

Work Poets
Rhyming at
the point
of production
ARTICLE P. 15

East Europe
Opening a crack
in the
Soviet Bloc
REPORT P. 7

Underground
Fugitive tells
all in
new novel
EXCERPT P. 8

Issue Six Spring 1978

60¢

OpenRoad



**PUTTING
THE FINGER
ON RAPISTS**

SEE PAGE 5

PHOTO BY FLOYD NORMAN

Canadian jailers circle wagons

Wardens run scared after Quebec assassination
PRISONERS REVOLUTIONARY ARMY/ p. 4

Still bringing the war back home

Anti-nuclear reaction shakes up Pentagon
PEACE CONVERSION/p. 4

OPENERS

The magazine devoted to total anarchy

No Nukes Is Good Nukes

Demo days are here again, and the skies will soon be clear again (of nuclear radiation).

The anti-nuke movement, which has been percolating through the winter, has now reached critical mass and is set to explode in the largest series of mobilizations since the Vietnam War.

First off the launching pad will be the Rocky Flats Nuclear Action Group in Colorado, (see peace conversion article this issue of OR), with an occupation starting April 27 of their hometown weapons site. More info from RENAG, 1428 Lafayette St., Denver, Colo. 80218.

After that, it's:

April 30—Blockade of the Barnwell (S. Car.) nuclear reprocessing plant and the adjacent Savannah River weapons plant by the Palmetto Alliance, 328 Whaley, Columbia, S. Car. 29201.

May 22—Occupation of the Trident nuclear submarine base on Puget Sound by the Pacific Life Community, 335 - 8th St., New Westminster, B.C.; and the May 22 Coalition, 1305 NE 45th St., #210, Seattle, Wash. 98105.

May 27—Demonstration by Mobilization for Survival, a coalition of 140 peace and environmental groups, at the United Nations in New York. Info from MPS, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107.

June 24—Occupation of the Seabrook (N.H.) nuclear site by the Clamshell Alliance, 62 Congress St., Portsmouth, N.H. 03801; and of Satsop (Wash.) site by the Crabshell Alliance, 1114 - 34th Ave., Seattle, 98122.

Actions contemplated for this summer (no dates yet) include occupations of the Darlington (Ont.) nuclear site by Toronto Greenpeace, 803 Gerrard St. E., Toronto, Ont. M4M 1Y5; and of the Trojan (Ore.) plant by Trojan Decommissioning Alliance, 215 E. 9th Ave., Portland, Ore. 97214.

SexPol Comes Out

The sex-pol movement is getting its juices flowing again in a tiny farming community in the Netherlands.



Anti-nuclear chain reaction at Trojan (Oregon).

Mix it in with a stiff dose of revolutionary prison struggle and hard-core anarchism, and you get the Wilhelm Reich Social Improvement Centre, a sort-of half-way house for ex-prisoners and full-time house for anti-authoritarian propaganda.

The centre is a project of HAPOTOC, a Dutch-based international prisoners' support organization, and, as it gets underway, it will attempt to give new life to the ideas on sexual liberation articulated by the late Austro-German revolutionary psychoanalyst Wilhelm Reich (see article page 14).

Main functions of the centre will be to provide a communal home where political/class war prisoners can get themselves together after release, to establish a Reichian therapy collective for ex-prisoners and others, and to win a secure base for starting a new sexual-political movement on an international scale.

First ex-prisoner to come live at the centre is the German anarchist Wolf Barnbrock, just out of the Hamburg lock-up.

The centre needs all sorts of furnishings, books and other materials. More info from HAPOTOC Social Improvement Project, P.O. Box 896, 8901-BR-Leeuwarden, Netherlands.

Pies Keep Flyin'

In the first quarter of 1978 pie assaults were up 48.3%. In recent weeks pastry politics have caught up with such notables as waterbugger Charles Colson, Punkster Johnny Rotten, North Carolina senator Jesse Helms, the editor of the Boston Globe, and the pastor who played host to Anita Bryant during her Toronto visit. A Denver group, the Student Libertarian Army, went on a week long rampage, splattering Colorado senator Gary Hart and a couple of student government functionaries.



Authorities are becoming increasingly paranoid of pie guerrillas. When Prime Minister Trudeau recently visited Vancouver, headlines read, "Pie-throwing incident feared." And they've reason to fear. In Philadelphia, two piepeople, independent of each other, came prepared to the same gathering where Mayor Frank Rizzo scheduled to make an appearance. Rizzo's security was too tight for any fun, so the pie folks got together and went off... for lunch.

Roadside Notes

AGAINST PATRIARCHY

Dear Open Road,
I have enjoyed your newspaper, though I'd like to see less emphasis on armed struggle groups and more on the struggle against patriarchy. Each issue improves in these two respects. I still have the feeling that you equate violence with revolution and do not respect the issues of cultural struggle enough. Perhaps an invitation to people to write on revolutionary process would be good. I feel the anti-authoritarian movement needs to examine where its energies should be going. In Seattle the GJB, although it stated itself that aboveground struggle should be our priority, gets an unmerited amount of attention everywhere. What do armed actions carried out by a clandestine grouplet accomplish? Do they help build mass movements? Do they spark people to act? Do they seriously threaten the rulers? These seem to me to be central questions that advocates of armed actions must answer.

I was in Italy last winter and was in Rome the night of the mass rioting. However, the movement was incredibly

SEXIST, not to mention heterosexist. The article you published did not mention this nor the creative work that the feminist movement has been doing of late.

Your paper has responded well to criticism, which is perhaps the most important part of the whole project to me. Keep up the good work.

For freedom,
georgatha
Seattle, Wash.

COVER STORY

Dear Friends,
Keep up the good work. The last cover was really nice. Murray's reply to Sam Dolgoff was interesting. There was good variety in the other articles. I don't think the pies were worth putting on the cover of #4, unless it could have been done in a more striking way. It didn't work the way the comic strip did or the Chaplin picture. The back cover of #5 is really outstanding too, especially as it complements the front—from the movies to the streets: it's really beautifully done. I think a lot more can be done with the inside poster. The last one looks kind of washed out. What about something similar to

some of the May 1968 Atelier Populaire posters?

Overall **Open Road** continues to be outstanding and exciting.

John Clark
New Orleans

FOR AUTONOMY

Dear Open Roaders,
I hope you're not moving in the direction of being a bit overawed by the possibilities of "stars"... (Murray Bookchin replying to Sam Dolgoff... and maybe then Dolgoff replying to Bookchin). It all becomes so pointless and academic.

Let's keep up the stuff on Italy where the situationist-type events—"no need for objectives"—of the "unpolitical" autonomous groups seems so exciting.

In England, the only comparable thing has been PUNK, which has so far manifested itself only culturally, and not on streets. At least it's new and exciting, and listening to the Clash or the Sex Pistols makes you want to get up and have a riot NOW! Whereas most anarchists are still tied to alienating meetings and irrelevant

discussions about things rather than life and relationships.

Good luck. Long live Guy Fawkes,

Robin Banks
England

ANARCHY

Dear Open Road,
Warmest greetings to all you hard-working people in Vancouver!

Your publication is really wonderful, especially your articles on the SLA prisoners of war and up-dates of the latest CNT happenings in Spain. Keep it coming!

Before I began to read your magazine I half-heartedly considered myself a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, though I always instinctively disassociated myself from the conservative/authoritarian "partii-nost" of the sectarian left. However, since checking out your reading lists published in **Open Road** I have discovered Revolutionary Anarcho-Communism and ally myself with the best currents of this fast-growing movement. People such as Buenaventura Durruti, Emma Goldman and Makhno are a great inspiration. We need a revolution. We need to get this monopoly-capital death machine off our backs. We need anarchy and each other to get it done! Keep struggling, keep strong!

In the spirit of Revolutionary Anarchism—Seize The Time!

Love and Rage!
Peele
San Francisco, CA.

ARMED STRUGGLE

Dear Friends,

I disagree with the type of material and newstories which you feel would be of the most use to support and encourage us in our mutual struggles... I feel that you lean too heavily towards violent members of the revolutionary struggle and that your magazine glorifies their often counter-productive violence.

Our society is an expression of our culture. We see everything in terms of dominance, exploitation, competition, and hierarchy. The problem becomes, how do people discover a new way based on co-operation and caring relationships. I don't think by blowing up banks.

The war of taxes was constructive because their efforts will educate people that the government continues because of their acquiescence and that they can do something. Similarly, I'd rather see the GJB setting up co-operative credit unions rather than participating in activities that can only further capitalist propaganda on what anarchism stands for.

We like to believe that we can erect a new and glorious society easily on the ruins of the one which should be torn down—but I fear it may not be so simple—how it's torn down may be critical.

Yours in struggle,
Kevin Murphy,
New Brunswick

FROM BRITAIN

Dear Open Road,

Thanks for sending me **Open Road**. It's a fascinating read, if a little uneven at times; you have stuff eulogizing violence together with pacifist/libertarianism. "They've got the guns, we've got the numbers," is a better motto. And if we haven't got the numbers just now, then that means organizing, educating and agitating. Substituting arms for people is counter-productive, as we've learnt from N. Ireland.

Fortunately in Britain we have a well-organized and occasionally militant trade union movement, which provides a context for radicals to work in. The autonomous shop stewards' movement that grew up in the First World War still exists at grass-roots level, despite the growth of union bureaucracies and centralist parties.

The economic recession has forced some workers to adopt some quite original tactics. For example, shop stewards at Lucas Aerospace—a large military aircraft manufacturer employing some 13,000 workers in 17 factories—are campaigning for "the right to work on socially useful alternative technologies" as an alternative to the dole. They have produced a detailed "corporate plan" outlining 150 new products in the alterna-

continued on p. 19

NEW YEAR, NEW CHALLENGES

Happy Birthday CNT!

As Year Two of the above-ground anarchist revival in Spain gets underway, a two-pronged offensive is being launched by the main political parties and their affiliated trade unions to counter the burgeoning strength of the revolutionary workers' movement.

The anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labour (CNT), which only emerged from the underground in March, 1977, after 40 years of the Francoist nightmare, now numbers 300,000 dues-paying members, as of this Spring.

The CNT, with its long history of militant direct action and unstinting resistance to all forms of authority, has proven itself in the past year to be the only credible revolutionary alternative to the "liberal" regime of Franco's hand-picked successors.

As a result, the regime, with the complicity of the Communist and Socialist Parties and their hierarchical union apparatuses (the Workers' Commissions and the UGT respectively), have now embarked on a campaign aimed at discrediting the CNT and isolating it from the mass of workers. The key elements of the campaign:

—A nationwide series of phoney union elections, imposed by royal decree and designed to force workers into Communist, Socialist or conservative unions where the demands for higher wages and improved working conditions can be dampened in the name of fighting inflation.

—A campaign of defamation against the CNT and other anarchist elements, depicting them as the perpetrators of every anti-social act that comes to public attention.

The offensive poses a serious challenge to the continued vitality of the CNT, especially since the CNT as a matter of principle has no organized political (meaning parliamentary) pressure group and no "international"

(like those of the Communists and the Socialist-Social Democrats) to defend its sectarian interests.

With a virtual blackout on news at home and in the foreign press, the CNT must depend primarily on word-of-mouth to get its message to the Spanish workers and to anti-authoritarian audiences overseas. That's why it has now despatched its first official representative since coming above-ground to North America as the guest of the Industrial Workers of the World (the Wobblies).

Miguel Mesa, who is speaking to anarchist, syndicalist and anti-authoritarian groups in major North American centres, represents the new generation of CNT anarchist militant. He wasn't even born yet (he's now 28) when the CNT succumbed to the guns of Franco and Stalin, but he became part of the resurgence when he helped organize an underground local of the CNT in the southern city of Malaga in 1976, and then went on to do the same thing later in Madrid.

In an interview with *Open Road*, Mesa said the CNT is in the process of developing a strategy in response to the campaign being waged against it.

He said no matter who wins the elections for shop representatives the CNT will continue to organize on the basis of open workers' assemblies as the primary arena for making decisions.

The CNT position is that any number of unions should be free to operate in a given work place, but it is up to the assemblies to decide what actions should be taken.

With the CNT as the only major labor federation boycotting the union elections (as it did the parliamentary elections of June, 1977), the results have proven a disappointment to both the Communists and the Socialists, each of whom had hoped to achieve hegemony over the workers' movement. There



What so proudly we hail at CNT rally in Madrid.

was a distinct lack of enthusiasm by workers even to vote, and it appears that neither the workers' commissions nor the UGT will command a decisive share of the ballots.

"The government hopes to put in authoritarian unions, so the leaders and the bureaucracies can make deals behind the backs of the workers," said Mesa.

"We say everything must come from the assemblies. There must be direct action, directly from the base."

Mesa said the CNT is working to strengthen the assemblies in each work place, thereby creating a dual power situation much like

that which prevailed in Franco's later days, when the fascist unions were rendered virtually powerless by "illegal" rank-and-file workers' commissions (before they were taken over by the Communists).

The CNT has already had considerable success with this strategy in enabling workers to achieve greater militancy and solidarity. It has been an especially significant factor in work places where several unions are vying for influence, and where the numerically-larger (on paper) workers' commissions have been claiming to represent the workers in negotiations.

The campaign of

defamation poses more of a public relations problem than one of organization, said Mesa.

He said there have been many cases in which the mass media blamed "anarchists" and specifically the CNT for incidents of street fighting and urban trashing on the fringes of mass demonstrations.

Slander Campaign

"They put out big headlines on the front page saying we are responsible," he said. "But when we prove it was fascist provocateurs in this particular case, they give us a little story hidden inside the paper, or no story at all."

The most serious incident of this kind, however, was the January 15 fire-bombing of the Scala, a Barcelona nightclub in which four workers died.

Police immediately arrested 14 young people (ages 15 to 19), claiming they were members of a "commando unit" who only a few hours before had attended a CNT rally demanding amnesty for all prisoners. Despite the fact that the Maoist guerrilla group ERAP claimed the hit, the police insisted the perpetrators were card-carrying CNT members, as well as militants of the FAI (Iberian Anarchist Federation) and Libertarian Youth.

The police report described the FAI as the armed branch of the CNT, and LY as its youth wing.

The CNT has denounced the bombing and has disclaimed any connection with either organization, other than their historical association as elements of the Spanish anti-authoritarian movement prior to 1939. (Whether the FAI has even been reconstituted as a

functioning organization is as yet unclear.)

In a prepared statement, the CNT described itself as a "syndicalist organization at the service of the working class," and it strongly denied it has an armed branch. It pointed out that all its active members are workers (those arrested were students or unemployed), and that it would have been totally senseless for it to attack and destroy a workplace where 75 per cent of the workers are CNT members. (Thanks to Iberian News Service of Barcelona for information on Scala.)

Despite having to deal with the double-edged campaign, the CNT is proceeding with its basic workplace organizing and, at the same time, developing an organizational structure and political program that is suited to its contemporary role.

Membership Doubling

CNT membership is doubling every three months—the fastest growth rate of any free union in the world—with unions covering such industries as construction, metallurgy, banks, education, tourism, graphic arts and communications. On the strike front, CNT gas station attendants recently shut down automobile traffic in Barcelona for a week, and before that there were militant—and largely successful—strikes by hotel, construction and electronics workers.

Organizationally, the CNT continues to develop in its traditional manner, as a decentralized federation of local, autonomous unions. All union work is done by the members in their spare time, rather than by a salaried bureaucracy, and local representatives are sent to the regional and national federations with authority only to communicate the local members' views.

A national committee operates as a sort of liaison body for the local and regional federations, but it only holds office for one year and has very limited power. The reborn CNT's first national committee, established while the organization was still underground, was to have been succeeded late last year by a new group, but the process has been delayed in order to ensure that the composition of the new group is squarely in line with the deepening militant sentiment of the membership.

The primary task of the new committee is to organize the CNT's first open Congress since 1936. The congress, which will be held this Summer or Fall, is expected to reaffirm the CNT's unswerving commitment to the overthrow of capitalism and all forms of authority and to the establishment of libertarian communism.

In bringing the CNT's message to North America, Miguel Mesa will be visiting a number of major centres this Spring, tentatively including Albuquerque (April 6-7), Houston (April 10-11), New Orleans (April 13-14), Kansas City (April 17-18), Chicago

continued on p. 19

On the Road

When we started the *Open Road* one of our goals was to combine activism with journalism. For a long time, it didn't work that way. Keeping the paper going took so much of the time and energy of collective members that it seemed sometimes that writing about the anarchist movement precluded taking part in it.

Recently, however, as the collective expanded and stabilized, members of the collective have been able to play a more active role in the anarchist community that has been growing in Vancouver. We've increased our participation in local anarchist activities which include prisoners' solidarity work, anarcho-feminist action, the local radical music scene and more. We co-sponsored a series of meetings with a representative of the CNT, some of us are working on an anarchist

Mayday festival and plans are in the works for several other anarchist events.

The structure of the collective has also changed. At first, there was a tendency for either everything to be done by a few people, or for a strong division of labour to develop 'organically' because of people's varying levels of skills. The last few months have seen us make a concerted effort to change this. Almost everyone in the collective is involved in writing now, with those who find it easier helping the others. We've developed committees to work on the various tasks: editorial, production, distribution, financial, and office-work; with rotation of responsibilities each issue.

Nevertheless, we have yet to solve the problem of financing. Many of you received a letter detailing our financial problems. It costs

over \$3,000 to produce each issue. Our income, from donations and bookstore sales, was around \$2,000 for the last issue. So we started off this issue \$1,000 in the hole. Hence our financial appeal. Thus far, the response has been encouraging. With money still coming in, we've been able to pay the most pressing of our bills and get this issue out on time. We'd like to thank all of you who sent a donation.

But producing the paper isn't a one-shot affair. It's an on-going process, and in order for this to happen, we need continuing financial support. *Open Road* survives on readers' donations. But

we can't limp from issue to issue putting out last minute appeals for help. We need regular contributions. And we're looking for commitments from readers that will translate into hard cash. So please turn to page 7 for details on what to do.

Besides the donations, there are other ways you can help. You can distribute the *Open Road* to bookstores, groups and individuals in your community. Be creative. Think of it as a tool to help you organize where you live and work. You'll also be helping us keep the black flag flying, the Social Revolution going, and the *Open Road* fighting on the front lines.

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

Quebec killing spooks wardens



Archambault frisk-time.

The administration at the maximum-security Archambault Penitentiary in Montreal has doctored behind a screen of anonymity following the assassination of the warden by a shadowy group calling itself the Prisoners Revolutionary Army.

In the first-ever such killing in North America, warden Michel Roy was shot to death February 7 as he was shoveling snow in front of his home. Three men reportedly got out of a car and shot him seven times in the head.

The next day, a man phoned a Toronto newspaper and said the hit was carried

out by the Prisoners Revolutionary Army. He said there would "be no prison director or correctional officer safe" and that more killings would follow unless reforms recommended by a parliamentary committee were put into effect.

The assassination followed a months-long battle between Archambault's 400 prisoners and Roy over conditions in the relatively-new federal institution. Roy had started turning the screws after several mass escape attempts, stepping up surveillance and condoning the indiscriminate use of tear gas to quell even minor disturbances.

The day before the shooting, a letter was published in the Montreal papers from Quebec Liberation Front guerrilla Paul Rose, serving life in Archambault for the 1970 kidnapping and murder of a Quebec Liberal politician, warning that the lid was about to blow.

The authorities have moved quickly to protect their own in the wake of the killing. Every warden in Canada now has a bodyguard and their home and families are being protected as well.

At Archambault, the interim warden who succeeded Roy has been replaced by a committee whose members names are being withheld. The government has said it feels a committee might be less of a target than a single person.

Archambault is now being patrolled by guards on snow sleds and trucks and every road leading to the institution, which is located in treeless, rolling fields, is under extra-heavy surveillance. The Quebec regional penitentiary headquarters, which was located in an office building, has now been moved inside the walls of nearby Laval Penitentiary for security reasons.

Nothing more has been heard from the PRA, although prison officials in Quebec have received dozens of threatening phone calls since the assassination. The authorities have yet to come up with a lead on the killing.

