

Wobblies
Ghost of
strikes-past
stalks bosses

ARTICLE P. 4

Rita Brown
Guerrilla bust
puts anarchism
on trial

REPORT P. 3

Punk Rock
Puking in
the face of
boredom

STORY P. 7

Issue Five Winter 1977/78

60¢

OpenRoad



**REVOLT
AGAINST
WORK**

SEE PAGE 17

Nuclear family blows up

Women refugees find feminist refugees

TRANSITION HOUSES P. 14

Dare to giggle, dare to laugh

Pastry flies in North American skies

PIEWEEK P. 5

OPENERS

The magazine devoted to total anarchy

Crazy Horse Moves Mountain

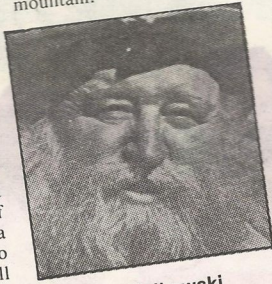
Korczak Ziolkowski and his sons have moved a mountain in the last 30 years—and the result is a 513-foot-high likeness of the Indian militant Crazy Horse.

Ziolkowski used everything from dynamite to a hand chisel to clear away more than five million tons of granite rock from Thunderhead Mountain near Custer, S.D. He took on the job of creating the world's largest sculpture at the request of Chief Standing Bear, a descendent of Sitting Bull, so that "the white man will know that Indians have their heroes, too."

The project was launched when Ziolkowski acquired the mountain face from the U.S. government in exchange for some other land. The work was financed through donations and by charging admission to tourists at the sculptor turned down an offer of \$10 million in aid from the government.

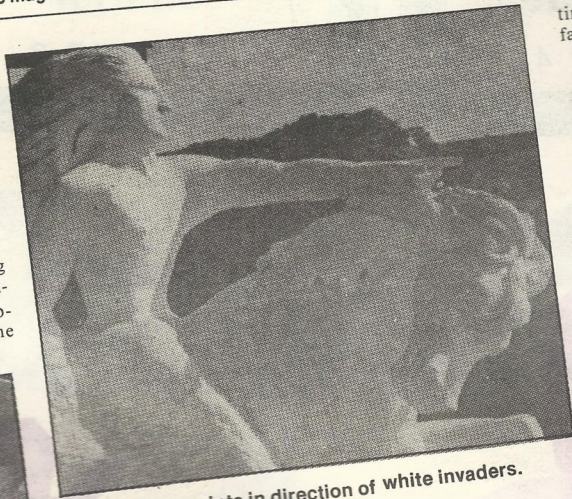
Ziolkowski is now in the process of polishing the carved rock, but he reckons it will take another seven years

to put on the finishing touches. Plans call for an Indian university to be established at the base of the mountain.



Korczak Ziolkowski

The likeness of Crazy Horse is virtually in the shadow of Mount Rushmore, where the U.S. government has carved out its own heroes (Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt) on a sacred Indian mountain. Crazy Horse is depicted on horseback pointing east in the direction of the white invaders. At the base will be carved his words: "My lands are where my dead lie buried."



Crazy Horse points in direction of white invaders.

Mounties Smokes Out

When it comes to dirty tricks, the Mounties are far from matchless.

Five years after the event, Canada's national police force now admits it burned down a barn near Montreal which it alleges was to be used as a meeting place between the urban guerilla Front de Liberation du Quebec and the American Black Panthers.

Reason given for the extra-legal rural renewal? They

couldn't figure out how to bug the place, so they decided to make sure the meeting didn't come off. (They claim they succeeded.)

The Mounties find themselves in luke-warm water these days, what with all sorts of revelations about burglaries, mail-tampering, illegal snooping and various provocations, such as the bombing of a boss's house while his workers were on strike. But then, they have a tough job to do: everything from being the Canadian

State's CIA and FBI to directing traffic and breaking up family fights.

Living Theatre Busted

The Living Theatre, an American anarchist drama ensemble which has had more than its share of run-ins with the law over the past couple of decades, is getting less-than-rave reviews from the West German authorities.

The group's director, Julian Beck, was arrested in Munich in late October following a performance of "Seven Meditations About Political Sado-Masochism," which describes how information can be extracted from political detainees by suspending them by their own weight for long periods of time (it's called the parrot swing).

The script notes that "this and other forms of torture were used in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, the Philippines, Israel, Spain, Ireland, Iran, West Germany and 52 other countries."

Beck was charged with "slandering the German State," and held for nine hours before being released on \$1,000 bail.

Roadside Notes

ARMED STRUGGLE

Dear Open Road,

I want to see a debate in the pages of *Open Road* on the value of terrorism. Instead, except for the critical article on the NWLF's politics, I see nothing but cheer-leading. "Terrorism" to me means violent action against persons or property, but especially persons, by a small group originating outside any organization of popular control. I have three points to make about *Open Road's* implicit support for any such action originating from a "left" group.

First, you have a vague idea of mutual support between above ground and underground groups. In fact the support always seems to run one-way. The underground groups see themselves as leaders of a larger movement, to whom they are completely unaccountable, and there seems to be no lack of Prairie-Fire type groupies who treat them as stars. If people with military experience want to be of help, they could help train neighbourhood and workers' groups in self-defense.

Second, you have an unstated strategy that violent propaganda by the deed, by small groups, will inspire

popular resistance. I see no historical support for this. Take the early populists and nihilists in Russia, the turn-of-the-century European and American anarchists, or the recent Tupamaros, and the results have always been a weakening of the movements. On this we have the testimony of many who originally supported such action: Bakunin, Emma Goldman and the Tupamaros themselves.

The only example I know which was of arguable value is the *pistoleros* period of Spanish Anarchism. And here you have, already in existence, a very large anarchist workers movement engaged in bloody strikes, and *pistoleros* specifically contracted to these organizations. But in order for such contracts to be safe, they must be made in secret by leaders of the mass organizations, so I am still doubtful of their value. Militarism and secrecy, even if they are necessary, are still everywhere the enemies of libertarian organization.

This brings me to the final point: you show an uncritical admiration for flashy violence itself. I am not a pacifist, but I support the efforts of radical pacifists, because I am sure that the more prolonged violence a revolution undergoes, the more

repressive it is likely to be. I say this not just from reading but from some experiences in the '60's.

No small group can predict or control the revolution, and the efforts to do so are usually disastrous. The only strategy that makes any sense to me, is to push ahead with organizing, with helping people build organs of day-to-day struggle that they control. Arming for self-defense is part of such popular control. The cumulative growth of many such popular groups will be far more frightening to the ruling class than the deeds of a few brave souls. It also makes revolution a much more likely and appealing prospect than the terrorist strategy.

I hope this essay will stimulate those who have supported terrorism to consider and reply to these issues.

For the revolution of popular control and the popular control of revolution.
Jim Stodder,
New Orleans, LA

ANARCHA-FEMINISM

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

We of Tiamat were quite excited and pleased with the article on anarcha-feminism in the most recent issue (no. 4

Fall, 1977). We also thank you for including us in that article. We are currently working on writing down our theory of anarcha-feminism, and hope to try and publish it, but all at a later date.

Now we are beginning to think of holding an international anarcha-feminist conference in the springtime here in Ithaca. It's time we got together and talked about what is happening worldwide with feminists who are anarchists, and to talk about what we are trying to do theoretically.

We are asking for suggestions for workshops and other ideas about what should be included in a conference like this.

in solidarity,
Elaine Leeder
for Tiamat,
108 Schuyler Place
Ithaca, N.Y. 14850

ANTI-NUCLEAR

Hi there,
I enjoyed reading the inside stuff on the anti-nuclear movements in Europe and the States. But a comment on your photo of the Trident protest: it appeared very violent, while in reality the whole protest this summer was characterized by an almost martyristic passivity of resistance.

The intent was to maintain a peaceful, loving presence at the base, which seemed to be what was happening. I spent the weekend of Aug. 7th at the base in an almost festival air of protest, if that

paradox can be accepted. Even to the civil disobedience action I participated in, where we swam onto the base from Hood Canal with a seven-foot wooden salmon (to spawn a future without nuclear death).

When we were apprehended by heavily armed guards, we were so high in the spirit they instantly mellowed out. One of them wiped the salt water off my glasses and another cautioned us to watch that we didn't bump our heads as we got into the paddy wagon. From a white-knuckled grip on a billy stick to concerned courtesy, showed me the power of Love like nothing else ever had.

I'm writing this letter from King County Jail where I'm serving a ten-day sentence for the above-mentioned action, having fantasies of pieing (Gov.) Dixie Lee Ray.

Keep up the good work.

Con Amor,
Penelope Geforth
Seattle, Wash.

PIE

Dear Open Road:

Hi. I saw your fall issue yesterday at Morningtown in Seattle (you can always count on those radical commie creeps to have some pinko literature around). The paper looks great, and the article on the pie-tossing just knocked me out. (banana cream, I think)...

Do you know of anyone in my area with a propensity for

such foolishness? (I can think of a couple of local dignitaries I'd like to see pie-eyed.) Keep your thumb in it... you're bound to pull out a plum (plumb?). Thanks.

Bye-Bye,
Ms. American Pie
alias, Jef Jaisun
Kirkland, Wash.

SWITZERLAND

dear friends,

we were very happy to hear about you, the existence of such a great magazine like *open road* and an anarchist party of canada (groucho marxist).

we see that you're doing well (pie-throwing) and its very good to hear something about anarchism from so far away.

here in switzerland, anarchism leads a very hidden life. we are a group of ten or twenty people (also a bit groucho-marxist, if you look at our magazine), editing the *alpenzeiger*, having a shop with alternative books, food and so on. it's no easy job to be an anarchist in a little town like arrau, but we try to enjoy ourselves and to disturb the fat bourgeois wherever it's possible.

our activities against a nearby nuclear centre "gosgen", are very local, we try to show the people in arrau what "gosgen" really

continued on p. 1

FREE RITA BROWN

Rita Brown, a lesbian feminist revolutionary who has played an important role in turning the urban guerilla George Jackson Brigade away from vanguardist politics, was arrested in Seattle November 4 by the FBI and charged with taking part in five bank robberies in Oregon.

Brown is now stashed in the Marion County Jail in Salem, Ore. Her trial, which should start early in the New Year, will be a major forum for projecting an anarchist critique of the State and its policies.

Her arrest followed by only three days the most recent GJB action—the bombing of a Seattle Mercedes showroom in protest of the deaths of the three Red Army Faction (Baader-Meinhoff) guerrillas imprisoned in West Germany.

As well, it coincided with release of the GJB's long-awaited Political Statement describing the Brigade's evolving anti-authoritarian consciousness and placing special emphasis on mass work and on the struggles of women, gays and Third World people in North America.

Brown, 30, a long-time militant in the prison movement, was nabbed by a fluke while on a routine chore. She was surrounded by half a dozen agents and disarmed before she could fight back. As the GJB noted



Rita Brown— anti-authoritarian militant.

in an open letter to her a few days later:

"It was your hair, comrade. Somebody around that fucking bank spotted you with the hair looking like Carol Newland, and the Feds came and staked out the bank waiting for you to come back.

"And you did, and now they've got you. Zip, just like that, another of our strongest fighters is locked up. They must have tried to follow you home from your walk on the beach with the dog, and you spotted them and doubled back away from the house, insuring your capture and our safety."

The bust precipitated a hasty withdrawal by



remaining members of the GJB, who had to evacuate their base in a suburban Seattle neighborhood, losing a great deal of material and supplies. Within a few hours, the FBI tracked down the house with the help of a rabies vaccination tag found on Brown's dog, but everybody had already split.

Brown had dropped out of public view in early 1976—during a massive grand jury witchhunt of Seattle's Left which followed an abortive bank robbery in which one GJB member, Bruce Seidel, was killed by police and two others, John Sherman and Ed Mead, were arrested. (Sherman was subsequently busted out of jail and remains



at large.)

Prior to her disappearance, she had been heavily involved in prisoner support work, especially at Purdy Women's Prison. Since coming to Seattle in the late 1960's, after serving a year in Terminal Island (Calif.) Penitentiary for mail fraud, she had earned a reputation as a tireless worker, a militant revolutionary and a confirmed anti-authoritarian.

While the developing anti-authoritarian tendency within the GJB has been evident for a number of months—the Brigade was the first still-active guerilla group in North America to espouse such politics—it received its clearest elaboration in the new 30-page political statement: the GJB reveals there are theoretical political differences within the group—especially between anarchist and Marxist-Leninist lines—but notes that members still feel comfortable about

working together at a practical level.

The statement underlines the unity of the GJB around such issues as the need to liquidate Third World voyeurism (the Weather Underground is specifically criticized), to develop concrete links to the working class and other mass movements and to the above-ground Left, and to avoid the "military vanguard" syndrome. But it adds:

"We no longer agree on the need for socialism and a workers' State. Although we are sharply divided on this question, we have not yet found it necessary to resolve it either by reaching unity or by disbanding.

"Authority can't be destroyed by any movement based on authority."

Again, our apologies for not responding to many of your letters.

Along with their letters, many of our readers have enclosed contributions. These donations have been essential to OR's survival, as we do not charge for subscriptions and bookstore sales provide only a small fraction of the \$3,000 it costs to put out each issue of *The Open Road*. The response of our readers so far has been gratifying, but nevertheless, we continue to exist in a state of impending financial disaster, getting through crises by passing the

hat among friends. Your continued generosity is essential for the paper's survival. (By the way, foreign cheques and cash are no problem.)

So, we rely on our readers. For the money to keep going, but equally important, for their inspiration and energy. For the letters that give us feedback on what we've done and what we should be doing, and that includes the news of what you've been doing. . . For the realization that we're part of a broad-based and growing movement for the Social Revolution.

We will send 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. V6R 4G5 Canada

"We have, however, spent a lot of time in the last year and a half struggling to better understand the nature of this division so that we can deal with it correctly when the need does arise in practice. On the question of the need for socialism, the workers' State, and other related questions, there are now essentially two views in the Brigade. These are contained in the two statements attached to this document."

Stateless Communism

The anarchist statement stresses decentralized organization, and argues that the transition from capitalism to a Stateless communism can be achieved without an intervening Marxist-style

proletarian dictatorship. As for the current phase, revolutionary organizations must be strictly collective, with no permanent division of labor:

"Authority can't be destroyed by any movement which is in itself based on authority. Patriarchal, capital and State power can never be overthrown by organizations that are themselves hierarchical and authoritarian. Instead, revolutionary organizations must mirror the organization of the future."

In its open letter, the GJB severely criticized itself for creating the conditions that led to Brown's arrest. Besides the obvious mistakes involving the dog, tag and Brown's hair style, there was a general tendency to stress action over reflection and discussion.

In the past six months, the GJB had carried out two bank robberies and five bombings, had produced the political statement and another critique of the John Brown Book Club (Weather groupies), and had started work on another bank robbery and "a couple of other major actions that we can't talk about for security reasons."

The GJB which has been operating actively in Washington and Oregon since Spring 1975, has now resolved to establish a "realistic division of labor" to get the work done, to devote one day per week solely to discussing politics and strategic and practical matters and to develop an evacuation plan.

Meanwhile, a defense committee has been established to wage the political and legal battle inside the courtroom and outside. In an early message to the committee, Brown urged that women take a leading role in the defense work, that jobs be rotated among several people and that the committee relate to other groups and individuals in a non-authoritarian way. She also asked for a copy of *Zero*, an anarcho-feminist monthly (c/o Rising Free, 182 Upper St., Islington, London N1, England).

The defense committee takes a position of critical support for Brown's politics and the politics of the GJB, while respecting the differences among Brigade members.

The Seattle radical community has drawn together around Brown's defense, unlike the campaign of resistance to the grand jury, which was hampered by "Leftists" who were afraid of guilt-by-association. New attacks by the authorities against the prison movement are expected, since the GJB membership is mainly drawn from that milieu.

To get in on the nationwide campaign, contact Rita Brown Defense Committee, Box 22204, Seattle, Wash. 98122. Write to Brown directly at PO Box 710, Salem, Ore. 97308.

(For copies of the GJB political statement and other related documents, check with Left Bank Books, 92 Pike St., Seattle, Wash. 98101. Detailed accounts of GJB activities in *The Open Road*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, & 4.)

On the Road

The past three months have been important ones for *The Open Road* in a quiet sort of way. . . for the first time, there seemed to be an implicit assumption that the paper would be out again in three months time; as well, a number of new people joined the collective, helping to share the workload and bringing in new ideas.

However, there have been bumps on the road. The mailing list for OR #4 was organized by computer, and in the process a number of subscribers got lost, and were not found until recently. Hopefully, this has been cleared up for this issue, but we apologize for any delays in receiving the last issue. If you have a change of address or any problems in receiving OR, please let us know.

Speaking of letting us know. . . we often mail the paper out on a trial basis to

people whose names we get second-hand; from friends, from articles we read, and so forth. If you're receiving the paper and want to stay on our mailing list, please write us. If you're not on our mailing list but would like to be, by all means write, mentioning whether you have received a copy of No. 5.

At the same time, we've been receiving several hundred letters a week. . . subscription requests, news, gossip, praise and criticism. We're continually amazed at the size and spread of the anti-authoritarian movement that this indicates, and are pleased that so many people feel like they can relate to us in the personal way they have. Feel free to send suggestions and ideas for articles you'd like to read in the paper. We are, however, unable to respond to as many of the letters as we'd like.

Anarchism outlawed in Greece

The anarchist movement and its ideas have been outlawed in Greece.

That's the way Greek anarchists see it, and it's no wonder, considering the systematic onslaught against anarchists and anarchist publications unleashed by the conservative Karamanlis regime this Fall and Winter.

The regime has been openly gunning for the anarchist movement since at least Mayday, but the campaign really picked up steam in mid-October in the run-up to November's parliamentary election (won by the Conservatives, but with a significantly reduced majority.)

Every publisher of anarchist books, pamphlets and periodicals has been busted and their offices vandalized; homes have been invaded, the occupants arrested on fabricated charges, beaten up, threatened and in numerous cases sent to jail with stiff sentences; and public mobilizations of anarchists have been savagely attacked by the riot police, with individual participants being



Student demonstrations in 1973 give birth to modern Greek Anarchist movement.

grabbed arbitrarily for prosecution on suspicion of "sympathizing with terrorism."

Four anarchist journalists were charged with being the "moral authors" of a series of demonstrations and two

bombings in mid-October aimed at protesting the deaths of the three Red Army Faction (Baader-Meinhoff) guerillas held in a West German prison.

At their trial at the end of October, the State prosecutor

could pin no specific offences on the accused, since none of their papers had even been published for several months prior to the protests. But the judges, who asked numerous questions relating to the political ideals of the defen-

dents, decided they must remain in jail until some proper charges could be laid—a process which can take up to six months, and can be renewed for another six months.

