" dogma or personalities. As Yarostan says, "I finally know that it's not the productive forces that are fettered, but human beings."

The use of a fictionalized letter format permits the elaboration of political positions that are concrete. Politics is thus shown to be grounded in daily life rather than being merely an abstract system of thought.

The book details the process whereby the universal thirst for freedom is turned toward a corrupt end even as freedom comes within reach. This insight, a product of the school of existentialism, depends on an understanding of human nature that emphasized the ways in which people strive to bring order, rationality and security into a chaotic and seemingly pointless and hostile universe. The implication is that political beliefs may seem freely chosen, but in fact are dictated by unconscious desires or fears.

As Yarostan says: "I began with a longing for free-chosen projects carried out within a community that made projects possible and appreciated them. But instead of taking steps with

those around me to realize my desires, I transformed my desires into what seemed to be the first step toward their realization, namely, into a programme of action.

"But by this transformation I negated my real desires; I replaced them with ideas, with words, with notions in my brain. Instead of a life, I had a credo."

### Webs of Illusion

Ideas, words and beliefs are ways of channelling life; they derive from a variety of sources: and are the residue of religious currents of the past, or political ones of twentieth century. Ideas are translated into words, which are used to manipulate people and create webs of illusion.

The "message" of **Letters of Insurgents** is that the revolution cannot be an escape from life, but a means to grasp life more fully. Otherwise, the revolutionary process will result in the installation of a new repressive system. Politically-conscious people can use their awareness to more fully act on their own needs and desires but not to become the "representatives" of the working class.

**Letters of Insurgents** is sure to become one of the classics of libertarian literature. Too bad it's excessive length (831 pages) will discourage some people from tackling it.

# Blowin' down this old technicolor road

By Mark Brothers

**Bound for Glory.** Directed by Hal Ashby; based on the Woody Guthrie autobiography. With David Carradine, Ronny Cox, Melinda Dillon, Gail Strickland and Randy Quaid. A United Artists release.

Woody Guthrie carved into his guitar the vow, "this guitar kills fascists." And from the mid-1930's until he was struck by Huntington's Disease in 1954, Woody

wrote hundreds of songs that decried oppression and joyously affirmed human solidarity: "This Land Is Your Land", "Pastures of Plenty", "Deportee", "Blowin' Down This Old Dusty Road", "Pretty Boy Floyd", "So Long, It's Been Good To Know Yuh", "This Train Is Bound For Glory."

Because Woody was both a performer and a participant in a social movement, the producers of his film biography **Bound For Glory** had the choice of making either **The Jolson Story** or **The Life of Emile Zola**. In

stead of choosing between, or effectively synthesizing, the performer biography and the historical biography film genres, they wound up straddling both and the result was superficial politics and the separation of Woody from his music. Abandoning the performer biography style of using film as a vehicle for an artist's music, Woody's songs are cut abruptly after one or two verses.

The most striking aspect of the film is the lush cinematography. Haskell Wexler, fresh from shooting Weatherpeople's backsides for the film **Underground**, obviously relished the opportunity to film a few frontal shots. Each frame looks like a portrait of 1930's America, as descriptive as a Marcote drawing or a Woody Guthrie song. The film scans the faces of poor people sprawled over a work camp; it shows people packed in boxcars after being driven from their land; and one can feel the power of songs like "This Land Is Your Land" after watching migrants barred from entering California unless they had \$50.

## From Rebel to Radical

At first, casting the somber, rational David Carradine as the impulsive, exuberant Woody, seemed to make about as much sense as starring Gary Cooper in the Leo Gorcey Story. But Dylan wanted complete artistic control before he would take the role, Phil Ochs committed suicide, Country Joe was into disco, and they're saving Arlo Guthrie for **The John Carradine Story**. So Carradine got the role and discarded his Kung Fu stoicism to give a fine characterization.

Woody is depicted as an exceptional individual who "goes to the people," leaving social justice in his wake. His radicalization takes place in a historical vacuum. Divorced from the 1930's social

movement, nowhere is there an indication of the influence the movement had on Woody or the impact of his songs on the movement. His growth process in **Bound For Glory** is one of the common character

and becomes a radical. He goes from rebel to radical; from James Dean to John Garfield.

The most effective political scenes are the work camp shots and the shots of a

made up my mind I'm gonna speak up. I'm gonna let them know what I want... Keep up the music cause everybody's listening."

