

Comic art for incorrect people

Rebel feminists create a new movement

House hunting: Riots in Amsterdam

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Issue Eleven Summer 1980

**Peddling
Anarchy**

**Freewheelers
spoke up**

**Murray
Bookchin**

**Gutless
ecology
under attack**

Let It Burn!

The decline of the West



THE BLAST

ON THE ROAD

The *Open Road* is an international quarterly anarchist newsjournal. It is published voluntarily by a handful of anarchists in Vancouver, B.C., Canada and is distributed around the world.

In our last special issue, #10½ (mailed to subscribers only), we asked our readers to help us in imaginatively and positively facing the 80's with renewed strengths and new strategies. Some of the articles, letters and newstories, and most of the inspiration, contributing to this issue are the result of responses to that appeal. It feels good to be working together!

But we're hoping for still more. We'd planned a "workplace organizing" theme for #12 but to date we haven't received word on any forthcoming features. We think it's an important issue and still want to do something in the future. How about some help?

For those of you who missed #10½, basically we're asking for: news stories, reviews (films, books, records), translations (especially from radical publications), graphics, feature articles (let us know in advance), distributors of the paper and, of course, money.

Distribution is one of our most pressing needs. People are a lot more likely to take direct action if they know they're not alone. If you received this issue in the mail you could check your local bookshop and if they don't already carry us, suggest they do. Write us about bulk terms. Be a distributor yourself and get to know all those closet revolutionaries. Point out to your librarian that a little anarchism goes a long way towards removing the dust from historical tomes.

And money. With no paid advertising revenue or funding from any institution, the *OR* relies heavily on the financial support of its readers.

The suggested individual subscription rate is a minimum of two hours wages or more per year, \$20 per year for an institutional subscription; and \$50 per year (be a good friend) for a one year sustaining subscription. For overseas airmail subs please send an additional \$5. The *Open Road* is mailed free to prisoners around the world, which is another reason why we encourage readers to give a little extra whenever they can.

Back issues #2, 3, 6, & 7 are available for \$2 per copy and #8, 9, 10 & 10½ are available for \$1 each.

Address all requests,
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School for Big Brothers

Some folks go to school to learn their ABC's, but on the East coast of Canada there's a new educational resource centre where cops, generals, secret service types and even corporate executives can drop in for the latest info to help them keep today's rebels in line.

It's called the "Centre for Conflict Studies" and is described in the straight press as an institution that will "collect, analyze and disseminate current information about organizations, movements and governments involved in political conflict anywhere in the world" (read: monitor the activities of dissident trade unions, rebellious peasants, radical community groups, students, no nukers, minority groups, anarchists, etc.).

Located at the University of New Brunswick, the Centre is seen by its director, Maurice Tugwell, as "a vehicle to raise the Canadian public consciousness on the subject of political violence" (read: raise the spectre of armed insurrection or "extremist" activity and pave the way for strategies of control and repression).

According to the director, the Centre's purpose is "to provide information to help people analyze politically volatile issues and a philosophy to help deal with explosive situations as they develop" (read: how to deal with far-reaching labour

trouble, civil disobedience, occupations, prison revolts, minority group struggles, independence movements, urban unrest, etc.).

For the Centre, "political violence" means "something above ordinary crime but below the level of conventional warfare, insurgency, counter-insurgency, terrorism, etc."

It already has links with similar "think tanks" such as the Rand Corporation in the U.S. (notorious for, among other things, its role in developing the U.S. war strategy in Vietnam and other American "trouble spots") and the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London (another

counter-insurgency information gathering project that helps British interests pinpoint and squash resistance movements around the world).

The *Open Road* encourages readers to keep tabs on the activities of the Centre and forward any useful information to us, and similar publications. They're watching us; we've got to watch them.

Two excellent sources exposing and analyzing U.S. intelligence gathering efforts are *CounterSpy* magazine, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C., 20004 (\$2 an issue) and *Covert Action Info Bulletin*, P.O.B. 50272, Washington, D.C., 20004 (\$2 an issue).

Paper Clip Gang Job

In these days of computerized warfare, there's more than one way to throw a spanner into the State's security works.

And it might have been only a few paper clips, but no one knows for sure how the French guerilla group, Direct Action, carried out a neat sabotage job on a computer firm in Toulouse recently.

For souvenirs, the discriminating saboteurs took

a bagful of top secret information destined for the French Intelligence Agency and Defence Forces. Direct Action said they plan to make the hot stuff public.

In their wake, they left an estimated \$45,000 worth of damages after having burned master programs and tapes that the company, Philips Informatique, took five years to make. They also knew how to make the company's two computers inoperable by damaging essential components.

Live and Let Die

Residents in a West Berlin neighbourhood were shocked one morning after reading a letter sent to them from local government authorities.

The notice, found in their mailboxes,

asked Berliners whose life should be saved if there was a nuclear accident. It said that there were only 3,000 places available in a special nuclear shelter in a subway station, and that "to avoid a disordered distribution of places in the event of a disaster, we want to appropriate the available space now."

People were asked to name those worth saving, give a reason why, and send their suggestions to the Berlin government.

It turns out that the notice was a fake put out by a local anti-nuke group. Police said it was well forged and could easily have passed as an official release.



EXCLUSIVE ON-THE-SPOT SKETCH OF MASS ANARCHIST DEMONSTRATION IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE IN PEKING.

Reprinted from *Anarchy Comics* #1. See interview with *Anarchy Comics* editor Jay Kinney on page 30.