Meanwhile, federal authorities are trying to paint a picture of a nationwide conspiracy of "left-wing lawyers, social workers, ex-inmates and activists" stirring up trouble within the prisons. They've been telling any

reporter who will listen that outside agitators were responsible for the almost simultaneous insurgencies at Laval, British Columbia and Kingston (Ont.) Penitentiaries in the Fall of 1976, and for the hunger strikes at eight prisons two years ago.

As well, they have pointed to the charges against West Coast prison activists Betsy Wood and Gay Hoon (see story in Blast section of this issue), as evidence of criminal association spanning the wall.

In one document leaked to

the news media, the penitentiary service claim: "While there is no positive proof that sympathizers are actually dictating when and how inmates should protest, the curious fact appears that almost always when a disturbance occurs within one of the institutions, there have been recent visits from one of the sympathizers and/or correspondence directed to inmate agitators."

This view contrasts sharply with that of an all-party parliamentary committee which conducted an exhaustive sur-

vey of prison conditions last year and concluded unanimously that the crisis was due to a sluggish bureaucracy and to power-hungry security staff at war with administrators.

(For more on the situation in Archambault and on the Canadian prisoners' movement in general, check with the Quebec League of Human Rights, 300 Carre St. Louis, Montreal, Que. Another source is the Law Union of Ontario, 37 Madison Ave., Toronto, Ont.)

Peaceniks home again

By Earl Averill

There's more than one way to bring the war home—even after the war is over.

In Honolulu, peace activists enlisted the aid of firefighters and civil defense workers in forcing closure of a nuclear weapons storage facility on the grounds of public safety.

In Denver, they released red balloons to be carried downwind from the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant advising residents they were living in the flight path of radioactive material that might be accidentally released.

In the Santa Clara Valley of California, where "defense" contractors received \$1.7 billion in business from the Pentagon in 1976, activists mounted a strong campaign that convinced several labor and community groups that killing the contracts would mean better health care and transit services—and even more jobs.

It's called peace conversion, and it means building a movement in each local community to show the people who actually live there the true costs—in money, health and lost opportunities—of the flood-tide of military expenditures.

Peace conversion picks up where the anti-war movement left off, and its natural ally is the growing coalition of forces opposed to the use of nuclear energy for domestic power production.

But conversion is a more homespun and decentralized approach to combatting militarism and the plutonium society. Unlike the anti-war and anti-nuke movements, which often focus on distant targets of national and international significance, conversion works best at the grass roots, convincing people, as one activist noted, that "no single community can really be made secure until the global arms race is brought to an end."

The starting point for peace conversion is debunking the conventional wisdom that military spending is good for the economy and creates jobs. In fact, military spending, with its high capital costs, its inevitable over-expenditures and its super profit margins is only half as efficient, within the capitalist economy, in creating jobs as is, say, spending on educational services.

And conversion analysis indicates that alternatives to military markets for converted military-oriented industries are technically and economically feasible for a

wide-range of essential public services, including mass transit, housing, water supply, refuse disposal, recycling, environmental protection and health care.

Conversion helps expose these irrationalities in the way things are, and it does so by reaching beyond the traditional peace constituency to make contact with community groups working in such areas as day care and full employment, and even with some labor unions.

Since the end of the Vietnam War, conversion projects have been launched in dozens of communities, so far with some promising results. U.S. officials admit that at least 100 military nuclear facilities have been closed in the past few years due to worries over public exposure and the subsequent loss of security.

The Honolulu project is one of the more successful: local peace activists hadn't even realized that nuclear weapons were being stored on the island of Oahu until a visiting group of Japanese anti-nukes asked to be taken on a tour of local military installations.

The ensuing campaign was aimed at drawing attention to the nuclear stockpile and to the prospects of an accidental detonation. Signs were placed on freeway overpasses warning Danger: Nuclear Bomb Crossing, mock nuclear weapons' convoys with large Danger signs were driven through town and civil defense officials, service groups, hospitals, and other community elements were mobilized to protest the lack of preparedness to deal with accidents.

Eventually, the military caved in and closed the base. As one of the campaigners explained: "The key to our nuclear future was no longer somewhere 'out there,' in Washington, Hiroshima or Moscow. It was from our viewpoint, right here at home."

(For a more complete account of peace conversion, including a step-by-step organizing drive guide, send for the peace conversion special issue of *Win* magazine, available for 30¢, from 503 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11217.)

NEW FRAME-UP IN WORKS

Greek anarchists sprung

The Greek government has had to pull in its horns somewhat in its campaign of terror against the anti-authoritarian movement there as a result of a well-coordinated international campaign of protest.

Five anarchist militants have been released from prison, including Christo Konstantinides, 28, a publisher who had been sentenced to 28 months for "injuries to authority" in connection with demonstrations against the killings of the Baader-Meinhoff guerrillas in West Germany.

Konstantinides was sprung on a technicality, but it's clear that the authorities were looking for a way out of an embarrassing predicament once the world at large—thanks to the efforts of anti-authoritarian groups in Europe and North America—became aware of the wide-spread abuse of civil liberties in Greece.

The anti-anarchist campaign was launched last Fall in the run-up to parliamentary election, which was won by the Conservatives, but with a reduced majority. Dozens of homes were raided

on the slightest pretext, individuals were beaten and arrested and in many cases railroaded into prison in the attempt to stifle the young anarchist movement, which started life as a student-based centre of opposition to the despotic regime of the Colonels, and is now branching out into other forms of mass organizing.

The worst isn't over yet, however. Yiannis Serifis, a 39-year-old milling machinist and long-time activist for autonomous workers' committees in factories, is facing a murder charge following the killing of a comrade by police.

Police first said the victim killed himself rather than be arrested following a shoot-out during a bombing attempt at a German-owned factory near Athens last October. But when this story was punctured, they decided to try and pin it on Serifis on the grounds that he wanted to prevent his comrade from talking to police.

The incident took place outside the multinational A.E.G. factory in Pireaus as the revolutionary group In-

ternationalist Solidarity was attempting to plant a bomb inside (the hit wasn't completed). Serifis had been fired from A.E.G. the previous April for his role in a 70-day strike there at the time, and previous to that he had been active in strikes in A.E.G. plants in West Germany and had been underground in Greece during the time of Colonels.

Despite the transparent frame-up, the government is pushing ahead with the prosecution. Serifis can expect little support from the established unions and political parties, which despise autonomous organizations, and so must depend on further anti-authoritarian solidarity on an international scale.

The defense work is being coordinated by the Solidarity Committee for the Release of Yiannis Serifis, c/o Nikos Karamanlis, Akadamias 74, Athens, Greece. For a North American source, check with Greek Solidarity Committee, c/o Black Rose Books, 3934 Rue St. Urbain, Montreal, Que.



Feminists turn tables on rapists

By Mamie Carter

A man is sitting at his desk at work when, suddenly, a crowd of people surround him. A woman steps out of the crowd and screams, "That's the guy who raped me."

In Santa Cruz, a group called California Women Against Rape has, like a growing number of women, been taking some direct power over men who attack them. For five years, they've confronted rapists in their workplaces, neighbourhoods, and homes. At the time of the verbal confrontation the rapist is given anti-rape literature and a few weeks later he receives a letter warning, "we're still watching you. You'd better change the way you treat women." Sometimes men from Santa Cruz Men Against Rape pay the man a visit as well.

Every time a confrontation happens Santa Cruz papers are filled with letters, pro and con, keeping the incident in the public eye for weeks.

Another strategy that is being used in several areas is newspapers listing the names of men who have raped, hassled or assaulted women. Their names are published both as a warning to women and to raise awareness about rape. Sometimes these lists include addresses and descriptions of the men, as well as articles designed to increase community understanding of



the reality of rape—"That it is an act of violence, not lust and a direct out-growth of sexism."

The best know group to use this tactic is the Kitty Genovese Project, in Dallas, named after a woman who was raped and stabbed to death in New York City in 1964 while many of her neighbours watched. During International Women's Day

last year they distributed 22,000 copies of their paper and got widespread support. Their action made front page news in Dallas and was covered by hundreds of newspapers.

In compiling and distributing these lists, anti-rape organizers have sometimes had to weather criticism that they were exposing some innocent men, and that arrests

and convictions often reflect existing class and race biases in society. Their response: our first concern is the safety of women in the community.

Similar lists have appeared in many cities in the past year or so. The lists provide a way for women to find out who some of the rapists in their community are, and the opportunity to make them publicly accountable for their actions. They give women information and, with it, strength.

Street Actions

Another tactic women are using to make rape a community issue is street marches. In Connecticut Neighbourhood Women Against Rape marched in demand of safe housing—since one third of all sexual assaults are in the home—stopping in front of known rapists homes. In Britain women marched through the night demanding the right "to be on any street at any time, to walk alone or in groups without men protecting us from other men."

Neighbours Against Rape, a Portland, Oregon group, have organized block-by-block to protect women and discourage potential attackers. Each block has well designated "safe houses" with large visible signs. These houses provide women a place to run to in a hurry and the signs provide a warning to rapists that a particular block is part of "a well organized

and vigilant campaign against rape." The people on the block are all encouraged to respond to screams, whistles or other prearranged signals.

These women and many others in North America and Britain are tired of trying to deal with rapists and the issue of rape through the criminal justice system. They feel that the responsibility of dealing with violent sexist crimes should be in their own hands, and that neighbourhood solidarity is potentially the most effective means of protection against violence aimed at women.

In the last few years many groups of women have been established to explore alternative ways of dealing with rapists and other sexist harassment. An alternative, that is, to working with the police and prisons, and to the usual counselling and service work of more traditional rape crisis centres. In their opinion there are no individual solutions to rape and it can only be dealt with by a direct-action movement rooted in the community.

Rapists Afraid

The direct action anti-rape groups have various responses to the traditional rape centres and the emphasis many of them place on rehabilitating imprisoned rapists. The Kitty Genovese Project says, "We don't support the prison system but it's very

important that women are working within the prison system to change the incarceration of human beings into an educational process." They point out that it is particularly difficult for prisoners to change their ideas about rape and women since they're in an environment that encourages violence, domination and humiliation.

Neighbours Against Rape have made a conscious decision not to associate with the criminal justice system. Neighbourhood Women Against Rape in Connecticut see their work as a necessary supplement to the on-going counselling and service work already in existence and "an important step forward in the movement."

When asked what the results of their actions were so far a Santa Cruz spokeswoman said, "Not bad," adding, "The police want to kill us. . . The rapists are afraid of us."

For more information on direct action anti-rape activity write Santa Cruz Women Against Rape, P.O. Box 711, Santa Cruz, CA 95061 or read about it in feminist papers like **Off Our Backs**, 1724 - 20th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009; **The Feminist Communications**, 4003 Wabash Ave., San Diego, CA 92104; **Big Mamma Rag**, 1724 Gaylord St., Denver, CO 80206.

SANTA AN INFLUENTIAL MILITANT

Rainbow Army liberates Christiania

By Frank Everett

The headlines might have read: "Santa Evicted, Protestors Shut Down Copenhagen." The Danish government was threatening to send in the police to shut down Christiania Free Town, a squatting community near downtown Copenhagen. Instead, the government backed down when thousands of people were mobilised under a plan that openly called for them to block bridges, train tracks, airports and major intersections, halting all traffic in the city.

Christiania, with more than 700 residents, was founded in 1971 when it was learned that the Danish Army had abandoned a 17th century fortress in Copenhagen. People moved in and a self-governing co-operative community flourished, creating a variety of collective projects. Among these is the Solvogren guerrilla theatre troupe, famous for its army of Santa Clauses which turned one recent Christmas into an expose of greedy capitalism.

Claiming that "in order to be generous, you have to be a criminal," seventy-five people dressed as Santa went into several major department stores where they gave out free merchandise until

they were dragged out and beaten by police.

Britta, a founder of the group, claims, "We have only one rule, never do anything twice." So when the NATO ministers visited Copenhagen, Santa was replaced by the "Allied Mobile Forces," a bogus army pretending to protect the ministers from anti-NATO demonstrators. With their short hair, US Army surplus uniforms, and toy machine guns, they shocked tourists who hadn't expected Denmark to be an armed state. The 'army' posted itself along the route of an anti-NATO protest march, and staged mock beatings and arrests of friends from another theater troupe.

Finally, they took over the government radio station, and broadcast that Denmark was "in chaos, in civil war. The AMF must take over."

"Rainbow Army"

All this made it impossible for the government to ignore Christiania, a mile and a half from downtown Copenhagen. The first eviction attempt was ordered for April 1, 1976, although the government had no plans of its own for the site. The government was forced to scuttle these eviction plans temporarily when a 'Rainbow Army' of 30,000 surrounded Christiania. Attempts to get the



courts to forbid the eviction have been unsuccessful. On February 2, the conservative Supreme Court ruled that Christiania had no legal status. The Christianites were never optimistic about their chances of a favorable judgement, so without waiting for the court decision, they took their case to the streets with demonstrations, petitions and street theatre showing the eternal persecution of such deviants as witches, heretics, and anti-fascists.

Central to their strategy was a telephone chain that would have alerted thousands

within ten minutes of a police attack. These demonstrators planned to paralyse the city, sabotage demolition equipment, and non-violently respond to the government's action.

By openly announcing these plans, the Christianites received widespread support. The publicity that surrounded their plan brought their struggle a great deal of attention which acted as a deterrent to the authorities. A former Danish NATO chief described their plans as "sound, extraordinarily intel-

ligent, and strategically well thought through." They were denounced in Danish parliament for encouraging people to commit illegal acts.

At first, the Danish government attempted to maintain a hard line. Early in the year, a parent-run kindergarten was demolished under the protective gaze of 300 police. The attack was filmed by police to evaluate the effectiveness of such tactics. The right-wing media tried to whip up anti-Christianity sentiments by branding it as a haven for

drug-fiends and welfare recipients.

State Backs Down

The publicity and the widespread support for the Christianites' self-defense plan forced the government to have second thoughts. The day after the Supreme Court decision, the Prime Minister went on television to say that, personally, he saw no reason to evict the community, at least for the several years it would take to prepare alternative plans for the site.

The next week, Parliament discussed the matter live on radio. After a few days debate, a left coalition voted to support the PM's point of view, and even voted to give the community money to improve its housing. Right-wing politicians are furious at being denied a bloodbath.

While they anticipate tough negotiations with the government and they're exhausted after weeks of confrontation, the Christianites are elated with their victory. Although the telephone chain has been discontinued, they are urging supporters to keep their affinity groups together and active. And if the government shows any signs of reneging on its promises, they'll be ready.

The Christiania Free State can be contacted at Dronningensgade 14, 1420 Copenhagen K, Denmark.

News from Nowhere

Several meetings and actions are on the North American anarcho-agenda. The **Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation's** annual gathering is set for Chicago, May 26-29. The meetings will be held in the Chicago Loop Church, 22 E. Van Buren St. For more information contact **Resurgence (SRAF)**, POB 801, Evanston, IL 60204. . . The **Youth International Party**, 9 Bleeker St., New York, NY 10012, is also going to Chicago this year. But first, they'll be in Kent (May 3-4 memorial & festival of life), Montreal (July 1-2 Jean Baptiste Day smoke-in), and Washington (July 4 smoke-in). Then it's on to Chicago for the 10th anniversary Yippie! Festival of Life (Aug. 26-28). Write YIP for a rundown of these, and other actions they're planning and for details on the 1977 July 4 smoke-in film they've produced.

The North American Anarcho-Communist Federation, POB 2076, Sta. A, Champaign, IL 61820, recently met in Ann Arbor to "reach agreement on a statement of principles and organizational structure for an explicitly anarcho-communist continental federation." The new organization's revised draft of the statement outlines the principles of anarchist-communism, lays out a tightly knit yet flexible organizational structure, and stresses organizing in the workplace, co-ops and the feminist movement. NAAF has also reprinted Peter Kropotkin's pamphlet **Anarchist Communism**. . . Italy's **Federated Anarchist Groups (GAF)**, CDA-via Guido Reni, 9616-Torino-Italy, has published **An Anarchist Programme** (N. America \$1, U.K. p50 — 40% discount for more than 5 copies). Translated into English, French and Spanish, the statement, GAF stresses, is not THE anarchist programme, but "ONE way of interpreting anarchism in Italy today and contemporary socio-economic reality, although certain theoretical assumptions as well as some of the more general aspects of the analysis will certainly have a wider validity."

Black Rose, POB 474, Somerville, MA 02144, is sponsoring another lecture series at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Speakers include Karl Hess, Ralph Fasanello and Andre Cardinal (on Quebec, April 28). The group is also planning to publish a quarterly journal of libertarian socialist analysis and discussion. First issue due this fall. . . **The Last International**, POB 7831, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, is a new group "devoted to destroying politics, culture, and life as we know it. . . everything must go." They've produced several poster/leaflets with such themes as "The 7 danger signs of subjectivity" and "Religion as Babbalry". . . **Mother Earth Books/Black Eye Press**, POB 30097, Wallingford Sta., Seattle, WA 98103, has just printed a series of anarchist post cards and posters, including the classic **Fuck Authority** (\$2). As well, they've got an extensive catalogue of pamphlets, books, bumperstickers and buttons. . . **New England War Tax Resistance**, POB 174, MIT, Branch P.O., Cambridge, MA 02139, maintains the largest alternative fund in the U.S. For ten years they've channeled tax dollars into "pro-life and Movement activities." Individuals can become members of NE/WTR by simply sending donations to the fund.

The second issue of **Caribbean Correspondence**, c/o Free Spirit, Main P.O. Box 24112, Oakland, CA. 94623, contains information about the recent "capturing" (illegal occupation) of land and dwellings in Jamaica. Also available from the same address is **None Shall Escape**, an l.p. record from a **Situationist** point of view, featuring an analysis of revolutionary experiences in the Caribbean, particularly Jamaica's Westmoreland Workers Council of 1969.

And you thought **The Open Road** was the periodical that came out periodically? Well, check out **The Sheffield Anarchist**, POB 1A, 341 Glossop Rd., Sheffield 10, England. Vol. 1, No. 13 is hot off the press, but Vol. 1, No. 1 came out in 1891! "Pay what you like" but they need donations. There was a 25 month wait between issues 12 and 13 and the Sheffield comrades say, "Let's hope that we've sorted-out at least some of the difficulties and that No. 14 will not take so long to appear". . . Some new anarchist publications: **Black Rag** is an anarcho/feminist paper published by the **Belfast Anarchist Collective**, c/o 52 Broadway, Belfast 12. The first issue includes articles on the Italian autonomous groups and women's struggles. The collective is also getting together an anti-authoritarian bookshop/centre. To help raise the funds needed for the project, they're selling a book of Belfast cartoons (\$2). They'd also appreciate donations. . . **Direct Action**, POB 306, Sta. E, Toronto 4, Ont., is an **Industrial Workers of the World** publication which "exists to stimulate action along industrial lines—action that will hopefully rebuild the IWW as a force of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism". . . The **R.A.G. Rag** is a mimeo publication of the Regina Anarchist Group, POB 3658, Regina, Sask. First issue includes material on nuclear power and Quebec.

LETTER FROM GERMANY

Inside the New Reich



RAF funeral procession under the gun

This letter from Hamburg, Germany, was translated and sent to the Open Road by comrades in Seattle.

Dear friends,

We didn't write for a long time, and now there's such a lot of things to tell about the past months and the present, because it is very very necessary that the left all over the world becomes more informed about what is going on here.

Since the beginning of the year the fight has increased on all levels. For many people it no longer seems possible to live a more or less liberal, calm life; the decision (on which side am I actually standing) has become urgent and sincere. For the atomic power movement, the government (or whoever is making these kinds of decisions) has now developed the strategy of pushing us into a criminal status, which means in practice that a whole lot of people have proceedings against them. The trials are starting now, in Autumn, and the typical charges are disturbing the peace, resistance against executive authority, bodily injury (against policemen), and so on.

Repressive Laws

When we had a small demonstration two weeks ago at the court-house they again took three persons without reason; the new charges: attempting to free the prisoners. Many of the people can get prison for these crimes, and as a matter of fact in Hamburg alone at least every third leftist is waiting for some kind of trial. Last week came a new shock: 21 persons got letters that they have to pay \$2,500 for police activity in Brokdorf where some people made a summer camp which was cleared violently by police (even though it wasn't on the site of the nuclear plant but only nearby on the land of a farmer). It shows that another part of the strategy is to ruin peoples' material existence base, because some of the people are in quite normal jobs. (This also was

the other effect of this movement, that quite established people have become more or less radical through what they experienced this state is like when people are fighting for their rights.) All this together is a real threat for all the rest, who want to continue the fight.