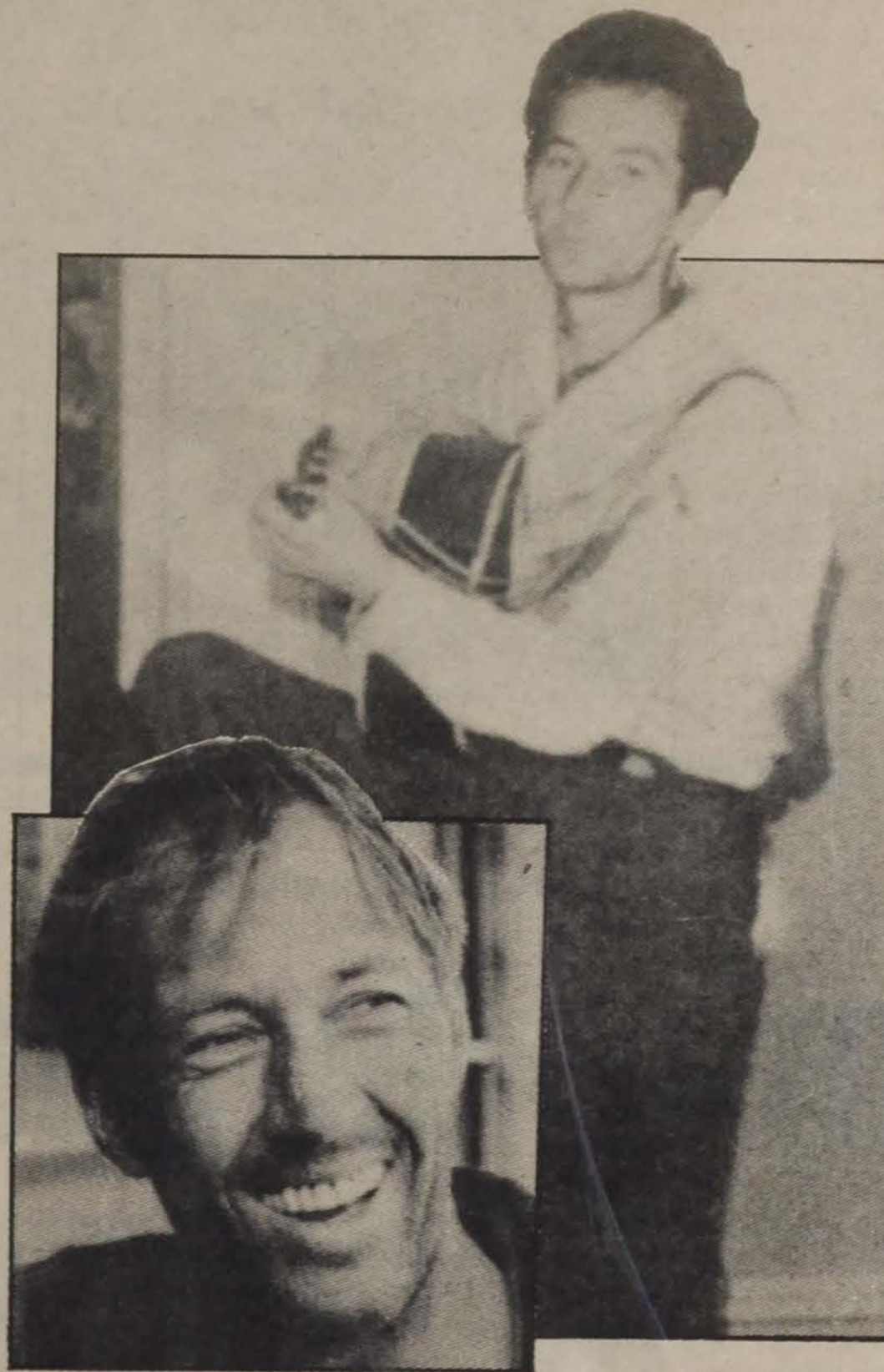
One aspect of the film left dangling is the relationship between Woody and his first wife Mary. They keep leaving each other and, for unexplained reasons, never talk to each other about it. Instead, they exchange 'run away from home' notes such as, "Gone to California. Will send for you all. Love Woody." Woody seems to find it a lot easier to show love for "the people" than to express love to any one person. Mary's feelings for Woody are finally overwhelmed by frustration with his rambling lifestyle and she leaves him.

Unlike his earlier travels to evade responsibility, when Woody hits the road for New York at the close of the film his departure is part of a conscious decision to de-emphasize his "career" and take his music to poor, struggling people. He had rejected professional opportunities, telling a radio producer who, to please sponsors, had tried to censor Woody: "I like my singing too much to take orders from some fat little squirt who doesn't know his own mind."

## We Ain't Down Yet

The American film has sanitized the left. Mere mention of the word socialism is taboo. There is no tradition of American leftist feature films. The closest thing to such a tradition has been the smattering of non-ideological, radical movies about "social justice" and "freedom" (they reflect the uniquely American tradition of non-ideological radicalism—from Thoreau through to SDS)—films like **Our Daily Bread**, **Grapes of Wrath**, the John Garfield films and, more recently, **Billy Jack**.

Despite its weaknesses, **Bound For Glory** is part of this tradition. Like Woody's songs, it is art for ordinary people, the people Woody was talking about when he said: "You know, we've been held down, nailed down, beat down, shot down, shut down, set down, drove down, shoved down, pushed down, talked down, chained down. We've been blowed down and showed down, chopped down, howed down, plowed under, held under, ducked under, dusted under, tractor-tored under. We've been shot at and missed. We've been spit at and hit. Been called for and couldn't come. Called to war and wouldn't go. Called to work and couldn't eat. And called to fight for something we ain't got. We've been bulldozed and lied to. Knocked up, held up, hijacked, raped, skint, lint, broke, bent, pistol whipped, gassed, bombed, machine gunned, struck, log chained, lied about and gossiped on, cussed out, seduced, screwed up, misled, stripped naked, left ragged, hungry, broke, disgusted, busted and not to be trusted. But in spite of all of this and many many more things, we ain't down yet. No, we ain't down yet!"