Emma Goldman (1869-1940)

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

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

In her autobiography, "Living My Life," Goldman set out the policy of a journal dedicated to human liberation:

"In 'The Open Road' they should speak without fear of the censor. Everybody who longed to escape rigid moulds, political and social prejudices, and petty moral demands should have a chance to travel with us in 'The Open Road.'"

Anarchist Frame-up Falls Down

The "Persons Unknown" trial finally became a closed case in May when the British State dropped conspiracy to rob and arms charges against Daffyd Ladd, the remaining anarchist defendant who jumped bail last year and is still underground. For the moment, anarchism is no longer on trial in Great Britain.

Last December four of the six defendants in the "anarchist-terrorist" conspiracy trial—Vince Stevenson, Iris Mills, Ronan Bennett, and Trevor Dawton—were acquitted.

Ladd still faces a possible 12 month sentence for skipping bail. But in statements from underground, Ladd argues that the illegal jury "vetting" that took place during the trial justifies his jumping the \$50,000 bail.

The jury vetting controversy made front page news in Britain when it was learned that the police—desperate for a conviction in an obviously flimsy case—carried out computer investigations of the panel from which the jury was to be selected, weeding out any persons who had left-wing or liberal tendencies. The panel was dismissed and a new jury chosen.

Ladd says he intends to give himself up soon but insists he shouldn't be imprisoned and that his sureties who had to fork over the bail money should be paid back because of the illegal jury vetting. (See OR #10½ for Ladd's detailed statement on why he skipped bail).

Meanwhile, despite the blatant ineptness with which the case against the defendants was constructed ("evidence" of "explosive substances": weedkiller, sugar, flour and wire, etc.) the State managed to extract a "confession" from the sixth defendant, Stewart Carr, who pleaded guilty to the charges and received a heavy nine year sentence.

Since the four acquittals observers have speculated that it's probably now a question for the State of how best to "sugar the pill of non-jury trials" in future "sensitive" cases.

For continuing reportage on the British anarchist scene check out *Freedom*, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 (\$15 sub), or *Black Flag*, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2B1, U.K. (\$14.50 sub).

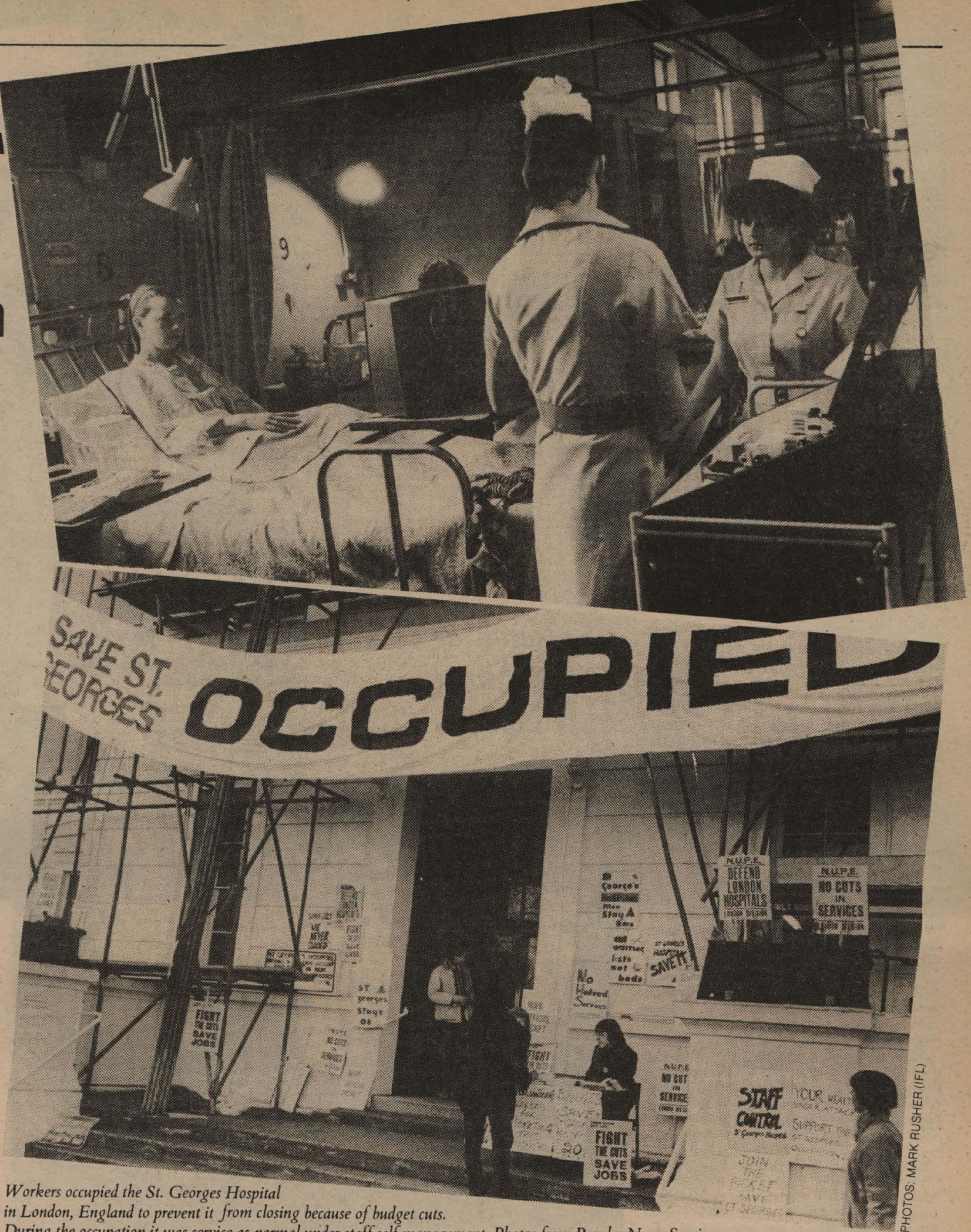
Patients Worry Legal Pushers

There's no law that says it's a crime to talk to psychiatric inmates about their legal rights, but a group of activists got convicted last year just for trying.