Reprisals

The situation of the political prisoners is really bad: though officially the isolation is suspended for now, a lot of them are in suicide cells, which means they are checked every fifteen minutes, even through the night, that they have no contact with other prisoners, that they are in so-called dead tracts, with no acoustic or visual stimulation, seldom allowed visits, because most of our petitions to visit the prisoners are refused because of "danger of influencing" the trials. In the last months it has become very obvious that they are using the political prisoners as hostages, so that when the next guerrilla action is going on, they maybe will kill them next.

O.K.—this is one part of what's happened, which for sure relates to the other: this year there were a lot of actions of the urban guerrillas, of the Red Army Faction (RAF). It is not overestimated to say that the whole country was and partly still is in hysteria and panic, and that this is also part of the counter-strategy of the imperialists. The main point was and is to "force away the position of the fellow-travellers, Sympathisanten," which actually means that "everyone who still says 'Baader-Meinhof Group' is also a criminal." Sentences like this have been on every front page.

The reaction was that a big part of the left really hurried to distance themselves from the tactics of the urban guerrillas, or more specifically, they all had to say openly in their papers: this isn't political, this is brutal, criminal, and so on. It really is horrible to see these leftists (I don't know anymore if I should call them left) serving the ends of reac-

tionaries, to even help build up a situation which is turning people against each other, to hunting people down. The entire media is totally co-ordinated, no word of doubt or anything critical appears.

Reign of Terror

As a matter of fact, the whole left is intimidated, not only ideologically, but also by police force. Whenever one lonesome left group dared to say: maybe, just maybe, Buback and Schleyer are not the nice human beings which the press is presenting, their bureaus were searched, their papers were taken, and the people were arrested, accused of helping the 'criminals.' So it was easy for them to put through their 'final solution' in Stammheim, to kill the prisoners. They had already made a new law, which says that in a time of danger to a person, all political prisoners are put in total isolation, which means as a matter of fact that they are in prison without any contact with the outside. They can be tortured physically, they are tortured mentally for sure by total isolation, and they can be killed. And though a whole lot of people are sure that the story of suicide isn't true, nobody dares to say openly "they were killed." You would be charged immediately with lying.

Politics of Obedience

The first effect: At the funeral, we were only about 100-200 people, the rest didn't dare come. There they forced us with guns to give our personal identities, then once again they arrested 50 people without any reason, fingerprinted them, and so on. All 50 got the same charges I have already mentioned. The population of Stuttgart partly helped the police by chasing the people in the stores and so on. Anyway, with the "search for the terrorists" a lot of denunciations took place everywhere, a lot of raids were made, for sure. At one of them they also arrested me, without any reason, my prints were taken, and I was beaten

in the police station, until I was really wounded, in the face until I bled. The brutality of the police and my own helplessness shocked me quite a lot, although I knew it before, but it's different when it happens to yourself.

One very important point is that this "model Germany" (Schmidt's saying) is rolling over Europe, it is as if all other countries are just under Helmut Schmidt's orders, and if a country has any resistance, they put a lot of economic pressure on this country, as with Algeria, which doesn't want to have the German military on their airports (to provide security for Lufthansa!), and gets lots of threats now. This is imperialism in a really pure form.

So this in short is the situation we are in now, a situation where the struggle has to continue also, but for many of us there will come a point where we have to emigrate or go to prison. This situation can come very suddenly, but because of the international nature of this, it may be very difficult to find a refuge (Ain't no country, ain't no land. . .)

Maybe I have written a bit too cool about all this—W. criticized me for not having written about the depressing feelings we have. I thought it more important to tell the facts—the transition to open fascism in this country results out of them, and some new facts.

I don't have the words to show how urgent this is. All the things that have happened, and happen all the time, are so monstrous that I often can't even cry, to say nothing of rage, but just sit without words and thoughts—paralyzed—. But that's what they intend, and I try to take all my energy together to do at least the things I can—something against it. So it would be good if it would be possible for you to do something.

In love,

P.S. There is a German left song: "When the night is deepest, the day is nearest."

LOOSE THREAD IN IRON CURTAIN

Polish dissident forces firm up

John Czarny

The heat's on the Polish State these days. Not only is it trying to survive a severe economic crisis, it's also faced with workers who are busy forging links with dissident intelligentsia and students to form what appears to be an openly anti-authoritarian opposition movement.

Completely outside the structure of the ruling Polish CP, the opposition groups—originally concentrated primarily in Warsaw and Krakow—have recently evolved into a national network of aboveground committees.

They've got their own independent, illegal publications and they're demanding freedom of speech, the right to strike, and the right to self-organization.

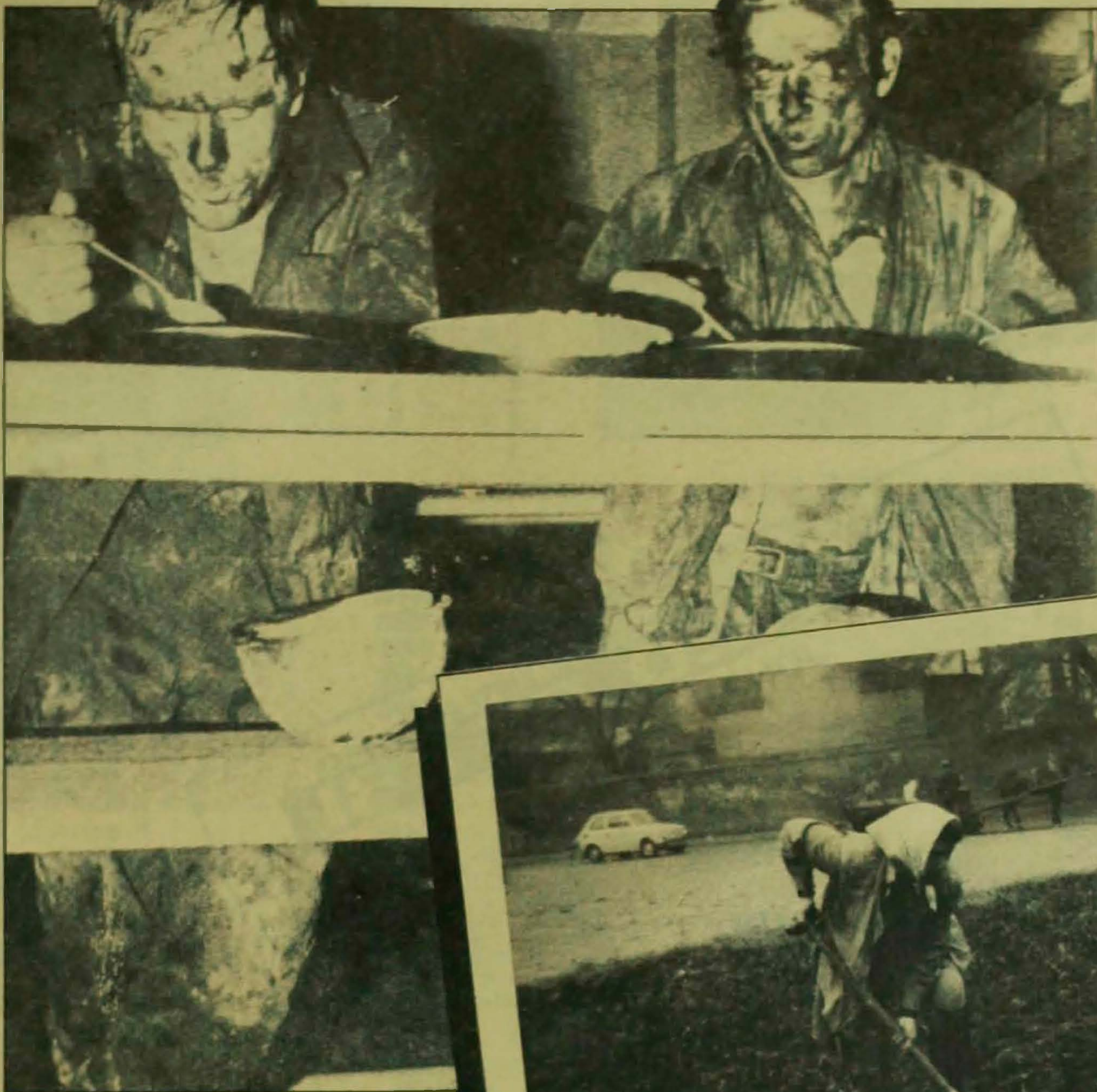
The most active opposition group is the Committee for Social Defense (KSS-KOR) which calls for 'institutional guarantees for civil rights.

Worker Opposition

Eastern European dissident groups have traditionally been made up of academics, but the KSS-KOR also includes workers who were jailed after the riots which swept Poland in 1976. A 'cell' of the KSS-KOR journal 'Robotnik' (Worker) has now been formed among workers in Radom, scene of the bloodiest riots that year, and has pledged to fight for the rights of workers independently of the State-controlled trade unions.

Members of the cell say they will agitate for independent workers' organizations and will try to aid other workers in their struggles for more say in the conditions of work, social problems, and housing.

Although no figures are available on the number of



Polish miners come up for air.

workers participating in the cell, the formation of this group represents a significant step forward for the opposition movement—it's the first organized link between workers and intelligentsia since 1956.

In addition to the Radom cell, several workers' commissions have organized themselves in Warsaw factories, but these have not yet joined the KSS-KOR.

Student Movement

The most libertarian of the opposition groups seems to have taken root among the students. The Student Solidarity Committee (SKS) is

working to create a broad movement of autonomous student organizations.

Formed in Krakow in May, 1977, after thousands of students had demonstrated in the streets to protest the murder of an opposition student activist, it has no formal membership structure. It is highly critical of the

centralist practices of the official national student organization (the SZSP) and maintains that its spokes-people are not a directing body. The SKS has a wide range of contacts throughout Polish universities and its open meetings often draw over a hundred students.

Polish dissidents have also joined forces to set up the Democratic Movement, a

group that claims it's trying to go beyond the KSS-KOR demands.

Consisting of hundreds of workers, students, and farmers, the Democratic Movement calls for the formation of independent, self-governed social institutions to defend human rights. It has proposed representative organizations for workers, peasants, and artisans; consumer's control of the quality, price, and distribution of goods; and independent publications.

In the face of these bud-

their jobs for participating in massive protest against 70% hikes in the cost of food.

When the State lashed back at the activists in the workers' defense campaign with further beatings and jailings, it had to contend with a nationwide protest movement including solidarity hunger strikes and thousands of letters.

Following last summer's amnesty for the remaining imprisoned workers and KOR activists the State has hesitated to renew its campaign against the opposition. It seems the authorities are willing to avoid a major confrontation with the working class at all costs, especially since Poland is courting Western investment to pay off its heavy debts, and dreads any adverse international publicity.

On several occasions this past year, the State has been forced, by workers' strikes and protests, to cancel proposed price hikes and wage cuts.

During the amnesty, first secretary of the Polish Communist Party, Edward Gierek, is reported to have said that the Party has to learn to live with its unofficial opposition, which he described as having "neo-trotskyist and anarchist links". These elements, he claimed, were leading a movement calling for a second socialist revolution based on a mass social movement.

For more information on the Polish opposition movement, check **Labour Focus on Eastern Europe**, Bottom Flat, 116 Cazenove Rd., London, N 16 England, or the **Information Bulletin on Democratic Movements in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe**, P.O. Box 6574, Station C, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.



Civic workers in Krakow, centre of opposition movement, dig in their heels.

ding opposition forces, the Polish State has cautiously avoided the overt repression meted out in other Eastern European countries. Certainly, the movement in Poland is stronger and better organized than any of the others.

Poland's newly organized opposition forces first locked horns with the State in 1976, when thousands of workers were imprisoned, beaten, tortured, and dismissed from

Czechs rock boat

By Jersey Slim

The Czech 'Rock Underground' really is underground. So when 1200 people gathered at an illegal concert in the small village of Kdyna last August 13th, the police attacked. The crowd responded with rocks, and torched the police train.

Three thousand people associated with the rock underground are on police files. Two hundred arrests were made in March, 1974 at a concert of the Plastic People of the Universe. One of the best of the Czech bands, the Plastic People has been harassed at their homes and at work. At their performances, members of the audience have had their cars vandalized by the police, and their IDs checked against lists of known 'subversives'.

The Plastic People have stopped imitating American and English rock. Instead, they set to music the poems of Czech poets like Egon Bondy and Jiri Kolor, neither of whose works can be pub-

lished in Czechoslovakia. These lyrics express a need for personal ethics rather than social control. They denounce consumerism, the police, and the alienation of work and everyday life.

The content of this poetry is defiantly subversive, and the act of setting it to music and performing it in public is seen as a direct challenge to the authoritarian state. The bands have been forced to restrict their activities, performing mostly at private parties, weddings, and other social activities. The musicians are forced into a semi-underground life-style, risking jail in a country where it is a crime to be unemployed for more than eight weeks. Nevertheless, a lively and growing movement is developing, with bands such as DG-307, Beroni, and The Old Teenagers moving in the same directions as the Plastic People.

Police harassment increased alongside this growth, culminating in the March, 1976 arrest of 120 people. Twenty-two of these

were put on trial, including all the members of DG-307 and the Plastic People.

Charged with 'hooliganism' and organising a musical evening without an 'amateur's license', the musicians received sentences of up to thirty months in jail. Not only did this fail to dampen the underground scene, it united the diverse opposition movement for the first time since the 1968 Soviet invasion.

Protesters ranged from former Communist Party bigwigs such as Zdenek Mlynar (party secretary before the invasion) to numerous young workers. They have united behind the rock underground and around a program that, in effect, calls for libertarian socialism... a decentralized socialism, with human rights and civil liberties.

To keep in touch with the Czech rock underground, write The Plastic People Defense Fund, c/o Amnesty International, Southampton St., London, WC2.

BRING BACK THE EIGHTIES



Whenever I feel alienated by capitalism I read Open Road, and before my Dad knows it, I'm out in the street making revolution. He tries to stop me, but I confront his patriarchal authority head-on and deal another blow for anarchy

You, too, can step from the doldrums of the 70's and zip out into the future. Everytime you pick up a copy of Open Road you'll have new visions, cheap thrills and action-packed adventures.

The OR is sent to anyone who asks, but its survival depends on your donations. Keep us on the road; become a sustainer. [For only \$50.] We'll put a 2 oz., 20 page revolutionary weapon into your very hands every 3 months.

Help us flush this dying social order down the toilet bowl of history.

Send donations to: The Open Road
POB 6135, Sta. G
Vancouver, B.C.
Canada V6R 4G5

THE FUGITIVE KIND

By Jonah Raskin

The following is an excerpt from Jonah Raskin's soon to be published book *Underground*. Jonah is a longtime activist (SDS, Yippie!) and the author of *Out of the Whale*, *The Weather Eye*, and *The Mythology of Imperialism*.

Underground is the fiction/non-fiction story of Jonah's recent experiences while researching a biography of anarchist writer "B. Traven" (author of *Treasure of the Sierra Madre*). It was a difficult task because B. Traven was a pen-name; little is known about his background and even less is known about his real identity.

Joining Jonah in his search was an old friend from the sixties, a fugitive he calls "Kenny Love." Jonah describes Kenny as a colorful counter-cultural revolutionary who upstaged HUAC hearings then went on to fame and arrest in Chicago, where he was defended by Bill Kunstler. Later, he had to leave his wife and child and go underground.

So when Kenny joins with Jonah in search of B. Traven they find themselves in the weird situation of being pursued while in pursuit of someone. As they follow the footsteps of the shadowy, clandestine Traven, they're always sure to cover their tracks.

Kenny Love/B. Traven. They are bound together in a knot that's too tight for me to untie.

Where to begin? Should I start with Kenny's crack-up, or near-capture in San Francisco, and my decision to leave the States and the underground and come to Mexico in search of Traven? Or perhaps I should start with Traven's crack-up in Ocosingo fifty years ago. In 1926 Traven was the only gringo in the village; in his loneliness he began to hallucinate. He had been running and living in fear of capture since 1919, the year of the Munich revolution and massacre. He thought that the German police disguised as Chamula Indians, were hiding in the jungle, ready to arrest him.

I could begin at half a dozen places. But no matter where I start, the trail ends here in Ocosingo, under the bougainvillea tree.

So I'll open with Annie Nordstrum, at the precise point where I'm most afraid of arrest and prison. Kenny's poem to Annie is near the beginning of his notebook. He gave it to her on her 36th birthday. It's called "Annie's Lover":

Annie
 You and the night cover me.
 Annie
 Under the sad stars
 Evading FBI agents
 Under heartbeats
 Running from prison
 Under the midnight sun
 Alias always on my tongue
 Under the moon at dusk.
 Your passion Annie
 Lights the fuse of time
 And subterranean love
 Turns to ash
 The lexicon of death.

I copied Kenny's poem to Annie and gave it to friends. Kenny's friends didn't know her name or her identity; they wouldn't have recognized her if they'd passed her on the street. In the place of fact myths proliferated; Annie became legendary.

At first, she too had romantic Humphrey Bogart/Lauren Bacall ideas about herself and the underground. She cast herself as a star in a spectacular movie about fugitives, a modern version of *To Have and Have Not*. She expected people to defer to her because she was underground. Kenny had that kind of arrogance too. Gradually both of them learned that the underground wasn't the last frontier, that they weren't the historical and cultural pioneers of the twentieth century. Unless you're a genuinely humble fugitive, people won't help you, as Kenny and Annie discovered.

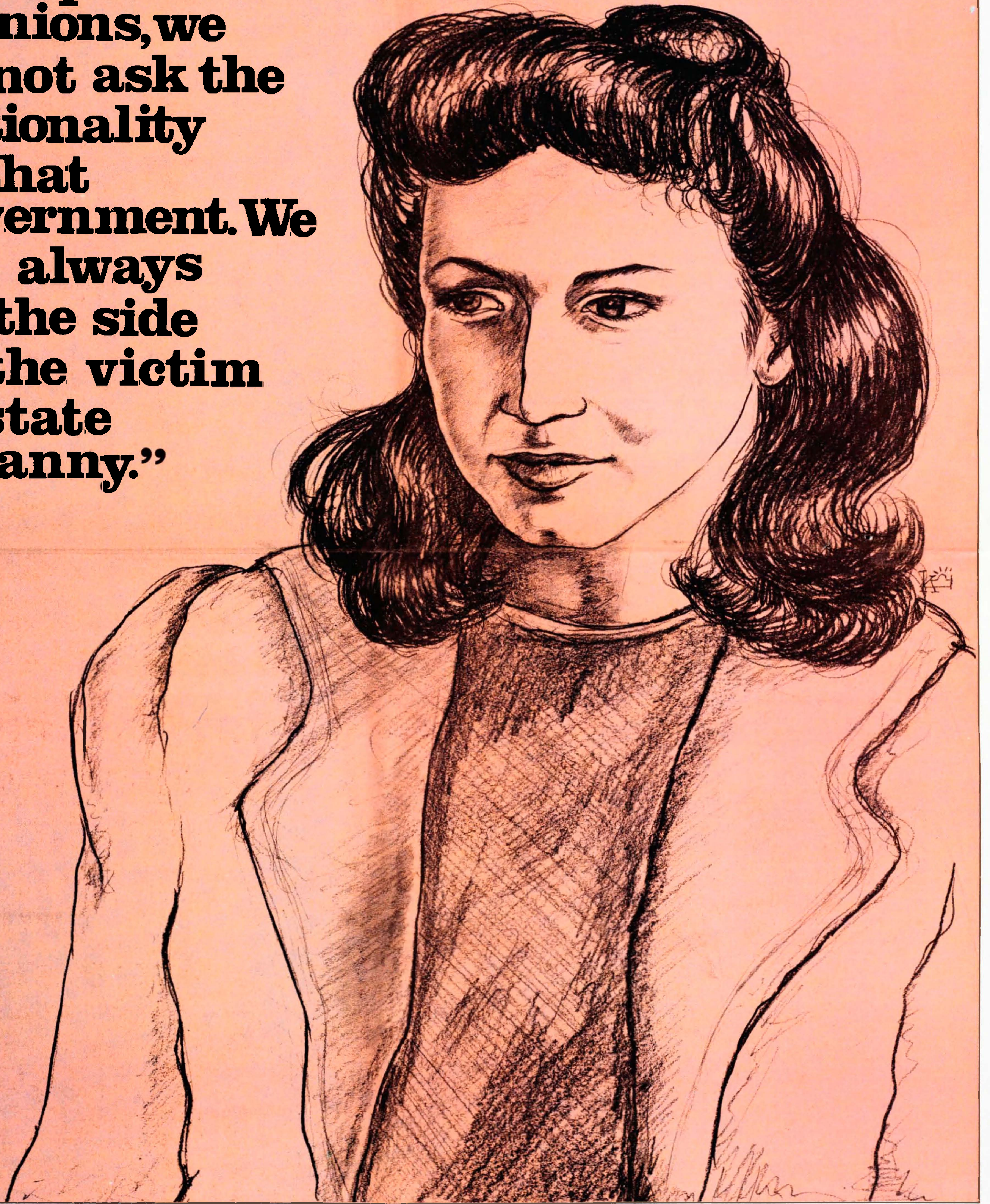
When you're running from the police day after day, when you're down to your last dime, when there's no Hollywood speedboat or jet plane to take you to safety, when you realize that you could go to prison because your man is on the FBI's most wanted list, the romance evaporates.