David Carradine (left) and Woody Guthrie

developments in American films—the loner innocent goes through a revealing experience/adventure and awakens a new man. During the first half of the film Woody isn't a professional performer. He's a sign painting rail hopper who hasn't sought the transient life but has stumbled into it because of circumstances. His innocence collides with the injustice he encounters until he picks up his guitar for pay

meeting at which workers are arguing whether to strike. Randy Quaid, a Michael Pollard type who drooled after Cybil Shepherd in **The Last Picture Show** and drooled all over Jack Nicholson in **The Last Detail**, plays Luther Johnson, a migrant worker reincarnate of **The Grapes of Wrath's** Tom Joad, who gushes to Woody, "I started thinking about thousands of people never getting nothing...I

# Hoffman

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man?"

Anita, who lives with America, their son born in of the dominant, decadent culture."

Through the letters, Abbie and Anita reinforce each other's strengths and grow together personally and politically. Abbie says he hasn't met any feminists since going under and asks, "Do you think you are sitting on a New York City phenomenon?" Anita answers, "To me it's (feminism) more a state of mind than a set of well-articulated principles. It's the realization that you're not a piece of shit, that you are indeed, first-rate; it's falling in love with yourself and being the hero of your own adventures; it's knowing you're not the moon's pale reflection but the sun, burning. It's being aware that you can change your life, and doing it. It's believing women can change the world. Understand, 1971, writes about the hassles

of being a single mother and about her attempts to organize welfare mothers. "I'm dreaming of building a women's movement that could mobilize masses of poor women," she writes, "we'll see how much lazy hedonistic me actually does." They go through personal heaviness. Anita greets his marriage to "Angel," a woman he met since going under, with, "I have only good feelings...Mazel tov!" She writes that Abbie makes "too many demands," and her decision to not visit him sparks a terse "Thanks for the words, and goodbye." But Abbie comes back, asking "Can we just talk?" He reacts to Anita's hesitation to engage in the heaviness by asking, "How can you even ask, 'Is it wrong to share fears?' What do you want to share—Wonderbread sandwiches for lunch?"

The letters discuss his case, her growing strength through independence, friends and enemies, and the sheer drudgery of underground

(and aboveground!) life. "I haven't a thing to write about," Abbie writes.

A continuing theme throughout the book is Abbie and Anita's love for America. Abbie writes, "I ain't around much and naturally it's fucking with his head. But if he can grasp the point that it was interrupted by our enemies and has nothing to do with all our feelings toward each other he'll be O.K.... Generally in a separation kids just hate their fathers like crazy. So let him hate the cops and the government. He'll be O.K."

He is O.K. Anita describes a leftist meeting that was droning on until, "All of a sudden I hear the kid's voice, 'I miss my daddy. I want my daddy.' I was very surprised because I've never before heard him refer to you in the presence of strangers. Everybody looked at the kid and was silent, then somebody said, 'We'll bring your daddy back after a socialist revolution.' We all cheered, some of us with tears in our eyes. The kid's a 'real showstopper! Incredible timing, huh?' YIPPIE!

politics of housework.

**Quixote Magazine**, 153 East Gilman, Madison, Wisc. 53703. A special issue of the magazine with a version of the **Communist Manifesto** in comic book form. The drawings were done by the Mexican artist Rius.

**Poland: 1970-71 Capitalism and Class Struggle**, Informations Correspondance Ouvrieres, Black and Red, P.O. Box 9546, Detroit, Mich. 48202. A report on the Polish workers movement and specifically the strike wave against the Polish State in the early Seventies.

**Crises of Nature: How Humanity Saved the Biosphere**, Capitalist Crises Studies, P.O. Box 754, Berkeley, Calif. 94703. This pamphlet is a critique of the "ecology movement" from the perspective of the Marxian theory of social evolution. The CCS have various publications analyzing the present nature of the global economy and the development of socialism. Write for more details.

**Max Stirner's Egoism**, John P. Clark, Freedom Press, 84B Whitechapel High St., London E1, England, \$3. The essay develops an understanding of Max Stirner's philosophical thoughts on egoism and is especially concerned with the social and political implications of egoism.

**The Dodo Bird**, Emanuel Fried, Labour Arts Books, 1064 Amherst St., Buffalo, N.Y. \$1.50. This play, set in a pub across the street from a foundry, explores the relationships between workers within the workplace and the effect such work has on their human development.

**Student And Youth Organizing**, Youth Liberation Press, 2007 Washtenaw Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. How to form a student union, how to combat dress codes and racism, how to raise money and do power structure research. \$1.50.

## Books Received

**Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution**, Jose Peirats, Solidarity Books, P.O. Box 546, Station Z, Toronto, Ontario. As the title suggests it is a history of the Spanish Revolution focusing on the role of the anarchists. Peirats was involved in the War and later became Secretary-General of the CNT-in-exile.

**The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude**, Etienne de la Boetie, Black Rose Books, 3934 St. Urbain, Montreal 131, Quebec; and Free Life Editions, 41 Union Sq., New York, N.Y. 10003, (\$2.95 in Canada). A sixteenth century essay on the political/psychological basis of dictatorship—the acquiescence of the people in their own servitude. Murray N. Rothbard writes an introduction to this early libertarian writing.