Meanwhile, police grabbed Christos Konstantinidis, 28, coordinator of Diethnis Bibliothiki (World Library), the leading Greek anarchist publisher, at a demonstration. Konstantinidis, who was active in the student mobilizations that led to the downfall of the Colonels' dictatorship in 1973, has been harassed, arrested and beaten many times by police in the past few years. (See *The Open Road*, No. 4, Fall 1977.)

Despite being seriously ill and unable to take part in his defense, Konstantinidis was rushed to trial within a week of his arrest. He was charged with resisting authority and "injuries to authority," but the evidence against him was so weak that the prosecutor was forced to propose his acquittal.

The judges decided to con-

vict him anyway, and sentenced him to 3½ years in prison.

The trials—and there are more to come—are being conducted in an atmosphere of hysteria whipped up by the mass media through slanderous rumour and innuendo. One newspaper, for instance, headlined the "fact" that the car used in one of the bombings had been stolen in a town that Konstantinidis sometimes frequented.

The papers also declared there was "an international anarchist plan for the provocation of violence"; that "Carlos (guerilla celebrity) has been seen in Athens"; and that Konstantinidis has been visited recently by two German lawyers of the Red Army Faction."

As one anarchist noted: "The openly-avowed aim of this campaign is the physical extermination of the young anarchist movement, which was first developed during the recent military dictatorship and which has subsequently shown on many occasions its vitality and continuous strength."

The wave of police terror was obviously aimed in its initial stages at scaring the voting public into sticking with the Conservatives. While the Social Democratic opposition still managed to make big gains in the election, it probably won't mean much relief for the anarchists, since the Greek police and civil service apparatus continues to be dominated by elements that thrived during the fascist rule of the Colonels.

The anarchist movement remains combative in the face of official lawlessness (there was a big mobilization and street battle in late November on the anniversary of the downfall of the Colonels), but a great deal of energy has to be devoted to the courtroom battles. In addition to new trials coming up, there are to be appeals of the Konstantinidis and other cases.

The liberal legal establishment has been won over to the defense side because of the blatant violations of civil liberties, so the new trials and appeals cannot be railroaded as before. Still, the defense takes money, and the Greek anarchists don't have the financial resources to wage the battle completely on their own.

An international campaign of solidarity and support is being coordinated through Black Rose Books, (3934 rue St. Urbain, Montreal, Que., Canada), which is asking for donations of money to aid in the defense. As well, they urge letters of protest over the violations of civil liberties be sent to Evangelos Yianopoulos, president of the Lawyers' Association of Athens, Panepistimiou 34, Athens, Greece; and to the newspaper Eleftherotypia, Panepistimoiu 57, Athens.

(Copies of all protest letters should go to Sylvia Papadopoulou, c/o Diethnis Bibliothiki, Delfon 2, Athens 144, Greece.)

IWW STRIKES AGAIN

Wobblies clogify system

By Frank Everett

The Wobblies of sainted memory are in the thick of union organizing again, and they're finding they have to scratch for new variations on an old theme: using the system to beat the system.

After seventy-two years of uncompromising revolutionary syndicalism, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) are making dramatic gains among unorganized machinists in southern Illinois and transit workers—among others—in California by a resourceful amalgam of bread-and-butter unionism, and egalitarian and direct action tactics.

A key short-term expedient has been to use the State apparatus (the federal labor code) to gain some elbow room for organizing.

As a Wobbly organizer notes, revolutionary organizations have always had to balance their short-term interests and their long-term goals if they are to continue operating in the contemporary political terrain.

"We're not kidding ourselves about the nature of the State, but the rules of the game have changed since 1920," she says.

"We use what tools are at hand. If the boss makes a stupid mistake, a legal mistake, we take advantage of it."

"That doesn't mean we let the government do our organizing for us. The only real organizing is when we do it ourselves."

For instance, at Mid-Atlantic Machinery in Virden, Ill., where the workers are struggling for recognition as an IWW union shop, the Wobblies have used government agencies such as the National Labor Relations Board to force the boss to the bargaining table.

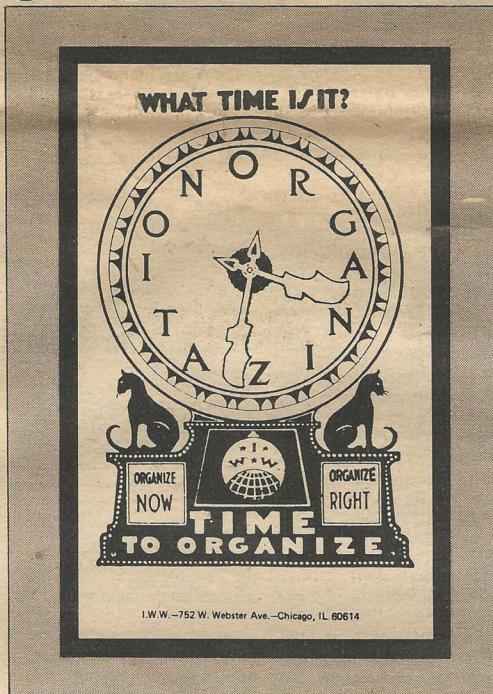
But they are relying heavily on direct action tactics to generate the real pressure. Flying picket lines, made up of relatives and friends of the workers, follow the boss around when he tries to sell his wares. The result is that profits are still down for him, while workers still stay on the payroll.

In Santa Cruz, Calif., an organizing drive involves 3000 workers in the Comprehensive Employment and Training Agency (CETA), a federal government-funded organization notorious for paying trainees below minimum wage, refusing them sick pay, vacations, medical care and other basic benefits. Even before winning shop recognition, IWW agitation gained the CETA trainees recognition as Federal employees entitled to benefits. The organizing drive was particularly effective in showing unemphed and unorganized workers how to deal with bureaucracies without selling out.

These successes sparked an organizing drive in Santa Cruz's transit system. The workers who washed buses, often earning \$50 a week, were the only unorganized workers in the transit system. They demanded IWW job control, and satisfaction on a wide range of grievances. The city responded by giving in on several of the demands, but has so far stalled on union recognition by demanding that the IWW prove itself a "real" union.

On another front, the Wobblies are now laying plans to set up a central clearing house to organize musicians across North America into a cooperative.

All this renewed activity marks just another phase in a long history of ups and downs. Founded in 1905, the IWW quickly gained a



militant reputation organizing a wide spectrum of workers: loggers and migrant farm-workers in the West, textile workers in the East, auto-workers and seamen. It spread from the US to Canada, Scandinavia, England, Chile and Africa, with its belief in One Big Union using the general strike to end capitalist domination.

Faced with severe government repression, especially after its refusal to support American entry into the First World War, the IWW produced more than its share of martyrs. It was further weakened when it refused to join the Red Trade Union International denouncing its manipulation by the Bolsheviks. While it continued to play a militant

role, leading the first sit-down strike in the auto industry in 1933, its influence in the labor movement began a slow decline.

The final blow almost came in 1950, with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, which the IWW believed was designed to muzzle unions by making them subject to government approval. Refusing to comply with this act, and placed on the list of subversive organizations, the union lost its vital Cleveland stronghold, where it represented steel and rubber workers and demonstrated the feasibility of revolutionary unionism.

A much reduced union marked its 50th anniversary

in 1955, but the '60's witnessed the beginnings of a revival. Anticipating student and women's movements with structural changes permitting organization of students and home-makers as workers, membership began to increase. Collectives were organized, particularly in the printing industry, and several strikes were successfully conducted in "hip" workplaces. (One bitter strike was against Hip Products, a sweatshop supplying the "headshop" industry.)

Nevertheless, organization has not come easily. Many organizing efforts were poorly prepared or overly optimistic. Union policy regarding the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act and "no-strike" clauses in contracts was indecisive. The 70th anniversary, however, saw the union in a growing mood, and was celebrated with publication of *The IWW: Its First 70 Years*, by Fred Thompson and Patrick Murfin, an honest account of the uneven progress over this period.

As the organizer says: "We tell people our history, and what we have stood for. But we don't dwell on it. We're not relics, I don't feel like a relic."

"Workers don't join the IWW because they are necessarily anarcho-syndicalists. They join because they want a union they can control."

(The Santa Cruz Wobblies are in desperate need of money. Send contributions to the IWW, 314A Laurel, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95060.)

(For more on the Wobblies organizing drives, check *The Industrial Worker* newspaper, 752 W. Webster, Chicago, Ill. 56172, or the *General Defense Bulletin*, Box 306, Toronto 4, Ont.)

Women prisoners slam "human rights"

By Hilda Chester

It's called "equal job opportunities," but what it really means is an added turn of the screw for the thousands of women stashed in prisons across North America.

Under cover of various new human rights laws and court decisions, male guards are being moved into women's prisons in increasing numbers. Their jobs: to provide still another reminder of male domination, and to further undermine the physical and emotional well-being of women in prison.

Just as on the outside, rape and other forms of sexual assault and extortion are basic tools for keeping women prisoners in their place. But male guards can also operate more subtly, since their very presence in living units and toilet and shower facilities is a degrading and humiliating experience for women with no recourse to privacy.

Now there's a fight-back starting, and it has united prisoners and prison support groups.

This means that the presence of male guards in women's prisons is going to be a key element in prison organizing in the coming months. A high-profile symbol of this new resistance is Joanne Little, who, with the help of an intensive support campaign, beat a murder rap in Raleigh, N.C. in 1976 after she stabbed a male guard bent on raping her.

Two campaigns from opposite ends of the continent indicate how the movement is unfolding.

At Bedford Hills Correctional Facility in upstate New York, where male guards were introduced a year ago in response to a court order requiring equal job opportunities, women prisoners have already staged two uprisings in protest. As a result, a number of women were beaten by the guards, 14 were placed in the hole and the authorities are now saying they need male guards to control the "violence."

The authorities then started circulating petitions among the prisoners declaring that male guards were preferred over female guards. Many prisoners were forced to sign under threat of retaliation.

In June and again in October, a group of Bedford Hills prisoners went to court to get the men out of their living quarters. They got a temporary injunction to that effect, but the issue is far from resolved, and more court tests are expected.

The Bedford Hills prisoners' support group, Women Free Women in Prison (Box 283, West Nyack, N.Y. 10994), has pointed out that the equal job opportunities issue is a phoney, since the male guards could be transferred to the men's unit without any loss of job security.

"It's not so much the system's concern for equal job opportunity for men and women—if that were the case, the Equal Rights Amendment would be a fact,

and, within, the prison itself, women would be granted such basic demands as equal vocational training and jobs in male dominated fields, i.e., carpentry, plumbing, wiring, electronics, etc. (these

guards had plenty of "favours" to offer in return. Guards started lounging in the women's living quarters, and a number even took to coming in on their days off to "visit" the prisoners.

allegations, and insisted that male guards are needed to keep a lid on conflict among women prisoners.

Reporters trying to get the other side of the story asked to interview a woman



fields are open to men in prison).

"The reality is that the presence of men in women's living quarters is just another show of threatening force on the part of the oppressor, another form of humiliation liable to break the women down and make them 'behave'."

At Oakalla Correctional Institution, near Vancouver, B.C., male guards were moved into the women's unit following passage of a "human rights" act by the former social democratic provincial government.

Sexual contact between guards and prisoners started almost at once, as the male

For those women who refused to go along, the guards had ways of making their lives even more uncomfortable. One prisoner recalls: "This guy came into my room, took my hair curlers and fastened them together in a line. Then he told me, 'here, use this on your lesbian girlfriend.'" Another prisoner remembers how a male guard started fondling her breast right in front of members of her family who were visiting her.

When word of the abuses at Oakalla started leaking out the authorities staged a quickie news conference with a carefully-selected group of prisoners who denied all the

prisoner who had been identified as outspokenly critical of the situation. After some delays, she was brought forward. Her face and body were covered with bruises and welts, and she declined to make a statement.

The resulting uproar forced an official investigation, with the result that the warden and deputy warden (both males) were kicked upstairs. The public service union that represents the guards has now come out in favor of transferring the male guards, so changes can be expected. (More on Oakalla from Prisoners' Rights Group, 3965 Pandora St., Burnaby, B.C.)

The struggle against male guards isn't being waged on a local level only. A Western Prison Coalition is now coming together in an effort to coordinate the activities of women's prison groups on the West Coast and to provide a forum for exchange of ideas and news.

More than 125 women from 20 groups in California, Oregon, Washington and New Mexico attended a conference in Santa Cruz, Calif., in October to identify some of their common concerns and to map out joint tactics and strategies. The conference represented a range of political lines, from reformist to revolutionary.

Among the topics singled out for special attention were: developing new ways for outside support groups to gain access to prisons; opposition to construction of new prisons; and targeting of "specific outrageous abuses," such as behavior modification and experimental drug programs, medical abuse (including sterilization), the death penalty, child custody and the mistreatment of lesbians in prison.

Plans now call for the establishment of a national network. For more on the Western Coalition, write c/o the Women's Litigation Unit, 1095 Market St., Room 416, San Francisco, Calif. 94103.

(For an anti-authoritarian source of news on the women's prison movement, check **Through the Looking Glass**, PO Box 22228, Seattle, Wash. 98122. 50¢ per copy.)

VANCOUVER TAKES PENNANT

Fly, fly (North) American pie

By Mark Brothers

"Let them eat pie," rang out the battle cry as pie throwers reded themselves for the International Week of Pieing (Nov. 4-11). In the days leading up to the all-out offensive, piepeople got their arms in shape by ricocheting pastry off the skulls of such notables as John Dean, ex-CIA honcho William Colby, Cleveland mayor Ralph Perk, Edmonton mayor Cec Purves, Madison mayor Paul Soglin, the Dayton (Ohio) winner of a Farrah Fawcett lookalike contest and Anita Bryant.

The Bryant action was the pie of the year in this, the year of the pie. She broke down, sobbing and praying, after being hit by Tom Higgins while she was announcing her proposed "homosexual rehabilitation centres" at a Des Moines, Iowa press conference. She had been babbling, "blasphemy... blah, blah... normality... honk, honk... sin SPLAT!" Higgins noted, "We have another bigot with a sticky face."

Pie Week actually got underway a day early when the Dayton, Ohio, Revolutionary 3 Stooges Brigade pulled off a "preview" pie-kill on Donald Speyer of the Dayton Power and Light Company. "Since the DP&L is always

trying to get a bigger slice of the pie," the Brigade explained, "we decided to give them a whole one." Speyer tried to rewrite reality by claiming he hadn't been pied.

from the shadows of a New York court house hallway holding a pie marked for Waterbugger Frank Sturgis. But Sturgis' lawyer and a hefty flunkie jostled Aron to the

on the president of Antioch College.

The following day Edmonton, Alberta, commemorated pie week with a benefit dance for David Walker, who was

unabated the following day when some unreconstructed nihilists attempted to pie Aron Kay after he had urged folks, at a San Francisco smoke-in, to "let a thousand pies fly."

Frankie Strikes Again

On Monday, pie-throwing veteran Frankie Lee of the Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho Marxist) kept up the festivities when he hit federal cabinet minister Marc Lalonde with a Bug Cream Pie. He used a cream pie filled with flies because of the Watergate-type bugging items currently breaking in the Canadian press.

The next day, 140 miles down the freeway, Seattle anarchists waited patiently at the election night headquarters of Seattle Seven defendant - turned - conservative candidate for city council, Chip Marshall. When the opportunistic jerk (he was endorsed by the Seattle police association) finally showed, he could see his ultra-sweet destiny so he tore off. The pie-eyed anarchists chased Marshall for blocks, calling on him to stop and receive his just dessert. Finally, he ducked into his house so the piepeople decided to decorate the exterior instead.

In Vancouver, three days later, upon seeing Ringo Starr being interviewed on

television in the lobby of a bourgeois hotel, a man began screaming, "Fuck the Beatles!" and "We want people's revolutionary music." After the heckler was wrestled to the ground and the interview had to be canned, Ringo remarked that "Some people will do anything to get on TV." He was right.

Fifteen minutes later Ringo's assailant returned to the hotel to push a pie into the face of Ron Basford, the cabinet minister who signed extradition papers sending AIM militant Leonard Peltier back to South Dakota to face two life-terms. The action, carried out in solidarity with Peltier and other Native fighters, was claimed by a group called the New Questioning-Coyote Brigade.

Soon after the Basford hit, the Regina, Sask., chapter of the Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho Marxist) attacked the president of Robin Hood Multifoods Ltd. as he defended the shooting of seven strikers at his Montreal flour mill (see article in **The Open Road**, No. 4, Fall 1977). A Groucho Marxist casually walked on stage, pulled a pipe from his quarry's mouth, and proceeded to plant a cream pie squarely in his face.



"It's good to see the intellectual youth of Canada offering solutions to the country's ills..."

Our hero, as depicted by the mass media.

Apparently, he always goes around with goocye globs splattered all over his face.

The next day, Friday, Nov. 4, Pie Week officially got underway when—who else?—pie king Aron Kay stepped

ground and the Yippie pieman was charged with resisting arrest and public harassment (he also faces charges for the Colby job). Ohio piers were luckier that day. They scored a direct hit

finned \$150 after pieing newly-elected mayor Cec Purves on election night. The judge acknowledged that Walker "certainly did ruin the evening."

Pie week continued

continued on p. 19

News from Nowhere

The Tacoma-Olympia Branch of the **Industrial Workers of the World**, POB 149, McCleary, Wash. 98557, is selling T-shirts with a black IWW globe and stars (\$5). All proceeds go to the CNT in Spain. . . **Youth International Party**, 9 Bleeker St., New York, NY 10013, is putting together a cable TV news program that will be available for broadcast in other cities. . . **Cheat-Sheet**, POB 166 Wright Bro. Sta., Dayton, OH 45409, is published by the **Revolutionary 3 Stooges Brigade**, which claims responsibility "for an untold amount of chaos." The Sheet contains information on how to "cheat your ass off in skool." The Brigade is asking for your cheat ideas, the best of which will be published and distributed free. Send tested ideas. . . **Social Warfare: Wildcat**, c/o RM 37, 200 W. 72 St., New York, NY 10024, an autonomous collective into direct action on the job, has printed a comic poster which asks, "Did You Ever Want To Kill Your Boss?" The answer, of course, is in the affirmative, with the workers adding that "Work Stinks!" They've got gangs in New York and Paris. . . Some beautiful anti-authoritarian posters are being produced by **Red Pepper Posters**, POB 29501, San Francisco, CA 94129. Subjects include **Lucy Parsons**, **Emma Goldman** and **Witches**. Send 25¢ for their color catalogue.