Oh sure, clandestine life is a natural subject for myth. I'm as susceptible to the romance as any fugitive, and I've got to guard against it for my own survival. The underground has mystery, romance, extraordinary drama, joy, and pain. It's a dangerous life. But it's also ordinary, drab, even boring. You have to take mundane pre-

continued on p. 13



“When a government puts people in jail for their political opinions, we do not ask the nationality of that government. We are always on the side of the victim of state tyranny.”



Marie Louise Berneri (1918-1949), anti-fascist militant and anarchist propagandist.

POSTER #6

OpenRoad

Newsjournal available on request:
Box 6135, Station G
Vancouver, B.C., Canada
V6R 4G5

THE BLAST

SEATTLE BRACES AGAINST GRAND JURY

RITA BROWN GETS 25 YEARS FOR BANK JOBS

Rita Brown, the lesbian anarchist who tapped an anti-authoritarian vein in the urban guerilla George Jackson Brigade, has been sentenced to 25 years in prison for her part in a string of political bank robberies in Oregon.

Brown, 30, a long-time prison activist, pleaded guilty February 21 to involvement in one bank job after charges relating to four other expropriations were dropped by the prosecution.

She still faces trial in Seattle in connection with a series of bombings and other armed actions attributed to the GJB since late 1975. Meanwhile, the Seattle Left community is bracing itself for another possible round of grand jury inquisitions related to the GJB investigation.

Brown was arrested Nov. 4 by the FBI after being spotted on a Seattle street. The GJB had only just returned to Seattle after a year of study

and fund-raising in the Portland area, and just three days before had bombed a Mercedes showroom in protest of the "suicides" of the three Baader-Meinhoff guerillas in a West German prison.



Rita Brown

Since the bust, the GJB has pulled off two bombings—of a power transformer, in support of the prisoners' struggles in the King County Jail in Seattle; and of a railroad car containing new automobiles, in solidarity

with striking auto mechanics. But it has also spent much of its time covering its tracks, relearning its lessons on security and flexibility and re-establishing its base of operations.

At her sentencing in Portland, Brown gave an uncompromisingly militant account of herself, drawing cheers and applause from the large crowd of lesbians who packed the courtroom. (Earlier, they had spray-painted Free Rita on the courthouse steps and all over the city.)

In declaring herself the enemy of the court, Brown took on the explicit definition of a worker, a lesbian, anarchist and guerilla. She recalled her background in such jobs as gas

jockey, clerk, mechanic and printer, and retraced her political development through the working class, feminist and gay movements.

Turning to her current stage, she drew a sharp distinction between the "institutionalized sick violence of the ruling class," whether it's manifested in the mass terrorism of the Vietnam War or the Attica massacre, or the individual assassination of militants such as George Jackson; and "revolutionary armed struggle," which always takes into account the welfare of innocent people.

"I am an anti-authoritarian lesbian feminist anarcho-communist," she said. "I am an urban guerilla committed to give my white life if necessary."

"As our comrade brother George Jackson said, and it's just as true today as it was almost ten years ago when he said it: 'We must come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are dying who could be saved, that generations will die or live butchered half-lives if we fail to act.'"

Brown's courtroom declaration was her first major public political statement since she went

underground in early 1976 during a previous grand jury witchhunt in Seattle. But a GJB political manifesto (one of the fruits of the group's year in Oregon) had already given evidence of a growing interest in anti-authoritarian themes—the first such development on the part of a still-active guerilla group in North America.

The GJB manifesto affirmed the tactical unity of all members of the group on such subjects as the need for both armed struggle and mass

work, and on the critical roles of feminism, the gay movement and the struggle of Third World people in North America. But it also indicated there was still an on-going internal debate within the group over the primacy of anarchist and marxist-leninist long-term strategies.

The manifesto concluded with a firm call to oppose any divisiveness in the movement and it served notice that the GJB would not respond for some time to comments on the political differences

within the group.

Since her arrest, Brown has been kept in motion by the authorities in order to minimize contact with her friends and supporters. However, it appears certain she is to be lodged at Alderson Women's Prison in West Virginia, 3000 miles from home.

The assistant U.S. Attorney in Seattle has said she will definitely be indicted there, but no date for her appearance has been set yet. A low-key harassment

campaign by the FBI is in progress against the Seattle Left, and it could be cranked up if a full-scale investigative grand jury gets the go-ahead. (More info from Rita Brown Defense Committee, Box 22204, Seattle, Wash. 98122. For copies of the GJB manifesto and other background material, contact Left Bank Books, 92 Pike Street, Seattle, Wash. 98101. To contact Brown directly, write her at the Federal Correctional Institution, Alderson, W.V. 24910.)

Gays Thwart Backlash

When Anita Bryant recently visited Toronto she was greeted by what **The Body Politic**, the Toronto gay paper, called "the most broadly-based, politically diverse collection of gay, feminist and lesbian groups yet seen in this country." The rally and demonstrations they put together were the largest gay events ever held in English-Canada.

The most exciting aspect of the rally, which attracted over 1,000 people, was the clear recognition of the common interests of both gays and women in meeting this attempt to send men and women back into the narrow social-sexual roles of the patriarchy. A second demonstration of over 600 people was held the next evening while Anita spoke, sang and oozed goodness to 3,000 people at the 'People's Church.'

The Bryant campaign was only part of the increasing reaction against gay liberation in Canada. The movement, which has generally concentrated on a strategy of gay rights, has come under increasing attack by the media and police.

Two thousand gays, lesbians and straights took to the streets of Montreal last October to protest the arrests of 146 men during a raid on a gay bar. The Montreal riot squad responded by driving side-car equipped motorcycles at high speed into the crowd. And the gays fought back.

In Toronto, the sex-slaying of a 12-year-old boy by four gay men last summer has been used to discredit all gays. Apparently, the fact that the men were also employees of a heterosexual

body-rub parlour is deemed irrelevant.

It was in this climate that Metropolitan Toronto Police raided the offices of **Body Politic** at the end of December. They laid charges against Pink Triangle Press, the publisher of the paper, and three people named as officers of the corporation, on charges of possessing and publishing obscene material. The raid was obviously an attempt to keep the newspaper from publishing. Police seized twelve boxes of files containing subscription lists, copy for the next issue, distribution records, financial files, and copies of the book **Loving Men**.

An article titled "Men Loving Boys Loving Men" which is a partially fictionalized account of three men and their loving-sexual relations with teenage boys was the pretext for the raid. It refutes many of the old myths about pedophilia which have been used by the Save Our Children Inc. campaign in Miami.

Feminists, although supportive of **Body Politic**, were generally critical of the article because it didn't deal with uneven power aspects of adult-child relationships. **Body Politic** responded that, "We are not talking about assault when we discuss youth sexuality. We are discussing consensual activity."

The Kitchener Regional Anarchist Party (KRAP) added their support to the gay campaign by fumbling their way through their first pastry action. Evelyn Koolontai finally took decisive action, partially in response to the boredom of sitting through two church services, and splattered Paul Smith, the pastor of the People's Church, with a coconut cream pie. Smith was chosen because of his role in bringing in Anita Bryant as an outside agitator.

Body Politic was not finished off by the police raids. They managed to recompile enough of their mailing list and copy to go on. They have received support from gay, lesbian, feminist and left organizations in Toronto for their trial which is set for June 26. Keep in touch with **Body Politic**, or send them financial assistance, by writing to them at Box 7829, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X9.

Wood and Hoon were immediately arrested, with the authorities alleging that Wood had arranged for a car to be parked right outside the visitors' entrance and that Hoon had smuggled in the gun. At their arraignment, the prosecution tried to have them detained in custody until trial on the grounds they were a menace to society, but the court was obliged to spring them on bail after 65 letters of reference from friends and acquaintances were submitted testifying to their long-standing pacifist sentiments.

Both Wood and Hoon said later they came in to prison work because of their experiences in the women's movement. Said Wood: "I found the isolation of women at home and men in solitary to be strikingly similar. In many cases the women with the greatest need for day-care, abortions, jobs, welfare, what-have-you, were those whose husbands or companions were in prison."

The two face a preliminary hearing beginning June 12th to determine whether the State has a credible case. The trial will probably be scheduled for the Fall.

The five prisoners, who are all facing similar charges, will go to trial on May 29th. Meanwhile, most of them have already been transferred to solitary cells at the super-maximum "hostage-takers' unit" at Millhaven Penitentiary in Bath, Ont.

(More info from Solitary Confinement Abolition Project, Box 758, Station A, Vancouver, B.C.)

Peltier Wins One

The authorities at the Marion (Ill.) Federal Prison have devised a new-style solitary confinement for American Indian Movement militant Leonard Peltier.

Peltier, who is serving life after two FBI agents died in a shoot-out on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, has been virtually cut off from contact with the outside world.



Leonard Peltier

His lawyers have been obstructed in attempts to see him, his legal mail has been tampered with and his personal mail has been virtually stopped cold—all obvious tactics to hamper critical defense work around his appeal.

The appeal process, including an April 10 hearing in St. Louis, with Chicago Seven lawyer William Kunstler representing Peltier, isn't expected to come to decision until at least May. The basis of the appeal is the numerous irregularities in the original trial in Fargo, N.D., including evidence of FBI misconduct and the obvious racism of the trial judge, who refused to allow testimony about the U.S. government's

Vietnam-style "pacification" program at Pine Ridge.

An earlier appeal hearing was aborted when the defense discovered that one of the appeal judges, William H. Webster, was being groomed to take over the directorship of the FBI. Webster, who has since started his new job, actually tried to argue that he wasn't in conflict of interest.

The isolation campaign at Marion was commenced in March as soon as Peltier, a 33-year-old Chippewa Sioux, was returned from trial in Milwaukee, where he had beaten a trumped-up attempted murder charge. Peltier was acquitted after it became obvious that the charge was a ploy to punish him for his involvement in the 1973 Trail of Broken Treaties protest in Washington, D.C.

His acquittal in Milwaukee should have considerable impact on the appeal of the Pine Ridge charges. As Peltier noted recently, he was defamed by the Pine Ridge prosecution, which referred constantly to phoney burglary charges in Oregon (since dropped) and the Milwaukee charges to portray him as an "international terrorist." (After Pine Ridge, Peltier went underground and split to Canada, where he fought extradition for a year.)

In demanding a new trial on the Pine Ridge charges, the defense will push to have it held in the Independent Lakota (Sioux) Nation, where the incident took place, and to have Peltier judged by a jury of his peers.

(More info from the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, Box 1, Port Angeles, Wash. 98362. Write Peltier directly at Box 1000, Marion, Ill.)



Betsy Wood (left) and Gay Hoon in front of B.C. Pen.

Feminists Face Life After Jailbreak

Two feminist prison activists in Vancouver are facing sentences of up to life imprisonment in the wake of a desperate break-out attempt in January by five prisoners at the maximum-security British Columbia Penitentiary, the scene of more than a dozen mass insurrections and hostage-takings in the past decade.

The charges against Betsy Wood, 48, and Gay Hoon, 32, are the most serious and the most arbitrary to confront politically-active people on Canada's West Coast in at least a generation. The authorities have made clear they intend to use the up-

coming trial to incite public opinion against the growing Canadian prisoners' movement.

Wood and Hoon have been key figures in the campaign to focus attention on the Pen's solitary confinement unit, which penal experts have called one of the most inhuman in North America. The Federal Court of Canada ruled in 1975 that conditions of sensory deprivation and guards' brutality in the unit constituted "cruel and unusual punishment, in violation of the Canadian Bill of Rights," but no substantial changes have yet been made.

All five prisoners in the escape attempt had spent long periods in solitary, and all had records of attempted escape or other forms of resistance. Andy Bruce, who has spent most of the last seven years in solitary after helping engineer a strike of Native Indian prisoners in 1970, has been involved in four hostage-takings, including one which made him and two other prisoners national figures in 1975 when one of the hostages, prison social worker Mary Steinhauser (known to be sympathetic to prisoners), was shot to death by the prison tactical squad during its assault on their stronghold.

Wood and Hoon are charged with attempted murder and several other offences relating to aiding an escape attempt. The attempted murder charge, which carries a maximum life sentence, was pinned on them on the grounds that they are equally responsible because one of the prisoners stabbed a guard during a scuffle.

The two were present in the Pen visiting area on January 28 when the five prisoners smashed through a reinforced glass partition with a sledgehammer. The five, armed with a gun and a knife, had apparently worked out a well-coordinated plan to overpower the guards there and to make their escape out of the visitors' entrance.

But the attempt aborted when the guards managed to get away, locking in 13 visitors—including Wood and Hoon—who were taken as hostages. In the longest such siege in Canadian prison history, the ensuing deadlock held firm for a week while negotiations were conducted between the prisoners and police, until finally the hostages were released unharmed and the prisoners returned to solitary.

The two activists argued successfully that their will power was greater than the law's clout, and that they had spent enough time in jail to test their resolve.



Raisa Nemikin

The victory of Cueto and Nemikin doesn't mean the grand jury has been neutralized; far from it, as one of their lawyers noted: "It still continues to subpoena activ-

ists and acts as an arm of the FBI in attempting to harass and jail people working in the Puerto Rican independence movement."

It's not only Puerto Ricans, but gays, native Indians, women, workers, Blacks, radicals and other community elements who have been harassed by the grand jury offensive launched in the salad days of the Nixon administration and still sputtering along. Unlike the FBI and the courts, the grand juries are virtually unrestrained in their "legal" powers of interrogation, so they are a convenient tool for politically-minded prosecutors and their allies in the FBI.

A variety of counter-strategies have been developed, from individual refusal to talk to mass education and lobbying campaigns. (See **Open Road**, #2, Spring 1977.) More on this from the Grand Jury Project, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Links Without Chains

"Fire is not arson, but a defense against injustice and discrimination." That's how **Mary Astaforoff**, a 63-year-old member of the **Freedomite Doukhobor** religious sect of Western Canada, accounts for her long history of pacifist struggle against militarism, private property and public schools. For her troubles, she has been imprisoned for a total of more than 20 years since the 1930's. In her current series of stretches, commencing in late 1974, she has been involved in seven prison fires, three debilitating hunger strikes and a mass stripping-off of clothes in a courtroom. For the past two years, she has been held in solitary confinement in Kingston Penitentiary for Women in very unhygienic conditions, and her health is in decline. Pressure is needed on the Canadian authorities to attend to her needs. Protest letters should go to Warden P. Chinnery, Box 515, Kingston, Ont. More details from **Prisoners Rights Group**, 3965 Pandora, Burnaby, B.C.

Open Road has gotten a passing grade—but just barely—on its report card from the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. Regional director J.D. Henderson in St. Louis says in a letter he has read three issues and in two of them he could "find no specific reason for concern." But he's a bit bugged by the Summer, 1977 issue (no. 3), especially an article headlined "GJB Blasts Media Blackout," which outlined how a strike at Walla Walla (Wash.) State Penitentiary got no attention until the urban guerilla George Jackson Brigade hired on as the prisoners' publicity agents. Henderson feels the article "not only advocated but solicited violence" and it also "outlined strategies used in a prison, including extreme violence which would be very suggestive in another penal setting." He says **Open Road** will be reviewed on an issue-by-issue basis for admission to the super-maximum Marion, Ill. Federal Prison, from whence the first official complaint and banning derived.

Women prisoners at Bedford Hills (N.Y.) State Prison, who are already locked in a struggle with the authorities over the use of male guards (see **Open Road**, #5), have launched a campaign against the notorious Rockefeller Drug Law, the most repressive legislation of its kind in the U.S. First offenders, even those with community and family ties, routinely get 25 years-to-life for the mere possession of heroin, cocaine or hash, and must serve the minimum before even being considered for parole. The penalties under the law are harsher than those meted out by federal authorities against major narcotics traffickers, and they are on a par with sentences for first-degree murder and kidnapping. The sentencing provision of the law has already been found unconstitutional ("cruel and unusual punishment"), but the state is appealing. Meanwhile a lobbying campaign is being directed at Gov. Hugh Carey, who might yet fall off his fence. More info from **Women in Prison Defense Committee**, P.O. Box 283, West Nyack, N.Y. 10994.

In Canada, they're planning on building 24 new prisons; in the United States, Congress is pushing through legislation to provide \$500 million in federal money—that means 12,500 more prisoners—to states for prison construction in the next two years. In both countries, people are starting to take notice. Check with the **Moratorium on Prison Construction**, c/o **Linda Laushway**, 61 Delaware, Apt. 2, Ottawa, Ont.; and the **National Moratorium on Prison Construction**, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. N.W., Washington, D.C.

Atascadero Prison Gay Encounter is starting a library for gay prisoners. They are asking for donations of gay-oriented books, periodicals and other literature. Contact them c/o Drawer A, Atascadero, Calif.

News on the prisoners' movement is carried in regular columns in the anarcho-pacifist **WIN** magazine, 503 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. and the **Northwest Passage**, P.O. Box 4105, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. The feminist **Blg Mama Rag**, 1724 Gaylord St., Denver, Colo. 80206, is planning a special issue on women in prison this Spring. And special attention to the condition of Irish political prisoners is given in the new Irish anarchist journal, **Black Rag**, c/o 52 Broadway, Belfast 12, N. Ireland. There's a new revolutionary bi-weekly magazine for and about prisoners. It's called **Morning Sun**, available from POB 392, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10012

Puerto Ricans Stymie FBI

Puerto Rican militants Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin have finally beaten the New York grand jury witch hunt of the Puerto Rican independence movement—but it took them eleven months in jail to do it.

Cueto and Nemikin were released Jan. 24—3½ months earlier than their expected term—when a federal judge conceded that "no legitimate purpose" would be served by keeping them inside any longer. The two women had been jailed for refusing to talk to the grand jury about the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), a guerilla group which has claimed more than 60 bombings in the continental U.S. in the past three years.

Both women had been lay ministers and social workers for the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, which had also employed at one time Carlos Alberto Torres, wanted in connection with FALN activities. In ordering the release of Cueto and

Nemikin, the judge noted there was no evidence—and never had been—that they were involved with the FALN or indeed were anything other than church workers.

In arguing successfully for her release, Cueto said (and this went for Nemikin, too): "My work was ministering to the poor and oppressed Hispanic communities. I will not betray my ministry to the Hispanic people by submitting to questions by the government. I will not testify before a grand jury, and any length of time in jail will only deepen my commitment and encourage others to do the same."

Cueto and Nemikin adopted the strategy derived by consensus of the anti-grand jury movement: don't talk under any circumstances. Refusal to talk can lead to a contempt citation and up to 18 months in jail, but under the law, jailing can only be used in an attempt to compel the witness to talk, and not as punishment for refusing to talk.

continued from p. 8

cautions every time you make a phone call or mail a letter. You wait and wait and wait, and most of the time nothing happens. Your room feels like a cell and you're your own jailer. Kenny and Annie must have played a million games of dominoes to kill time; Annie always won.