Now, in a victory for psychiatric inmates following a year-long court battle, a judge overturned the convictions of four members of the Alliance for the Liberation of Mental Patients arrested in the driveway of the Haverford State Hospital in Pennsylvania. The judge ruled that there was insufficient evidence for the convictions.

The four activists—Diane Baran, Bob Harris, Lenny Lapon and Lynn Sereda, all former inmates themselves, had been found guilty of "defiant trespass" last May and fined \$300 each for trying to distribute literature to the inmates about their legal and human rights while incarcerated, the dangerous effects of psychiatric drugs and the firing of a para-legal at the hospital.

It seems that the hospital authorities felt threatened at the thought of having informed inmates capable of fighting the crimes committed by the institution.



Workers occupied the St. Georges Hospital in London, England to prevent it from closing because of budget cuts. During the occupation it was service as normal under staff self-management. Photos from Peoples News Service, Oxford House, Derbyshire St., London E2.

During the appeal hearing, the ALMP pointed out that the Haverford State Hospital should have been put on trial—not ALMP activists.

"People are railroaded at commitment hearings. They have committed no crime, and are not even accused of doing so, except for the 'crime' of mental illness."

As ALMP put it: "We believe that mental illness is a myth. People's feelings of rage, frustration and despair are labelled by psychiatrists as symptoms of a disease, rather than being seen for what they really are—natural reactions to living in an exploitative and unjust society where profits are put before basic human needs."

An ex-hospital employee spoke about the horrible atrocities he saw while working there: "One man was tied with restraints, spread-eagled across two beds for five days, 24 hours a day—that was the first time. The second time it was for eight days. Afterwards he was in bad shape; he could only hobble."

ALMP was also protesting the forced druggings of inmates with drugs such as Thorazine, Stelazine, Haldol and Prolixin, which have as one side effect a form of permanent brain damage called Tardie Dyskinesia. It's characterized by grotesque and uncontrollable jerking of the face and limbs.

Meanwhile the ALMP is continuing its organizing efforts to gain access to the Haverford Hospital and other psychiatric institutions. Keep up with their activities by reading the *ALMP Newsletter*, 1427 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., 19102.

Italian Cops Trample Flowers

Italian security forces raided homes and workplaces throughout Italy recently trying to "dry up the mudfields where the flowers grow," as one Italian source put it. Among the hundred or so suspects they nabbed on trumped-up charges were more than 30 anarchists, including three from Great Britain.

Among those arrested in Catania are two members of the "Anarchismo" editorial group, Alfredo Bonanno and Sal Barletta. Also arrested were Jean Weir, editor of the Bratach Dubh anarchist publishing group in Scotland, Kenneth McBurgen, also from Scotland and Anslow Holton, another anarchist from England.

What makes these arrests particularly serious is the new powers of detention in the hands of the

police: under a January 1980 law, they can now hold anyone suspected of having any connection with so-called "terrorists" for up to 12 years without a trial.

Police say they were looking for members of Azione Rivoluzionaria (Revolutionary Action), a guerilla group that they claim were responsible for a series of bank robberies and explosions around Bologna. In the past the group have described themselves as anarcho-communists.

Of the anarchists arrested, Bonanno alone has some 20 charges to face for what observers describe as simply "opinions he expressed." He is accused of being the theoretician behind Azione Rivoluzionaria.

All the arrested have declared that they have had nothing to do with what they were accused of and are refusing to answer any questions.

The accusations are said to be inconsistent and absurd and similar to those recently levelled against other European anarchists in England (the Persons Unknown case, see OR 10½), Greece (see story this issue), France, West Germany and Spain. The scapegoating and physical kidnapping of known militants is one way the closely connected police forces of Europe are trying to cope with social tensions. It's part of their strategy to intimidate and pressure activists and their supporters into giving up their struggles.

For some background on the current situation in Italy, see the pamphlet "Armed Struggle in Italy—A Chronology," published by Bratach Dubh, and available from Box 11, 45 Niddry St., Edinburgh, Scotland, for \$3.00 plus postage.

Kraakers explode over housing

By Jan Bervoets

For Amsterdam's homeless, house-hunting doesn't have to mean sitting back, scanning newspapers, patiently waiting and hoping for a liveable, affordable empty space. Instead, they can join in a mass-based, highly-organized anti-authoritarian squatters' movement that has become increasingly militant and capable of defending itself in the squats or in the streets, taking on police and speculators who try to throw them out.

The movement of squatters—or "kraakers" as they're known in Dutch—has a growing consciously anarchist element in it and is prepared and willing to clash head-on with the State for the right to a home.

With the battle-cry of "no housing, no crowning," thousands of the kraakers, for example, recently confronted a security force of 8,000 and laid siege to the coronation of the new Dutch Queen, protesting the extravagant spectacle at a time of an acute housing crisis.

This battle in itself was no incidental outburst, but the expression of a powerful, self-organized popular movement that has matured over the years and can now draw on an extensive support network throughout Holland.