Sad to note the folding of **Freie Arbeiter Stimme**, 33 Union Square, W Rm 808, New York, NY 10003, the newspaper of Yiddish speaking anarchists. It had been published continually for 87 years, longer than any current anarchist periodical. . . **Cienfuegos Press' Anarchist Review #3**, has items on sabotage, anarcho-feminism, nihilism, many excellent book reviews, as well as articles about anarchism in Japan, Mexico, West Germany and Bulgaria. All this for about \$2.60 including postage. Lack of sales of Review #2 has caused financial difficulties so readers are urged to support Cienfuegos.

The **International Federation of Anarchists** is holding an anarchist congress March 23-27 in Carrara, Italy. Those interested in attending should contact **CRIFA**, CP22, 1700 Savona, Italy, by mid-February. . . An international conference on the theme of "anarchism/law" will be held in Holland in the Fall of 1978. Contact: Erasmus Universiteit, Faculty of Sociology, Mr. Th. Holterman, Postbus 1738, Rotterdam, Holland. . . A conference of Canadian anarchists will be held on May 1 in Montreal in conjunction with the traditional MayDay mobilization there. A key topic of discussion will be how to coordinate activities of groups and individuals who are based up to 3,000 miles apart. For more info, contact **The Open Road**.

Co-operative de diffusion Libertaire, 3824 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec, is a new information/research centre which contains materials on a variety of subjects including anarchism, the counter culture, situationism, the anti-authoritarian ultra-left, feminism, and ecology. They're asking for contributions of periodicals, books and manifestos. . . The **People's Community Library**, 532 SE 39th, Portland, Ore. 97214, is a resource centre for revolutionary literature and an archive for regional groups and projects.

The **Social Revolutionary Anarchist News Service**, c/o John W. Adams, Rt. 2, POB 347, Springdale, Arkansas 72764, provides anarchist news to publications and small radio stations. Its first two issues include material on the CNT in Spain, the Murrays in Ireland, prison resistance and pie attacks. . . The **Ocean Beach Free School**, 5113 Cape May, San Diego, CA 92107, prints a newsletter that it would like to exchange "with any other anti-authoritarian schools or educational, youth oriented group." . . **Cost of Freedom** POB 43, Brooklyn, NY 11223, is a newsletter which covers an assortment of topics, including free phone scams, no-nuke protests and guerrilla warfare. . . **Alternative Research**, 139 Dalewood Dr., Kitchener, Ont. N2A 1G3, is compiling a list of "alternative, radical and underground periodicals." Those interested in being listed are asked to send in copies of their paper. They'll receive the list when it's compiled. . . **Anarcho-press**, c/o Bob Mendelson, 592 10th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215, "is a non-profit independent press concerned with developing a humanistic, libertarian-socialist literature for children." They've published **Andrew Ant the Anarchist**, an excellent illustrated "fable for all ants and those humans concerned with justice."

The newspaper of the **French Anarchist Federation** has moved from monthly production to weekly. If you'd like a copy of **Le Monde Libertaire**, write Souscription Attentat, Librairie Publico, C.C.P. 11289 Paris, France. . . The **French Libertarian Communist Organization** publishes a tabloid called **Front Libertaire**, 14 rue Pierre Brossolette, 62 230, Outreau, France.

WAR ON TAXES

Lone nut theory shattered

By Fred Mobile

You don't have to be a lone pacifist any more to hit the government where it bleeds—in the pocket-book.

It used to be that the war tax resistance movement in North America was mainly a vehicle for bearing individual witness against militarism; its driving force was a quasi-religious commitment and its immediate goal was education-through-example.

But these days, taking their cue from the militant, mass-based "self-reduction" movement in Italy and elsewhere in Europe, tax resisters are applying their time-tested tactics further afield. In fact, they are forging links with a variety of movements that touch only tangentially on military spending.

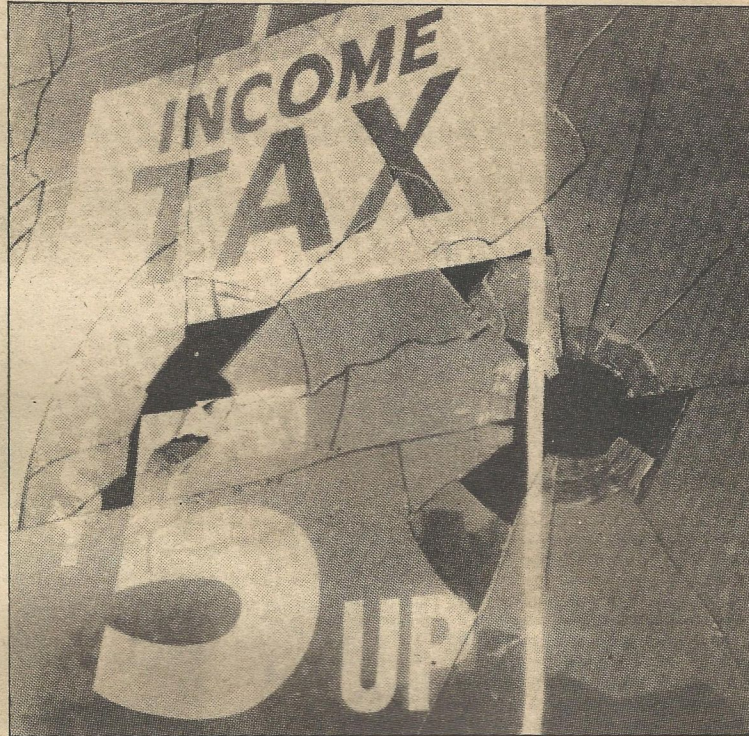
In Seattle, for instance, more than 2,500 people are withholding a ten per cent "drought" surcharge on their electricity bills, and they have begun researching the private power company's financial holdings in preparation for a campaign this Spring to roll back the surcharge.

A referendum in November in Washington State, which was successful in killing the 5.4 per cent state sales tax on food there was engineered in part by tax resisters. Here's how one small collective operating a natural food store got away with refusing to collect the sales tax:

"A few days before the tax resistance we received several phone calls from the Washington State revenue service, implying court procedures would be taken if we went ahead with our plans.

"A call to our lawyer revealed the possible penalties were: six-months to one-year jail sentence and/or \$1,000 fine, and loss of our business license. The collective felt that the chances of a prison term were remote, a fine was highly possible, and neither our lawyer nor us were sure about the legal threat of losing our license.

"On the morning of the action the whole collective caucused and decided to go ahead with our plans,



drawing attention to the risks, believing that it would guarantee media exposure, while at the same time making legal action against us unpopular with the people."

Now tax resisters in Seattle are talking about withholding income taxes that go into prison construction in solidarity with struggles at Walla Walla Penitentiary, and stepping up their campaign against the telephone tax.

A Seattle Alternative Fund, to be underwritten mainly by revolving loans drawn from withheld taxes, is also in the works to help finance community projects. Similar funds are already in existence elsewhere, including in Philadelphia, where \$135,000 has gone into bail funds, non-violent study centres and black community projects in the past five years; and in San Francisco, where the People's Life Fund has used \$10,200 since 1971 in support of tenants' rights, a woman's health centre, the anti-nuclear movement and other causes.

Tax resistance is a long-standing American past-time (Henry David Thoreau was big on it), but it developed in its modern form following the imposition of the first direct income tax in 1862 to help finance the Civil War. Since then, income taxes have risen and fallen in direct proportion to the State's military activities, with war spending right now taking up 52 per cent of the federal budget.

Red-tape Blizzard

Resisters have employed an endless variety of techniques to tie up the Internal Revenue Service in paper-work; some pay under protest or claim conscientious objector status, others withhold token amounts or 54 per cent, others claim extra allowances or refuse to file a tax form at all.

The IRS tries to play it all down by finding "acceptable" channels for protest; it actually has a "protest form" that resisters can fill out before paying their taxes. But in the end, it will insist on payment—either by expro-

priating bank accounts or, in very rare cases, by sending a resister to jail for up to a year—so many resisters find it expedient to eliminate all personal wealth.

In France, tax resisters are using their money to back the struggle of the Larzac peasants against the encroachment of a military base on their traditional pasture lands. They've already financed construction of a co-operative sheep enclosure on the disputed acreage.

In Italy, thousands of commuters have printed their own bus tickets, utility rat payers have done the same with electricity bills, and masses of self-appointed price-cutters have invaded department stores to redistribute goods. These militants of the self-reduction movement are an integral part of a generalized assault on the status quo and consumer society in Italy.

(For more on tax resistance, check with the **War Resisters League**, 331 - 17th East, Seattle, Wash. 98112 and the **Seattle Light Brigade**, 5614 Ranier Ave. South Seattle, Wash. 98118.)

Relief from Boredom



New Zapruder film proves Earl Averill was on grassy knoll in Dallas, Nov. 22, 1963.

"I was hungry and they gave me a pie. . . I was homeless and they gave me a road map. . . I was bored and they gave me **Open Road**. . ." —Earl Averill, lead singer of the punk rock group **Nine of Diamonds**.

It's still two years till the **Ennu Eighties**, so there's plenty of boredom left to the **Seminal Seventies**. Help **Open Road** bore from within. Sustain the current level of tedium by becoming an **Open Road Sustainer**. For only \$50 you get:

*A tape cassette of **Angie Nowhere** yodelling traditional airs of the auld sod, including "White Pies of Dover," "It's a Long Way to Piecadilly," and "Pack Up Your Pastry In Your Old Kit-Bag." (Accompaniment by Dave the Kid on nosepick.)

*An illustrated guide to **Open Road** bylines, with concordance by Paul (It's my picture and I'll sue if I want to) **Belitt** explaining allegorical, egotistical and seminal references.

*A pie, a roadmap and a copy of **Open Road**. So if you've got the itch, go ahead and scratch it. Relief comes every three months c/o **Open Road**, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C. CANADA.

Anarchy in the U.K. and the U.S.A. and ...

By Angie Nowhere

"I was more interested in being obnoxious than in singing"—Johnny Rotten of the Sex Pistols.

It sounds like hype and it smells like nihilism, but Britain's New Wave of Punk Rock music has the feel of a genuine cultural insurgency. Spikey hair, deliberately-ripped clothes, moronic stares and safety pins through the cheeks—all just a pose to offend and titillate.

The music itself is urgent, insistent and unpolished—a throwback to more primitive forms of rock. It has to be that way because its propelling force is the rage and frustration of young working class people who have been lied to, swindled and cast aside by the modern Welfare State.

Punk is supposed to be anti-everything. But really it chooses its targets with precision: institutionalized boredom, the dole queue, high-rise flats, TV. In short, the status quo.

And in a social order based on pitting one group against another, Punk knows which way to jump: turn on to Punk and turn off to racism.

Punk has no central command and no correct line. It's a network of bands, scenes and individuals with common working class origins and common outlook inhabiting a nether-world of low-paid gigs where individualism and musical virtuosity are no particular assets.

The ties that bind them are reflected in their song titles: "Police State" (by the Staines); "Boredom" (Buzzcocks); "White Riot" (Clash); "Pretty Vacant" (Sex Pistols).

The first Punk group to gain notoriety is The Sex Pistols. Their manager talks anarchism, and they bring out their first single, "Anarchy in the U.K."

"There are many ways to get what you want / I use the best / I use the rest / I use anarchy / 'Cause I wanna bring you anarchy / It's the only way to be."

"Anarchy" is banned from the BBC, the Pistols call a television interviewer "a dirty fucker" on a national hookup, and they get terminated by two different recording companies. A follow-up single on Virgin Records, "God Save the Queen," is similarly black-balled. It's main lyric: "She ain't no human being / They made you a moron / potential H-Bomb."

Now the Pistols get banned by local councils from performing all over England, and they are victimized in a

series of physical attacks by royalist vigilantes. No longer able to perform under their own name because of the notoriety, and receiving a number of death threats, they go underground, appearing as a mystery group when on tour.

"I think the Sex Pistols are absolutely bloody revolting. I felt unclean for 48 hours after I saw them"—Member of Parliament (Tory).

It's not only the lackeys of the ruling class that can't stomach Punk. A lot of radicals are put off by the sensationalism and the perverse code of decency. For instance, the New York-based Maoist newspaper *The Guardian* calls Punk a "cruel hoax" and a "social disease." It says the Pistols look psychotic in their photos, and it psychoanalyses Punks as depressed neurotics with no grounding in true oppression.

The Clash know different: "We're a garage band / living in a garage land." Their music derives from their social milieu, and it's not about love and romance.

In their first album, called *The Clash*, they sing of the "Weekend"—a 48-hour reprieve from the weekday jail-on wheels. As Mark P. of *Sniffing Glue* says: "The Clash album is like a mirror. It reflects all the shit."

Joe Strummer of The Clash elaborates:

"I don't care whether anybody tries to change society as a result of what we're doing, but I ain't gonna let anyone stop me saying what I feel about it, because I know that society stinks. The Clash ain't inciting anyone. We're just reflecting the truth that we see. If our

audiences are as angry as we are about it then maybe they'll do something about it. But it's their responsibility."

The Punks ridicule the hippies for having failed to change the world and for misunderstanding society. "They were so complacent," says Rotten, "They let it all—the drug culture—flop around them. Yeah, man, peace and love. Don't let anything affect you."

"We say bullshit! If it offends you, stop it. You've got to or else you just become apathetic and complacent yourself. You end up with a mortgage watching T.V. with 2.6 kids out in Suburbia—and that's disgusting. All those hippies are becoming like that."

And this from the Clash's first album:

"Hate and war is the only thing we've got today / And if I close my eyes it will not go away. / We have to deal with jail, it is our currency / I'm going to stay in the city, even when the house / falls down. I don't dream of a holiday when hate and / war come around."

"We say what we think, we do what we want and we play by nobody's rules"—Tony James of Generation X.

With Punk crashing into the headlines, the music industry senses a windfall. But Punk bands resist. Johnny

Rotten is defiant:

"I don't like the star trip which they are trying to push me into. They don't realise what they're doing, they're trying to turn me into another Rod Stewart. . . Won't you get a surprise."

Poly Styrene, who previously worked for Woolworths and is now the singer in an all-women's band, has similar doubts about the music business: "Well, there are a lot of record people interested but I wouldn't like to get into the position where I lose control."

Concern for autonomy and a desire to avoid the pitfalls of early rock, which produced decadent superstars, is prevalent amongst many bands. The idea is to write the songs, sing them, perform them yourselves and hopefully get them recorded on the smaller, new labels such as Deptford Fun City, Stiff, Illegal and Step Forward, all of which are now recording Punk artists and therefore taking a significant step away from the big business monopolies.

Punk musicians are short on money; they often live at home with their parents out of financial necessity. In *The New Wave Magazine* (a Punk fanzine), Dead Fingers, who produce and perform their own songs, declare they can live on \$6 per day and \$100 per gig.

Punk rockers (clockwise from top): Clash, Poly Styrene, Patti Smith, Johnny Rotten.

Example: at a Rock Against Racism concert, the Buzzcocks are paid \$150 to cover the expenses of the group, their manager and assorted roadies—more than half a dozen people in all. There's no expense account for the cost of making the 300-mile round-trip.

Punk concerts are frequent and can cost as little as \$2, offering a main band and usually at least two support groups. Which demonstrates the Punk consensus that there should be plenty of live music for supporters to participate in, either by forming their own band or by coming along to the gigs to "pogo" and "grapple" (both frenetic Punk dances).

The style of Punk music is reminiscent of early rock in terms of its raucous unpolished sound and heavy beat. Its most likely precursors were the New York Dolls, managed by Malcolm McLaren, who now manages the Sex Pistols.

Reggae music is a favorite amongst Punk Rockers, partly because of similar content. Both music styles take the form of an angry protest against living conditions and whereas Punk is a tirade against the urban jungle of the industrialized West and its obligatory boredom, Reggae concentrates on the appalling poverty and oppression in the Third World. (See *The Open Road*, No. 2, Spring '77.)

Bob Marley's "Them Belly Full (but we hungry)" is as explicitly rebellious as the Prefects' (yet another New Wave band) "Birmingham's a Shithole." Don Letts, black DJ and also a Rastafarian stresses, "The reggae thing and the punk thing are just black and white version of

the same thing." As further reinforcement to this link, Bob Marley has recorded Lee Pery's "Punky Reggae Party," featuring the line "No boring old farts will be there / It's a punky reggae party tonight."

"Maybe we'll call our next single 'We hate the National Front'"—Steve Jones of the Sex Pistols.

Much to the despair of racists and fascists, Punks usually get along well with other ethnic groups, especially West Indians.

At first, the far right felt that the return to short hair and popular use of the swastika emblem T-shirts (which, incidentally, say "Destroy") was promising for them. As well, an early lack of direction in Punk did produce some fascistic sympathisers, just as the rampant sexism seemed to reinforce the basic sexual dominance patterns compatible with right-wing ideology.

Rock Against Racism, a movement that has reacted positively to Punk, is largely a Trotskyist front, but it has helped Punk rockers target their true class enemies, instead of pitting them against black people. Gigs are organised to raise money for fines incurred in demonstrations against the National Front (a neo-Nazi party). The Cimmerons, a reggae band, plays alongside the Punk group Generation X, and the climax of the evening is both bands jamming on stage shouting "Black and White... Unite."

While many Punk groups, even the Sex Pistols at times, claim that they're non-political, all but a tiny minority express loathing for the ultra right, even though the media likes to link Punks with the National Front. The media approach to Punk is to sensationalise stories about random vomiting over old ladies and to grossly exaggerate minor violent incidents; it has successfully manipulated Saturday afternoon fighting between the Punks and the Teds (supporters of early rock and roll who tend to be politically right-wing) by giving front page publicity to every minor occurrence.

"I really thought that people would recognize that what appears in the newspaper is bullshit, but they don't!" complains Rotten. "That's what shocks me about the general attitude of the public. They're excessively stupid. Their whole lives are centred around what the Daily Mirror or Sun says."

"I kick people because that's what Punks are supposed to be like, isn't it?"—Captain Sensible of the Damned.

For all its wholesome perverseness, there are some disturbing loose ends remaining in Punk. Violence can be a theatrical show-stopper and a valid expression of anger, but too often it is unchannelled; bands fight among themselves, Punks in the audience beat up each other, the audience throws objects at the band (although this last is being increasingly discouraged).

continued on p. 15



A Tale of two Regions

(The following is a tale of two regions, offering two roads to radical social change in North America in the Seventies. There's the Kootenays, a 30,000-square-mile sea of Canadian mountains with a few scattered company towns and small communities, building a new society within the shell of the

old; and Ohio, heavily industrialized and urbanized, wedded to direct action and mass confrontation.