Fugitive life is so intensely dangerous yet so intensely boring that it becomes hilariously funny. You've got to have a sense of humor when the FBI is chasing you. You live in a crazy Keystone Cops movie; you forget about Bogart and Bacall and become Laurel and Hardy.

The romantic legends about Annie were an irritant in my eye. I knew Annie Nordstrum, and yes, she was a beautiful woman. She was calm, patient; she knew when Kenny had swung too far off course and was headed for collision. She would pull him back and set him on the road again. Annie rescued him; that's why he called her Angel. But Annie also cracked under the pressure. Every fugitive does. Even the toughest of them, including Black Panthers and Weather-people.

When the fear mounted, Annie was tempted to leave Kenny and the underground. She shut herself in her room and refused to talk to us. She didn't sleep or eat. She developed a fever and wouldn't take medicine or see a doctor. It was unbearable for us. Of course, Kenny and I wanted Annie to remain underground with us, but we couldn't force her to stay.

Gradually her fever dropped; she emerged from her bedroom and went about her business as though nothing were wrong. But for days afterward she felt guilty about having wanted to surface.

When Kenny met Annie she was unemployed and suffering from culture shock. She had just returned to New York after ten years in Europe and North Africa as a model and a photographer. She lived alone in a brownstone in Brooklyn in the shadow of the Men's House of Detention. We could see the convicts arrive and depart; we could see their hands reach out from behind the bars to touch the wind.

One afternoon a Black prisoner jumped the fence and raced down Atlantic Avenue. Kenny and I watched from Annie's second-story window. There was freedom in that prisoner's eyes. The cops shot him in the leg, his knee snapped, blood spurted out, and he crashed to the sidewalk.

Living in the shadow of the prison made Kenny vigilant. The bars and the cold walls reminded him that though he wore no prison uniform, he wasn't free. The threat of prison was everywhere, even underground. I was in jail several times before I joined Kenny underground, but it wasn't until I lived with a fugitive that I felt the nightmare power of prisons. As B. Traven says in his novel *Government*: "Everywhere the building of a prison is the first step in the organization of a civilized state."

The prison on Atlantic Avenue brought a taste of civilization into our primitive clandestine life. Kenny was pragmatic about the location. "Annie's apartment is the perfect hiding place," he argued. "No cop would think of looking for a fugitive so close to a jail."

Annie and Kenny first met because of a sign. There on the first floor of Annie's brownstone, was an L-shaped room, a studio apartment with a small stove, refrigerator, and sink. It went for \$75 a month. The landlord tacked a "For Rent, Tenant Wanted" sign to the front door and designated Annie his agent. If she rented the apartment she would receive a commission. But Annie didn't want a downstairs neighbor. The L-shaped room was not by any means a dungeon, but she frightened secretaries, college students, and widowers with tales of an ogreish landlord who snooped on tenants, who provided no heat in winter and no hot water at any time of the year. Week after week the room remained vacant.

Week after week Kenny noticed the sign on his way to work. He was living in Manhattan and working in a garage in Brooklyn. He didn't like to commute across the bridge, but for reasons of security he separated job from apartment.

For years Kenny never drove. He hated cars with a passion. Then as a fugitive he got a license, bought a car and drove everywhere. Cars assumed a primary importance in his life. He taught himself auto mechanics and repaired old Volkswagens. Kenny felt that a car was more important than a gun or a good lawyer. He had to be ready to pack his belongings and move at a moment's notice.

Without a car he'd be trapped. His car had to be in good running condition. If it broke down, his life would be in danger.

Cars were the way to escape, but they were also a trap. Kenny obeyed all the automobile regulations; he had a driver's license, insurance, and registration. All these forms meant giving up valuable information that could be used to capture him. Two fugitives were caught in California because FBI agents examined the photographs on thousands of driver's licenses. There was also the danger of an accident on the road and the inevitable contact with policemen. A ticket for an illegal U-turn could lead to tragedy. Several times Kenny and I were stopped by state troopers. Kenny was always terrified that the cops would recognize him.

With his new self-taught skill he found jobs as an auto mechanic in various garages. Work enabled him to survive, not only economically but psychologically was well. Work absorbed his attention, moderated his fears, and brought him into healthy contact with ordinary people. Some of Kenny's old friends were shocked that he was working as a grease monkey; they were the pure romantics. They thought that a fugitive should do more dignified work and not get his hands dirty. But I'll tell you, getting his hands dirty



helped Kenny escape from the past that threatened to ensnare him.

Every morning on the way to the garage, Kenny would lift his foot from the accelerator pedal, slow down and look at the "For Rent, Tenant Wanted" sign on the brownstone. It was always there. Its permanence reassured him. There was an eternally empty room, a sanctuary to go to should he need it. Kenny was superstitious about the room. "If the sign hasn't been taken down I won't be caught today; I just know it," he told me.

One afternoon Kenny needed a room in a hurry. He was living on the Lower East Side, near the river. His neighbors were old Italians and young Puerto Ricans. After work he stopped at Ratner's for a glass of tea and a slice of cheesecake. Morris, the waiter, knew him—not as a fugitive but as a steady customer. He liked Kenny because he understood Yiddish. They kibitzed about the price of coffee and cheesecake and the ethnic changes in the neighborhood. Morris didn't like the new crowd; they were "noisy and uncultured," he complained.

At the check-out counter Kenny bought a whole cheesecake. "Enjoy," Morris said. Walking toward his apartment, Kenny sensed that he was being followed. He stopped at the newsstand, glanced at the headlines, and bought a pack of gum. A man in a tweed jacket and dark slacks was standing in the shadows in the alley. Kenny couldn't see his face. Maybe he wasn't a cop or an agent. He

would watch and wait. He often thought he was being followed, and then nothing happened, the imaginary agent turned out to be a tourist who had lost his way, or a traveling salesman with an attaché case loaded with brushes.

Kenny entered Cohen's and tried on eyeglass frames. Looking in the mirror, he saw the man peer through the window. He recognized him; he was a member of the New York "Red Squad." Kenny had seen him at antiwar demonstrations, taking down names for police files. Absent-mindedly Kenny walked toward the door, a pair of eyeglass frames sitting on his nose. "Aren't you going to pay for them, young man?" the cashier shouted. Kenny handed her the frames and walked out the door.

The pavement felt like flypaper. He didn't know whether to sprint or crawl. He wanted to disappear. Couldn't he drop through a manhole cover? *Is the agent on Delancey Street by accident, he wondered, or did someone see me in the neighborhood and call the police? Are they closing in on me? Is this the end? When did he pick up my trail? Maybe the cop goes to Ratner's for mushroom and barley soup and the fresh rolls. Could be a coincidence. Too bad I can't*

him. Maybe even Morris would cooperate with the cops. Everyone and anyone could betray him.

Kenny was a block from the Lexington Avenue IRT. He looked at the trash can. He didn't want to junk the cheesecake, so he clutched it under his arm, took a deep breath and ran. He looked behind him; the cop was running too. He was fat; his belly rose and fell and his buttons popped. He screamed into the walkie-talkie.

Kenny saw his parents' home—the green lawn, the fireplace, his mother's ironing board—and he thought, *When you're a fugitive you can't go home. When you go home you're not a fugitive anymore. They've been watching home ever since I went underground. That damned neighbor Mr. Johnson would like to bust my ass.* Then Kenny remembered the "For Rent, Tenant Wanted" sign. He fingered his beautiful token and dashed into the subway. It was rush hour. The cop shouted, but his words were drowned in the roar of the crowd. Kenny peered over his shoulder; he saw the cop draw his gun. Oh Jesus, he wasn't going to shoot here, was he? He could hit anyone.

The train screeched into the station. Maybe the bullet was on its way. Kenny lifted the cheesecake over his head. With his elbow he knifed his way through the crowd; the tokenless cop was stranded on the far side of the turnstile. The train rumbled through the tunnel. At the next station Kenny got out, caught a crosstown bus and took the Broadway IRT to Brooklyn.

On Atlantic Avenue he paused outside the prison and looked at the bars. When he climbed the steps to the brownstone he was breathless. He knocked on the door.

"I want the room," he said.

Annie smiled. "But you haven't seen it yet." Without being invited Kenny walked into the hallway. He was dizzy; he thought he was going to collapse. He was still holding the cheesecake under his arm.

"I'm sure it'll be perfect," he said. He didn't look into Annie's face; he followed the sound of her clogs along the floor. She unlocked the door. The room was light and clean, with a high ceiling. He saw his reflection in the polished floor. Annie leaned against the wall. Kenny reached for his wallet and asked, "How much is it?"

"Wait a minute; not so fast. When do you need it?" she asked. Here was a man who needed a room desperately. She knew that her stories about a vicious landlord wouldn't deter him.

"Yesterday," Kenny said. He was wearing a denim shirt and blue overalls. There was a trace of oil under his fingernails and grease stains on his shirt. His sneakers were frayed, and he wore an imitation Borsalino hat with a fisherman's fly tucked into the brim.

"Been fishing?" Annie asked.

"I'm the fish," Kenny said. "I almost ended up on the hook." He laughed and handed Annie the Ratner's cheesecake. "It's slightly damaged," he said. "But it'll taste fine." For the first time he looked at Annie. She was tall, taller than he. Her lips were thin. She had blue eyes and long hair. Though it wasn't cold, she wore a purple scarf around her neck.

Most women would probably have called the police. But Annie trusted him. Maybe it was because she had been living in Europe and North Africa and was unaccustomed to New York ways. She looked at his hands. They were shaking slightly and they were dirty, but there was a gentle quality to them.

Annie was a photographer. She had been studying faces for a long time, and Kenny's face puzzled her. He was hiding something—that she could see—and she wanted to find out what it was. Her curiosity won her over.

"I hope you'll like it here," she said. She stuffed Kenny's money into her shoe. "It's quiet. You won't be disturbed, and it's about time I found a tenant. When will you move in?"

"I'm moved," he said. "I lost everything I own."

"Robbery?" she asked.

"Grand larceny," he said, smiling again as though he were happy to have been picked clean. "I'll have to buy a new everything."

That week Kenny bought a piece of foam, a sleeping bag, a straw mat, a towel, a bar of soap, a toothbrush, toothpaste, and several books. Annie was intrigued by the titles. Perhaps they could tell her something about the man. There was *The Lion and the Fox*, *Under the Volcano*, *A Ripple from the Storm*, *The Fall of America*, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, *Dogs of War*, *Homecoming*, and *Daughter of Man*. Not a clue.

question him just to make sure.

New York is deadly ground for fugitives. Rap Brown, Angela Davis, and several Weatherpeople were captured in Manhattan. Kenny knew that the FBI combed every neighborhood in New York. They were careful and patient. They didn't make indiscriminate arrests. They made sure they had the right man or woman.

The agent following Kenny probably wanted to be absolutely sure he had his eye on a fugitive.

Kenny crossed the street, stood outside a movie house, and looked at the stills for the coming attraction. The agent crossed the street. He took a walkie-talkie from his coat. Kenny was a block from his apartment. His car was a ten-minute walk away. He thought, *I'll make a mad dash for home. I'll wait inside until it's safe.* It had taken him months to find his apartment, and patient work to arouse no one's suspicion. And now this dumb agent had ventured into his neighborhood. *I've got to split, leave the car, come back for it later in the week,* he thought. *Maybe the agents are already inside my apartment, ready to bust me. Oh shit! The apartment, the neighborhood, my clothes and books are lost.*

Kenny was chewing his gum so furiously that he bit his tongue. Oh shit. Even if they weren't already in his apartment, he knew from experience that the police would go from door to door with his picture in hand, asking questions. Someone would recognize

Growing up-tight in the family

By Evette Kaplin

"If millions of people cannot face up to the implications of their exploitation...if they are afraid of thinking new thoughts and of treading new paths...it is because there are powerful factors conditioning their behaviour from a very early age and inhibiting their accession to a different kind of consciousness."

—Wilhelm Reich

Does Anita Bryant know something we don't about the importance of lifestyle and sex roles in shaping the authoritarian structure of society?

The New Right is thriving on campaigns against gays, against equal rights for women and against abortion on demand. It instinctively recognizes that its power rests in the continuation and strengthening of the nuclear family which remains the most successful way of engendering obedience to authority, hierarchy, strict role-playing, etc.

These are factors which the anti-authoritarian left has tended to underestimate. That's why it's time for a reappraisal of the work of German psychoanalyst Wilhelm Reich, who during the late 1920's and early 1930's examined the rise of mass-based totalitarian movements such as Nazism, in psychological as well as material terms. Reich provided new insights into

how:

- The foundation of all authoritarian societies is the family unit, with its rigid division of labour according to sex and age, reinforced by schools, the church, the media, etc.

- Beliefs rooted in childhood conditioning are as important as economic factors in shaping mass consciousness.

- By understanding the process we can begin to undermine the power of the Right and develop alternative social structures.

Reich insisted on the necessity for full sexual gratification which he described as "the capacity for complete surrender to the flow of biological energy without inhibition" as the antidote to neurotic fear of both new ideas and concrete change.

Ironically, Reich's enemies came from the Left as well as the Right and Reich was expelled from the German Communist Party in 1933 because of his work in the Sexpol movement which provoked anxiety on the part of communist bureaucrats.

Reich recognized that too many 'revolutionaries' expend energy attacking external authority and neglect the authority that they've internalized through their socialization. They view efforts to understand human consciousness as individualistic or as a 'weirdo' trip in



which one can forget world change in favour of personal salvation.

But the real importance of Reich's work is that he understood individual behaviour in political terms. Whereas Freud stressed the adaptation of the individual to society's needs, Reich's concern was with changing the existing order so that individuals could be liberated from their collective psychological and material oppression.

Referring to the family as a "factory for authoritarian ideologies and conservative structures," Reich explains how the sexually repressed parents (themselves the products of restrictive and oppressive backgrounds) subject their children to an exhaustive regimented process.

Regular feeding times are imposed on babies to be followed by rigid toilet training. As children grow older their parents try to stifle any sexual activity such as

masturbation or sexual exhibitionism. This develops into a more overt conflict once children reach adolescence in which gratification of sexual needs becomes almost synonymous with rebellion.

Disapproval or punishment of sexual activities creates in children a sense of insecurity and anxiety so that they attempt to repress their sexual drives in order to gain approval from the adults on whom they are most dependent. But their sexual needs can't be dammed up so they take the form of a revolt against parental authority. Unfortunately it is only by repressing or hiding these needs that children can survive in the family environment, and the price paid for these forbidden activities is that they become invested with guilt.

The anxiety surrounding sexual needs extends to all other rebellious thoughts and activities until children end up afraid of their "anti-

It is the painfulness of this process which obliges individuals to defend themselves against ideas and actions that threaten the morality and cultural values that they uneasily adhere to. Reich uses the term "character structure" for those defense mechanisms that people develop to make conformity possible.

Individuals justify all delays in gratification and such forms of oppression as the work ethic by rationalizing their existence as "common sense" or "normal". This results in a fear of new thoughts, taking initiative or being able to experience things fully.

Reich comments on how this weakening process ensures that the recipient will be dependent on authority and through a sense of personal inadequacy searches for something "greater" such as mysticism

or religion.

"The naturally strong self-reliant biological organism becomes weak, helpless, dependent, fearful of God."

Because sexual energy is blocked during childhood, it emerges later in distorted forms, causing a breach between the eroticism and tenderness needed for complete sexual gratification. Men conditioned to a more aggressive domineering posture substitute a genital sexual activity for true intimacy.

Women on the other hand are socialized into seeking out long term romantic affection because capitalist society needs them to provide a stable prop to both home and family via a monogamous sexual relationship. Female sensuality is so severely repressed that its energy is channelled into some other form like mothering and consuming, or its real expression is blocked by accepting a standardized definition of women's sexuality.

Reich described the objectification process by which people are reduced to mere symbols of their sex, and he realized that the inability to appreciate each other's unique, personal characteristics is an important factor in explaining the low degree of sexual satisfaction generally.

Reich didn't see sex as a cure-all but he recognized the devastating effects of sexual repression on the personality and on society generally. In effect when dealing with the people who came to his clinics with their sexual problems he invariably urged them to recognize the political implications that they contained.

His strategy aims, by raising our awareness of how we function, to lessen the family's repressive hold over us and to prevent the same character structure being formed in young children.

Society could not sustain itself if people openly questioned their obedience to authority. It relies on the mass of people being sexually repressed, and so conformist in outlook that they will carry out dull work and perpetuate the family structure.

But already there are tremors, as in the women's and gay movements, and people are beginning to attack traditional roles, break down the barriers and increasingly humanize their usual behaviour. If it were to take up some of Reich's ideas in earnest, the anti-authoritarian movement could make a real contribution to this developing trend.

As Brinton says in *The Irrational in Politics*, "The fundamental desires and aspirations of the ordinary individual so long distorted and repressed, are in deep harmony with an objective such as the libertarian reconstruction of society."

For a representative selection of Reich's political writings check *Sex-Pol Essays*, published by Vintage Books, New York, and for an anti-authoritarian analysis of Reich see *The Irrational in Politics*, a Solidarity pamphlet published by Black and Red, Box 9546, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

Marie-Louise Berneri: A recollection

By George Woodcock

I have no desire to participate in the making of a myth out of the life of Marie Louise Berneri. Anarchism is not a church; it does not need saints. In any case, one does not see one's friends mythologically, and Marie Louise was my best friend. She was too real and vital a person in her actual life for any legend to be more than a shadowy falsification of the person one knew and loved.

What I can talk about is Marie Louise as I knew her and worked with her and as I still remember her, more vividly than any other person whose life has touched my own.

I met her first in the Old Freedom Bookshop in Red Lion Passage, not far from Holborn, in 1941. I already knew Herbert Read, Alex Comfort and a few other literary anarchists, and had been brought by my own

pacifist resistance to participation in World War II to the point of realizing that my own judgment and not the command of any institution must decide my conduct. I rejected the State and all its authority and was ready to become an anarchist, but up to this time my evolution had been personal and I had only just become aware of the existence of a group of people—the Freedom Press Group—concerned with propagating libertarian ideas.

First Impressions

I was impressed on that first occasion in more than one way with Marie Louise. Her manner at this first meeting was earnest, rather solemn, and a little shy, though she expressed her opinions with a very uncompromising candour. We disagreed on that first day about the question of revolutionary violence, and that remained the one continuing difference of

opinion between us, for I remained, as I still am, a pacifist.

I was working in Cambridge at the time. When I returned to London I re-established contact with her and soon became involved in the activities of Freedom Press, which was run by an affinity group into which I soon fitted, becoming in 1942 one of the editorial group of the English anarchist fortnightly, *War Commentary*. During the next six years I worked in close collaboration with Marie Louise on work connected with Freedom Press and in various literary endeavours. We became particularly close after the anarchist trial of 1945, when three of the editors of *War Commentary* were sent to prison and the burden of continuing *War Commentary* and changing it to *Freedom* at the War's end, as well as running the printing plant that belonged to the group, was

mainly shared by the two of us. Later, when our comrades emerged from prison, we continued to work together, making a new alternating arrangement by which pairs of editors worked for six months at a time instead of continuing the practice of editing by a large committee. Marie Louise and I were one of the pairs of editors.

I have never met anywhere else, and I know I shall never meet again, a person with whom it was so easy or pleasant to work, for her intellectual clarity, her fearlessness, and her high realism were invaluable in editing an anarchist paper. Nobody could assess more clearly the essence of a political situation or resolve one's doubts more honestly. She was always ready with ideas, and had a true journalistic flair for following the news of the day and grasping its socially important aspects. Many of the pieces we published during

our periods of work together were the result of a harmonious co-operation, one mind working well with the other. Sometimes, between us, when events were taking place quickly, we would write more than half an issue of *Freedom* in two days to keep it completely topical.

Journey Through Utopia

Marie Louise, though she was a good and spontaneous speaker, was never a facile writer; she thought deeply and discussed matters with great coherence, but the work of setting her ideas down on paper in English was always a little laborious. This was in part due to her dislike for doing anything slovenly or superficial, and what she did write was always thorough. She applied to her own work the same severe standards of criticism as she always showed in her editorial work.

continued on p. 19

Blue collar poets boost production

By Tom Wayman

During the past fifteen years, something new in the history of English literature has appeared in North America.