**The Kronstadt Uprising of 1921**, Lynne Thorndycraft, Left Bank Books Pamphlet, 92 Pike St., Seattle, Wash. 98101, 50¢. Sums up the development of rebellion by the soldiers and sailors of Kronstadt Naval Base against the newly emerged Soviet State. Revised edition of **Anti-Authoritarian Revolutionary Movement** statement also available from Left Bank Books, 30¢.

**Prisoners Call Out Freedom**, Prisoners Solidarity Committee, 58 West 25th St. New York, N.Y. 10010, \$1. A pamphlet depicting the struggle and repression in New York State's Auburn "Correctional" Facility. The pamphlet is an attempt to organize support for the prisoners involved in the fight.

**Marxism & A Free Society**, Marcus Graham, Simian Publications, Over-the-Water, Sanday, Orkney Islands, Scotland. An anarchist reply to Isaac Deutscher's address on **Socialist Man** with particular reference to the minutes of the First International and the sabotaging of the Hague conference.

**Houseworker's Handbook**, Betsy Warrior and Lisa Leghorn, Woman's Centre, 46 Pleasant St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. A compilation of articles outlining the

# SPAIN:

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National Committee, reports that the Guardia Civil fired on the workers in the streets after clearing the factory on November 9. Street barricades were set up, and the workers defended themselves against tear gas bombs with rocks. The police retreated. In the afternoon they fired on workers' homes. The bullets found buried in the walls of the houses were not of rubber!

The response of the workers to the attacks against them was to adopt the slogan: "Cada empresa una asamblea, cada asamblea obrera una 'Roca'" (Every plant an assembly, every workers' assembly a Rock.) The strikers remained firm.

## Betrayed by the Communist Party

The PCE betrayed the strikers on two important fronts. It refused to mount a campaign of solidarity with the strike, and it made secret pacts with the capitalists.

According to a major Barcelona daily the *Correo Catalan* (Feb. 8), "The 'new type' of syndicalists—Comisiones Obreras of PSUC [the Catalan branch of the PCE] and USO—declared that the Baix Llobregat area wasn't ripe for indefinite actions in solidarity with Roca, and while the anarcho-syndicalists of the CNT and to a lesser extent the socialists of the UGT were with difficulty trying to get on with the solidarity strike, the Comisiones [CC.OO.], PSUC and USO initiated conversations out in the hallways

with the factory owners of Baix Llobregat."

The CC.OO.'s active refusal to initiate or support solidarity actions was documented on a number of occasions.

According to the CNT's Circular No. 2 (January 12), the CC.OO. and USO denounced the strikers in a meeting of the four unions following a January 4

## 'Neither class collaboration nor Social Pacts'



New national publication of CNT.

demonstration convoked by the unions.

The police had attacked the strikers and broken up the demonstration. The CC.OO. and USO claimed that a violent attitude on the part of the workers had provoked the police!

The CC.OO. not only abandoned the national solidarity campaign, it also failed to send word of the strike outside the country, although it has more international ties—through the Communist Party.

What antagonized the CC.OO. was its inability to control the strike. The CNT circular reports that at the Jan. 5 meeting of the four unions "The CC.OO....said that...it was necessary to try to carry the strike through the union headquarters and for them to direct it."

The workers' reaction was laid out in their November 23 bulletin: "As for the majority tendency of the CC.OO. we must reply that their criticism of us is very symptomatic. They describe us as uncontrolled, violent groups and make not a single allusion to the savage violence of the Guardia Civil.... It would be better for these comrades to dedicate themselves to extending the strike and to struggle for a fair contract for all the workers in Baix Llobregat."

## Secret Ballot Elections

At a January 5 meeting of the four unions, the CC.OO. and USO claimed that the strike representatives were not authentic representatives of the workers, thus undercutting the long struggle which the workers had been engaged in since last March to establish their right to elect their own representatives. They

said that new delegates should be elected by secret ballot—and *not* by a show of hands.

These uncompromising workers representing over 4,000 families were receiving no company pay, no strike pay and no unemployment benefits. The strike was maintained, as are all strikes in Spain, by donations.

The wives of the strikers, full participants in the strike, and the strikers themselves formed delegations to go throughout the Baix Llobregat area and the neighborhoods of Barcelona. They gave out information about the strike and sought donations.

The CNT formed solidarity committees in the first days of the strike. The committees worked through groups sympathetic to the CNT which are now reforming in the neighborhoods of Barcelona. The walls of the working class sections of the city were plastered with solidarity slogans. Workers and students stood at metro stops, in plazas and on street corners with strike donation cans.

The CNT National Committee gave 50,000 pesetas to the workers' assembly.

## Christmas Food and Toys

Mujeres Libres, which like the CNT dates back to Republican Spain, went into action. At Christmas time the group sent truckloads of toys begged from Barcelona stores to Poblado Roca. They formed a wagontrain of forty cars loaded with food for the workers' families.

A team of volunteer doctors set up a clinic in Poblado Roca to attend the workers and their families, whom the company had cut off from the national medical health program.

The CC.OO. ostentatiously sat on its hands. The Barcelona Neighborhood Associations (Asociaciones de Vecinos), purportedly dominated by the PCE and usually active in this kind of strike support, participated only in isolated cases.