While not exclusively composed of young people (there are many families and elderly among them), the comparison has been made between the Provos of 1966 (Holland's equivalent of the Yippies!) and today's Kraakers.

The big differences are that today's movement is:

- less intellectual
- more spontaneous
- more conscious of its own interests and therefore, more powerful.

It is no abstraction of the imagination, it is imagination itself, created from the interests of reality: scarcity of dwellings, unemployment of educated scholars, rat-races in schools and universities, militarism and a decrease of income for workers.

In Amsterdam alone there are 53,000 people on waiting lists for accommodation while many buildings destined for demolition or held as investment speculation stand empty. An estimated 10,000 people have now squatted some 5,000 of these buildings.

Support System

Today, the Kraakers are the best organized autonomous movement in Amsterdam and are organizing themselves in many other cities creating their own cafes, meeting centers, defence systems, etc.

To defend their own interests and those of newcomers, in Amsterdam they've organized an "alarm-centre" to defend kraakers against goon-squads (mostly petty gangsters) of the big owners.

They find empty houses for people in need of accommodation, they assist in reparation and upkeep of the houses and collect contributions from the squatting tenants. These contributions to the reparation funds replace rents. Squatters who have been evicted from their dwellings are moved to other dwellings at the expense of the whole squatters movement which has formed a "collective of carrier cycles."

Every committee is basically organized from the quarters. Central contacts are held only for offensive actions in the whole city or for defence actions against the goon squads. The organization's principles correspond to syndicalist movements such as those in France or Spain in the early 1900s and have no connection whatever to any political party.

Thousands of Amsterdamers sought out the "free state."



While tanks rolled through Amsterdam, these squatters in Germany were less hassled. Their messages: "Enough is not enough. We want everything now!"

Most squatters, in fact, see their actions as a direct struggle against the State.

Some squatters have organized themselves into "Living-Working" committees in an effort to combat the separation of home life and alienating work. They try to create living-communes which are productive associations. There are also attempts at alternative lifestyles: all gay households, feminist collectives, "hash-communities," etc.

While there are only a few anarchist collectives, anarchist influence and consciousness has grown since the Provo-time. Nobody wants to appeal to any form of parliamentary intervention.

Kraaker History

Squatting has been an ordinary phenomenon since the time of the Provos (1965-1966) when run-away children, drug-dealers and those people who were totally incapable of finding dwellings in Amsterdam began taking refuge in empty buildings. The emergence of an absurd situation where a surplus of office buildings (most of them former private homes) stand empty in a city with an acute housing shortage dates back to 1945, when in rebuilding homes which had been demolished or extensively damaged during the German occupation, speculators found it more profitable to convert homes into offices than provide desperately needed housing.

With the slogan "save a building, kraak a building" a former founder of the Provos set up a "Kraaker Office" in 1967 and an organized



The intersection where the occupied house was situated was renamed "Freedom Place."

further illegal action.

However, in 1975 some judges found means to force kraakers to evacuate kraaked buildings. And in 1976 a law against kraaking was introduced to parliament. It was accepted by the second chamber but after a delay of years in the first chamber it has been tabled as a result of the recent squatters' riots.

But house owners have found illegal means to chase kraakers from their dwellings. They're organising goon squads to evict the inhabitants and destroy the interior of their buildings to make them utterly uninhabitable. Basically sound buildings are set on fire, even with the inhabitants inside. They also pretend to have rented their houses—a ploy which could easily be settled in summary procedures. A kraaker might then win the appeal but as a summary judgment has already caused the eviction, it is impossible to get back in. The kraakers found their answer in self-organization.

Action Days Proclaimed

After the proposal of the "anti-kraak-law" in 1976, a national Kraakers committee was formed to proclaim periodic action days. Its effectiveness was demonstrated at the end of 1979 when on the same day in the cities of Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, Breda, Utrecht, Nijmegen, Leeuwarden, and Amersfoort, important buildings were occupied. Those occupations were sometimes followed by fierce battles with local police, kraakers defending their houses with paint, stones and barricades.

In November 1978 a block of five houses known as De Groote Keizer (The Grand Emperor), were occupied and inhabited by about 50 kraakers. The proprietor, an investment society, sold the buildings for a profit of \$190 million on the condition that they be empty. The investment company began proceedings to have the kraakers evicted.

The case was at first lost when the inhabitants

squatters' movement was born. The purpose of the office was to establish a support network for squatters and to oppose city-planning by capitalist speculators. It was in this period that many inhabitants of quarters in Amsterdam (as in the centers of other cities) began uniting to reclaim the destiny of their quarters which were mainly slated for demolition.

Need for Self-Organization

The most famous and violent of these actions was the resistance of the Nieuwmarkt quarter in Amsterdam against the building of a metro through the whole quarter that meant the demolition of existing dwellings which were to be replaced by offices and luxury apartments.

The quarter committees were supported by the kraakers, but didn't manage to create a decentralized organization for solidarity. Apart from the Nieuwmarkt committee which was autonomous, all the other committees were dominated by Maoist or Communist political parties. And the Communist Party was in the city government of Amsterdam, doing its utmost to prevent solidarity between the quarters.

At first, self-organization of kraakers didn't seem very urgent because in Holland squatting is not an illegal action. Only breaking in can be cause for arrest, so legally kraakers can't be charged unless they are caught at the moment of "kraaking." After the initial kraak, a new lock always replaces the broken one so there is no



Amsterdam, April 30, 1980.

couldn't be cited as their names were unknown. But after a year, on October 26, 1979, the Court of Appeal ordered evacuation of the houses which by then held 100 squatters.