For the first time ever, we now have a poetry about daily work and the working life that is written from *inside* the jobs that are described.

Previously, poets were largely from a social class which ensured that if poets considered work at all, they wrote of it from the outside: they did not participate themselves in what they were attempting to depict. Work, a central and governing aspect of human existence, was ignored in favor of the supposedly-sublimar themes of love and death.

Where writers were members of the working class they were most often moved to write by events or emotions connected with the struggle for unionism or socialism. Hence they saw no reason to describe the conditions of their own daily life except in the most general terms. They wrote with an eye on the future, not the present; they wanted to exhort others to action, to praise a victory or mourn a defeat, but always in terms of the millennium to come. Due largely to a lack of education, working poets wrote in an artistic style that was antiquated. They seemed unaware of, and certainly took no part in, the ordinary literary life of their age.

Radical Departure

The new work poets of the last fifteen years or so represent a radical departure from this. Their presence apparently parallels the spread of mass public education beyond secondary school, for many of the work poets have had some exposure to modern verse either in an enlightened high school class, or at a community college, university or technical institute. But their own writing, the new work poems, is something entirely unprecedented, in English language poetry.

Indeed, this poetry seems unique on the planet. Even the "proletarian" poets of the various Communist regimes write rather of the glories of the Party or the State than of the conditions of their own daily working lives. In other nations, the gap between those with much of an education and the rest of their countrymen is still too great. Left-wing writers, or those sympathetic to their working compatriots, mostly do not work themselves at ordinary jobs. So these poets can write of a worker's life only from *outside*, imagining themselves to be speaking for those whose labor keeps the whole society functioning.

The new work poems first began to appear in North America scattered in little magazines and anthologies, and in a few poet's own collections. In 1974 I gathered together a small anthology of such poems, and in 1976 edited a second, larger anthology called *A Government Job at Last* from which the poems here are taken. Most of the poets



"Speaking clearly about the conditions of daily life . . ."

are young, as might be expected, and many are somewhat familiar with, or take part in, the ordinary literary life of our time. But all contributors write their poems about jobs or the working life from inside their own experiences at these occupations, whether blue- or white-collar, paid or unpaid labor.

To me, the presence of these poets and these poems reflect developments in the work force in North America today.

About a third of the work force in most industrial enterprises can be considered "long-hairs." These young people have no particular commitment to staying in one job forever, and so work as a means to pay off debts and/or amass capital towards further enjoyment of life in the consumer world of long vacations, cars, stereos, drugs, further schooling, etc. About two-thirds of the work force might be considered "lifers." These are people of all ages who for various reasons *must* work for longer periods of time at one job, whether because they are supporting families, or are paying off vast mortgages, or to give their lives shape or meaning. Many, but not all, of the work poets are long-hairs: their senses are still finely tuned to the differences between wage slavery and the comparative (even if short-lived) freedom of not being employed, and to the effects of any particular job on human dignity, life off the job, interpersonal relationships, etc. Gwen Hauser's poem reproduced here about life in a glass factory is a good example of this. The usually-older lifer poets contribute a sharp sense of the absurdity of long-term industrial servitude. The work of Marty Glaberman, a 20-year veteran of the Detroit auto shops, will serve as an example of this. But all the work poets concentrate on presenting specific details of the writer's present life. As in the work force at large today, there is little sense in these poems of a better life just around the corner.

The work poems do, however, show once again that people are perfectly capable of speaking for themselves about the conditions of their lives. There is no need for any sort of professional "repre-

sentative" to speak for us—whether a union bureaucrat, a politician of any stripe, or any form of writer, journalist or poet. And when we clearly articulate conditions at the core of our daily existence—our work—we demonstrate one more time our awareness that real social change must start here and must bring effective change *here*, not at city hall or the union hall or in some provincial or federal legislature.

There are also artistic

lessons in the new work poetry.

For some time it has been assumed that the avant-garde in the art must be concerned with formal experimentation: developments out of Ezra Pound's dicta, or concrete poetry, or surrealism, or dada, or some other holdover from the artistic life at the

beginning of this century. But I believe that the new is *always* new, and that what is new in poetry in our time is to be found in *content*—in these

working poems, written from inside the job, the first time in the history of the language such material has been produced.

New Realism

These poems strive to speak clearly, precisely, luminously about the conditions of daily life of most of us. What is new is that it is *us* speaking of these realities in our own lives; this is what makes it a New Realism. In Canada, however, besides the endorsement of formal experimentation as the road to the future there has been much critical insistence on dragging poetry into the service of myth. I believe the new work poetry stands against this too. So much of humanity's history has been a slow, painful struggle to free ourselves from the spider-web of myth, superstition, and the whole range of elaborate metaphors, allegories, and verbal puzzles all of which obscure the realities of our condition. Not that the work poets eschew metaphors entirely; as has been shown, words themselves (our artistic medium) may be considered metaphors for the objects they describe. Also, as the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World reminds us, the new society begins within the shell

of the old. But the contemporary work poets try to use words to make our lives *clearer* to us. They resist the urgings of academics to make our lives even more confusing.

After all, what could be more mysterious, hidden, than the myriad technologies and the hundreds of other human lives that in a complex industrial society such as ours are necessary to bring us the simplest of objects we use in our daily life? But there is nothing mythological in this. Just human work, and the lives, loves, deaths that work affects.

The more we understand all this complexity—and we are helped in this understanding by the careful depictions of the New Realist poets—the more we understand the great human solidarity that unites all our daily working lives. And this is the solidarity we must have as a weapon to defeat the masters of this life.

Tom Wayman is a Vancouver based poet whose most recent book is *Free Time*, published by MacMillan of Canada, 1977.

A GOVERNMENT JOB AT LAST is available from MacLeod Books, 350 West Pender St., Vancouver, B.C.

Drum

boom

That's a helluva way to welcome a buddy

Boom

who's just a few minutes late

BOOM

trying to sneak by the foreman to avoid an argument

BOOM

banging on a steel skid with a steal hammer lead hammer copper hammer

B O O M

rythmically, louder and louder all work stopping to escort me to my machine

B-O-O-M

and when I get there it just as suddenly

STOPS

ALL EXCEPT THE MEMORY OF THE FOREMEN
STANDING AROUND LOOKING STUPID
AT SOMETHING THEY CAN'T CONTROL
—Marty Glaberman

Thirty Below

Men on the pond push logs through constant ice. Faces stubble with frost. No-one moves beyond the ritual of work. Torment of metal and the scream of saws.

Everything is hard. The sky scrapes the earth at thirty below and living things pull into pain like grotesque children thrown in the wrong season.

Someone curses. Pulls his hand from the chain. His skin has been left on steel, blood frozen into hard balls. He is replaced and the work goes on.

Everything is hard. Cold lances the slow dance on the pond. The new man trembles out of control. He can't hold his pole. Someone laughs, says it will be spring before they shut this damn mill down.

—Pat Lane

Ernie

(Poem for a Sweat-Shop Foreman)

Ernie, the foreman,
never sweats.
he is cool and sweet-smelling
in any weather.
standing beside Ernie
is like standing beside
a flower-scented refrigerator
with the door open.

why does Ernie
never sweat?
no, it's not because
he doesn't work.
he appears to work
from time to time.
maybe it's because
he has ice-water in his veins
instead of blood
like ordinary humans;

why does Ernie
never sweat
when we're all sweating to death
& almost dying
because the company
is too cheap to give us a fan?
it must be that Ernie
is a God not a man.
—Gwen Hauser

Some Jobs Are Not So Boring, O

when I was waitressing,
(running my ass off for \$80 a week)

Jo, the cook, was a champion
of the working classes.

"Are they giving you a hard time,
honey?" he would ask, as I stood
in the kitchen in tears telling him
how rude Station Four was.

Then he would grandly run his hand
through their food,
Backwards & Forwards,
handsomely spreading germs,

before I took the dainty dishes back
to set before the king.

—Nellie McClung

Mutual aid Rx for prison sexism

The Walla Walla auction block could soon be put in methballs. Men Against Sexism, a multi-racial group of about 20 gay and anti-social prisoners at Walla Walla State Penitentiary in eastern Washington, reports considerable progress in destroying the barter system for exploitation of gay, transsexual and physically weak prisoners.

MAS got itself together following last year's 47-day strike at Walla Walla—one of the longest prison strikes in

U.S. history—when it dawned on some prisoners that sexual coercion and violence could be just as undermining of prisoners' unity as racial antagonism.

The specific target was the common practice of buying and selling vulnerable prisoners. Stronger, predatory prisoners often seized these men and pimped them off to service other prisoners.

Using group pressure, MAS will now often step in and break up such sales before they are completed.



As well, it:

- Secures safe cells for vulnerable prisoners;

- Encourages gay and passive prisoners to leave protective custody by offering them support and protection;

- Meets the bus that brings in new prisoners, and provides escort service and general orientation; and

- Holds weekly meetings to raise consciousness on topics like rape and male-female stereotyping.

As well, MAS has raised money inside and outside the walls to "buy" cells that can then be used to house three or four prisoners for their mutual aid and self-protection. At Walla Walla, prisoners can "own" cells as a result of buying them from other prisoners, or by gaining property rights through intimidation.

Cells at Walla Walla sell for from \$200 to \$400 each. The administration usually

doesn't interfere with the trading.

However, it hasn't been all that smooth sailing for MAS. First, there has been opposition from some of the predatory prisoners who see their good thing threatened, and some MAS members have been reportedly roughed up with the approval of the guards.

The administration is also trying to make things difficult. It tried to block MAS

from holding meetings in the prison club room and from bringing in outside resource people, but a letter-writing campaign on the outside, and a demonstration at the State capitol in Olympia by supporters, forced the issue to a successful conclusion.

MAS is now attempting to consolidate its outside support network. One of the chief projects is to establish a half-way program so friends and family of gay prisoners can get together with them when they are first released on parole.

Overall, the Walla Walla population has a high political consciousness, as demonstrated by the 47-day strike, and a related three-month sit-down in the hole. The two actions forced some reforms on the new "liberal" administration, but nothing yet of any real substance.

MAS is trying to raise more money to continue the purchase of safe cells. For more info, contact MAS chairperson Rick English, Box 520, Walla Walla, Wash. 99362.

(To stay current on events at Walla Walla and on the prison scene in general, check with *Through The Looking Glass*, a women's and children's prison bi-monthly newsletter, 50¢ per copy, available from P.O. Box 22228, Seattle, Wash. 98122.)

Books Received

Great Digs of '77: The Year in Cartoons, by R. Digs. Rip Off Press, POB 14158, San Francisco, CA 94114, \$1.30 post paid. A comic view of 1977 from the "undertaker of Western Civilization."

Sex and the State or Let's Kill Ozzie and Harriet, The Whole Thing, POB 11308, San Francisco, CA 94101, 25¢. A lesbian anarchist-feminist view of the economics and psychology of sexuality and sex roles.

Feminism and Anarchism, by Lynne Farrow, 40¢, and **Anarcho-Feminism: Two Statements**, 20¢, Black Bear Pamphlets, 76 Peckham Road, London SE5, England. Descriptions of anarcho-feminism: its history and aims.

Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla, by Carlos Marighella. Patrick Arguello Press, 55 Sutter #103, San Francisco, CA 94104, 25¢. Reprint of this basic handbook of urban guerrilla warfare.

Redshift, by Robert Nichols. POB 197, Stuyvesant Station, New York, NY 10009, \$2. Tongue-in-cheek poetry and short prose. Nicely illustrated by Peter Schumann.

Towards a Non-Violent Revolution, by Howard Clark. Peace News, 8 Elm Ave., Nottingham, England. 20p. A personal manifesto of the whys and hows of non-violent revolutionary action.

Land and Liberty, Ricardo Flores Magón. Cienfuegos Press, Box A, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney KW17 2BL, United Kingdom. A collection of writings by the Mexican anarchist who was a major influence on Emiliano Zapata's guerrilla army. L 2.35 post paid.

Prison Struggle. Republican Press Centre, 1709 Falls Road, Belfast, 60p. An expose of the British internment system in Northern Ireland and the prisoners' continuing resistance.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS REVIEW

Anarchism from A-to-Z

By J. Gutenberg

It's called the Cienfuegos Press Review of Anarchist Literature and its contents are as varied as the history of anarchism in Bulgaria, B. Traven's novels and Stuart Christie's escapades in Spain and Britain. There seem to be a fairly large number of reviewers, activists, literati, anarchists from the armchair and the street, all of them good writers, many of them great humorists, writing CPR's articles.

The Cienfuegos Press Review has none of the stuffiness of the Times Literary Supplement nor any of its pretences. The Press Review fulfills a real need for information about anarchist and more generally libertarian

writings in the broadest sense. Many of the historical writings reviewed in the CPR focus on lesser known libertarian struggles—Mexico, England, China. There is also a good bit on Spain and Italy, but much of it involves works outside the "sacred texts" of anarchism.

The style of the reviews is as varied as their authors. In the first issue (1976) Paul Avrich wrote a critical review of Voline's and Arshinov's works of the Russian Revolution: *The Unknown Revolution, History of the Makhnovist Movement*. The same issue has reviews of long out of print pamphlets by Bakunin and Kropotkin, a review of the American anthology *Man*, a discussion of a projected publication *The*

Guillotine at Work, and a short review of Flavio Costantini's *The Art of Anarchy*. Costantini also frequently does art work for the Review.

The second and third issues of the Review showed a marked improvement from the first. The format was larger and more creatively laid out, the articles were longer and more informative, the humor characteristic of the folks who moved the press to the Orkneys to escape bill collectors, more powerfully expressed. A look at the tables of contents is a delight for the anarchist palate. Anarchism is seen as a way of life, with continuity (Berkman's *Prison Memoirs* and *This Soldier Still at War* are reviewed side by side), imagination (*Witchcraft, Geomancy: The Lost Knowledge of the Past*) and sometimes, incredible gall. There is no pretense of "objective" journalism in the Review. In one scathing discussion of an unfriendly work on the guerrilla Angry Brigade, Albert Meltzer refers to the author as fraudulent, mindless and implies quite clearly that the man is a lousy writer and an inept fool. Many of the graphics reiterate this tone toward the "system".

The Back cover of issue 2 is a takeoff of Dewar's Profiles from the favorite mix a Dewar's Molotov—30% petrol, 10% paraffin and 10% Dewar's for a clean burn. "Anarchist Alternatives to NATO", a review of *The Poor Man's James Bond* and other bomb buff manuals retains such a tone, with the claim that "Your lack of resistance would contribute only to the loss of your knowledge to the next

generation." At the same time, it critically analyses what's available on the topic and where to get it.

It is senseless to outline all the articles in the Review here. Suffice it to say they are excellent, informative and eminently worth getting. The Review is now coming out as a quarterly, more or less, and can be gotten from Cienfuegos Press, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney. If you have any spare cash, they need it badly.

The Review came about because much of the information available to the Press could not easily fit either into the pages or the intent of *Black Flag*, the other Cienfuegos periodical. The need to seriously discuss and analyse anarchist literature, to create a forum for anarchist art and finally, and perhaps most importantly, to break out of the narrow circle of anarchist pamphlets and publishing ventures to reach others outside those circles are the reasons CPR exists. Its support comes from anarchists all over Europe and North America. The Review has no "line" on anarchism, though the specific politics of the Cienfuegos people are quite explicit in their articles and in the editorial comments. But you don't necessarily have to agree to find CPR useful. The Cienfuegos people take themselves seriously and they include themselves when they admonish the reader with the quote, "There is one thing more wicked in the world than the desire to command, and that is the will to obey." WK Clifford.

spartacus

Vancouver's Socialist Education Society—a collectively run, anti-profit source of books, records, posters and journals from the whole spectrum of political and social alternatives. 311 W. Hastings, Vancouver, B.C.

HARVEST QUARTERLY

A quarterly journal. Latest issue includes articles on cultural fears about homosexuality and a 19th century appeal to unite the emancipation of women with the workers' movement. \$1.75 per issue, 907 Santa Barbara St., Santa Barbara, Ca. 93101.

praxis

Radical perspectives on the arts. The concerns range from Picasso and Guernica to the San Francisco Mime Troupe, from the Theology of the Reader's Digest to the Prison Writings of Gramsci. \$3.50 from PO Box 207, Goleta, Ca. 93017.

JUMPCUT

journal developing a radical film criticism in a lively style. Issue 16 includes a special section on Gay men and film. Six issues for \$4 in the US, \$5 everywhere else. PO Box 865, Berkeley, Ca. 94701.

The Open Road's little black book

This is the second half of a two part listing of North American anti-authoritarian groups (the first half appeared in *Open Road* #5).

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

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).

MICHIGAN

ANN ARBOR: Labadie Collection (Anarchist Archives), University of Michigan, 711 Hatcher Library, Ann Arbor, MI 48109

ANN ARBOR: SRAF-A, 4321 Union, Ann Arbor, MI 48104 (O)

ANN ARBOR: Youth Liberation, 2007 Washtenaw Ave., Ann Arbor, MI 48104 (O)

ANN ARBOR: The Last International, POB 7831, Ann Arbor, MI 48107 (O)

ANN ARBOR: MNS, Many Hands Collective, 1402 Hill St., Ann Arbor, MI 48104 (O)

DETROIT: Ammunition Books, 4403 Second Ave., Detroit, MI 48201 (B)

DETROIT: Black and Red, POB 9546, Detroit, MI 48202 (Pu)

DETROIT: Fifth Estate, 4403 Second Ave., Detroit, MI 48201 (P)

DETROIT: WRL, 692 W. Forest #6, Detroit, MI 48201 (O)

KALAMAZOO: MNS, 439 Park Place, Kalamazoo, MI 49001 (O)

WYANDOTTE: IWW, 18467 Pine West, Wyandotte, MI 48192 (O)

MINNESOTA

CLOQUET: SLG (SRAF), 323 4th St., Cloquet, MN 55720 (O)

MILLVILLE: North Country Anvil, POB 37, Millville, MN 55957 (P)

MINNEAPOLIS: MNS, Plowshare Community, 3628 Park Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55414 (O)

MINNEAPOLIS: Soil of Liberty, POB 3840, Loring St., Minneapolis, MN 55403 (P)

MINNEAPOLIS: WRL, 2015 Vincent Ave. N., Minneapolis, MN 55411 (O)

MINNEAPOLIS: US magazine, POB 3816, Loring St., Minneapolis, MN 55403 (P)

ST. PAUL: IWW, 1688 Dayton, St. Paul, MN 55104 (O)

MISSOURI

COLUMBIA: Columbia Anarchist League, POB 380, Columbia, MO 65201 (O)

COLUMBIA: WRL, 813 Maryland Ave., Columbia, MO 65201 (O)

ST. LOUIS: MNS/Inst. Educ. Peace and Justice, 3700 W. Pine, St. Louis, MO 63108 (O)

ST. LOUIS: National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers, 6199 Waterman, St. Louis, MO 63112 (Pr)

ST. LOUIS: WRL, 6199 Waterman, St. Louis, MO 63112 (O)

MONTANA

MISSOULA: Mountain Life Community, 401 E. Spruce St., Missoula, MT 59801 (O)

MISSOULA: Mountain Life Community, 401 E. Spruce St., Missoula, MT 59801 (O)

THOMPSON FALLS: IWW, Rt. 5, POB 88, Thompson Falls, MT 59873 (O)

NEBRASKA

OMAHA: MNS, 518 N. 40th, Omaha, NE 68131 (O)

NEW HAMPSHIRE

SEABROOK: Clamshell Alliance, POB 162, Seabrook, NH 03874 (O)

NEW JERSEY

PASSAIC: Black Flag of Anarchism; An Anarcho-Syndicalist Newsletter, 287 Passaic Ave., Passaic, NJ 07055 (P)

SOUTH ORANGE: M.O.C. MNS, 439 S. Orange Ave., South Orange, NJ 07079 (O)

NEW MEXICO

ALBUQUERQUE: Albuquerque Libertarians, POB 4701, Albuquerque, NM 87106 (O)

ALBUQUERQUE: IWW, 222 Vassar SE, Albuquerque, NM 87106 (O)

ALBUQUERQUE: Red and Black, 106 Girard SE, Rm 125B, Albuquerque, NM 87106 (O)