The CNT, quick to recognize the import of the Roca strike, also realized that the strikers required international support in their deadlocked struggle against a multi-national corporation. In early January it sent a representative to Paris, although of the four unions it has the fewest international connections. Existing in exile since the Civil War with centers in Paris and Toulouse, it still cannot compare in extension to the network of the Communist and Socialist Parties.

At this point the strikers were still faced with the company's refusal to negotiate with the representatives whose employment had been terminated. And the Roca company was faced with a struggle affecting its cherished international market.

Backstage, the CC.OO. was meeting with SEFES, the area factory owners' association, and plotting an end to the strike. The agreement was that CC.OO. would call for only limited work stoppages in Baix Llobregat in a single day, in return for which Roca officials would immediately thereafter settle the strike!

The CC.OO. would emerge as the salvation of the strikers, and Roca Radiadores, S.A., would go back into production and out of the news!

The workers' assembly decided to elect a new set of representatives by a show of hands to negotiate with the company, replacing the fired representatives with whom the company would not negotiate. And the strike committee learned of the CC.OO./SEFES pact.

On February 9 a Roca spokesman delivered a series of threats and ultimatums to the full assembly. Among them was a company decision *not* to readmit the dismissed representatives whatever the decision of the higher courts to which it had appealed the case. The assembly voted unanimously to continue the strike.

The following morning, Roca officials sat down to negotiations with the newly-elected representatives and granted a series of concessions. They would accept the decision of the higher courts. They would revoke the sanctions delivered during the strike. And they would retire their threats.

The strike committee, anxious to avoid a CC.OO.-manufactured strike settlement and the appearance of a CC.OO. victory in Baix Llobregat, took advantage of the company's recognition of the assembly-elected representatives and its reversal on the other points. They decided they had to declare an end to the strike.

By a show of hands the workers' assembly seconded the strike committee's decision that afternoon. The vote, however, was not unanimous.

# The day of the anarchists

(This account of the March 27 CNT rally in Madrid was provided by a member of the Chicago branch of the International Workers of the World (IWW), which was invited by the CNT to send a representative to assess the situation in Spain. His full reports are available in the *Industrial Worker*, 752 West Webster, Chicago, Ill. 60614.

(The IWW is planning to sponsor a CNT member on a North American tour this Fall. Meanwhile, it is raising money for the CNT. For more information, or to send contributions, write to the IWW, c/o the above address.)

By Richard deVries

I arrived at 9 am Sunday, March 27th, at the Plaza de Castillo in the northern part of Madrid. There is a subway station there. As I stood there the place seemed to be swarming with hundreds of people, all ages, wearing red and black scarves. There wasn't a square foot of wall without some slogan, CNT poster, or one of the multitude of other leftist posters. Later I was told the Plaza de Castillo was "HQ of the CNT."

I introduced myself to the first likely group of CNT members, showing my credentials and IWW card, which were examined by all out of curiosity. There was a torrent of questions about unionism, anarchism, parties and organizing conditions in the United States. Finally, someone announced that I was to go in a certain car to the meeting. I rode with an assembler from some airplane company. He was with his wife and cousin.

At 9:30 we arrived at the Plaza de Toros; in San Sebastian de los Reyes. The same round of questions started again, and fraternal greetings were extended from all sides. Finally the CNT security people (one of whom is my host (a bricklayer) checked my papers. I was taken into the back of the stadium and introduced to Pedro Barrio Goazo, treasurer of the National Committee. Credentials were checked again, and more fraternal greetings were exchanged.

Soon I was seated with the construction workers' delegation. They introduced me to delegations from the Chemical Workers, Graphic Arts, Metal, Transport, Women's Liberation (Mujeres Libres), and all of the regionals—Catalonia, Andalusia, and so on. Needless to say, it was all fraternal exchanges: talk about the last big strike of each delegation and plans for the next one. There were many questions about the USA. Many members had seen an article about the IWW in the CNT newspaper, and had very good questions about the AFL (whom they called trade aristocrats) and the CIO, and about "yellow" sellout unionism. They also wanted to know about our left parties.



CNT militants give traditional Spanish anarchist salute at mass rally in Madrid.

At noon the meeting began. To my amazement there were 20,000 persons in the bull-ring seats and covering the open area. We were asked to sit closer, and finally there was standing room only. The CNT, I learned later, were also overwhelmed. They hadn't expected such large delegations. Buses arrived every five minutes, and the main gate was a constant swell of people. Massive 50-foot banners announced the CNT, the AIT (Asociacion Internacional de Trabajo, the anarcho-syndicalist international to which the CNT belongs), the regionals, the trades and industries such as "CNT Ford Motor Company," telephone and communications workers, and so on.

## International Solidarity

Because of the immense number of delegations, everyone agreed to write a short fraternal message to be read. The IWW USA got massive applause, as did Canada. Messages had come from Australia, England, the Netherlands, and the SAC in Sweden. The construction workers insisted that I sit with the National Committee, so I did for a while. But it was so hot in the sun and so dry—the Committee was abstentionist—that I went back down with the construction workers after a while where good wine, cheese, and bread prevailed.

General Secretary Gomez Casa opened the meeting. His major remarks were about the maze of parties on the left and how the CNT was the only workers' organization that in philosophy and practice guarantees workers self-determination. The vertical unionism with its pyramids of power favoured by the

left party unions and the right was denounced. This was met with massive chanting of "Anarchism and Liberty!"