The squatters refused to recognize the decision and prepared to resist the bailiffs with all possible means. The floors were barricaded and arms—tar, paint, gas, projectiles and smoke bombs—were stockpiled.

In order to execute sentences of the civil court bailiffs are entitled to appeal to the police. In cooperation with the Kraaker Alarm Centre of the city of Amsterdam, every barrack of the mobile squads of the police was guarded by kraakers. The inhabitants of De Grootte Keizer declared they were prepared to defend their living space, to the death if necessary.

The mayor, as chief of police, hesitated in deciding whether the police should intervene at the request of the bailiffs and risk "public disorder" and perhaps even casualties for the profit of the speculators.

The kraakers drew attention to their cause on December 19 by letting off a smoke bomb at a sitting of the town-council which was devoting itself to the politics of housing. During January and February tension grew because the mayor could not and would not decide in favour of the bailiff, but also refused to show the police that he refused to intervene.

Police Riot and Make Their Own Laws

Meanwhile, there were new incidents. On February 22, in order to distract the mobile squads from De Grootte Keizer, a group of kraakers tried to occupy a building on Vondelstraat that had stood vacant for three years.

They penetrated the building but that evening 70 police from the mobile squad showed up at the house armed with axes and evacuated it within 15 minutes. One squatter had to be taken to hospital with a concussion.

The action by the mobile squads was blatantly illegal as there had been no complaint from the owners and there was no civil court order for evacuation.

The next day, in protest against the police action, the windows of the mobile squad's training centre were smashed. As a result of this a 22-year-old woman, Nanda M., was arrested and kept incommunicado, charged with painting slogans.

The kraakers weren't about to back down. They decided to reconquer the Vondelstraat building.

On Friday February 29, they organized a large group of demonstrators who marched to City Hall apparently to show solidarity with the inhabitants of De Grootte Keizer. The mobile squads were distracted by the demonstration and failed to notice a few hundred people who remained behind. At 6:00 p.m. those kraakers again occupied and barricaded the house on Vondelstraat.

"Nanda must be released," "A place to live is our right" resounded as the hoodwinked police units that had followed the larger procession to City Hall thrust their way back to Vondelstraat. Again, without any order, the mobile squad tried to clear the house but finally had to retreat before the thousand people who had come to defend the occupation, armed with street signs and pavement stones. After several assaults of the mobile squads had been repelled, the squatters conquered several streets which they reinforced by building barricades, creating a "free state" of their own.

"Freedom Place"

Barricaded on all sides, the intersection where the occupied house was situated was renamed "Freedom Place." Access was sealed tight; cars no longer passed through, but thousands of Amsterdamers sought out the "free state." Saturday night the crowd continued to grow. Music played all through the night and a theatre group, "Prologue," cancelled their production in a local theatre and came to stage a play at the liberated intersection.

On Sunday the town-council convened and at 3:30 a.m. Monday morning the mayor gave his ultimatum. The barricades had to be removed by 5:00 a.m. or the police would move in.

The squatters had won some important concessions: they would be allowed to inhabit De Grootte Keizer and the Vondelstraat and Nanda M. would be released, so they began clearing the barricades themselves but said they would need more time.

The mayor wouldn't wait. He gave the order throughout Holland for police units to gather together. By 6 a.m. about 1,000 mobile squad, military and rural police moved in with armoured cars, personnel carriers and four Leopard tanks with bulldozer blades, and smashed the barricades. In the mayor's combat-order it was made clear that firearms could be used if necessary.

This totally unnecessary display of power and force only increased the hatred against the existing forces of order. The clearing of the barricades was answered by spontaneous riots throughout the city. Police cars were commandeered and

There were barricades in every street and teargas bombs used by the police were thrown back.

overturned; many people were wounded. These riots were the direct result of interference by the mobile squads.

The force used against the squatters was also seen as a preventative measure taken by the State to lessen the possibility of any solidarity action between the kraakers and the trade unions which were planning a major strike against wage controls for the next day.

"No Accommodation—No Coronation!"

The week following the squatters' battle saw increased violence on the part of the mobile squads. At Nijmegen, 11 women from a feminist collective were evacuated by 110 policemen and immediately thrown into an infirmary. At Borssele, a group of non-violent anti-nuke activists who chained themselves to the entrance of a nuke-center, were attacked by police dogs and clubbed with truncheons. At The Hague, an armoured car and axes were used to force the door of a house inhabited by squatting Turkish labourers.

In answer to the State's obvious support of property speculators and the organized cruelty of the mobile squads, some kraakers printed a leaflet calling for "action" in Amsterdam on April 30th, the coronation day for Queen Beatrix. The leaflet would have passed unnoticed if it had not been seized by the police in Tilburg and Zwolle. The printers were arrested for sedition and within 24 hours the contents were published in all the papers. Now everybody knew the message: "Come to Amsterdam and don't forget your helmet!"

The government acted accordingly. Special riot police were sent for training in the countryside and on the day of the inauguration 8,000 police and soldiers guarded Dam Square where the coronation took place. Many supporters of the monarchy were frightened by the State's preparations for maintaining "law and order" and so stayed away from

the coronation.

On this day, half the city was transformed by the State into an armed camp reminiscent of the time of the German occupation of 1940-1945. Anarchists and left-wing autonomists responded by announcing a demonstration to take place on the very spot where the Germans founded the Jewish ghetto, where a monument commemorating the famous February strike of 1941 now stands.