ALBUQUERQUE: WRL, 5021 Guadalupe Tr., Albuquerque, NM 87107 (O)

GAHSTEC: Rapid Lightning Collective, POB 16, Gahstec, NM 87540 (O)

LAJOYA: YIP, POB 508, Star Rt. 1, Lajoya, NM 87825 (O)

SANTA FE: Lambdas de Santa Fe, POB 2622, Santa Fe, NM 87501 (O)

NEW YORK

ALBANY: MNS, 410 Hudson Ave., Albany, NY 12203 (O)

BINGHAMTON: Anarchist Student Union (Groucho Marxist), S.U.N.Y., Binghamton, NY 13901 (O)

BINGHAMTON: Looking Left, S.U.N.Y., Binghamton, NY 13901 (P)

BROOKLYN: Anarcho Press, c/o Bob Mendelson, 592 10th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215 (Pu)

BROOKLYN: Cost of Freedom (YIP), POB 43, Gravesend Sta., Brooklyn, NY 11223 (P, O)

BROOKLYN: Minus One, GPO POB 2009, Brooklyn, NY 11212 (P)

BROOKLYN: M.A.R.O.C. MNS, 74 Hoyt St., Brooklyn, NY 11201 (O)

BROOKLYN: The Revisionist Press, GPO POB 2009, Brooklyn, NY 11202 (Pu)

BROOKLYN: Win, 503 Atlantic Ave., 5th floor, Brooklyn, NY 11217 (P)

BUFFALO: Octobergraphics, 1207 Hertel Ave., Buffalo, NY 14216 (Pu)

BUFFALO: IWW, 77 Eckhart St., Buffalo, NY 14207 (O)

FLUSHING: IWW, 164-38 26th Ave., Flushing, NY 11366 (O)

ITHACA: Tiamat, 609 N. Tioga, Ithaca, NY 14850 (O)

NEW YORK: Anarchist Black Cross (SRAF), 339 Lafayette, New York, NY (Pr)

NEW YORK: Against The Grain, POB 692, Old Chelsea Sta., New York, NY 10011 (P)

NEW YORK: Amnesty for Everyone, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (Pr)

NEW YORK: Catholic Worker, 36 E. 1st St., New York, NY 10003 (P)

NEW YORK: Come Unity! Press, 13 E. 17th St., New York, NY 10003 (Pu)

NEW YORK: Freespace Alternate U Newsletter (SRAF), 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (O, P)

NEW YORK: Hunter Libertarian Alliance Roosevelt House (SRAF), 47 E. 65th, New York, NY 10021 (O)

NEW YORK: IWW district office, 119 E. 10th St., POB 3, New York, NY 10003 (O)

NEW YORK: International Libertarian Labor, POB 753, Cooper Sta., New York, NY 10003 (O)

NEW YORK: News From Libertarian Spain, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (P)

NEW YORK: Social Warfare: Wildcat, c/o Rm. 37, 200 W. 72 St., New York, NY 10024 (O)

NEW YORK: The Storm, 227 Columbus Ave., Apt. 2E, New York, NY 10023 (P)

NEW YORK: WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (O)

NEW YORK: War Tax Resistance, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (O)

NEW YORK: Yipster Times (YIP), 9 Bleeker St., New York, NY 10012 (P, O)

NEW YORK: Charlton Stew, 264 Bowery, New York, NY 10012 (O)

ONEONTA: MNS, Snore Collective, Blake House, RD 1, POB 56, Oneonta, NY 13820 (O)

ROCHESTER: Great Clearing, 144 Webster Ave., Rochester, NY 14609 (B)

ROCHESTER: Mutualist Books, POB 1283, Rochester, NY 14603 (Pu)

ROOSEVELTOWN: Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, NY 13683 (P)

SPRING VALLEY: MNS, c/o Lida VerDesi, 1 Stetner St., Spring Valley, NY 10977

WEST NYACK: Women Free Women, POB 283, West Nyack, NY (Pr)

NORTH CAROLINA CHAPEL HILL: WRL, 108 Purefoy Rd., Chapel Hill, NC 27514 (O)

CHARLOTTE: Black Rose, 1712 Cleveland Ave., Charlotte, NC 28203 (O)

GREENSBORO: MNS, 202 Isabel St., Greensboro, NC 27405 (O)

OHIO

CLEVELAND HEIGHTS: Writing On The Wall, 2589 Norfolk Rd., Cleveland Heights, OH 44106 (P)

CLEVELAND HEIGHTS: YIP, 3334 Berkeley, Cleveland Heights, OH 44118 (O)

COLUMBUS: IWW, POB 4734, Columbus, OH 43202 (O)

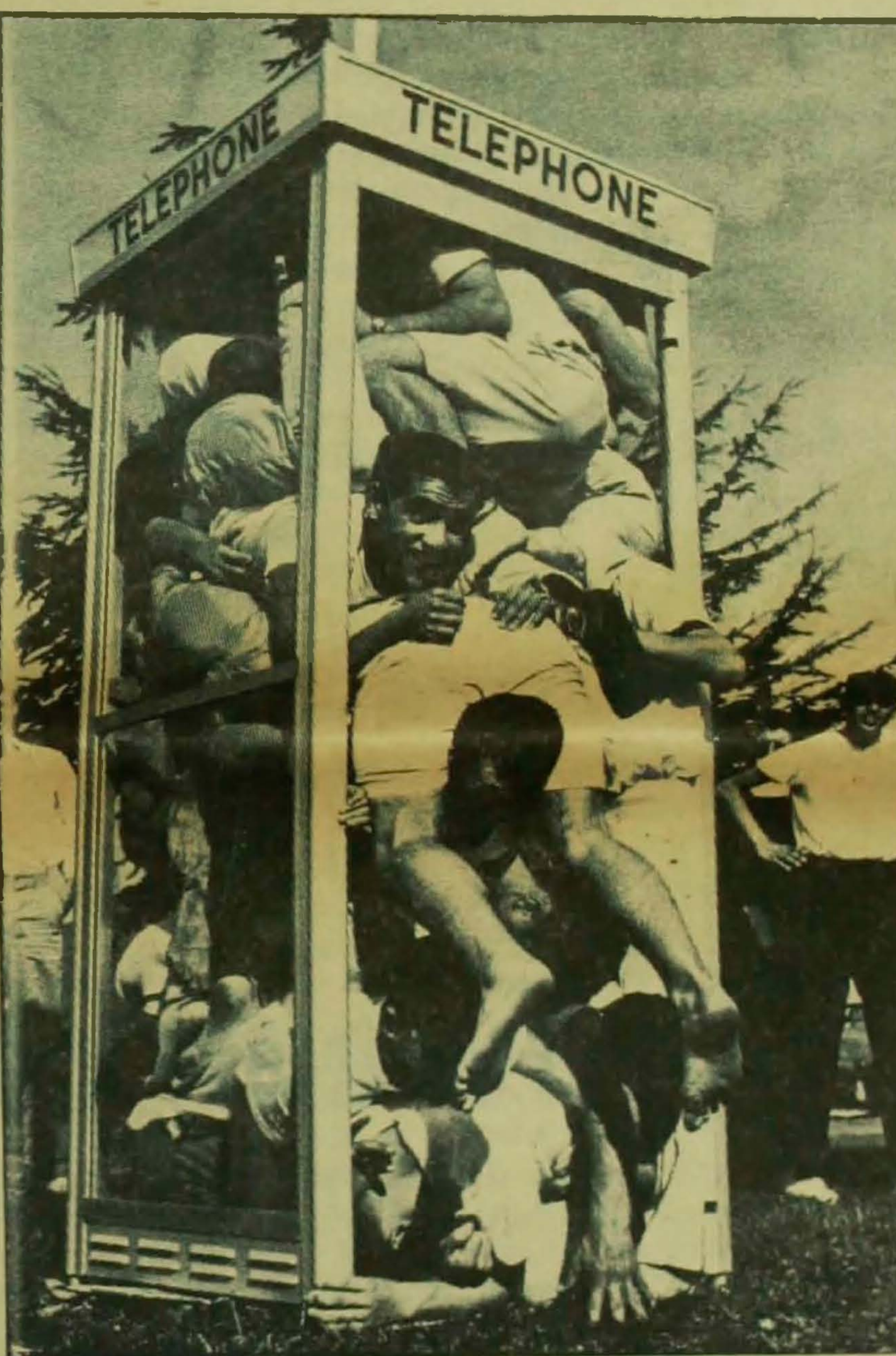
COLUMBUS: YIP, POB 8234, Columbus, OH 43201 (O)

DAYTON: Revolutionary 3 Stooges Brigade, POB 166, Wright Bro. Sta., Dayton, OH 45409 (O)

KENT: Center for Peaceful Change, Kent State University, Kent, OH 44242 (O)

KENT: Kent Legal Defense Fund, POB 366, Kent, OH 44240 (Pr)

KENT: YIP, 325 Sumat St., Kent, OH 44243 (O)



SRAF national convention—1978.

OBERLIN: SRAF, POB 182, OCMR, Oberlin, OH 44074 (O)

OBERLIN: IWW, 111 E. Lorraine (26), Oberlin, OH 44074 (O)

YELLOW SPRINGS: MNS, 903 Xenia Avenue, Yellow Springs, OH 45387 (O)

OREGON

EUGENE: MNS, c/o Charles and Leslie Gray, 1366 Lawrence St., Apt. 1, Eugene, OR 97401 (O)

PORTLAND: Out of the Ashes Press, POB 42384, Portland, OR 97242 (Pu)

PORTLAND: People's Community Library, 532 SE 39th, Portland, OR 97214 (C)

WOLF CREEK: R.F.D., 4525 Lower Wolfe Creek Rd., Wolf Creek, OR 97497 (P)

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA: MNS 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143 (O)

PHILADELPHIA: Solidarity, POB 13011, Philadelphia, PA 19101 (O)

PHILADELPHIA: WRL/War Tax Resistance, 2016 Walnut, Philadelphia, PA 19103 (O)

PHILADELPHIA: Wooden Shoe Books and Records, 112 S. 20th St., Philadelphia, PA 19103 (B)

PHILADELPHIA: MNS (Network Service Collective), 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143 (O)

RHODE ISLAND PROVIDENCE: Dorrwar Bookstore, 224 Thayer St., Providence RI 02906 (B)

SOUTH DAKOTA RAPID CITY: Wounded Knee Offense Committee, POB 2508, Rapid City, SD 57709 (Pr)

RYE: IWW, POB 728, Rye, TX 77369 (O)

SAN ANTONIO: Sin Fronteras—(no borders), 400 Garner St., San Antonio, TX 78237 (O)

VERMONT

ST. JOHNSBURY: MNS, RFD 2, St. Johnsbury, VT 05819 (O)

CONCORD: Institute for Liberty and Community, Concord, VT 05824 (O)

VIRGINIA

LOUISA: Communities, POB 426, Louisa, VA 23093 (P)

WASHINGTON

OLYMPIA: Alexander Berkman Collective, 105 N. Sherman St., Olympia WA 98502 (O)

OLYMPIA: Emma Goldman Collective, 1103 W. 6th, Olympia, WA 98000 (O)

SEATTLE: Hammer and Tricycle, 117 13th Ave., Seattle, WA 98102 (C)

SEATTLE: IWW, 309 Federal East, Seattle, WA 98102 (O)

SEATTLE: Left Bank Books, (SRAF), 92 Pike St., Seattle, WA 98101 (B)

SEATTLE: MNS, Nonesuch, 337 17th E., Seattle, WA 98112 (O)

SEATTLE: Black Eye Press/Mother Earth Books, POB 30097, Wallingford Sta., Seattle, WA 98103 (B, Pu)

SEATTLE: Orca, POB 478, Seattle, WA 98111 (P)

SEATTLE: Pacific Life Community/WRL, 331 17th Ave. E., Seattle, WA 98112 (O)

SEATTLE: Rita Brown Defense Committee, POB 22204, Seattle, WA 98112 (Pr)

SEATTLE: SRAF #2, 1815 18th Ave., Seattle, WA 98122 (O)

SEATTLE: Through the Looking Glass, POB 22228, Seattle, WA 98122 (P)

TACOMA: IWW, 2115 S. Sheridan, Tacoma, WA 98405 (O)

YELM: Black Lite (SRAF/YIP), POB 293, Yelm, WA 98597 (O)

WEST VIRGINIA

MORGANTOWN: Rascal (SRAF), 3707 Collins Ferry Rd., Morgantown, WV 26505 (O)

WISCONSIN

MADISON: Aurora Mad SRAF, POB 1163, Madison, WI 53701 (O)

MADISON: Free For All, POB 962, Madison, WI 53701 (P)

MADISON: IWW, 514 South Baldwin, Madison, WI 53703 (O)

MADISON: MNS, Yahara Linden Gathering, 2117 Linden Ave., Madison, WI 53704 (O)

MADISON: No Limits, POB 2605, Madison, WI 53701 (P)

MADISON: Takeover, POB 706, Madison, WI 53701 (P)

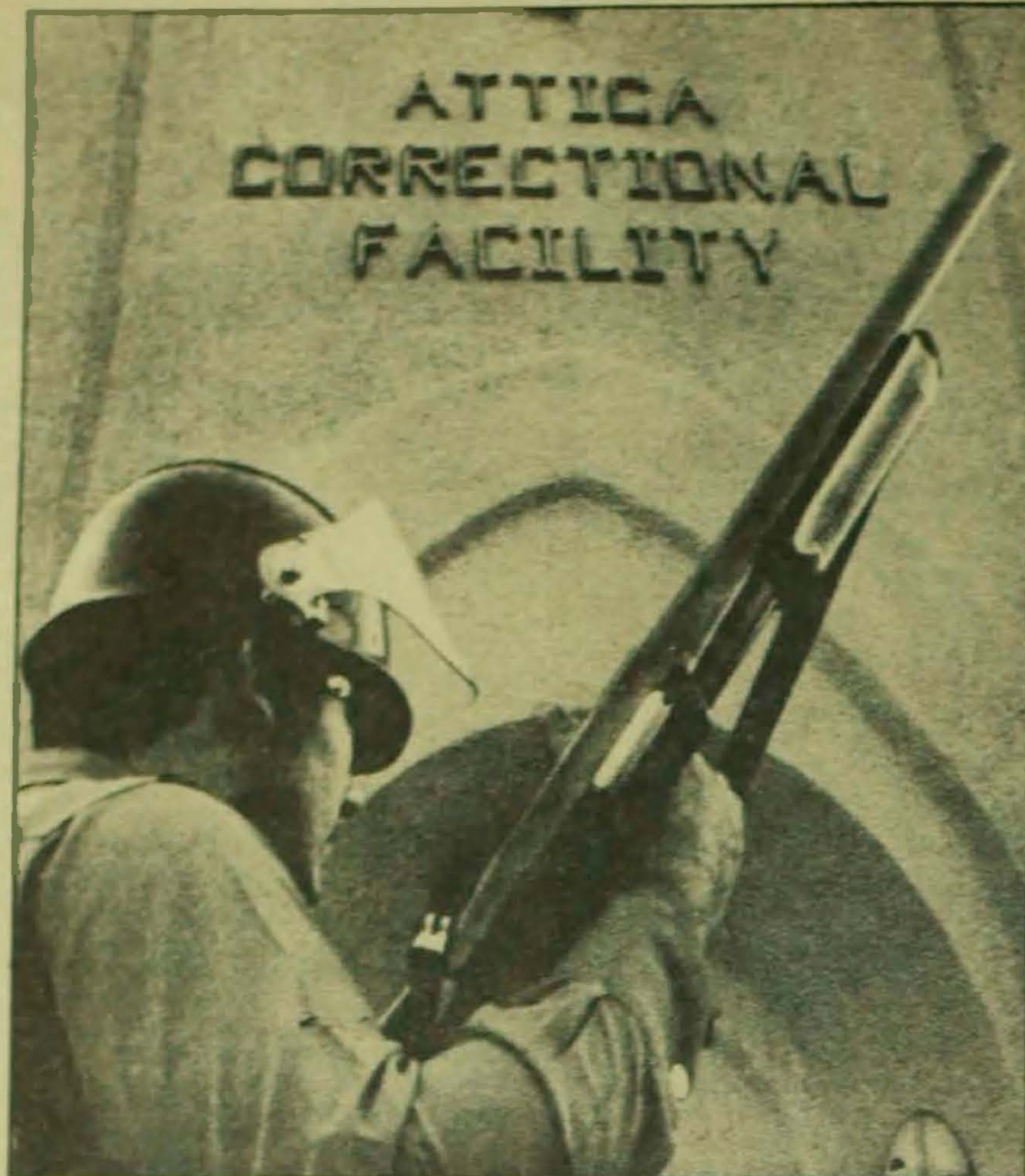
MILWAUKEE: Black Star (SRAF), POB 92246, Milwaukee, WI 53202 (P, O)

MILWAUKEE: WRL, 4711 Lisbon Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53208 (O)

RACINE: IWW, 1602 Park Ave., Racine, WI 53403 (O)

Armed struggle: the primacy of action

The *Open Road's* coverage of armed struggle has always been controversial. Last issue we published a letter by Jim Stodder calling for a discussion on the value of armed actions. He felt that the *OR* had a "vague idea of mutual support between above-ground and underground groups... an unstated strategy that violent propaganda by the deed, by small groups, will inspire popular resistance... an uncritical admiration for flashy violence itself." He pointed to the Tupamaros, turn-of-the-century anarchists and Russian nihilists as examples of guerrillas who had weakened mass movements. "The only strategy that makes any sense to me," he concluded, "is to push ahead with organizing, with helping people build organs of day-to-day struggle that they can control."



Terrorist stands guard

In response to his call for people to "consider and reply to these issues," we're printing the following comments from Mark Brothers, a member of the *Open Road* collective. They do not represent the position of everyone in the collective. We look forward to running other responses in future issues.

Amid the general confusion of ideas, two diametrically opposed trends emerge. The first, of a more pacific character, inclines toward gradual action; the other favoring insurrectionary movements, tends directly to prepare the people for revolutionary warfare... to fight,

to revolt. We are confident that this alone will bring satisfactory results.

—Mikhail Bakunin

Most North American leftists have impulsively rejected armed struggle, claiming simply that "it turns off the people." The emptiness of their explanation is usually matched by those on the other extreme who profess, "brothers and sisters in the mother country gotta get down and off the honky fascist pig cause it's the revolutionary way to move." The armed struggle debate has been inundated, from both sides, by a barrage of thoughtless rhetoric. But despite the rhetoric, it is the guerrilla supporters who are

correct in their assertion that armed struggle is an appropriate, effective form of revolutionary action in contemporary North America.

The early Tupamaros provided an example of the possible effectiveness of guerrillas who operated in a society similar to that of North America (the liberal democracy of 1960's Uruguay).

The Uruguayan old left immediately denounced Tupamaro actions as counterproductive. But the Tupamaros knew better. They knew that the conservative electoral tactics of the traditional socialists had failed to raise the level of struggle in Uruguay. The stagnancy of the old left is evidenced by

the fact that it received 7.2% of the vote in 1946 and a whopping 6.5% in 1966.

Through creative actions, over a short period of time, the Tupas sparked a qualitative leap forward in the whole Uruguayan struggle. Tupamaros won widespread support because they conducted their actions in a tactically tactful style. Actions were organically tied to the daily needs and desires of the entire population through exposure of financial corruption, by backing striking workers, by winning aid for schools and hospitals, by reprimanding torturers...

North American leftists often hypocritically endorse the Tupamaros and other foreign guerrillas while condemning "domestic" fighters. They are legal revolutionaries, people who permit the State and its laws to define and limit their tactics. They tell us that "the people aren't ready for revolution yet... armed actions only alienate them." If one took their position to its logical conclusion, revolutionaries, before carrying out any action, would have to hold referendums to determine if a majority of the population support what they plan to do.

We can't patiently wait until the "consciousness of the masses" mystically rises before engaging in revolutionary action. Action in itself raises consciousness. Not merely geared toward material damage (some leftists actually seem to think this is the sole goal of armed struggle), armed action directly intensifies the entire revolutionary process. Each action can be worth millions of pamphlets, educationals,

leaflets, newspapers... Guerrilla action can shake the consciousness of the entire population, awakening people to the oppression and the vulnerability of the State.