Other speakers denounced the bullshit labor law, which they publicly burned; attacked the Ministry of Labor; and spoke about the monarch and fascism and the continuing repression in Spain. Most of the talks were general in nature but were very well applauded. Old songs of the Spanish Revolution were played, and the people sang and sang.

By about 3:30 or 4 the speech-making had ended. I went with some construction workers to a nearby field, and about 250 people sat around and picnicked on good cheese, rotgut wine in skins, tortillas (which in Spain sometimes amount to potato-and-egg omelettes eaten cold), mountains of bread, and cold sausage. We talked more fraternal stuff and shared personal experiences. We began to talk of the parties and the unions. There were at least 10 Maoist splinter-party unions.

One thing came out clear: The Communist, Socialist, and splinter parties are so anxious to become legal and become part of the parliamentary process that they forbid their unions to strike—a beautiful accord between King Monarch and King Kommunism. As one worker told me: "The CNT does not have a role in its philosophy or practice for the bourgeoisie and pequeno bourgeoisie, but the Communists do." I responded by asking what role the monarchy had for the Communists. And we just laughed and had some more to drink.



# Guillen

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need not be overt at the outset, but it is essential that the guerrillas start with a broad front of liberation which embodies the general interest of society, and focuses on a majority class which is capable of carrying through the tasks of the Social Revolution. If this support is not implicit in their project the guerrillas will inevitably lose the war strategically, regardless of tactical successes, because they will not be able to mobilize all the popular sectors.

To amplify his position, Guillen develops the following dichotomy between the practice of rebels and of revolutionaries:

"The voluntaristic idealism of rebels, not to be confused with the political sagacity, dialectical objectives and strategy of revolutionaries, frequently takes wishes for reality; it subjectivizes fervent revolutionary desires without taking into account objective revolutionary conditions. The rebel goes into action without thinking matters out; the revolutionary takes action following an economic analysis of the situation, a study of the friendly and hostile classes, and an effort to avoid becoming isolated in war through a liberation front directed against the principle enemy, the oligarchy. The rebel launches an insurrection without preparing for it, the revolutionary starts from a minimal organization as the

basis for the armed vanguard, from a clear and sensible program that unites the oppressed classes against the oppressors and exploiters, from a strategy and tactics compelling the repressive army to fight a surface rather than a linear war, i.e. to disperse its forces towards its strategic ruin."

In total, Guillen views guerrilla warfare as a protracted political struggle by a revolutionary force against the conventional military forces of the State. It is not a war for control of territory but for the active military and political support of the population. The hope of the urban guerrilla is, through their armed actions, to transform the many individual crises of an oppressive State into a generalized politico-military crisis in which a revolutionized population cannibalizes the authoritarian infrastructure of the State, initiating and expanding the Social Revolution.

## Revolutionary Praxis

While he was systematizing his important contributions to urban guerrilla theory and strategy in Latin America, Guillen was engaged in extensive political discussions with the founders of the Tupamaros' National Liberation Movement of Uruguay. These discussions occurred during the Tupamaros "closed door" preparatory phase which followed their initial guerrilla raid in July, 1963 and formally ended with the first armed encounter with the

programmers and radiologists in Chicago.

Workers fear that if the study does uncover disease it will be blamed on smoking.

"It's hard," admits study director Dr. Bertram Carnow, "and this is the fight. We are going to find diseases but we also have to show the relation between material in the smelter and the diseases."

Toxic materials present in the smelter include aluminum dust, fluoride, carbon monoxide and sulphur dioxide. On the basis of its own studies in three Quebec smelters, Alcan has already been forced to acknowledge an association between lung cancer and potroom exposure.