(This isn't meant as a travelogue, nor as a blueprint. Just a few ideas on how ordinary folks can get it on down-home.)

KOOTENAYS: Goin' up the country

By Bonnie V. Giuliano

The Indians called it "Kutenai," a coming together of many different waters. The people of the Kootenays are like that, too; some were born and grew up on the land, and others came from halfway around the world. Together, they form a large, stronger organism.

The Kootenays of British Columbia is the name for a triangular region hidden in the corner of the province, slashed by three mountain ranges, dotted with lakes, and home to many powerful waterways. It is fenced in on one side by the 49th parallel between Canada and the U.S. and on its third side by the Okanagan Valley.

Kootenays folk say the hard-to-penetrate natural barriers have given the area an autonomy and identity all its own, providing a base for self-determined lifestyles and freedom from authority.

A rich, and potent, mixture of people have made the Kootenays their stronghold—the Kootenay Indians, plus the dissident Doukhobors who fled oppressive militaristic Russia to preserve their communal, pacifistic life, Japanese interned by a paranoid Canadian government during the war, and settlers of every race who formed the backbone of an exceptionally militant labor movement.

In the 1960's and 70's, the Kootenays became home to a new generation of dissidents and militants, young people fleeing Amerika and its south-east Asian war, and those who saw the region as a base for building the non-hierarchical new age society.

The spirit of resistance has forged a unity that breaks down barriers between groups, races and societies and gives the Kootenays an allegiance to lawlessness. Doukhobors who fought for communalism and pacifism can learn to respect the new generation of freeks who want to build their own society outside the control of the government. And the hippies now fight for the issues the Doukhobors see as important, uniting on education, anti-pollution and agriculture.

A Kootenays bar, like the Arrow in Castlegar or the acre-wide beer parlors in Trail, is hippies and working men and women, Doukhobor sons and daughters and Kootenays oldtimers all drinking, fighting and laughing together. And if it comes to shooting out transformers on one of the hydroelectric projects that destroyed the Kootenay Lakes and the Columbia River, everyone goes and it's no questions asked.

"Out here, it's not whether you're a Doukhobor, a freek or a hardhat; what it comes down to is whether or not you talk to cops," says a Kootenays woman. "And whether or not you smoke dope, though that's easier—everyone does."

The provincial government has attempted to flush the freeks out of the woods by cutting off welfare to the West Kootenays, terming it a chronically high unemployment area. The hippies have dug in their heels,

many choosing to bypass the system entirely, surviving on seasonal work, cottage industries and co-operatively buying and growing their own food.

"The co-op is a way of life up here—we've got co-ops like other people have unions, or families, or organizations with a board of directors," says a Slokan Valley woman. "That's the way we operate."

The communalism practised by the Doukhobors was an early form of mutual aid among whites in the Kootenays, and the co-operative attitude has since caught on in a big way. For many people in the Kootenay valleys and towns, the co-op is the key to their survival, operating in all aspects of their life, including buying land, building houses, having babies, growing gardens and distributing food.

The co-op has become even more crucial in the hard-time 70's, with the drying-up of federal government handouts such as Local Initiatives Program (LIP) and Opportunities for Youth (OFY). Many a people-run project, including the militant newspaper *Arrow*, got off the ground in the '60's with government bucks, enabling most freeks to lead an easy life alternating between grants, unemployment and welfare. Today things are tougher. Many Kootenay folk count on the co-op, interspersed with back-breaking seasonal work such as tree-planting, almost universally done by freeks who take their couple of thousand dollars back to the family pool to buy durables and goods they can't get through the co-op.

The influx of younger people into the Kootenays in the 60's was mainly squatters, who got together to build shelters and hack out gardens. Others found that by pooling their resources they were able to purchase small plots of land and construct communal houses. "We had to work together just to survive," recalls one back-to-the-lander. "Then we just found it was a lot nicer way to live and that we could aid each other in all different areas."

One family group in the Slokan Valley is typical: their "family" is two women, three men and a child. The baby, Tierra, was born at home with the help of friends and midwives in a Kootenays birth collective. They belong to the food co-op, share a garden with neighbours, and get dairy foods from a nearby collective which raises goats and chickens. "Nobody's trying to get more than anyone else," says Jen, one of the women. "Every time someone gets another trip together, like the goats, or spinning wool or something, we all benefit."

The Kootenays are divided into several autonomous food co-ops, scattered throughout the valleys and the urban centres. Food is ordered from Fed-Up Co-operative Wholesalers in Vancouver, the nucleus for a web of food co-ops throughout B.C. It's then trucked up to the Kootenay centres and distributed to members.

"We're able to get just about all the dried

goods, such as nuts, seeds, grains and flours, that we want," says a Pass Creek man. "Cheese and canned goods are the problem, it costs too much to refrigerate and ship them."

In the Slokan Valley, co-ops have made their first move toward autonomy from capitalist food-suppliers. With pooled funds, they've bought a truck which they send on runs to the nearby Okanagan Valley for fruit and over the Rockies to Alberta for organic grains. A co-op member then mills the grain into flours which are offered on the co-op list.

Prices for food, despite freight costs, usually wind up being lower than the local rip-off Safeway or IGA, but that's not the only motivation for co-op members. As one man put it, "Co-ops are not just cheaper

peanut butter."

Food co-op members tend to be, for the most part, young, rural freeks living in a collectivist situation. But the lifestyle is beginning to spread: millworkers, single parents and second-generation Doukhobors have begun to join, and in Castlegar, the mainstay of the collective is a single mother with six kids.

Women's groups in the Kootenays thrive on collective practice and at various times have run birth collectives, theatre groups, health-care centres and even house-building co-ops. "It's helped us to build our confidence as women, and increase our survival skills, to get together and share the work information—though we share a lot of good times, too," says Anne, a Slokan Valley resident.

continued on p.

OHIO: Getting do

By Steve Conliff

People are wondering how come Ohio is so ultra these days. Even Mark Brothers called up to ask, "Why a hayseed place like Ohio?"

It's true enough that the Kent State gym campaign has been cranked up to a proportion that would have made Berkeley proud in the old days, but then, things have always been that way in Buckeye-land: half the Columbus Yippies remember when the Weatherpeople burst into their high school classrooms announcing the Revolution had arrived.

"Move the Gym"

KENT. "You are fools / to bring back bitter memories. / Ghost rise inside a million minds," warned Joy Hill in a poem passed out beside construction-scarred Blanket Hill. The Kent State University Administration, stubbornly building its gymnasium to obscure where Gov. James Rhodes' National Guardsmen plotted to murder student protestors, is frantic to destroy the evidence before the reopened civil damages trial of Rhodes and the Guard. Most Ohioans are sick of hearing about Kent. Only the fanatics still care. But the fanatics number thousands: wide-eyed children, jaded adults, or flower brigades out facing down the troops, something happened to us on 5/4/70 that won't let us let them desecrate this blood-hallowed land without a fight. After a spontaneous Administration Building takeover, the longest non-violent occupation in campus protest history (62 days on Blanket Hill), three mass arrests, many individual arrests, two minor riots, innumerable boring rallies and convoluted court appeals, roadblocks and injunctions and the outright suspension of the First Amendment; after anarchist disorganization, pacifist fussiness, and finally a Maoist coup alienating many; even after the start of construction behind a

Stalag-like fence and Coalition leaders' concession it is no longer possible to stop the gym—the grim-faced survivors remain. The last day on Blanket Hill, watching this Mayday Tribe prepare to meet its arrested officers, a *Columbus Free Press* reporter said to me: "These kids are the people we'll be seeing at demonstrations for the next decade."

Leatrice is a 26-year-old Kent State student. She has lived in the Kent-Cleveland area most of her life and knows well its revolutionary nature. In June, after a final fight with her redneck mother, she moved out and onto Blanket Hill. Now, in winter, November, she has tucked her two-year-old son under her arm and hitchhiked to Chicago to collect Legal Defense money at a smol in.

Indecency Days

POT/PIES. Ohio has decriminalized small amounts of marijuana—which makes prosecution of neighborhood dealers in measurably more efficient. When, in May, Columbus and Ohio State University collectively arrested 42 people over small amounts of reefer, thousands rallied in protest, finally marching on the State House to sit-in Rhodes' office. Of several summer and fall smoke-ins, the most successful was Mayday Indecency Day in Cleveland, where 2000 huddled taking throughout a ch Halloween afternoon to celebrate the pie-induced defeat of Cleveland's porn-obsessed Mayor. As Yippie organizers ponder how to motivate the stoned hordes to action, the marijuana pogroms continue—though pot busts have become rarer than acid on the O.S.U. campus.

Nevin was a Kent radical briefly in the early '70's, but mostly he has been a hippie, not too choosy about which drugs he took living from eviction to eviction. In May, he got involved with the crusade to free the 4. In June he began to insist he would pie tr

continued on p. 1



**Doukhobor protest march;
Protests in the Kootenay
area.**



continued from p. 8

It's a Thanksgiving party in Robson, B.C., across the river from the smoking, festering Cancell pulp mill, its sirens warning of chlorine gas leakage every few shifts. The party is a cross-section of Kootenays people—the three people who live in a dome at Pass Creek, several collective members of the counter-culture/labor/anarchist newspaper *The Arrow*, local community college professors and a daycare worker. A young guy with long, red hair, says you don't make real friends in the city like you do in the country. How does he survive economically? He says he's a hardhat—a laborer inside the giant Cominco zinc-lead smelter at Trail.

Cominco is the monster that ate up a town and spat out ruined bodies of workers; the corporate citizen that dumps nitrates, phosphates, mercury, lead and other noxious substances into the rivers and lakes of the once-clean West Kootenays. Workers at Cominco once had the life expectancy of 18th-century underground coalminers, and were represented by a big American union that took their dues but had no interest in their health and safety—the United Steelworkers of America. In 1972, they almost managed to kick Steel out in favor of the independent militant Canadian Workers Union, but were shafted on a technicality by the then-reigning social democratic (read class collaborationist) provincial regime, which preferred the devil it knew to the one it didn't know. Another battle was lost the following year in a similar manner, but the Cominco workers haven't given up yet; they're just biding their time.

"We're not going to die like the workers used to in the last 20 years," Jeff, the Cominco worker, says. "We finally figured out how to get some control over our lives, in smelter and pulp mill, where workers are now largely represented by the Canadian union PPWC (Pulp, Paper and Woodworkers of Canada) health and safety have been key bargaining issues.

Pressuring the large multi-national corporate employers for "benefits" taken for granted elsewhere has become easier for workers who now know their union won't give up on them.

Independent unionism has also eased the economic pressure on workers, a cause of racism and bigotry against workers who came from outside the Kootenays to work in the mills, dams and smelters. "There's a lot of Doukhobors, many older Italian men who have been in Trail for years, some Indian guys and a lot of freeks like me," says Jeff. "They're my buddies, you know, I don't get any hassle for having long hair because the oldtimers have seen us come in there and work just like them."

Younger workers spread new attitudes inside the workplace—they are adamant about safety conditions and don't have the old company loyalty once demanded of workers. Rather than cause friction, the "laid-back about work, but dead serious about my lungs" attitude has caught on: older workers who gave years of their lives to the company

are now demanding comprehensive health plans, injury compensation and early retirement.

The struggle began with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) who were active in the battle for miners' rights in the early 1900's—when the mortality for workers in B.C. mines was the highest in the world (5 per 1000). In the Kootenays, an IWW organizer named Ginger Goodwin who was shot by a special constable in 1918, still has the stature of hero for young workers. Most know his story: after taking an active role in the bitter miners' strike in Trail in 1913-14, Goodwin was reclassified as "A" by the Canadian draft board, whereupon he split to Vancouver Island, 600 miles west of the Kootenays, and holed up in the hills near the mining town of Cumberland. He was only following his own conscience and the IWW constitution which called for workers to refuse to participate in the "plunder-squabbles of the parasite class."

Goodwin was shot in the back with a soft-nosed dum-dum bullet by a special constable who managed to track him down. The constable was exonerated by a "special inquiry," but he did suffer one punishment: he went hungry in Cumberland—a town with as militant a history as any in the Kootenays—because no waitress would serve him.

Doukhobor means spirit-wrestler. It's a name that fits the Kootenays because of the long history of struggle by people of all stripes in the region for the right to live in dignity, autonomy and self-determination.

The Doukhobors came as religious dissidents from Russia to Canada in the late 19th century. Leo Tolstoy, the Russian writer, was instrumental in arranging with Queen Victoria for the Doukhobors to be granted land in common, allowed to live as a community and guaranteed exemption from military service.

The Doukhobors first settled on the Prairies and for a number of years lived out their ideal of "toil and a peaceful life," prospering without private property, militarism, nationalism and public school education. But as their farmland grew to be more valuable, the Canadian government took a new interest in them and passed a law

requiring them to take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown or give up their land.

Many Doukhobors refused, and were promptly dispossessed. So they had to move on, in 1905, to a less fertile, but more remote land—the Kootenays.

As George Woodcock notes in his book *The Doukhobors*, the Canadian government "used the issue of the oath to seize land for which there was public demand."

The acts of the Canadian government, designed to split the Doukhobor community, in part succeeded. Some Doukhobors remained in a Kootenays commune to which the government retained the title and others chose to farm as independents, after signing an oath of allegiance.

A sect of the Doukhobors known as the Sons of Freedom, or Freedomites, launched a series of protests against the assimilation of their people. Freedomites removed their clothes in public, refused to send their children to school and burned material possessions such as buildings and machinery. The Freedomite struggle was harshly repressed in an attempt to break the spirits of the Doukhobor people; Freedomite men, women and children were imprisoned for long periods in specially-created jails.

The Freedomite struggles—especially where they disrupted public services—were deeply resented by the non-Doukhobor population, but most Doukhobors have become completely assimilated and live at peace with their neighbors.

When freeks began to pour into the Kootenays and attempted to homestead, the pacifist Doukhobors were fascinated and supportive of their efforts. (As well, they saw a chance to boost themselves out of a subsistence lifestyle by selling their heretofore low-value land to the relatively well-heeled Americans; in 1970-71, for instance, they sold off more than \$1 million in real estate in the Slocan Valley alone.) There was a sharing of land, food and agricultural know-how, as the Doukhobors saw in their new neighbors a new expression of pacifist, communalist values.

But a certain disenchantment set in when the Doukhobors saw some of the newcomers return to the city in the back seat of Daddy's car. However, genuine respect and solidarity continues to prevail between the Doukhobors and the here-for-good hippies.

in the streets



Kent gym protest.

continued from p. 8

Governor on the opening day of the State Fair. The rest of us thought he was crazy—no Yippie could get within 50 feet of Rhodes. But Nevin kept insisting.

Klan Smashing

KLAN-BASHING. Pies aren't all that Ohio rads throw at pigs. Fists, clubs and eggs rained down upon a renegade Ku Klux Klan faction which twice tried to demonstrate at the State House. While many leftists feared

that violence inspired by breakaway Marxist-Leninist factions would sabotage the broad bi-racial coalition opposing the Klan and increased chances of bloodshed when Columbus schools are integrated next year, few could help digging the images of whipped

Klansmen cringing behind the cops. More blacks have told me Klan-bashing is a bad idea than middle-class whites have.

Earlene can yell louder than practically any other Columbus Yippie. No doubt she inherited it from her mother, a long-time union organizer who lost a couple of fingers in an industrial accident. Earlene likes to yell at Communists almost as much as she likes to yell at cops, but at the second Klan-bashing she and her husband peeled a SWAT cop off one of the few Progressive Labor Party leaders who didn't end the day in jail. Earlene is 19. She is a punk.

Anti-sexism

SEXISM. Early in the Spring, 200 gay rights supporters rallied at the State House. Late in the Fall, three times that number rallied at O.S.U., in support of a lesbian harassed and finally raped by male students. When a bourgeois newspaper accused Women Against Rape of opportunism for not sending the victim to police, W.A.R. shot back such an impressive list of organizing accomplishments (including shelter houses and a rape crisis center) that the paper was deluged with letters supporting the feminists and one lone letter opposing them, too rambling to print.

Sunny is a second year law student and the icily-calm spokeswoman for W.A.R. Daughter of a Cleveland politician, once a downer freak, lover of a movement heavy and lesbian separatist, she has developed into a strong-willed Marxist-Feminist with her own bullhorn. Sunny and I come from the same generation of revolutionaries, more used to apathy and repression than cheering crowds, wise enough to know that mass rallies, like tiny rallies, are an optical illusion.

UNDERGROUND PRESS. "Interpretation changes reality. What you report about something is what most of your readers will think of it if you're doing your job,"

Dana Beal (another Ohioan, born in the hospital where the Kent State casualties were taken) once wrote, adding: "Even the Weatherpeople put out communiques." Another thing Sunny and I have in common is we both used to work on the *Columbus Free Press*.

Pancho White Villa is a member of the Revolutionary 3 Stooges Brigade and the publisher of Cheat Sheet. He pied Dayton Power and Light Company spokesman Donald L. Speyer on the first day of International Pie Week—and escaped.

Revolutionary Youth Groups

ON OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS. Ohio today has much in common with Ronald Reagan-era California: after a statewide period of liberal reform (Gov. Edmund Brown's Administration in California, John Gilligan's in Ohio) and at the start of a national period of liberal reform (Johnson, Carter), amidst the consequent rising expectations, a reactionary State Government (Reagan's, Rhodes') dashes those expectations, coming into conflict with reasonably well-organized and growing groups of revolutionary youth. Since Ohio's campuses and prisons remained turbulent, even during the post-Kent massacre interregnum of Gov. Gilligan, Buckeye militancy should continue after Big Gym Roads, like Ray-gun, is relegated to the garbage cans of history.

Steve Conliff, who faces a possible seven months in jail on assault and disturbing a lawful meeting charges for pieing Gov. Rhodes, is running as a Yippie against the "Butcher of Kent State" in the Ohio Republican gubernatorial primary this spring. Donations to his defense fund should be sent to Box 8234, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

The Kent Legal Defense Fund also needs help. Contact them at Box 366, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Youth Liberation ignores commencement day

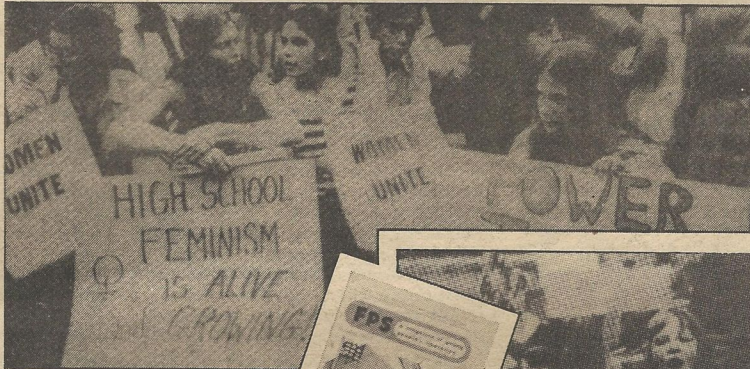
By Joseph McCann

In six years of battling young people's oppression, Youth Liberation has not only managed to survive but has improved its ability to produce high quality materials for youth organizing.