For revolutionaries to be successful they must appeal to people's irrational, emotional impulses as well as their rational, intellectual motivations. Spectacular actions (mass as well as clandestine) can uproot national consciousness, shaking people up so they become aware of the existence of revolutionary alternatives.

Actions which rock people's consciousness, rattle people's thoughtless acceptance of this society and make people aware, whether they consciously realize it or not, of such concepts as revolution and socialism. Even if initially rejected on a conscious level (as the Gaullist victory in France after May 1968 indicated a rejection of that revolt), the action imbeds itself in people's minds, setting into motion anarchic organizational and conceptual dynamics.

One cannot judge a society by its self-image, its surface consciousness. There is an endless stream of subtle objective and subjective consciousness determinants which motivate the occasional "spontaneous" upheavals that unfold to the surprise of revolutionaries. For instance, the revolution Marx felt would happen in 1848 Germany has yet to occur, while the revolution Lenin predicted would take another generation in 1914, swept Russia three years later.

In early 1968, the French revolutionary struggle seemed little more advanced than N.

America's is today. But suddenly, after a handful of students were arrested, De Gaulle had a student/worker insurrection on his hands.

Unexpected events can create revolutionary situations which instantaneously provide historic opportunities for freedom. If unable or unwilling to pick up the gun and move when these situations arise, revolutionaries will be thwarted as they were in France in 1968. A member of the Tupamaros elaborated: "Armed struggle, revolutionary action, creates the proper social conditions for the revolution. If there is no prepared group, the revolutionary situations are wasted or not taken advantage of. An armed group, no matter how small, has greater possibilities of converting itself into a great, popular army than a group that limits itself to issuing positions."

A common argument of the legal revolutionaries is that armed struggle only brings down repression on the whole movement. Over and over we've heard that *the SLA brought down repression on the left*, when, in fact, *the left brought down repression on the SLA*. Through its vindictive repudiation of the group, the left set up a scenario in which the State knew it could do anything it pleased to the SLA without fear of reprisals.

The SLA has borne the brunt of much of the left's anti-guerrilla sentiments. While some of the group's activities deserve principled criticism, the SLA, all things considered, was successful. It appeared during a period of leftist inactivity and, as the only revolutionary show in town, they demonstrated how one small clandestine group can rock national consciousness and prompt a re-evaluation or armed struggle as a revolutionary tactic (in the Bay Area alone, many guerrilla units and above-ground support groups appeared shortly after the SLA).

Armed struggle is a complement—not an alternative—to mass organizing. Tactics must be flexible, arising out of the conditions of any given situation. At one point the best tactic may be to throw a flower; later it may be more appropriate to throw a bomb. Those who attempt to predefine another revolutionary's tactics are completely unjustified. Especially when one considers many of the guerrilla's are motivated by experiences that few of their critics have gone through (prison for instance) and that those under attack will, if we are successful revolutionaries, ultimately have to be dealt with in any case.

Anarchists, and other socialists, who live in a capitalist society are, above all, revolutionary fighters. To the legal revolutionaries, the Huey Newton/Tom Hayden democrats, and the liberal-tarians, let me stress that revolutions are not legal... revolutions are not polite... and revolutions are not made in Leonard Bernstein's living room.

Durrutti between covers

By Perry Shearwood

It would not be accurate to say that the political life of Spain has been in suspended animation for forty years, for even the most severe repression could not halt the struggle for liberty. Nevertheless it is instructive to look back to the time preceding the Franco dictatorship if we are to understand the present reality. The publication of *Durrutti, the People Armed* (an English translation of the French work by Abel Paz) is an important contribution to this understanding.

Buenaventura Durrutti was one of the most loved and respected figures of the Spanish anarchist movement until his death in 1936 during the defence of Madrid against the Fascists. A life lived to a great extent underground, in prison or in the front lines of revolutionary struggle is not one that is completely recorded. However, the author has used Durrutti's own words, the recollections of his comrades as well as contemporary and historical documents to give a full picture. The book is profusely illustrated with photos of Durrutti in action and in repose, in jail and speaking at massive

rallies. One criticism is that the work is marred by a lack of careful editing and proof-reading and typographical errors are plentiful.

Peasant Anarchism

The author begins by establishing the social context within which the action of the book takes place. The traditional desire of the Spanish peasants for a return to the collective use of the land coincided with the spread of the ideas of Bakunin and Proudhon to produce a militant rural proletariat. In the early 20th century migration of the anarchist peasants to Barcelona, Zaragoza and other industrial centres in addition to the influence of French syndicalist theories served to create the situation in which the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour) was born and grew strong. It was in this anarcho-syndicalist trade union that Durrutti acted as a militant for most of his political life.

Durrutti was born in Leon, Spain in 1896. His father's imprisonment for participation in a strike in 1904 exerted a profound influence. His ideas were further formed by membership in the socialist

trade union, the Union General de Trabajadores, contact with the Asturian miners and his exile in France from 1917 to 1920. Throughout the twenties Durrutti, with his friend Francisco Ascaso, supported the CNT unionists through a series of audacious bank robberies and assassinations. Any money obtained this way went to support the workers' struggles. Four countries sentenced Durrutti to death during this period.

Mass Action

In 1931, with the proclamation of the Spanish republic, Durrutti's activities underwent a transition from sabotage to mass action. In the pre-revolutionary situation he rejected banditry but never the need for violent struggle against the terrorism of the State, be it monarchist or republican. Durrutti continued to play an important role in strikes and uprisings that called for libertarian communism, and the abolition of money and private property. In 1936 the resistance of Durrutti and the armed workers in Barcelona prevented the seizure of power there by the right wing generals. The republican government that had initiated



Buenaventura Durrutti

repression against the anarchists was forced to acknowledge their strength. Paz gives a graphic description of the peasant takeover of the land and the egalitarian nature of the anti-fascist forces which, along with worker self-management of industry, were the essence of the Spanish revolution. Durrutti fought in the battle to wrest Zaragoza from the fascists, and when Madrid was threatened the presence of Durrutti and the anarchist columns was needed to raise

the morale of the defending forces. During a pitched battle Durrutti was killed.

The funeral of Durrutti was an awe-inspiring tribute by the ordinary people of Barcelona to a leader whose authority rested on his revolutionary conduct. Throughout his life he maintained a principled position against the use of bureaucratic and authoritarian forms and resisted any attempts to make him the subject of a cult of personality. After forty years the CNT continues to champion the positions advanced by Durrutti and remain in the heart of the working class in the streets and the factories. A decentralized structure that is the essence of anarchism has permitted a great degree of resilience in the face of repression.

Scrawled on a Spanish wall are the words, "Courage, grandparents, we are coming. CNT." The opportunities opened up by the death of the Caudillo are great and the CNT is destined to play a role. Truly the spirit of Durrutti is alive in Spain today.

Durrutti, The People Armed, by Abel Paz, translated by Nancy Macdonald, Black Rose Books, Montreal, \$5.95.

Remembering Berneri

continued from p. 14

Apart from her periodical writings, she produced one major work in the history of social ideas, her *Journey through Utopia*, which I helped to edit; she finished it about six months before her death and did not live to see its publication.

There was nothing in Marie Louise of the exclusive intolerance of the fanatic, and it was not in her nature to convert her work into the puritanical self-torture of a revolutionary ascetic. Whatever she did was done with her whole personality, and in fulfillment of her nature, and involved no morbid feeling of sacrifice. As a result, her broad outside interests tended to enrich her contribution to the libertarian movement. For in addition to the propagation of anarchist ideas to which she brought the earthy kind of realism associated with the Italian thinkers like Malatesta and her father, Camillo Berneri, she was widely involved in cultural issues. Her interest in and knowledge of psychology was wide, and she was one of the first libertarians to understand the implications of Wilhelm Reich's revolution-



Berneri with Spanish refugees in England, 1945.

ary ideas, about which she wrote in my literary quarterly *Now*. She had a deep understanding of modern painting and writing, and associated with the Surrealist group which centered around the London Gallery. She often expressed her sadness to me that she found it impossible to write creatively. I encouraged her to begin by writing down the memories of her childhood in European political refugee circles, about which she would often tell me very vividly, and when we last met, a few days before her death, she had decided to start on this immediately.

Alas, it was a project never fulfilled, and for the same reason she and I were never able to undertake the task of translating Bakunin's complete works in which we had agreed to work together.

But it is still an irreplaceable friend that I remember Marie Louise Berneri. She always tried to understand the problems of those she encountered and there was a gentleness and generosity in her nature that made her always anxious about the welfare of those for whom she felt affection or respect. There was a directness in her approach to others which

those with any feeling of empathy with her appreciated, for she had a sound critical sense, and her praise of anything one did was something to be treasured, since it was always devoid of sham or flattery. Yet the same directness of approach sometimes led her into great unhappiness, for it made it difficult for her to understand more complex and tortuous characters, and she did not behave always with that elaborate tact which a more worldly-wise or more naturally suspicious person would have adopted. So, by her very candour, she herself often helped to create the most unjustified enmities.

There were many tragedies in her life, like the death of her father at the hands of Stalinist thugs and the still-birth of her child, but such matters she bore with a fortitude and an outward serenity that made her reluctant to let them impinge on the concern of others. Her feelings were deep and easily hurt, yet I remember only two occasions when she allowed them to break out demonstratively, and those were when she had been unjustly treated by people who had once been her trusted comrades.

I remember as I write these words, with a vividness wholly undiminished by the years, how much my life and the lives of others were en-

riched by Marie Louise's friendship; I realize also that what she did was only the promise of what she might have done if she had not died so young; I know how much working with her for those years affected the course of my own writing, and how she helped to establish the directions of the new anarchism that emerged in post-War-II England, an anarchism far

broader in its receptiveness to ideas from many ways of thought than the more doctrinaire anarchism of the early years of the century. She was a vivid and generous person, with a capable intelligence and a dedication too realistic to be defined by a vague term like idealism. And, I repeat, she was too real to be made a myth.

Anarcho-syndicalists

continued from p. 3

(April 20-May 1), Ohio, and Detroit (May 1-May 15), New York City (about May 21), and Boston (about June 1). A date is also being arranged for Montreal and Toronto.

For exact dates and other information, contact the IWW or other anti-authoritarian groups in each area (see *Open Road* contact list, last issue and this issue), or contact CNT Tour Committee c/o IWW, Box 25072, Los Angeles, Calif. 90025.

During his week-long visit to Vancouver in early March, Mesa spoke at a public meeting of 300 people—the largest strictly anti-authoritarian manifestation in the city in some years—and at numerous small meetings of activists. The tour provided a means for coordinating the

energies of groups within the emerging local anti-authoritarian movement, including *Open Road*, Revolting Women, the IWW, Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho-Marxist) and the Service Office and Retail Workers Union of Canada.

A pamphlet outlining the history and aims of the CNT, reporting on current conditions in Spain, has been issued by *Open Road* in connection with the tour. Copies available for donations by writing to OR. To stay current on Spain, check with *News from Libertarian Spain*, Box 733, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003; the *Iberian Solidarity Committee*, 3934 St. Urbain, Montreal, Que.; and the *Industrial Worker*, 752 W. Webster, Chicago, Ill. 56172.

Notes

continued from p. 2

tive energy (wind, solar, heat pumps, etc.) and alternative transport (electric vehicles) areas, plus kidney machines and other medical aids.

Workers are thus beginning the long road towards "encroaching control," i.e., challenging corporate decision-making as to "what should be made." They are also proposing alternative methods of working—e.g. autonomous work groups, project teams made up of blue and white collar workers and so on.

Keep writing. Yours fraternally,

Dave Elliott
London, England

ANARCHIST ALL-STARS

Earl Averill, Editor
The Open Road

Dear Earl,

Ran across a reproduction of one of your baseball cards from the '30's and knew you would probably want to use it as the center-fold poster in your spring issue. Incidentally, here, before I forget it, are my nominations for your All-Time Anarchist All-Star Team:

dh—Joe Medwick —incited a riot at the 1934 World Series
lb—Orlando Cepeda —only former MVP in prison for pot (in Puerto Rico)
2b—Larry Randle —Master of the Sucker Punch

ss—Honus Wagner —Only known Wobbly in the Hall of Fame

lf—Babe Ruth —Q: "Don't you think it's wrong for you to make more money than the President?" (Hoover)

Babe: "I had a better year than the President."

3b—PeeWee Reese —First white player to befriend Jackie Robinson

rf—Roberto Clemente —Reduces Lou Gehrig to a dashboard Virgin

cf—Jim Piersall —Abbie Hoffman's boyhood idol
c—King Kelly —last star loyal to the Players League

1hp—Warren Spahn —Once undressed a reporter interviewing him live on radio
rhp—Dizzy Dean —Went on strike during a close pennant race

rp—Rube Waddell —Rode firetrucks to games

ph—Hal McRae —Charged he lost '76 A.L. Batting Crown due to racism

Mgr—Casey Stengel —The question isn't why did he put the sparrows into his cap, the question is how did he catch them?

Steve Conliff
Columbus, OH

DESTROY AUTHORITY

Dear Sisters,

We go along with your efforts to destroy authoritarianism—the patriarchal authoritarian society of the Judeo-Christian religions, but we do not go along with your acts of violence and sabotage. It should be evident to you that violence breeds more violence and that authoritarianism is the cause of violence.

Valida Davils
San Diego, Ca.

SAM REPLIES

Rebels of *Open Road*:
SALUD

This condensed reply is written in response to some of Murray Bookchin's more serious allegations made in his reply to my review of his book *The Spanish Anarchists*. As far as I am concerned further discussion in the columns of *Open Road* is

finished.

Murray ignores my main point: that Proudhon was a precursor of syndicalism and workers' self-management of industry, the ideas that shaped the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement.

Murray, places (however skimpily) Proudhon's ideas in the anarchist context, but distorted beyond recognition in his reply, emphasizing only Proudhon's prejudices and inconsistencies. . . . But, I am concerned only with the creative libertarian ideas upon which Proudhon's pre-eminent place in the history of socialist thought rests.

There is not, as Murray implies, the slightest connection between "...contract as a bourgeois right. . ." (Murray) and Proudhon's conception. On the contrary, Marx himself praised Proudhon's anarchist classic *What Is Property?* because he analyzed the fraudulent character of bourgeois contractual and property relations—which Murray falsely attributes to Proudhon.

Murray's denial that he considered Bakunin a "strict collectivist" is decisively contradicted on page 115: "...Bakunin's emphasis on collectivism (pay according to value of work) was much stronger than Proudhon's. . ."

Not I, but Murray "...saddles himself with the notion of peasant vanguardism. . ." He also contradicts himself

and favors Proletarian Vanguardism. Evidence for my objection is overwhelming. (See pp. 69, 70, 91-92, 102, 103, 120, etc., etc.) In his reply, Murray declares that "...neither one class nor the other, is more or less revolutionary. . ." If he would have said so in his book, I would have agreed with him 100%. I criticized him precisely because he did not.

Would Murray dismiss as useless workers' and peasants' struggles (even massive wild-cat strikes) against their leaders, the State and their employers for better conditions, simply because the people are not yet ready to make the Social Revolution?

To realize that "...social revolution in our time (cannot) be achieved without the active participation of the proletariat. . ." (Murray, p. 309) and then deprecate the capacity of the ordinary workers to develop revolutionary consciousness in the course of such struggles is to renounce revolution itself.

Since Murray is not in the least responsive to the limitations of affinity groups and how best they could fit into the structure of the free society, further comment on my part is useless.

If Murray would have defended the necessity for violent retaliation as measures of self-defense against the 'Pistolero' assassins, I would have raised no objections.

YIPSTER TIMES

America's national underground paper. Every issue an Extra! Covers prison struggles, the counterculture, free phones. Learn the truth behind the pieing of America. \$6 from 9 Bleecker Street, NYC, N.Y. 10013.

OUR GENERATION

Analysis of anti-authoritarian movements, worldwide, with special emphasis on Quebec and Canada. \$1.75. Also, a series of anarchist tapes: Utah Phillips, Murray Bookchin, Karl Hess, and the Durutti Chorus. \$3.95-4.95. 3934 rue St. Urbain, Montreal, Quebec.

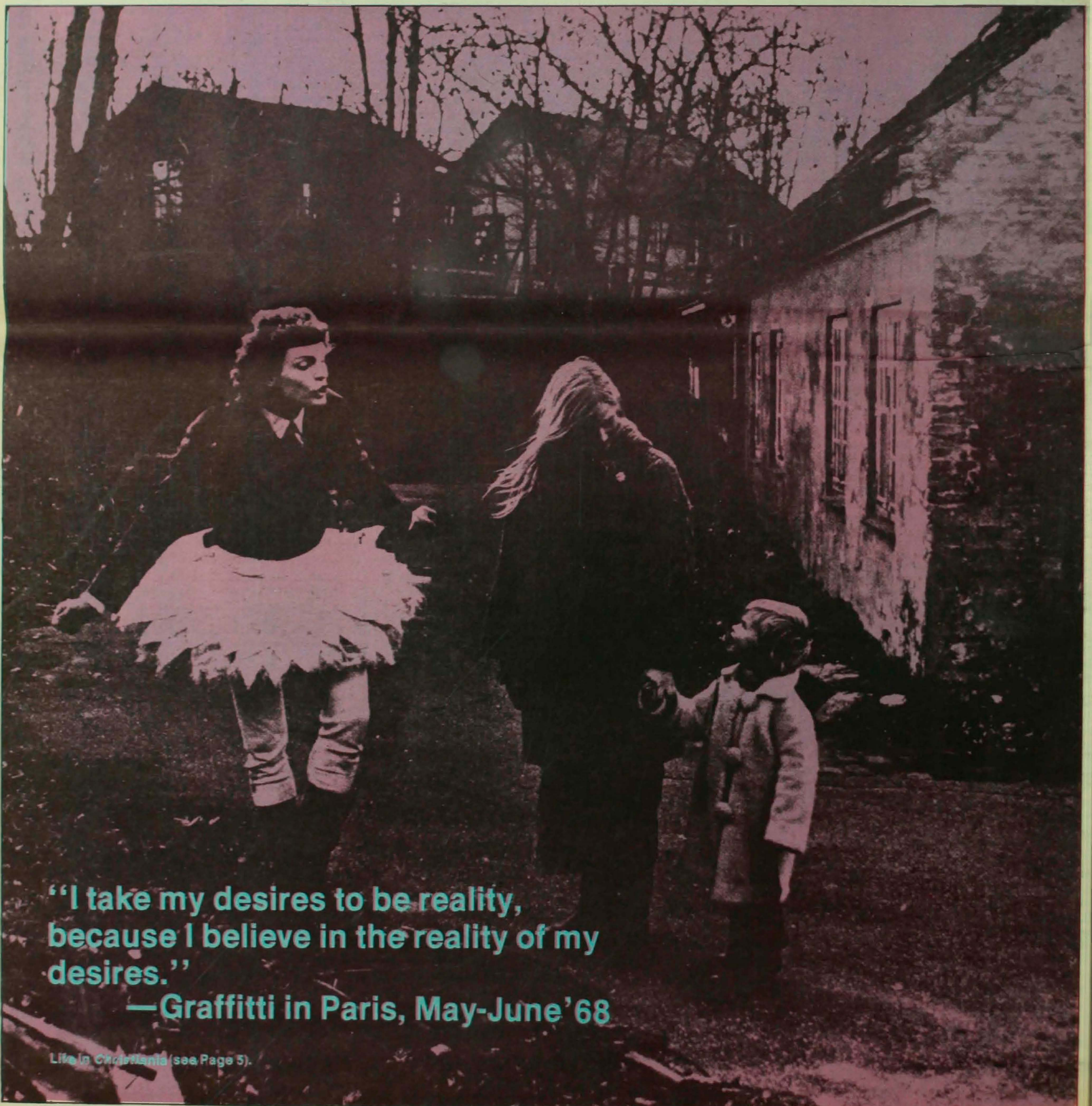
The Open Road welcomes correspondence and contributions (both editorial and financial). Write to us at:

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

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

Second Class Mail Registration Number 3887

OpenRoad



**"I take my desires to be reality,
because I believe in the reality of my
desires."**

—Graffiti in Paris, May-June '68

Life in Christonia (see Page 5).