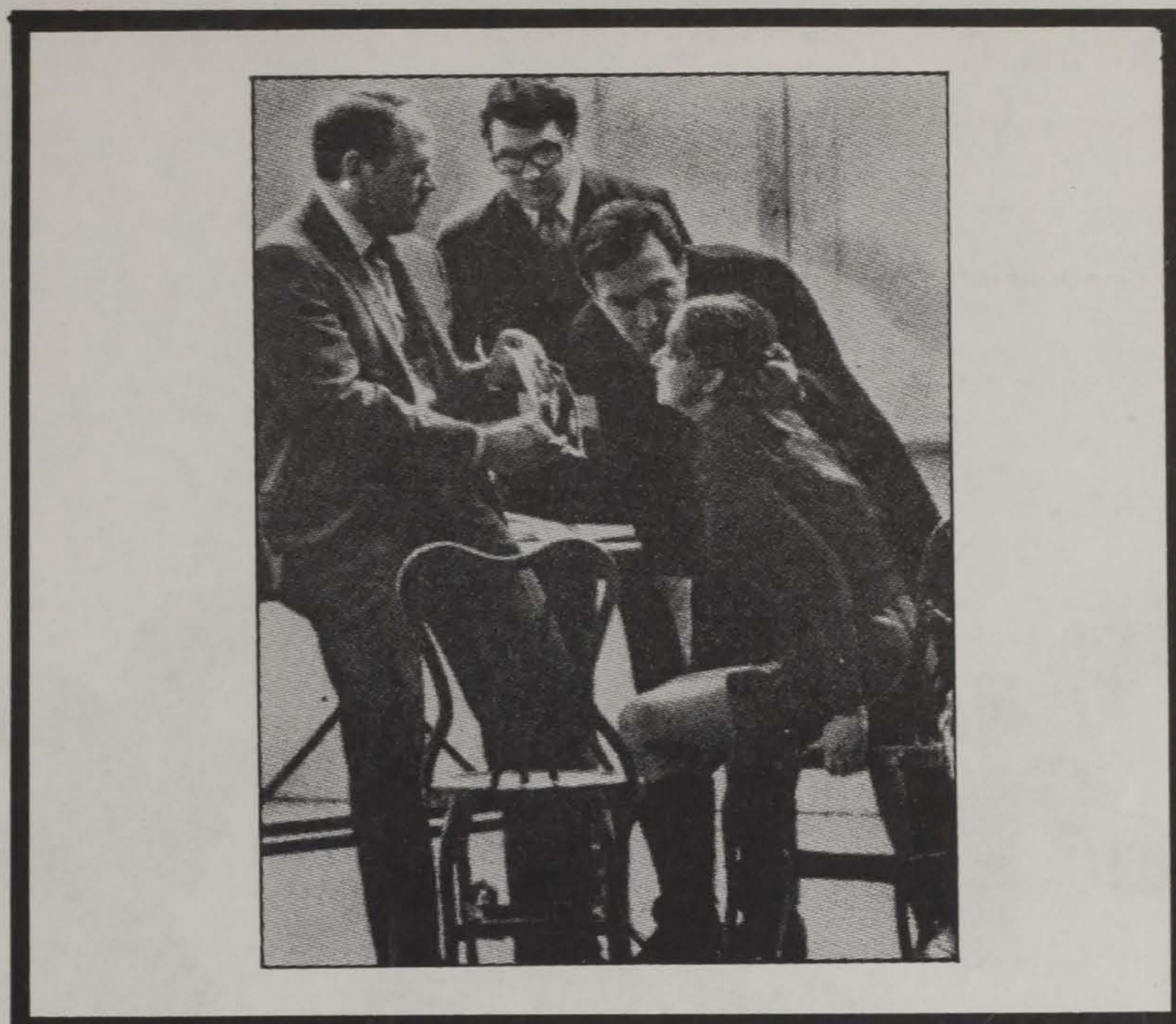
According to Carnow, who is the director of occupational and environmental medicine at the University of Illinois School of Public Health, the study is not only the best ever done at an aluminum smelter but among the best occupational medicine studies ever done.

Both Carnow and Brisebois stress that the object of the study is not to close down the smelter.

"There is no contradiction between full production and a healthy work place. It's not only possible, studies like this guarantee it," said Carnow.

Added Brisebois: "This will not be an item for the bargaining table," he adds. "A workers' health is one issue that is without a doubt non-negotiable."

It's also an issue that is going to grow in importance



Tupamaro guerilla undergoing interrogation by police (scene from film State of Siege).

police in December, 1966. Guillen's influence can be seen in a number of important theoretical and strategic perspectives adopted by the Tupamaros, who were primarily a rural foco group in 1963. They did not elaborate their own strategy of urban warfare until the publication of *Thirty Questions to a Tupamaro* in 1967.

On the surface, the Tupamaros ignored Guillen's and Guevara's admonishments against attempts by a revolutionary foco to start an insurrection in countries which still have a semblance of

democratic liberty and where an economic crisis has not yet created widespread disaffection. The Tupamaros also failed to form the "broad front" of oppressed classes advocated by Guillen.

The Tupamaros felt that the "broad front" would be forged in the heat of a protracted armed struggle. As for the necessary economic crisis, the Tupamaros' initial analysis correctly predicted that Uruguay was soon heading into a prolonged economic dislocation. The existence of bourgeois democracy in Uruguay they regarded as a relative factor which was sub-

ject to the whims of the oligarchy. In spite of their impetuosity on these important matters the Tupamaros took to heart much of Guillen's advice to revolutionary minorities. Of special significance was the Tupamaros' adherence to Guillen's proposition that the revolutionary minority "must be based on a movement that cannot be classified in terms of the classical political labels, but rather one that takes a date as the origin of its political denomination and revolutionary action... In

each other without *sinking* us under somebody's distress. An evaluation after each meeting—what went well and what could have been improved on—helps people to state what they think about the process (not the content) of the meeting and not to go away grumbling behind the scenes.

In brief, we frequently tell each other: "That isn't on the subject; that belongs at another meeting; think your strong feelings are getting in the way of clear thinking here; etc. Someone may suggest, "Let's appoint three people to come back next time with a specific proposal." Starting meetings with excitement sharing, with an emphasis on the positive, helps bring us in contact with

equal time is given each individual for discussion of the proposal. Basically, no decision is made until everyone feels comfortable with it—but seeking for agreement rather than winning points is the goal. When people are thinking of the good of the group as much as of their individual wishes, compromise is easier to find. If decisions have to be made in a large meeting of say 50

people, we break into smaller groups for discussion and report back to the whole with friendly amendments or major objections. New proposals to overcome objections send us back into smaller groups, and the process repeats until consensus is reached. If no agreement can be found, former decisions stand until more work and thinking can be done. Because we don't vote, no one is left feeling in the overruled minority or in the victorious majority. After taking part in this process at a national meeting of MNS last spring in Kansas, I was amazed to find a description of almost the same process used in the land reform movement in Chinese villages in 1947-48 (William Hinton, *Fanshen*).