Chanting "No accommodation, no inauguration," several thousand protestors prepared to march to the Dam when the coronation took place at 2 p.m. The mobile squads kept them back with tear gas and high-powered water hoses. However, comrades from outside the city went directly from the station to Dam Square.

Unmolested they waved red and black flags and banners with circled A's. After the abdication, when the old queen introduced the new, masses of people began not to cheer but to shout; smoke bombs exploded.

More to Come

At the same time, squatters kraaked an office just two kilometres away and prepared for an open air feast. When the mobile squads came uninvited with armoured cars they were greeted by thousands and thousands ready with sticks and stones. After an hour's battle the acting mayor ordered the squads to retreat and a new building was conquered.

Squatting actions were also taking place at Breda, Nijmegen, Gronigen, Leeuwarden, Utrecht (25 houses!), Tilburg, Leiden, Eindhoven. At The Hague, an attempt to occupy the parliament buildings failed.

Pitched battles raged between the mobile squads and nearly the whole youth of Amsterdam far into the night. Schoolboys who had been invited to the Dam to cheer the new queen refused and were now learning spontaneous street-fighting.

The objective: to disturb the impression of a loyal and cheering people in front of the queen, was surpassed.

There were barricades and battles in every street, and the queen herself could see the rising smoke from burning police cars.

The straight press focussed on the destructive powers of this spontaneous gathering of thousands of people ready to fight the system, refusing to see that they were organized around the serious issue of housing. This was no one day explosion. The squatting continues.

Hidden persuasion & the Parti Quebecois

It is a well-known predilection of the Quebecois to view politics as the art par excellence of "getting screwed."

Pierre Vallieres has been involved with the independence/separatist movement in Quebec for almost 20 years. Most famous for his uncompromising portrait of Quebecois oppression in *White Niggers of America*, he was arrested and put on trial as a member of the urban guerrilla, *Le Front de Liberation du Quebec* and spent many years in jail for his activism on behalf of Quebec independence.

Out of jail at the time of the October Crisis in 1970, he was once again locked up during the War Measures hysteria. After being released he went underground only to resurface again with a bombshell of a different type. A new book entitled *Choose!* which shocked FLQ supporters and the radical Left in Quebec (see OR #7).

Choose! called for militants of all stripes to abandon guerrilla warfare and work for the electoral victory of the Parti Quebecois. Vallieres felt that such a victory would be the first step in a social process which would create the conditions for true independence in Quebec.

Immersing himself in community work in rural Quebec, Vallieres produced one more book, *The Assassination of Pierre Laporte*, in which he laid the blame for the October Crisis at the door of the Federal government, and indirectly prepared a climate in Quebec which has enabled a number of FLQ members to return from exile or be released from prison (see OR #9).

While members of the orthodox Left have often been horrified by Vallieres' sacrilegious conclusions, the man himself has attempted to remain intellectually consistent, at the same time developing his anti-authoritarian and humanist vision of social revolution.

Now Black Rose Books has published an English translation of his latest book, *The Impossible Quebec: Illusions of Sovereignty-Association*, in which he roasts the Parti Quebecois and calls for real independence and a popular grassroots social revolution in Quebec.

The excerpt we've reprinted outlines the PQ's manipulation of popular consciousness in Quebec.

Because there was no real choice, Vallieres abstained from the Quebec referendum which saw 59% of the population reject the PQ's version of independence.

The P.Q.'s childish obsession with covering up anything that might tend to frighten the population has reduced political debate to the level of vacuous rhetoric.

The election of 1973, and particularly the one of 1976, were characterized by speeches on "independence" that had virtually no substance. The P.Q. was attempting to sell, without a great deal of insistence, "a normal culture's need for independence," much as advertising sells beauty products: by clandestine persuasion. The "profitability" of secession was falsified and anticipated difficulties were camouflaged. The P.Q. would laud the administrative talents of its leaders but omit to say whether the latter were also patriots who were ready to sacrifice their own skins in the political battles ahead. The prospect of a referendum was used as a kind of "message," signifying in veiled terms that independence was more the concern of the masses than the party that was to vehicle the project: the Levesque government would thus be able to extricate itself from its primary objective if the referendum vote turned out to be negative.

The necessity of a P.Q. government was thus subtly substituted for the necessity of a politically, economically and socially liberated Quebec. With this policy of "intermediate" sovereignty, P.Q. leaders managed to attain power—but "not necessarily" in order to secure independence.

If federal and American pressures ever become intolerable for the party, capitulation will be easy: its cowardice can be chalked up to the "evolutionary rhythm" of the masses, shattered hopes to

"political realism" and "economic constraints."

The recent election of a large majority of ultra-conservative education commissioners in Montreal is seen by the P.Q. as a "visceral fear of change" that the Quebecois transmit from generation to generation: it should rather be seen as a consequence of the party's lack of coherent political work in the field of education.

If fear has become "a structural reflex" in Quebec, as eminent party officials would have us believe, the P.Q. might as well admit openly that the Quebecois are destined to be quietly swallowed up and digested by the American socio-political machine, to be turned into serialized entities whose sole ambition will be to look after their own private interests.

Naturally, the Levesque government will never clearly come out and say this. It will say, with supporting arguments, that "a political policy can only be created from the raw materials of the society which preceded it." Very well. But is the present society as set in its ways as the P.Q. thinks? Is it not possible to make an effort to thoroughly transform it? Or are all Quebec policies by nature doomed to lick the boots of conformism and bend to the yoke of fear?