Over the years, most youth groups and their publications have been short-lived; all-too-often, their militants were final-year students who then graduated into other work. The result was that it was virtually impossible for the publications to develop and sustain high standards of technical proficiency.

Youth Liberation people, who are based in Ann Arbor, Mich., have stuck to it, even though some are now in their early or mid 20's. They have become accomplished propagandists, and in their time have managed to produce high quality material in just about every conduit of media outreach.

Not only do they publish a "magazine" called FPS but they have produced buttons ("Youth Liberation", "Power to Young People"); T-shirts ("School Zone-



Watch out for Children"); posters ("School is not healthy for children and other living things"); stickers ("This oppresses young people"); leaflets ("The Rights of a High School Student"); and an organizing kit (four pamphlets, five sample student underground papers, posters, copies of FPS).

As well, they've produced a series of pamphlets, including "How to Start a High School Under-

ground Paper", showing printing techniques ranging from a mimeo-graph machine to an offset press, along with a list of projected costs; "Young People and the Law," which gives the history and results of various

legal proceedings involving young people; "High School Women's Liberation," concerning itself with education, liberation, health, injustice and sexism in society; and "Growing Up Gay," which has a dozen articles by young men and women.

This last one, incidentally, has been Youth Liberation's fastest selling pamphlet the past year with over 4,000 sold. Their latest pamphlet "Student and Youth Organizing," with a press run of 10,000 is selling at the rate of a few hundred a month.

Adult Supporters

A lot of the pamphlets go to adult groups that work with young people, like the American Friends Service Committee, or public school teachers. At the moment Youth Liberation is not actively considering publishing any new pamphlets but will continue to republish and update old ones.

Their magazine FPS is an attractive, informative journal covering progressive youth happenings with analysis of specific issues and the technical and political aspects of those issues. First-person feature articles, interviews, and general news taken from other youth publications and various wire services are included. FPS started in 1970 in Houston, Texas but later moved to Michigan and became the news service of Youth Liberation.

Another Youth Liberation service offered is The Cooperative High School Independent Press Syndicate (CHIPS) which is an exchange service set up to give high school papers a chance to look at each other. CHIPS has been operating since 1969.

In their most recent questionnaire done a few years ago, indications were that the readership had generally moved to the right. Far fewer readers described themselves as communists or radicals while most common but still a small percentage were "pacifists" or "anarchists." The questionnaire also showed that articles about organizing and legal rights were the most popular but comics and articles about U.S. imperialism were disliked.

Youth Liberation material put forward the view that society must be restructured before any problems can be resolved. Much of their work concerns the short term goal of basic legal rights for those under 18 years of age. But they consider that working just for young people's rights within the present social structure would be both unsatisfactory and unrealistic. As their own literature proclaims:

"Unsatisfactory because a 14-year-old on a hierarchically controlled dehumanizing assembly line is as bad off as a 44-year-old on that line. Unrealistic because in our present society, where the young must be prepared for dull and alienating jobs, there is no room for the idea of free equal, inquiring young people to become a reality."

Organizing Tools

Youth Liberation sees its work as the production of "organizing tools" for local struggles:

"The only way young people will get their rights and a significant voice in their schools and communities, will be through organizing. Only determined, well-organized and militant students and young people can radically change the system to their advantage."

In stating their program they declare:

"Young people in our society are constantly oppressed. From childhood, we are forced through an educational system which does nothing to meet our needs, but rather imprisons us while it tries to mold us to fit into society without causing trouble. To struggle against these problems Youth Liberation was formed."

Some of the program's points are:

- We want the power to determine our own destiny.
- We want the right to form our education according to our needs.
- We want the opportunity to create an authentic culture with institutions of our own making.
- We want the right to live in harmony with nature.
- We want to re-humanize existence.

For more on Youth Liberation, contact them at 2007 Washtenaw Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

FEMINIST REFUGES

Joining together to break up

By Bonnie V. Giuliano

There's a group of women in a small British Columbia town who live together in a large house, share communal meals and take turns caring for each other's kids.

Not big news in itself, but last summer these women didn't even know each other. They were isolated and alienated from other women, their lives broken by nuclear family violence and fear. Most had had no experience with any form of collectivity or mutual aid, and they saw their only options as staying in a home where they or their children were being beaten and abused.

What made the difference in the lives of these women, and many more like them, was a transition house—a feminist refuge where women can escape from violence and explore alternative lifestyles with the support and empathy of other women.

As one transition house worker, herself a former battered wife, put it, the transition houses are not "just another band-aid against the ravages of male supremacy." The more than 200 feminist refuges in Canada and the U.S. and more in Europe and the rest of the world, have become a key way of introducing women to the feminist movement while helping them to break the strangle-hold of the nuclear family—where most of the wife-and-child-battering happens.

"Feminist refuges are organizing women in two different ways," says Cambridge, Mass. transition house worker and anarchist Betsy Warrior, who has compiled a directory of feminist groups working on



wife abuse. "It's one of the major ways that the women's movement has been able to draw in straight women from all walks of life—so-called weak, helpless, battered women who are actually real strong energetic women who start working for the movement."

"And secondly, it's bringing in the uncommitted—women who felt attracted by feminism but weren't sure where to direct their energies. They see anti-violence as a priority for women to organize around and have extended that concern for women to a commitment to feminist principles."

Transition house workers emphatically distinguish between professionally run battered-wife shelters and the feminist refuge. Professional social workers often counsel the woman to go back to the violent family situation from which she has escaped—telling her she has failed to

adequately fulfill her role as wife and mother.

There's Elizabeth, for instance, a 35-year-old native woman staying in a B.C. transition house. She had been to four State-run hostels in an attempt to escape from a man who abused her and beat her children for "discipline." The transition house was the first place, she says, where she had not felt that she was worse than everyone else or the only beaten woman in the world. Now, she has made arrangements to rent a house with her sister, also a single woman. She expects to have all her children with her, returned from welfare custody, for the first time.

Betsy Warrior calls it mutual aid: "We don't ever take the attitude, I'm up here and better than you and your life is in a mess. We all help each other."

Most transition house workers agree that the main support system in the house

evolves among women who are residents there. Battered women who have been residents for even a short time—most houses limit stays to about a month—find themselves accompanying other battered women to welfare, to the courts and to meet with landlords.

An Independent Life

They see other women making decisions, running a house, sharing childcare, income and personal experiences. The non-hierarchical, communal arrangements are novel at first, but become a lifeline to women searching for a way to establish an independent life by drawing on their own resources, instead of resorting to the "security"—and violence—of the family.

"It's not surprising the success ratio of the government and Sally Ann hostels is just about nil," says a Vancouver, B.C. refuge worker. "The emphasis is on adjusting, i.e., obeying and conforming, instead of on living and growing independently."

Few residents ever return to the transition house, except to work there. In fact, most workers are former battered wives or women who have experienced violence in their lives and can empathize with the woman who feels isolated and desperate about her situation.

Many women's centres have turned their focus to establishing and running a transition house—an experience which has been energizing for the women's movement. "We've got to push into every area of women's lives," says Warrior. "I don't think the

feminist movement is under 30 and middle-class, as some claim, but we have to reach other women or we're going to stagnate and become incestuous."

One worker in a Vancouver transition house recalls she had to re-examine her basic feminist beliefs as she encountered more women who had had no previous contact with the women's movement. "I think I found a new kind of sisterhood," she said. "And I'm convinced that the transition house is one of the basic ways we can continue to make contact with all different kinds of women, from all different backgrounds."

Shared decision-making, the loving support of other women, the realization that she is not the only woman in her situation, and the example of an alternative to the restrictive explosive family—all help to get the battered woman back on her feet. From there, many refuge residents enter the mainstream of the feminist movement, where they help in the drive to abolish the need for battered-wife shelters.

"Now that I know I'm not the only woman who has been beaten and didn't feel she could leave, I want to shout about it and tell other women there's a way out," a Vernon, B.C. transition house resident says. "And you know, when we start supporting each other in all aspects of our lives, we won't need places like shelters and hostels."

(To obtain the directory, **Working on Wife Abuse**, \$3.00, write to Betsy Warrior, 46 Pleasant St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139.)

Teamsters take shortcut; lose way

By Earl Averill

For rank-and-file insurgents in Western Canada's largest Teamsters' local, the most direct route to a destination hasn't proven to be the fastest way to get there.

The insurgents, who represent a clear majority of the 8,000 truckers and construction workers in Local 213, based in Vancouver, B.C., figured they had it made last summer when they elected their own candidate as local secretary-treasurer (top staff) on a reformist platform aimed at making union meetings more open and "democratic."

It was one of the highest-profile coups against the Teamster ruling establishment in the history of that corrupt union, but it didn't take long for the insurgents to find themselves once more on the outside looking in.

Before the insurgents had a chance to consolidate their position, half of the constituency was simply packed off to a new gerrymandered local under control of the old guard, the freshly-minted secretary-treasurer was bounced from office on a trumped-up charge and the old local was placed under direct trusteeship of the Teamster brass.

It was all perfectly legal under the Teamster constitution, (as written and interpreted by the Fitzsimmons clique). And it didn't even stop there: the insurgents' candidate, Jack Vlahovic, a

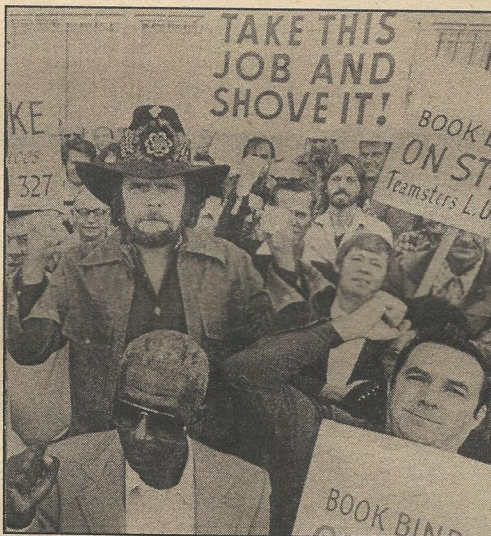
long-time union bureaucrat who only recently got some religion, is now facing union disciplinary charges as a result of his conduct in office. If the Teamster bosses make the charges stick in their own kangaroo courts, Vlahovic could even wind up losing his union card (no ticket, no work.)

The easy success of the counter-insurgency operation would have come as no surprise to the rebels if they'd done their homework. In the U.S., rank-and-file groups like the Teamsters for a Democratic Union have found that it's not enough to have the majority with you; they've managed to win a few local elections, only to have their people deposed on the flimsiest of pretexts.

The TDU is steering away from a strictly electoral strategy now, and is concentrating on building up a grass roots network of shop floor committees and shop stewards' councils. That way, they can bob and weave when the sledgehammer is brought into play.

It doesn't take much, either, for the heavy reaction from the Teamster brass. The insurgents in Local 213 weren't really pushing for all that much — just open meetings of the executive, recorded votes and the like.

Local 213, which covered all of British Columbia and the Yukon before it was split in two, was investigated a couple of years ago by a coordinated federal-provincial crime-busting team. The cops found no evidence of the usual Team-



ster-style corruption and violence, but it became evident that the local was chafing under the iron rule of one man—Ed Lawson—with direct links not only to the Fitzsimmons clique but to the highest levels of the Canadian federal government.

Lawson is the Canadian boss of the Teamsters, a member of the Teamsters' international executive and an appointed member of the Canadian Senate (a colonial House of Lords), where he is the Liberal government's voice of labour. From all his jobs, he earns in excess of \$130,000 per year.

Tabbed As A Comer

Ironically, it was Lawson

who tabbed Vlahovic as a comer and elevated him from truck driver to union business agent in 1971. But somewhere along the line, Vlahovic, now 33, realized the union bosses were only in it for themselves.

The developing challenge to Lawson's rule resulted in the first non-establishment slate since 1946 to contest a local election, but the insurgents managed to take only three of the seven seats on the executive.

Vlahovic moved quickly to fulfill his campaign promise to clear away the dead wood from the ranks of the paid staff by firing some of the Lawson appointees and replacing them with insurgents. He claimed as his

authority certain provisions voted into the Teamsters constitution in 1972.

But Lawson had a better idea. He noted that while the provisions had indeed been approved, they had never been formally proclaimed by international president Frank Fitzsimmons. Therefore they were inoperative, and Vlahovic was in violation of the constitution.

It didn't take long for the international executive to meet in Law Vegas and strip Vlahovic of his office. Protests by hundreds of angry Teamsters at Lawson's office, a brief occupation of the local office and a briefer wildcat strike, couldn't stem the tide.

The insurgents are now trying to get the courts to reinstate Vlahovic, but it's going to be a long, tedious and quite possibly fruitless undertaking. Meanwhile, Vlahovic and Co. have returned to the hustings, this time with an eye towards building a nucleus of an organization in every population centre.

As well, Vlahovic turned up at the TDU convention in September in Cleveland and was afforded a hero's welcome. He said the Local 213 insurgents feel comfortable with TDU folks, but he himself declined an invitation to join the organization's steering committee.

Like the Local 213 insurgency, the TDU draws its energy from rank-and-file militants who steer clear of ideology and politics. Mainly, they're interested in reform of the top-heavy union bureaucracy, weeding

out of the more corrupt elements, and the securing of fatter contracts.

The TDU, with a dues-paying membership of about 2,000 in 20 chapters across North America, is the closest approximation to a mass-based organization yet to emerge within the Teamster empire. It was started a year ago by a nucleus of International Socialists (a Trotskyist sect), but revolutionary politics have been consciously put on the back burner in order to pander to the conservative aspirations of the working class.

That's why Vlahovic is considered a god-send by TDU militants. His guiding philosophy is barren ground for red-baiting: "The TDU members should become the environmentalists of the Teamsters. We should clean it up and be the watchdog to keep it clean, and make sure all officers work for the best interest of the membership, not for their own personal gain."

"Many elected officials and representatives lose sight of the fact that the only reason they are there is because of the rank-and-file. They shouldn't bloody well forget that."

(For a more detailed account of TDU and other Teamster insurgencies from an anti-authoritarian viewpoint, check "Dissent in the Brotherhood", in the July-August *Radical America*, PO Box B, North Cambridge, Mass. 02140. The TDU bulletin is available from PO Box 3321, Madison, Wisc. 53704.)

Books Received

Anarchism and Formal Organizations, by Howard J. Erlich. Vacant Lots Press, 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218. 90¢. A pamphlet relating academic sociological theory of organizations to anarchist theory and practice.

The Power of the People by Carlos Bubsan, Philippines Research Center, 2718 Avenue L, Brooklyn, NY 11210, \$1.00. A novel, in tabloid form, concerning the struggles of Filipino people.

Cover-Up Lowdown, by Jay Kinney and Paul Mavrides, Rip Off Press, PO Box 14158, San Francisco, Calif. 94114, \$1.05.

A comic book-format debunking various official lies, including the Kennedy, King, Wallace and Aquash assassinations.

Drawing the line, Nature Heals, and Creator Spirit Come, Paul Goodman, Free Life Editions, 41 Union Sq., New York City, 10003, \$11.95 each.

Presents the political, psychological, and literary sides respectively.

Russia 1917-1921: There is no stopping half-way; we must conquer or die. Tampa Red and Black, P.O. 16000 SG, Tampa, Fla. 33687. Short pamphlet presenting a libertarian revisionist history of the Russian revolution.

What Is Anarchism, Erte Sanchioni, The Neighbors Club, 50 Sachem Rd., Needham, Mass. 02194, 50¢. Written in the 1940's by a young Italian-American anarchist, who died soon after. His personal affirmation in the ability of people to oppose the principle of the State.

Good God!, Barbara Smoker, B&T Publishers, 4th fl., 5 Plough Pl. Fetter Lane, London EC4, 95p.

A set of humorous verses challenging belief in god(s), illustrated with line drawings by Joyce Harpur.

The Relevance of Anarchism, Sam Dolgoff, Soil of Liberty, POB 7056 Powderhorn Sta., Minneapolis, Mn. 55407, 35¢. A brief explanation of the dynamics of modern society that make radical decentralization possible and necessary.

Left Face, Don Georgakas, Smyrna Press, Box 841, Stuyvesant Sta., NYC 10009, \$1.50. A compilation of radical magazines, presses, and collectives involved in the arts.

Marxism & The Russian Anarchists, Anthony D'Agostino, Germinal Press, 1 14th St. San Francisco, CA 94103, \$3.95.

Points out the wide variety of Russian anarchist thought, from syndicalist to the Makhnovists.

Punk

continued from p. 7

Sexism is another bring-down. The word "cunt" is a popular insult. Steve Jones of the Pistols is quoted as saying that he likes "birds with big tits" and "slapping birds' arses."

Punk women dressed in stockings and suspender belts seem to reinforce sexual stereotyping too, while on the periphery of Punk there are the Strangers, who are total misogynists. In this respect, it's not too different from the main-stream rock scene with its stereotyped female stars: Joni Mitchell as vulnerable romantic, Janis Joplin as downtrodden blues mamma, Linda Rondstadt as sex kitten of rock.

But Punk has its potentially feminist dimension as well. There are all-women bands like the Slits and Xray Spex, who, while not explicitly feminist, have rejected the alienated rock star and groupie syndrome. Poly Styrene of Xray Spex notes she has few hangers-on: "Cos I don't put on a sex thing, they probably think I'm a dyke anyway."

More articulate is America's Patti Smith who has established herself as central to current rock. A poet and reggae inspired anarchist, she comments on freedom of expression and the music industry. "We believe in the total freedom of communication and we will not be compromised. Freedom means exactly that;

no limits, no boundaries... rock and roll is not a colonial power to be exploited."

The impact of the Tom Robinson Band, whose theme tune is "Glad to be Gay," represents another blow to Punk sexism. As conscious supporters of Gay Liberation and feminism, they are more coherently radical than most Punk groups. Their line: "Oppression destroys individual as well as political liberty."

With such contradictory elements, it's no wonder that Punk has yet to crystallize as a coherent movement to change society. Punks don't quite know where they're going, but at least they have an inkling of how to get there. As Tony James of Generation X says:

"We wrote the songs, so why have another guy sing them? Sing them yourself, which is what Punk Rock is about. Do it yourself!"