# Alcan

continued from p.15

for voluntary participation from all 1,800 members succeeded in attracting 1,300.

An estimated 500 workers with lung abnormalities or high exposure to toxic materials will now receive further testing in the second phase of the study. Results are expected later this year.

CASAW president Wihro Papenbrock says the union decided to fund its own study "because we have our suspicions of reports done in the past by the company. We are not satisfied with them."

An earlier study conducted for the union blamed a 20-mile-long "death band" of timber near the smelter on fluoride emissions from the plant.

"If pollutants can cause that kind of damage to the trees, what is the effect of the same pollutants on workers in the smelter?" Papenbrock asks.

Most workers are not vocal over conditions in the smelter but study field co-ordinator Jim Brisebois, CASAW recording secretary, took the attitude that "working guys have got to realize they have as much skill to deal with difficult problems as any management guy." To this end the study is being conducted by locally-trained field workers backed by a team of biostatisticians, hygienists, computer

# MNS

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long as basic rules are adhered to and no one is allowed to dominate the meeting.

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The Open Road welcomes correspondence and contributions (both editorial and financial).

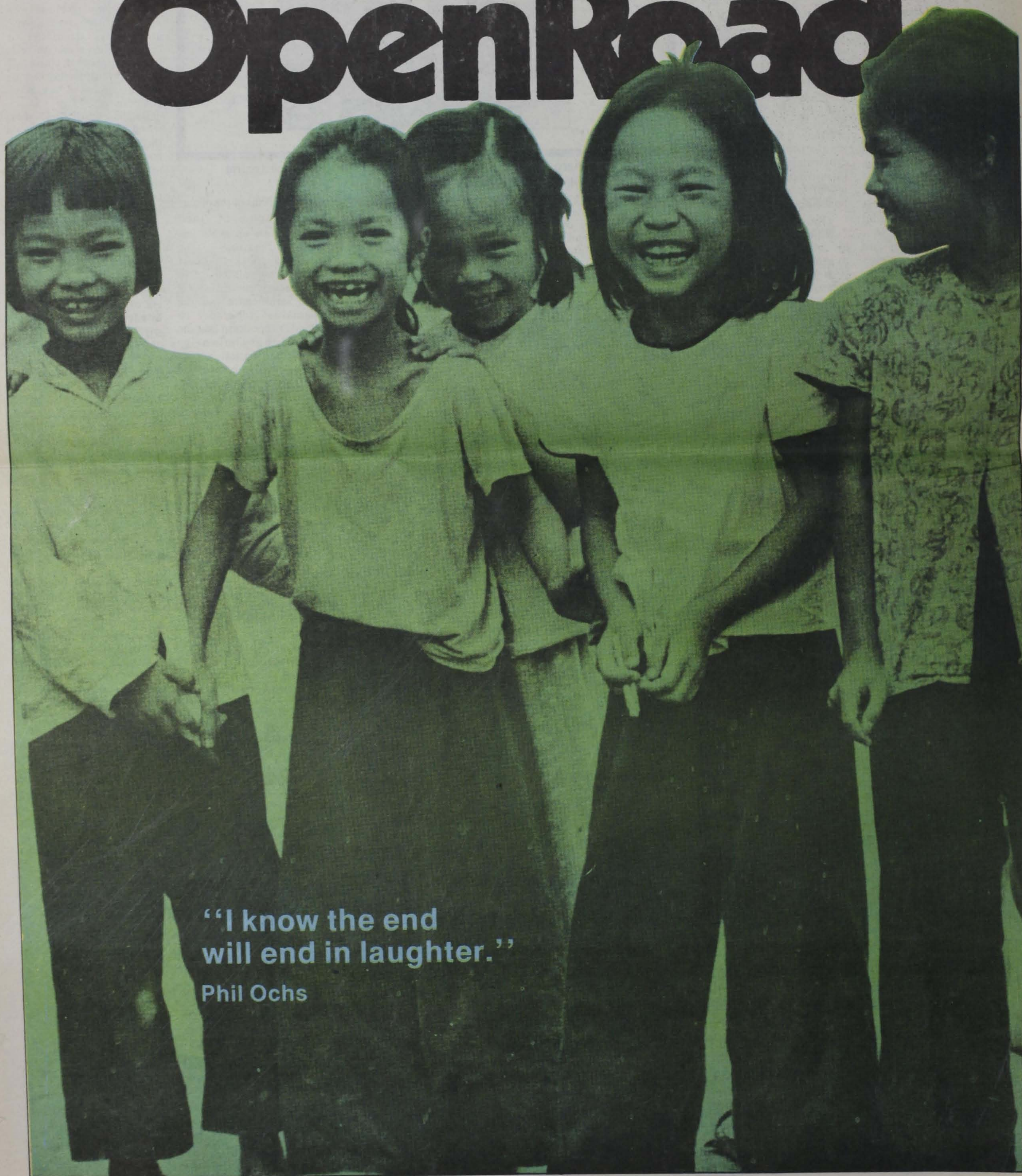
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**“I know the end  
will end in laughter.”**

**Phil Ochs**