In its rapid rise to power, the P.Q. favoured an American electoral strategy which rests on very simple principles: arousing maximum interest while taking minimal risks, "selling" minor issues (clean government) to the public while placing the major one (independence) in cold storage, mixing fibs and half-truths so that, once in power, it will be easy to find justifications for compromise, replacing militancy and ideology with the fine art of voter "scrutinizing," et cetera.

The Parti Quebecois does not seem to be aware of the fact that its cautious low-profile is in itself a dangerous avenue: it takes on the air of an official strategy, one which entails a tangled string of "tactical compromises." By not wanting to disrupt the inertia of the present system or the lethargy of those who have yielded to it, the P.Q. government has left itself wide open to the forces of the enemy.

In actual fact, there is only one plan of action which can embody the hope of collective liberation: the one based on a class struggle which supports national independence to the very end.

P.Q. marketing, however, rejects the existence of class struggle in Quebec and deradicalizes the option of independence with the cloudy notion of "sovereignty-association."

Even if it is true that class struggle has not yet motivated labour to form an autonomous political force, the fact remains that the struggle exists and that it is impossible, within the context of American capitalism, to reconcile the interests of the workers with those of their employers, the multinationals.

It is significant that the opponents of an autonomous labour movement and of syndicalism in general are also wildly opposed to the plan of independence. The P.Q. is deluding itself if it thinks it can rally the multinationals to its cause by proposing socio-economic cooperation. The money-labour association and the attachment to the traditional, hierarchical values of North American society are simply incompatible with Quebec's struggle for national independence. By denying the "struggle of the classes" (and especially by frightening the population with the connotations of that phrase), the Parti Quebecois will sooner or later be forced to sacrifice its aim of independence. It is thus inviting a return to the sterile nationalism of the Duplessis era.

Any policy of liberation is perforce an exercise in imagination. Well, imagination is sorely lacking in the National Assembly, where tedious rhetoric and endless exaggeration are numbing more than the minds of the journalists. Legislative action is proceeding at a snail's pace and with a skittishness that discourages even government partisans.

Marketing the P.Q.

Marketing has come between the Parti Quebecois and its original purpose. The laws it has so far introduced (with the exception of the language legislation) have not been consistent with the objectives of independence. It's as if everything has been arranged for the tossing of the coin which will decide the destiny of the Quebecois.

The leaders of the present government appear little inclined to move beyond the kind of boy-scout regime which, from Taschereau to Bourassa, has only succeeded in corrupting a few members of the privileged elite. It has never been able to inspire the population to transcend its condition.

It is not with an ephemeral "image" that a party can move the population to alter the course of its history. What is needed is what the Chinese refer to as "the human factor." In Quebec this factor is negated by technocracy whose *raison d'être*—sustaining the power groups—depends entirely on the dominant classes. The latter, as everyone knows, have always been the first to denounce any political, social or economic protest.

And yet protest is the very base and matrix of the Parti Quebecois' existence. To conceal this

fact, Rene Levesque has done his utmost to efface from the annals of history the *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale (R.I.N.)*** For Levesque, the struggle for independence did not begin in 1960 but rather in 1968, the year his party was formed. The fear of tarnishing the P.Q.'s image with the memory of the early protests of the 60's explains this willful distortion of history.

The R.I.N.'s mistake was to underestimate the power of marketing. A party that intends to govern, however, should be very much concerned with this instrument. Because to govern, according to certain leaders, is above all to make sure that it is the "marketing agents" of the economic power groups who make the political decisions.

The primacy of the public image in shaping "democratic" governments strips voters of the significance of their vote. Thus, those who voted for the P.Q. are still wondering today what meaning should be attached to that party's victory. This confusion only forces party organizers to step up their campaign to create and sell the next "image." Instead, they should be trying to rally the population, without any ulterior motives or opportunism, for the pressing task of liberation.

Aware of having fallen into the debilitating trap of marketing and sterile conservatism, many *indépendantistes* are now thinking of creating an alternative to the Parti Quebecois. But it is hard to break off with a "winning" team after having spent so much time and energy in trying to open the door to power.

Some *indépendantistes* console themselves with the idea that the P.Q. victory will eventually unleash the hostility of English-speaking Canada, which might have the effect of "radicalizing" the Quebecois and even certain P.Q. moderates. There is no indication, however, that this is about to occur. It is more likely that the Quebecois—who have been reduced to the role of spectator in the federal-provincial debate—will forever maintain their attitude of wait-and-see.

"Getting Screwed"

It is a well-known predilection of the Quebecois to view politics as the art par excellence of "getting screwed." Thousands of men and women have banked on the Parti Quebecois in the hope that it will provide a "turning point in history," a radical change, a cultural revolution. Since the elections, they have seen a crew of office clerks juggle with their aspirations: through "marketing," cooperation, law and order. And the liberal mandarins have acted no differently.

The thorough disenchantment which threatens to explode at any moment may cost the Levesque government dearly. It may also drag the population back to the not-so-distant era in which fatalism replaced culture and ideology, and when the level of apoliticism was equalled only by the cynicism of the parochialists of the National Assembly.

Deprived of a progressive alternative to the Parti Quebecois, Quebec is preparing to choose between "independence if necessary, but not necessarily independence" and federalism if necessary but not necessarily the federalism that has been known hitherto. In short, Quebec is preparing to choose between two forms of ambiguity.

For the proposed sovereignty option to have a truly historical significance, it would have to be formulated in anti-imperialist terms. Since this is not about to happen, the referendum on independence could well be a missed rendezvous with the future.