REVOLTING WOMEN

In the last issue of *The Open Road*, Fall '77, an anarchy-feminist group based in Vancouver, **Revolting Women**, offered to send copies of articles about anarchy-feminism to people who requested them. Here's a list of those articles for anyone who is interested.

"Anarcho-Feminism: Two Statements," by **Siren and Black Rose**; "Feminism as Anarchism" by Lynne Farrow. **Black Bear Pamphlets**, c/o 76 Peckham Road, London SE5, England.

"Anarcho-Feminism and Louise Michel" by Marion Leighton; "The Tyranny of Tyranny" by Cathy Levine. **Black Rose**, April, 1974.

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self-managed/anti-profit bookstore carrying the most comprehensive inventory of French-language anarchist literature in North America; also English-language anarchist materials. For catalogue: 2033 Boul. St. Laurent, Montreal, Que.

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news and views, local, national and international, with an anti-authoritarian bias. Just ask and it's yours, from PO Box 2605, Madison, Wisc. 53701.

"Women and Anarchy" by Lizzie Borden. **Heresies**, A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, P.O. Box 766, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, USA. Issue No. 2, \$3.00/issue.

"Socialism, Anarchism and Feminism" by Carol Ehrlich. **Research Group One**, 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, Md 21218, USA \$1.05/copy.

"Socialism, Anarchism and Feminism" by Carol Ehrlich (abridged version), spring/summer '77; "Anarchism, Feminism and Economics" by Peggy Kornegger, summer/fall '76; "Anarchism: The Feminist Connection" by Peggy Kornegger, spring '75. **Second Wave**, Box 344, Cambridge, Mass. 02139, USA.

"Anarchism/Feminism", "Mujeres Libres". **Zero**, Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London, N1, England.

By Murray Bookchin

The last issue of *Open Road* (No. 4, Fall 1977) contains Sam Dolgoff's review of my book, *The Spanish Anarchists*, and to speak frankly, I'm not very sure I know how to handle the whole thing. Sam and I have known each other for some twelve years. I value him as a friend and comrade and I'll try to be brief and nice about it all. But, believe me, it's not easy to do this in view of the many contradictions and misunderstandings that mar so much of the review.

I will not wander with Sam through the mazes of Proudhon's writings. Perhaps the kindest remark I can make about Proudhon can be taken from Lakoff's *Equality in Political Philosophy*, namely, that Proudhon was a liberal in "proletarian disguise." In my own opinion, the man was so inconsistent in his intellectual meanderings that one could just as easily regard him as fare for Italian fascist corporatism as for Kropotkin's anarchism. A patriarch who would have been shocked by any kind of feminism, an anti-Semite, a man who detested revolution (however much he was sucked into the 1848 events) and briefly flirted with Louis Bonaparte, he was far too many things to too many people to earn the credibility he has received. A case can be made for the fact that Proudhon fostered the idea of decentralization and federalism, but certainly not communism and possibly not even socialism. If this case is enough for Sam to regard him as an "anarchist," so be it. What really disturbs me is Sam's reverence of the "voluntary contract" as a "cardinal principle of anarchism." If anarchism is to be more than a system of "libertarian logistics," if it is to be the ethical association of free individuals and communities that he evokes in his opposition to my "materialistic" emphasis on post-scarcity, if it is to be based on affinity rather than negotiation, loving trust rather than bookkeeping, I believe that the first thing an anarchist society will want to abolish is that most bourgeois of all contrivances—the contract. Contract belongs to the sphere of bourgeois right because it emphasizes juridical over organic relationships and quantitative ratios over genuine qualitative and loving relationships. This system reached its fullest theoretical expression in the writings of Locke—and, pathetically, in Proudhon. The day that contract becomes "a cardinal principle of anarchism," I for one will have to look for a new word to express my commitment to libertarian communism.

Icons of Anarchism

Bakunin!—dare one, today, even suggest he was not perfection itself! I'm uncomfortable about Sam's persistent effort to present the icons of anarchism as beyond reproach. It was partly this kind of religiosity that drove me away from Marxism. Bakunin, to be quite honest, was not "strict" about many of his

ideas—collectivism or communism—any more than many anarchocommunist totally reject aspects of anarcho-syndicalism and vice versa. Nor did I make such claims about Bakunin's "strict" adherence to collectivism. Here, Sam simply misreads my book. My point

of the Spanish *pueblo*. Indeed, where the thrust of my closing chapter is a denial that any social "vanguard" exists, Sam saddles me with a notion of peasant "vanguardism." To anyone who seriously reads my book, my whole point about the interaction of the Spanish peasant

goose-stepped into fascism in Germany and flocked into Stalinist trade unions in France, not to speak of the Socialist UGT in Spain. So what! Neither one class nor the other is more or less revolutionary if the appropriate circumstances do not exist. It would have been

has been little attempt to explain their idealism and their goals, quite aside from whether one agrees with them or not. For my part, I tried to convey to the reader some sense of their motives and aims. I find it in poor taste for Sam not only to accuse me of "lauding" them but to

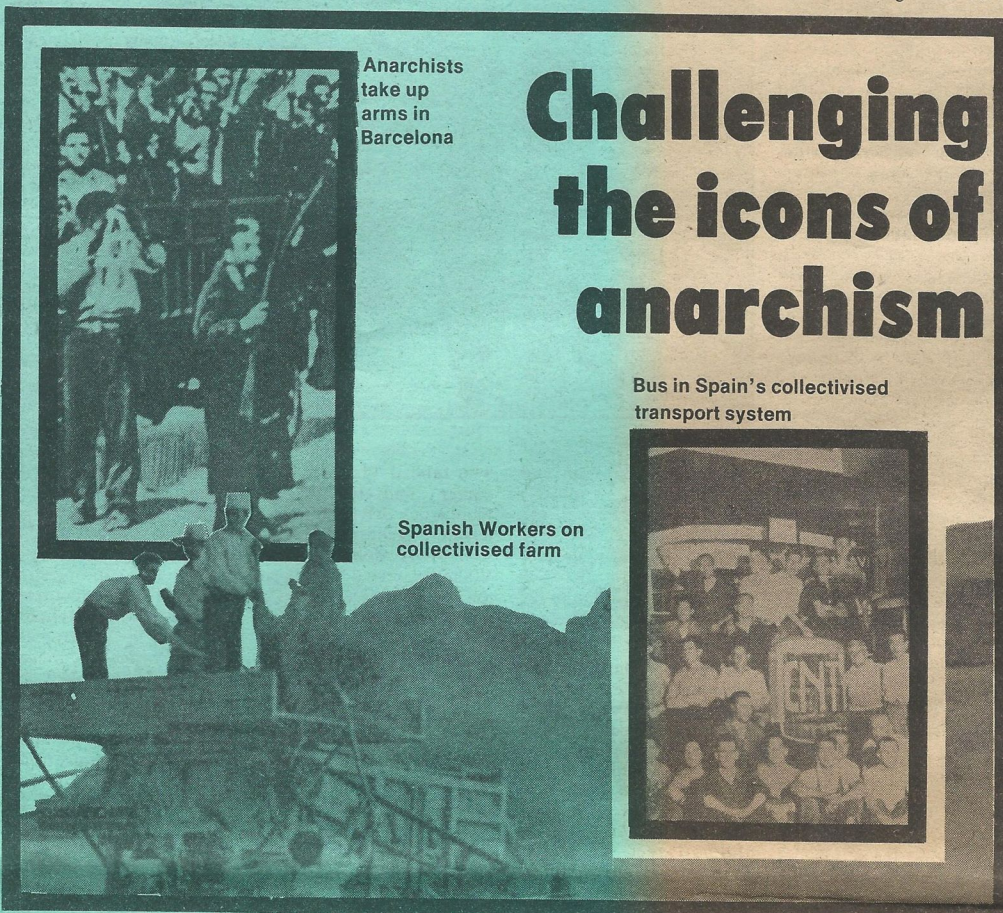
parliamentary, tendencies in the CNT, I should have thought that the less Sam said about the subject, the better. My comments on the subject were, if anything, much too gentle. Vernon Richards' admirable *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*, Carlos Semprun-Maura's *Revolution et Contre-Revolution en Catalogne*, even Jose Pierats in many of his writings provide clearly documented material that is little short of devastating. If the anarchist movement in all its forms cannot admit to its mistakes, if the reputation of its spokespersons and its organizations count for more than its principles, let us kindly close our mouths and stop complaining about the Stalinists, Trotskyists, and Socialists. To cultivate the sickening arts of apologia in order to protect the movement against its ideas—THIS, USUALLY IN THE NAME OF "protecting" it against its enemies—will do considerably more than destroy the movement. It will ossify it into another obstacle in humanity's torturous path toward liberation.

Post-Scarcity

Finally, I am rather tired of trying to explain the difference between post-scarcity and "abundance," between the historic problem of material want and the capitalist virus of consumerism. Post-scarcity means that the technology now exists (however much we may have to modify it) to satisfy the basic material needs of humanity and provide for reasonable material amenities without miring the majority of people in lives of toil and renunciation. Needless to say, a high degree of technological development can never be in itself the sufficient reason for a liberated society; but, at the very least, it is the necessary reason. Without a communism based on a sufficiency in the means of life, we will have a communism based on scarcity. If Sam believes that a luminous ethical principle can prevent a communism based on scarcity from degenerating into another scramble for privilege and gain, he would do well to review history and see how countless such ethical movements degenerated into new hierarchies and systems of domination.

It is would be dense, of course, to say that mere abundance as such provides a guarantee of freedom and social harmony. Obviously, it requires more than a sufficiently developed technological base to achieve a libertarian communist society. Ultimately, the sufficient reason for such a society involves a new morality, indeed a new culture. But the moral and cultural without the material remain mere abstractions, just as material advances in themselves reinforce domination if they are based on social relations rooted in privilege. Having made this reasonably clear, I hope it will be the last time I shall have to repeat it. If Sam wishes to inveigh against my post-scarcity concept, let him at least argue against it for what it really is—an attempt to provide the material basis for anarchist ethical concepts

continued on p. 19



Anarchists take up arms in Barcelona

Challenging the icons of anarchism

Bus in Spain's collectivised transport system

Spanish Workers on collectivised farm

was that Bakunin was primarily a collectivist—and, yes, at times quite a Marxist! For the purposes of a discussion on Spanish Anarchism, Bakunin's primary emphasis was more important than the peripheral one and, accordingly, had to be discussed in explaining how the Spanish movement factionalized around collectivism and communism. Sam, in trying to diffuse these distinctions, would render the history of the Spanish Anarchist movement unintelligible. This may be admirable personal loyalty to the memory of Bakunin, but it makes for muddled history. It also makes for muddled theory because I do not believe that communism and collectivism are compatible with each other anymore than capitalism and communism are compatible. Communism is guided by the all embracing concept, "from each according to her/his ability and to each according to her/his needs"; collectivism, by contrast, leaves this system of distribution ambiguous at best and determines the reward according to productivity at worst. Sooner or later, one or the other will prevail. If Sam is not clear about the fundamental economic, social, and even ethical reasons for the opposing, even explosive tendencies that would be created by an ecumenical "pluralistic" anarchist society, we are faced with disputes that go beyond a mere response to a book review.

By the same token, Sam totally misreads my account

try with the proletariat is simply that a unique tension emerged between the pre-industrial and industrial classes of Spain — peasant/workers or worker/peasants—which produced a truly explosive and unstable situation in Spanish industrial cities, a subject that is highly complex and deserves careful study on its own terms. Sam reduces this immensely significant phenomenon (one which emerged in France, Italy, and Russia as well as in Spain) to a reworded version of "workeritis." Thus, after Sam lectures me on peasant parochialism (as though this issue is not discussed in the book!) he tells me: "The reformist, urban industrial workers may not meet our revolutionary expectations, but the revolutionary (!) implications of their unremitting violent (!) struggles to wrest from the employers and from the State immediate economic and social improvements must never be underestimated."

Peasants and Workers

Really, Comrade Dolgoff! To place narrow peasant parochialism side by side with reformist proletarian economism, indeed, to do this by deprecating the former only to laud the latter, is specious to the core. Yes, there were many peasants who faithfully followed the Church and the "Lords of the Land." But there were many peasants who revolted across Andalusia and Aragon, the Ukraine, and Vietnam, while workers

far more appropriate for Sam to explore the circumstances that make both of these social classes revolutionary or reactionary rather than to repeat old Socialist clichés about the "reactionary" peasantry and "revolutionary" workers. Even serious Marxists have gone beyond this shopworn level of discussion—and if some of our anarchists do not catch up with the real implications of reformist working-class economism as a major factor in stabilizing a state capitalist society, we shall be in a bad state indeed.

As for my "idealization" of "affinity groups" (and Sam's confusion regarding their meaning and function), I frankly fail to understand how I can even begin to answer Sam when he equates them with "chess clubs." This is not misrepresentation: it is simply absurdity. I have a sneaking hunch that what bothers Sam is really my criticism of Abad de Santillan's putdown of "affinity groups" when he abandoned all his anarchist principles to enter the Catalan government in 1936.

Sam's observation that I laud "the anarchist terror groups" is a gross misreading of my book at best or a gross misrepresentation of my views at worst. In my account of the anarchist *pistoleros*, I tried neither to praise them nor to blame them—but primarily to explain what motivated them. The anarchist action groups of the 1920s and 1930s have been the target of cheap shots by every bourgeois philistine who writes on Spain. There

adduce one of the FAI's chief *pistoleros*, Durruti, in support of his position—not to speak of my favorite ministerial anarchist, Montseny, who almost hysterically supported some of the craziest, adventurist "insurrections" of the early 1930s.

Why Durruti

Why, after all, do anarchists make such a huge fuss about Durruti? Because he plotted several assassinations and carried out a host of "expropriations"? Or because he urged the Barcelona proletariat to vote for the Popular Front in 1936 and became a commanding officer in the Republican Army? Frankly, it was Durruti's courage as a member of the guerrilla *Solidarios* and *Nosotros*, the sheer guts of the man—right or wrong—in organizing the insurrections and strikes of the early thirties and not the tragic erosion of his anarchist principles in 1936 that earned him the admiration of anarchists and even of ordinary workers in Spain. Misguided as Durruti's *pistolero*ism may have been, I would regard myself as a hypocrite if I failed to show at least some admiration for this courageous, selfless, idealist while trying to refurbish his "dark" reputation for gun-toting with the phony equipage of an anarchist "statesman," "politician," and "commander."

Considering the material that is available on the bureaucratic, not to speak of

WORKING AT NOT WORKING

Loafing at the point of production

By Frankie Lee

Two recent publications have added to the growing literature available on the "revolt against work" perspective. **Creation and Its Enemies: "The Revolt Against Work"** is a collection of articles by John Zerzan which outlines a case against main-stream unions, documenting the ways in which unions tie workers more firmly to the capitalist workplace.

Zerowork 2 (ZW), a continuation of ZW 1, provides a working-class perspective on the present economic crisis. It presents a comprehensive analysis of the class struggle on a global scale, showing inter-imperialist rivalry as secondary to attempts by the ruling classes of all countries to stem class strife.

The attraction for anarchists in the "revolt against work" is that it builds its analysis from the self-interest and activity of the individual. People are understood to be protagonists in the class struggle and not hapless victims of an all-powerful capitalism.

In workplace situations the struggle takes the form of absenteeism, theft, "dogging it" (slacking), drug and alcohol use, and sabotage. A general reluctance to behave as the bosses would like, a prevalent condition on most jobs, is not some aberration or the result of laziness but a

more-or-less conscious attempt to fight back and exert some control.

These are not "individual" acts. They usually involve whole networks of people, who find that collective resistance is much more successful than individual resistance. These "mutual aid" organizations which exist on a subterranean level within most workplaces are based on active co-operation.

There is a common consciousness that the interests of the workers and those of management are diametrically opposed even if this is limited to realizing that energy expended on the job means less energy left to pursue activities after work. These forms of struggle are combined with the fight for more money through the traditional channels. It is this combination of falling productivity with huge wage increases that has attacked capitalism right where it is weakest, at the profitability of the individual firm.

Bosses Fear Workers

In many cases, it is the workers who control the pace of work. This was graphically illustrated by the construction workers at the Games site of the 1976 summer Olympics in Montreal. Work proceeded so slowly during the two years prior to the opening of the Games that the government feared the job wouldn't be completed on time. This fear allowed the workers to make continual

demands on their employers and the State, and this kept happening right up until the last month when the work was finished off in a flurry of activity.

Zerzan, a former union activist, documents the role the unions played in containing and smashing the wave of sit-downs and wildcats which convulsed the auto, steel and rubber industries, among others, during 1936 and '37 in "Unionization in America", one of the articles in his book. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was begun in the thirties as a response to working class discontent with the American Federation of Labour (AFL), yet the CIO quickly became one of the main fetters on the independent activity of the workers.

As John Lewis, one of the leaders of the CIO is quoted as saying, "A CIO contract is adequate protection against sit-downs, lie-downs, or any other kind of strike."

This was not a perversion of the union's role, but is a basic part of it. As Zerzan notes, "A strike, by putting the workers on the street, rolls the steam out of them—it reduces their demands and thus brings agreement and ratification; it also solidifies the authority of the union hierarchy." The unions are important to the companies. Smart bosses recognize this fact. That's why General Motors loaned the United Auto Workers 23 million dollars a month during a 1970



strike, to keep the union strike fund solvent.

The unions protect the profit margins of the companies by tying wage gains to rises in productivity. They also become responsible for policing the contract and enforcing discipline. Job related issues are left to management prerogatives while the unions boast of their success in getting a few dollars more.

Zero Work

Zerowork 2, which develops a macro-analysis of the same perspective, is published by a network of militants in New York, Montreal, Rochester and Texas. They "have no pretensions of forming any sort of party; rather, (they) are seeking to make a major new contribution to the international debate on the crisis and the

working class response."

The primary article (by Harry Cleaver) analyses the way in which food is used as a weapon in the class struggle. Price, availability, and quality are all clearly political issues, but Cleaver also shows the links between seemingly disparate struggles of peasants, farmworkers and urban dwellers around the world.

In "Developing and Underdeveloping New York", ZW analyses the way in which "fiscal terrorism" based on the debt-dependency of the city to the financial institutions was used to launch a major counter-offensive against the people of New York (the same weapon has been used recently against the working classes of Britain, Italy and Poland) while showing how this was the result of major

working class victories in the preceding years.

One of the more useful analytical tools that ZW provides is its understanding of how antagonisms between different groups of workers can be used to advance the fortunes of both groups. As an example, during the sixties both welfare recipients and welfare workers in New York waged struggles against the welfare department. A coalition of welfare groups called the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) had 100,000 members at its peak and fought against petty bureaucratic rules as well as for more money and easier accessibility. The offensive was so successful that the number of welfare cases jumped from almost 900,000 in 1968 to nearly 1.3 million in 1972; welfare payments for a family of four rose from \$2,100 a year in 1961 to \$4,000 plus many additional subsidies in 1971.

As a response, the welfare workers, who generally took the abuse and hostility from the recipients, went on the offensive themselves. They demanded and got a reduced workload and more money. Their increased alienation also allowed them to see themselves as simply workers rather than as professionals. Their lack of zeal made it easier for people to rip-off welfare.

Not Anarchist

The politics of ZW are not explicitly anarchist. In fact, many of the traditional ideals of anarchist politics, such as self-management and collective and co-operative structures, are written off as capitalist ploys to manage our own poverty and oppression. But ZW can provide anarchists with a concrete economic and political analysis which contain some basic anarchist tenets.

The major difficulty with ZW is that by reducing all the aspirations and hopes of the working class to "more money for less work" (which is repeated frequently throughout the book) it becomes a very economic perspective. Although it sees that the eventual goal is the elimination of work which is "essentially the unfree, inhuman, unsocial activity, determined by private property" its economism prevents it from seeing that women, blacks and freex are already struggling to live outside of mere production and consumption.

As ZW shows, economic struggles are the propelling force of history, but cultural changes cannot be ignored if we wish to do anything but change the economic structures of this society. It is in fact culture that determines the willingness of people to struggle and the goals and forms of that struggle. This is true whether we are talking about sectors of the working class outside of the productive apparatus or not.

The forms of struggle advocated by ZW as outlined briefly above may be important on the economic terrain but otherwise they are

continued on p. 19

"Emma": anarchist play "inspires"

By Eric Davin

Emma: A play by Howard Zinn based on the life of Emma Goldman, directed by Maxine Klein at Boston's Next Move Theater.

When Boston's Next Move Theater decided to expand its improvisational review format to full-scale theatrical productions, they sought Maxine Klein, veteran Boston director, to find their play. Klein, known for her successful Boston productions of "Fanshen," and "Tania," immediately contacted movement veteran and anarchist Howard Zinn. Howard, she knew, was writing a play.

That play, "Emma," based on the life of anarchist Emma Goldman, became a hit of the Boston theater season and received rave reviews from the critics. By the time "Emma" closed at the end of November, over 20,000 people had seen the play.

Emma Goldman seems an unlikely figure for such commercial success, yet the combination of talented engaging actors and a fresh, non-didactic approach on the part of Zinn turned the unlikely into reality. The play focuses, not so much on Emma, as upon the circle of New York anarchists she lived and worked with. Zinn stated that "The play's not just about her. It's about her

and Alexander Berkman and this little group of anarchists. And, in fact, I didn't really like the title "Emma," because the whole idea of anarchism, to me, is an idea of collectivity. . . I wanted it to be a play about a little group of dedicated people

a kind of dispiritedness. And, the thing that Emma Goldman has always represented to everybody who has read her autobiography is her spirit, her life, her optimism, her vivacity. With Emma, it's easy to deal with the

goes off to Provincetown from time to time and walks the beach and has all these lovers. The combination of sex and politics, love and anarchy. . . that's what I tried to portray."

The Next Move actors also tried—and succeeded—in portraying this spirit of "love and anarchy." Throughout the production, there was the feeling that here was a group of people who really enjoyed the serious business they were about. This was felt in the sensitive treatment of the first meeting between Goldman and Berkman. The tentative sparring between the two was simply fun to watch.

Just as deftly, the actors handled with just the right amount of subtlety and awareness the first strike Emma led. Here was no heavy-handed portrayal of grim and heroic workers marching on to the final victory of socialist realism. Rather, the unsure, tentative empathy of seamstress friends who slowly realize they belong to each other—and the exhilaration of victory which that bond brings to them.

To be sure, there were lapses in the Boston production. After Berkman attempts the assassination of Frick and is imprisoned, he naturally becomes a prison agitator. It was disconcerting to be involved in a gripping scene of prison privation and degra-



who continue on in the face of great difficulties."

Zinn has long lectured in the Boston area on the life of Emma Goldman and wrote the play in an attempt to help buoy up what he saw as a Movement losing steam. "At the time I started to write," he said, "the Vietnam War was coming to an end and there was a feeling of depression in the Movement,

problems of making politics fun and fun political, because she exemplifies that in her life. In fact, that's exactly what makes her so attractive to the young people of the Sixties. She has just enough of the cultural revolution in her without being too superficial and vapid and running off into the forest to bathe naked in pools. She's a solid political fighter and yet she

The Open Road's little black book

This list of North American anti-authoritarian groups was compiled to help draw people together; whether it's used to coordinate political actions or simply as a travel guide for anarchists.

While some of those on the list aren't explicitly "anarchist," all have anti-Statist, non-hierarchical politics, and they're all part of the growing anti-authoritarian revolutionary movement.

Since such a broad range of groups are listed, the following designations have been included where appropriate: Bookstores (B), Co-operatives (C), Distributors (D), Organizations and political collectives (O), Periodicals (P), Prisoners support (Pr), Publishers and printers (Pu).

These groups have been listed by their acronyms: Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Movement for a New Society (MNS), Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (SRAF), War Resisters League (WRL), Youth International Party (YIP).

The list will be completed in the next (SPRING 1978) issue of *The Open Road*.

CANADA

ALBERTA

EDMONTON: Erewhon Books, POB 4098, Edmonton, ALTA T6E 4T1 (B)
LETHBRIDGE: Community Action for Self-Management, #3 1239 4th Ave. S., Lethbridge, ALTA (O)

BRITISH COLUMBIA

BURNABY: IWW, 4631 E. Pender St., Burnaby, BC (O)
CASTLEGAR: The Arrow, POB 3314, Castlegar, BC V1N 3H6 (P)
HOPE: C.I.C.C. c/o Texas Lake Community, POB 5, Hope, B.C. V0X 1L0 (O)
NEW WESTMINSTER: Pacific Life Community, 335 8th St., New Westminster, B.C. V3M 3R3 (O)
VANCOUVER: Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho Marxist), POB 758, Sta. A, Vancouver, B.C. (O)
VANCOUVER: Free For All, POB 24632, Sta. C, Vancouver, B.C. V5T 4E2 (P)
VANCOUVER: The Open Road, POB 6135, Sta. G, Vancouver, B.C. V6R 4G5 (P)
VANCOUVER: Pulp Press, POB 48806, Sta. Bental, Vancouver, B.C. (Pu)
VANCOUVER: Revolting Women, POB 46571, Sta. G, Vancouver, B.C. (O)
VANCOUVER: Service, Office and Retail Workers Union of Canada, Rm. 1114, 207 W. Hastings St., Vancouver, B.C. (O)
VANCOUVER: SRAF, POB 74 SUB, UBC, Vancouver, B.C. (O)

ONTARIO

JORDAN STATION: Totally Eclipsed, POB 223, Jordan Station, ONT L0R 1S0 (O)
KITCHENER: Alternative Research, 139 Dalewood Dr., Kitchener, ONT N2A 1G3 (P)
KITCHENER: Dumont Press Graphics, 97 Victoria St. N., Kitchener, ONT N2H

5C1

KITCHENER: The Some People Can't Read the Writing On The Wall Until Their Backs Are Against It Collective, 20 Fairview Ave., Kitchener, ONT N2H 3E8
LONDON: Friends of Kropotkin, USC, U. of Western Ontario, London, ONT N6A 3K7 (O)
STRATFORD: Rumour Records, POB 173, Stratford, ONT (Pu)



TORONTO: Industrial Defense Bulletin (IWW), POB 306, Sta. E, Toronto 4, ONT M6H 4E1 (O, P)
TORONTO: New Hogtown Press, 12 Hart House Cir./U. of Toronto, Toronto, ONT M5S 1B9 (Pu)
TORONTO: The Red Menace, POB 171, Sta. D, Toronto, ONT M6P 3J8 (P)
TORONTO: Solidarity Books, POB 546, Sta. Z, Toronto, ONT M5N 2Z6 (Pu)
WATERLOO: Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho Marxist), c/o Integrated Studies, U. of Waterloo, Waterloo, ONT N2L 3G1 (O)

QUEBEC

MONTREAL: Black Rose Books, 3934 Rue St. Urbain, Montreal QUE H2W 1V2 (Pu)
MONTREAL: Co-op Diffusion Libertaire (Library), 3824 St. Denis, Montreal, QUE (C)
MONTREAL: Co-op D'imprimerie Vehicule, 1000 Rue Clark, Montreal, QUE H2Z 1J4 (C)
MONTREAL: Iberian Solidarity Committee, 3934 St. Urbain, Montreal, QUE H2W 1V2 (O)
MONTREAL: Librarie Alternative Bookshop, 2033 St. Laurent Blvd., Montreal, QUE H2X 2T3 (B)
MONTREAL: Our Generation, 3934 Rue St. Urbain, Montreal, QUE H2W 1V2 (P)

SASKATCHEWAN

REGINA: IWW, 1631 Retta-lack St., Regina, SASK (O)
REGINA: Regina Anarchist Federation (SRAF), POB 3658, Regina, SASK (O)

UNITED STATES

ALASKA

ANCHORAGE: IWW, POB 8114, Anchorage, AL 99508 (O)

ARKANSAS

SPRINGDALE: Social Revolutionary Anarchist News Service, c/o John W. Adams, Rt. 2, POB 347, Springdale, AK 72764 (P)

SACRAMENTO, CA 95825 (B)
SAN DIEGO: Feminist Communications, 4003 Wabash Ave., San Diego, CA 92117 (P)

SAN DIEGO: Groundwork Books, 7777 Ivanhoe St., La Jolla, CA 92037

SAN DIEGO: IWW, 4765 Mount Long Drive, San Diego, CA 92117 (O)

SAN DIEGO: Ocean Beach Community Free School

SANTA CRUZ: Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA (O)
SANTA CRUZ: IWW, 314A Laurel, Santa Cruz, CA 95060 (O)
VENICE: IWW, 906 Pacific, #3, Venice, CA (O)

COLORADO

BOULDER: Boulder Anarchist Group, POB 1444, Boulder, CO (O)

CONNECTICUT

NEW LONDON: Atlantic Life Community, POB 685, New London, CN 06320 (O)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WASHINGTON: Institute for Self-reliance, 1717 18th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009 (O)

WASHINGTON: Off Our Backs, 1724 20th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009 (P)

WASHINGTON: People & Energy, c/o Citizens Energy Project, 1518 R St. NW, Washington, DC 20009.

WASHINGTON: YIP, 1007 K St. NW, Washington, DC (O)

FLORIDA

BOCA RATON: Southern Gay Liberator, POB 2118, Boca Raton, FL 33432 (P)

MIAMI: M.L.C. en el Exilio (Cuban Libertarian Movement in Exile), POB 350-241 Riverside Sta., Miami, FL 33135 (O)

TAMPA: Black and Red POB 16000 SG, Tampa, FL 33867 (O)

GEORGIA

ATLANTA: MNS, 1434 Miller Ave., Atlanta, GA 30307 (O)

ATLANTA: WRL, POB 7477, Atlanta, GA 30309 (O)
SAVANNAH: MNS, 218 Brandywine Rd., Savannah, GA 31405 (O)

GUAM

AGANA: General Defense Committee, Local 4, POB 864, Agana, Guam 96910 (O, Pr)

HAWAII

HONOLULU: Black Buttercup, 1139 9th Ave., #41, Honolulu, HA 96816 (O)
HONOLULU: WRL Catholic Action, 1918 University Ave., Honolulu, HA 96822 (O)
WAIPAHU: IWW, POB 881, Waipahu, HA 96797 (O)

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO: Black Maria, 815 W. Wrightwood Ave., Chicago, IL 60614 (P)
CHICAGO: Industrial Worker (IWW), 752 W. Webster, Chicago, IL 60614 (P, O)
CHICAGO: MNS, 711 S. Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60605 (O)
CHICAGO: New Space, 1509 N. Halsted St., Chicago, IL 60622 (Pu)
CHICAGO: Off Our Backs, POB 11878, Fort Dearborn Sta., Chicago, IL 60611 (P)
EVANSTON: Mayday (SRAF), POB 176, Evanston, IL 60204 (O)
EVANSTON: Resurgence (SRAF), POB 801, Evanston, IL 60204 (O)
OAK PARK: WRL, 712 N. Austin Bld., Oak Park, IL 60302 (O)
ROCK ISLAND: Prairie Sun, POB 1483, Rock Island, IL 61201 (P)

CALIFORNIA

ARCATA: The Peacemaker, POB 4793, Arcata, CA 95521 (P)

BERKELEY: Bay Area Research Collective, POB 4344, Berkeley, CA 94704 (O)

BERKELEY: SRAF, POB 460, Berkeley, CA 94701 (O)

BERKELEY: Red Eye, POB 1200, 2000 Center St., Berkeley, CA 94704 (P)

FRESNO: MNS/San Pablo House, 345 N. San Pablo, Fresno, CA 90271 (O)

HOLLYWOOD: Gay Anarchists, 6326 Lexington, Hollywood, CA 90038 (O)

LOS ANGELES: IWW, POB 25072, Los Angeles, CA 90025 (O)

LOS ANGELES: SRAF, 5057 Meridian, Los Angeles, CA 90047 (O)

LOS ANGELES: WRL, 350 S. Figueroa St. #277, Los Angeles, CA 90071 (O)

MOUNTAIN VIEW: SRAF print (Bulletin for Anarchist Agitators), POB 4091, Mountain View, CA 94040 (O, P)

OAKLAND: Free Spirit Press, Main PO, POB 24112, Oakland, CA 94623 (Pu)

OAKLAND: ICI A Woman's Place Bookstore, 5251 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94618 (B)

OAKLAND: IWW, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland, CA 94609 (O)

PALO ALTA: Alliance for Radical Change, Chris Coleman, 570 Oxford #E, Palo Alto, CA 94306 (O)

REDONDO BEACH: Bill & Emily Harris Defense, 204 Avenue B, Redondo Beach, CA 90277 (Pr)

SACRAMENTO: Chrysalis Books, POB 160943,

(newsletter), 5113 Cape May, San Diego, CA 92107 (C, P)
SAN DIEGO: SRAF, c/o 4765 Mount Longs Drive, San Diego, CA 92117 (O)
SAN DIEGO: YIP, 9767 Abby Field Rd., Santee, CA (O)

SAN FRANCISCO: Boxcar, 10001-B Guerrero, San Francisco, CA 94110 (P)

SAN FRANCISCO: IWW, POB 40485, San Francisco, CA 94140 (O)

SAN FRANCISCO: Madness Network News, 2150 Market St., San Francisco, CA 94114 (P)

SAN FRANCISCO: More To Come, POB 11308, San Francisco, CA 94101 (P)

SAN FRANCISCO: MNS, 723 Shrader St., San Francisco, CA 94117 (O)

SAN FRANCISCO: Now and After, POB 1587, San Francisco, CA (P)

SAN FRANCISCO: Upshot, POB 40256, San Francisco, CA 94140 (O)

SAN FRANCISCO: Utopian Eyes—Storefront Classroom, POB 1174, San Francisco, CA 94101 (P)

SAN FRANCISCO: WRL, 1380 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94103 (O)

SAN FRANCISCO: The Whole Thing, POB 11308, San Francisco, CA 94017 (Pu)

SAN FRANCISCO: YIP, c/o Quick Trading Co., 64A Valley St., San Francisco, CA 94110 (O)

SAN JOSE: Libertarian Lesbians, 120 E. San Carlos, San Jose, CA 90028 (O)

SAN PEDRO: League for Economic Democracy (Synthesis), POB 1858, San Pedro, CA 90733 (O, P)

INDIANA

EVANSVILLE: Kropotkin Society, POB 2418, Evansville, IN 47714 (O)

EVANSVILLE: WRL, Direct Action Committee, 2042 E. Virginia, Evansville, IN 47711 (O)

FORT WAYNE: IWW POB 155, Fort Wayne, IN (O)

IOWA

AMES: Free Flowing, 217 S. Hyland, Ames, IA (P)

AMES: Mutual Aid Food Association, 136 Main St., Ames, IA (C)

CEDAR RAPIDS: YIP, 517 17th St. SE, Cedar Rapids, IA (O)

DAVENPORT: Catholic Worker House, POB 3813, Davenport, IA 52808 (O)

DES MOINES: Anarchist-Feminist Notes, c/o Karen Johnson, 1821 8th St., Des Moines, IA 50314 (P)

DES MOINES: Redwing Workers Organization, 1821 8th St., Des Moines, IA 50314 (O)

IOWA CITY: Jolly Roger Trader, 114½ College, Iowa City, IA 52240 (D)

MUSCATINE: Sweet Gherkins, POB 822, Muscatine, IA 52808 (P)

KANSAS

KANSAS CITY: IWW, 3933 Booth, Kansas City, KS 66103 (O)

LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS: MNS, 243 12th St., New Orleans, LA 70124 (O)

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE: MNS, 2111 Eastern Ave., Baltimore, MD 21213 (O)

BALTIMORE: Vacant Lot Press, 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218 (Pu)

MASSACHUSETTS

AMHERST: Food for Thought, 24 Churchill St., Amherst, MA 01002 (B, C)

AMHERST: Russell MMIC (YIP), 326 Pierpont, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003 (O)

BOSTON: South End Press, POB 68, Astor Sta., Boston, MA 02123 (Pu)

CAMBRIDGE: Black Market, POB 306, Cambridge, MA 02139 (Pr)

CAMBRIDGE: IWW, POB 454, Cambridge, MA 02135 (O)

CAMBRIDGE: MNS, 345 Broadway, Cambridge, MA 02139 (O)

CAMBRIDGE: Vocation for Social Change, 353 Broadway, Cambridge, MA 02135 (O)

FLORENCE: Spark Books POB 195, Florence, MA 01080 (B)

SOMERVILLE: Black Rose POB 474, Somerville, MA 02144 (O)

SOMERVILLE: Roundup Records, POB 474, Somerville, MA 02144 (Pu)

WEST SOMERVILLE: Bar None, POB 124, West Somerville, MA 02144 (Pr)

WEST SOMERVILLE: Eddie Sanchez Defense, POB 124, West Somerville, MA 02144 (Pr)

WEST SOMERVILLE: State and Mind, POB 89, West Somerville, MA 02144 (P)

WEST SOMERVILLE: Susan Saxe Defense, POB 39, West Somerville, MA 02144 (Pr)

Bookchin

continued from p. 16

—not knock over straw men of his own making. I would like to end on a conciliatory note, particularly when old comrades "cross swords" in a public discussion. If, at times, I have seemed harsh to my good friend Sam Dolgoff, I hope he (and readers of *The Open Road*) will understand that my harshness derives more from weariness than irritation. And it is a weariness that stems not only from the misunderstandings that riddle Sam's review but also the spirit it reflects among a number of anarchists—namely, the fear that any criticism of anarchist movements and leaders (yes, leaders!) must be muted lest our opponents avail themselves of our weaknesses; furthermore, that tradition must be perpetuated in an uncertain present and a dim future. For my part, I did not embrace a libertarian outlook to straitjacket myself in the past and wrap myself in a

black flag that is meant to symbolize a new corps of holy saints and sacred organizations. I do not want to revere anarchism; I want to believe in it as a rational human being. A flight back to the classical labor movement and the time-worn tracts of earlier generations is a tragic regression, whether it takes place in the name of Marxism, socialism, syndicalism, or anarchism. If people want the security of tradition, they are welcome to it—but they will pay a bitter price in the form of a mindless dogmatism. In this respect, anarchists who follow this path backward will be no different than those pathetically fragile individuals who are trying to create a secure home and catechism for themselves in Trotskyist, Maoist, and Stalinist organizations. For my part, I choose a different path—not apologia for the past, but honest criticism; not the mindless deadening security of tradition, but the rationally provocative uncertainties of the future.

Work

continued from p. 17

politically neutral. A worker (white, male) may be militant for more money and never do any work on the job, but that says nothing about his relationship to women, other men, non-whites, children, the environment, etc. These are not simply moral issues, as ZW would have us believe, but are fundamental in determining working class strategies. ZW recognises basic divisions within the working class and says that

these are related solely to access to wages. But racism and sexism are not economic categories, they are fundamental contradictions that must be struggled out. Social Revolution will not come simply because we have beaten capital on the economic front.

Creation and Its Enemies: The Revolt Against Work, by John Zerzan. **Mutualist Books**, P.O. Box 1283, Rochester, NY 14603 \$2 (plus 30¢ postage except prepaid and bulk).

Notes

continued from p. 2

is and why we don't need it and, although it's sometimes very discouraging, what we can do against the nuclears.

okay, so far about us, we would be happy, if we could hear of you again, maybe in exchanging our magazines. so long and all for the total anarchy.

could lay its sorrow at yours and Ulrike's hallowed graves, truths undefiled with papal hypocrisy would hijack even heaven, holding God hostage to release your soul. Let karma wait, a world of imprisoned minds needs anarchy now.

The Prisoner

Barred from the world, the prisoner waits behind other people's judgments.

Edward Woods
Surrey, England

LOCKED DOWN

Dear People:

I am an anarchist presently in prison in Attica, New York. A friend of mine associated with Black Rose in Buffalo brought up a few copies of your magazine, and I must admit I enjoyed it very much. I am into getting up the Political Consciousness of the people in here, and any old literature hanging around would be appreciated.

Keep up the good work, and I wish I could have given the money from my expropriation to you, as I am doing the time for it anyway. I remain,

Pie

continued from p. 5



Anita Bryant gets her just dessert.

A few days later the Vancouver APC(GM) moved in to action again, pieing provincial welfare minister Bill Vander Zalm, the most despised politician in B.C. APC(GM) encouraged popular participation by plastering the city with posters explaining why they like seeing pie smeared on Vander Zalm's face, leaving space on the poster for people to scrawl their own response to the action.

Pie Warfare

By this time it was open season on politicians visiting Vancouver. As the national press ran anti-pie editorials with headlines like "Harmless" pie-throwers possible assassins", pie became the topic of the day on open line radio shows and on TV. There was even talk of pie control laws.

So when national conservative party leader Joe Clark, who's being touted as the next prime minister, arrived

in town he was surrounded by massive security.

At an airport press conference, he mockingly issued a dare to Vancouver's piepeople: "I'm here to get my pie." Within hours, a member of the New Questioning-Coyote Brigade had burst through Clark's security to blast a coconut cream number off his head, leaving his myth of "invulnerability" in a pool of pastry.

Clark was hit, the Brigade explained, because, as an opposition politician, he falsely creates "the illusion (he) can run capitalism more humanely", rather than "exposing that capitalism is the real source of people's hardships." That night, a Conservative Party fundraiser looked more like a Busby Berkeley musical when 700 people pranced around the hall carrying sparkled pies.

It got so ridiculous that the *Vancouver Sun*, the largest paper in western Canada, printed a column complaining: "Pie-throwing has become such a prominent part of local political life during the past few weeks that consideration is being given to the possibility of providing plastic suits to all visiting cabinet ministers. As an alternative method of dealing with the problem, the possibility of setting aside a period of time exclusively for pie-throwing is being considered."

"When the Prime Minister comes to town, for example, a press release will notify potential pie-throwers that he will make himself available for public humiliation at such and such a time at a site convenient to all parties. It is felt that this will make it easier for press photographers and TV cameramen to get better pictures. After all, a pie in the

face can be worth 10,000 sympathy votes come election day."

They should relay these last words of wisdom to New York's ex-mayor Beame and Cleveland's ex-mayor Perk, the only pie victims who were also candidates this year.

But the *Sun* is right, pie throwing has become a prominent part of local political life, not only in Vancouver, but in cities across North America. As Fidel Castor-Oil pointed out in an account of the Dayton actions which was received by *The Open Road*: "Often local politicians and other porkers play a more hated role in the everyday lives of people than some abstract national leader. Everyone would like to see the guy who raises their utility rates pied and the Revolutionary 3 Stooges Brigade provides that service."

The pieings of local targets and those of internationally known figures have a mutually supportive relationship. The media has played up local actions, largely because the attacks on "celebrities" like Bryant, Daniel Moynihan, and Eldridge Cleaver, have stirred

an interest in pieing, and they make people aware of the fact that local actions are part of a larger phenomenon.

Pie warfare is symbolic, actually containing many of the media-grabbing, consciousness-shaking traits of armed actions. Arrest risk is minimal and ordinary people often consciously identify with the attackers. After all, it's pretty difficult to hate someone you're laughing with, but it's easy as pie to have a slimy authority figure who you're laughing at.

(Some nut-cases are already talking about a Spring pie offensive. Stay tuned to this station for further details. Meanwhile, send pie-news to Pastry Information and Entertainment, PIE-1, Box 758, Station A, Vancouver, B.C.)

BULLETIN

As we go to press, word has been received that pieing has hit Europe. During Pie Week, Conservative member of the British parliament Michael Hesselstine was splattered as he finished a speech at Leeds University.

HOW IT ALL BEGAN

The English-language version of *How It All Began*, by Bommi Baumann, is now available. It's a personal account of the rise of the West German New Left and its urban guerrilla underground. (German edition was suppressed on release.) \$3.50 from Pulp Press, Box 48806, Station Bentall, Vancouver, B.C.

Sincerely yours,
Jeb Stuart Fries
Attica, N.Y.

ANARCHY IS LIBERTY

Dear Friends,
Lots of thanks for the *Open Road*, issue four, it is like always, terrific.

I especially would like to thank Mark Brothers for explaining for the umptyumph time that anarchy is liberty and not disorder. I carry it with me so I can lend it to people who still doubt this truth...

There was a picture in the Dutch papers how the Pie people treated Anita Bryant. Thank you again and keep up

Solidarity greetings,
Elly Stawski
Hapotoc Family
Amsterdam, Netherlands

the Revolution... how about a column on helpful hints, i.e., methods of hot wirin' a car—for the day your ride breaks down in front of the bank you've just expropriated; the effective use of guns, knives, explosives (the day of the rock, bottles and sticks is gone); self-defense; and for an off-day, information that goes beyond first aid, treatment of gunshot wounds, stitching, etc., how to tell when you really need a doctor and when you can get by.

Be looking forward to your Winter edition; be assured your Fall issue will be passed around.

Til Bastille Day,
Bob Lavalla
Tracy, Calif.

GAY

Dear Open Road,

The attached letter came to us as a shock and disappointment. We were appalled that *Akwasasne Notes* would try and pass us off in such a prejudiced, sexist way. To include us in a list of "destructive effects on Indian Culture" as imposed by "European western society" is to deny an important aspect of Native American culture that existed ages before white man came here. It is documented and well understood that homosexuality was well integrated into many tribal cultures, such as the Lakota

(Sioux), Cheyenne, Navajo, Mohave, Mandan and more.

We know that the type of behaviour our magazine advocates is the type of behaviour that tribal elders and society have advocated since the beginning, and that is that whatever the lifestyle to act with dignity and pride, to understand the unity and order of life and to take ones place in it.

So, why such a letter from *Akwasasne Notes*? Male-dominant authoritarianism and dogmatic sexism are traits which seem to crop up in most societies and cultures, and perhaps we would be better off subjecting it to question and scrutiny.

To draw a line as *Akwasasne Notes* has and to put us on the enemy side, is a grave mistake in this stage of the struggle we are all facing in U.S. America. We would like our friends at *Akwasasne Notes* to re-consider their recent decision, and hopefully come out with a better materially based analysis.

We are appealing to you to help us in our discussion with *Akwasasne Notes*.

We have a great amount of respect and support for the struggles of the Native American peoples and movement. Many of us have supported these struggles for years. We want an end to the lies that take us from our place in Native American culture. And that place is a

place of being natural, not normal.

In the spirit of great love, and in struggle,

Jai Elliot
for RFD,
4525 Lower Wolf Creek Rd.,
Wolf Creek, Ore. 97497

(The letter to RFD from *Akwasasne Notes* follows.)

RFD:

We at *Akwasasne Notes* would like to ask you once again to discontinue us from your mailing list. If you wish to continue receiving *Akwasasne Notes* we will leave your name on our mailing list.

The reason we do not want to receive your type of publication is because they encourage a kind of human behaviour which our elders consider not normal and a detriment to our way of life. There are so many things that have come from European western society whether it be alcohol, christianity and its church, educational system and the list goes on, that have had a destructive effect on Indian Culture. And now that list includes the type of behaviour your magazine advocates.

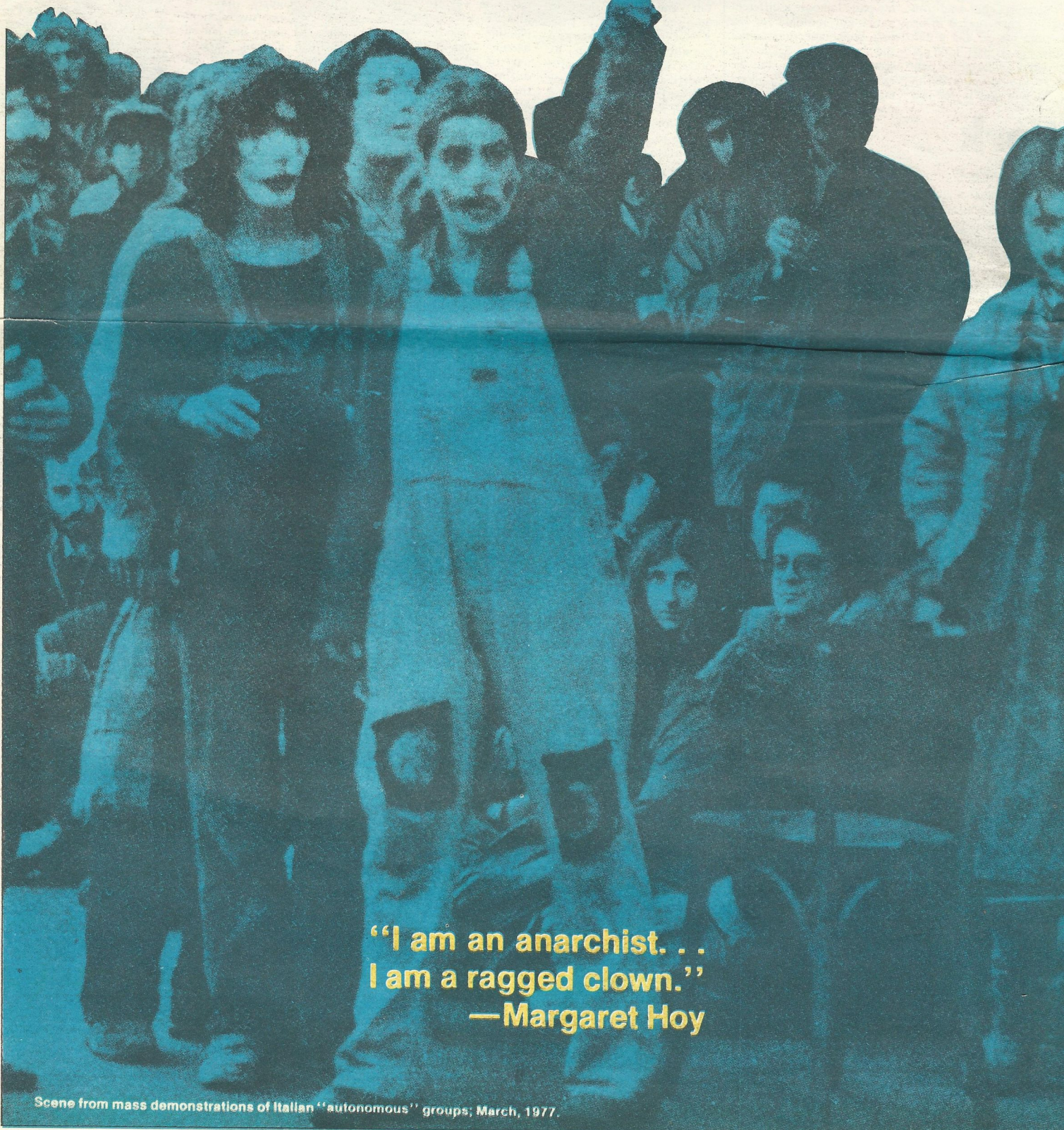
Once again we want to remind you, remove our name from your mailing list immediately.

Akwasasne Notes People
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y.
13683

The Open Road
Box 6135, Station G
Vancouver, B.C., Canada
V6R 4G5

Second Class Mail Registration Number 3

Open Road



**"I am an anarchist. . .
I am a ragged clown."
—Margaret Hoy**

Scene from mass demonstrations of Italian "autonomous" groups; March, 1977.

GERMANIZATION OF EUROPE

GUERRILLA DEFENSES BLITZED BY NEW REICH

A critical line of defense for the West German radical left has been shattered by the State Attorney General (RAF) Red Army Faction in the Croissant split to France last Summer, and was extradited back to West Germany after the arrest of the RAF in Europe, and in North America.

Within the overall crackdown on dissidents, the Bonn regime has singled out the RAF for special attention in an attempt to impair the ability of militants to wage political battle in the courtroom. Making use of the hysteria whipped up by hostage-rakings and other news events, the Bonn elite have laid the charge of drug charges against more than 60 German lawyers for failing to cooperate with terrorism investigations and defending militants merely on grounds of suspicion.

The regime has been especially zealous in its assault on the RAF, by 1975 in fraying the legal system through legislation and constitutional amendments aimed at undermining the independence of the judicial branch. Outside the courtroom procedures, however, it has become even bolder to attack lawyers directly.

On May 1, Klaus Croissant, 46, the lawyer for

defended by a group of law-luminaries as Jean-Paul Sartre, shipped Croissant home means no collective defense, unlimited power to cross-examine and defend, even before the trial begins.

The single concession to authorities made to sit-still, the courtroom merely on criminal conspiracy. The right of defense lawyers to comment publicly on courtroom proceedings has been restricted, while the State prosecutor now has virtually unlimited power to cross-examine and defend, even before the trial begins.

dozens of lawyers and such luminaries as Jean-Paul Sartre, shipped Croissant home means no collective defense, unlimited power to cross-examine and defend, even before the trial begins.

Under the Paris-Bonn extradition treaty, West Germany will have to go back to a French court for permission to extradite Croissant before he was extradited.

This won't necessarily stop the West German authorities from literally trying to extradite Croissant, but it should slow them down somewhat for fear of an international incident.

Croissant, who faces trial shortly, is now lodged in the Prison-Quartier Stammheim in Stuttgart, the site of RAF fortresses-like incarceration.

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

toward location of 1984-style "Street Squad" (see page 4) in Open Road, No. 4, Summer 1977, on Italy and Sweden.

Back Home

In North America, a similar trend with respect to



Andreas Baader

lawyers is evident, although the Nixon-era grand jury offense was conceived in France. "People's Court" said

flits have arisen as a result of the efforts of anti-social robbers who have sought to destroy all authority under the guise of defense.

It's not only the RAF militants who are getting the message. The West German has put radicals of all stripes on the defensive, even the anti-nuclear movement is finding it difficult to maintain its "terrorist" propaganda by the mass media and increasingly arbitrary and repressive activity by the police.

Indications are that RAF is but only a cohesive group, but anonymous units that agree mainly on an action ideology and a vague vanguardist political orientation. Contact between Baader and early miss: Baader is reported to

with sufficient consistency

in Quebec, the highest-profile recent attack on a lawyer involved Robert Lemieux, who successfully won a court order for the urban guerrilla Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Lemieux was charged

with sufficient consistency

#970, P. O. Box 1000, "Street Squad" (see page 4) in Open Road, No. 4, Summer 1977, on Italy and Sweden.

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Marion Barricades Open Road

Open Road is getting it keeps. Maybe that's why it's known by the company it keeps. Marion (see page 4) in Open Road, No. 4, Summer 1977, on Italy and Sweden.

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JANUARY							FEBRUARY							MARCH							APRIL												
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MAY							MAR							APRIL							JUNE												
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1	2	3	4	5	6		JAN 11, 1908 Buenos Aires general strike	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
							JAN 1, 1921 Kronstadt sailors revolt																										
							MAR 1, 1977 Anarchists pile Ehrhardt's Cleaver																										
							AUG 25, 1968 Chicago convention riot																										

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JULY							AUGUST						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	

SEPTEMBER							OCTOBER							NOVEMBER							DECEMBER						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	29	30	31					26	27	28	29	30			24	25	26	27	28	29	30
30	31																				31						

OCT 31, 1968 Women's International anarchist Conspiracy From Hell founded

MAR 18, 1871 Paris Commune established

SEPT 14, 1971 Attica prison rebellion

DEC 1, 1919 Berkman and Emma Goldman deported to Russia

NOV 11, 1887 Haymarket anarchists hung

AUG 27, 1927 and Yan killed

AUG 20, Anarchists 1936 crush fascists in Barcelona

Anarchist Calendar 1978

Photos at top (left to right): Veterans of Kronstadt sailors revolt, March, 1921; Student/worker insurrection in France, May-June, 1968; Spanish anarchist militia dances, 1936; Wobbly women silk strikers march in support of Patterson, New Jersey, strike, July, 1913; Bank of America after being torched during Isia Vista demonstration, Feb., 1970.

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