In that it has ignored the central issue, i.e. the North American economic system, the debate over Quebec's future has become a war between bankers and aspiring bankers. The former pose as privileged defenders of democracy, the latter appear as subversives.

Will this war over the "profitability" of secession end up being a tragic spectacle like the October Crisis of 1970... even before the intelligence of the Quebecois and English-speaking Canadians has been drawn upon?

Is there still a chance for the Levesque government and Quebec society to find a way out of the present mess? If there is one, it lies with the workers of Quebec. Unfortunately, the Levesque government has shown that it does not want an alliance with this group and that it is incapable of implementing a socio-economic development programme which is autonomous, socialist and self-governing. For this reason, the Levesque government and the Parti Quebecois will go down in history as laughable figures who fought in a minor skirmish, as heroes without a cause in a suicidal political battle.

**The R.I.N. was a center party which in 1968 merged with Levesque's Sovereignty-Association Movement to form the Parti Quebecois. (Trans.)

The Impossible Quebec: Illusions of Sovereignty-Association can be ordered from Black Rose Books, 3981 Boulevard St. Laurent, 4th floor, Montreal, Quebec, H2W 1Y5.

May 20, 1980. Having lost the referendum, angry Quebecois separatists march on Montreal's wealthy anglo-phone district.



CNT Splits

There's troubling news from Spain, where the world's largest anarcho-syndicalist trade union movement has virtually suspended its efforts to win friends and influence people.

Some call it paralysis, others just a pause, but evidence is mounting that the National Confederation of Labour (CNT) is increasingly incapable of fulfilling its mandate as a revolutionary organization of workers.

The basic problem seems not so much the repressive policies of the post-Franco regime, although King Juan Carlos and Co., with plenty of financial and political support from its opposite numbers in Europe and the U.S., have managed to keep the Spanish workers' movement on the defensive.

It's more of a family crisis, with a whole host of CNT tendencies and sub-groups, along with a considerable number of opportunist elements, engaged in a furious debate over the future direction of the organization.

As the current (April, 1980) issue of *News From Libertarian Spain* notes:

"The CNT as it was reorganized after Franco's death attracted many elements who were independent, but not anarcho-syndicalist, and who sought an opportunity to push their interests and programs. The CNT with its federalist, non-centralist structure and its militancy provided such a haven.

"Independent marxists who could not accept the Communist or Socialist parties, regionalist nationalists who wanted something different from the dominant nationalist parties, functionaries of the former Franco vertical unions (unions of employers, workers and government) who could not accept socialist or communist ideologies, all flocked into the reborn CNT and tried to remake it in their own image."

Even the very nature of the CNT as a trade union movement is in question, with some militants (the so-called "globalists") pushing for an extension into community organizing and the restructuring of the CNT to look more like a multi-purpose political party.

Splinter Group

But the most disconcerting development has been the apparent spawning of a rival "CNT" organization to press for "pure and simple trade unionism"—meaning greater collaboration with the existing State-controlled system of collective bargaining.

The State system, which is endorsed by the Communist and Socialist Parties and their respective trade union centrals (the workers' commissions and the UGT), provides for "worker representatives" to be elected from each workplace to serve on shop committees with the bosses and agents of the government. These worker representatives are actually paid by the bosses for their services.

The CNT splinter, while it represents only an eddy in the movement's wide current, has still managed to sow confusion in the membership.

"All organizing work has stopped for the time being in Catalonia, the stronghold of the CNT, and apparently in other areas, too, as a result of the internal crisis," said one informed member of the CNT's North American support network.

"The newspaper of the Catalonian CNT organization, *Solidaridad Obrera*, reports the regional committee can't do its work because CNT locals are not sending in their dues. The locals are confused over the intensity of the debate, and who is legitimately speaking for the organization."

The split surfaced at the historic fifth congress of the CNT last December in Madrid—the union's first general policy-making conclave since before the Spanish Civil War and Revolution of 1936-39.

With a membership of more than 300,000—it had grown from virtually zero in the three years since the CNT came above ground—hopes were running high that the organization could consolidate itself, agree on a fighting program and set its course for the future.

Instead, the week-long gathering was marred by a whole series of bitter, and profound, disagreements. Halfway through, about 50 delegates—the pure and simple trade unionists—walked out, leaving 650 other delegates to carry on with business.



CNT rally in Barcelona with militants giving the clasped hand anarchist salute.

The overwhelming majority of the congress voted to adhere to the traditional CNT principles of anarcho-syndicalism, including that the proper forum for making decisions, running strikes and dealing with the bosses is the general assembly of all workers in the workplace, not a private meeting between a union elite and a management/government negotiating team.

The congress affirmed the principle that no one can "represent" workers but the workers themselves, and that collective bargaining and contracts under the current system are simply tricks to dampen workers' militancy.

"The militants prevailed over the reformists at the congress," says *News From Libertarian Spain*.

While the dissidents were numerically few, they apparently included the entire CNT national committee at the time of the congress. It's unclear whether those delegates who walked out had the

mandate of their unions to do so.

The dissidents, now called the "Zaragossa CNT," have started putting out their own newspaper, called *CNT* (same as the mainstream), but without actually claiming to be the "real" CNT. As well, they are holding regional meetings to get some sort of network off the ground.

The regular CNT seems to have its strongest presence in Catalonia, including Barcelona, and in the Madrid and Valencia regions, with the dissidents claiming much of their strength in the hinterland.

The split is a familiar one in the history of the CNT. The same battle was waged in the early 1930's, with "moderates" arguing the CNT should pull in its horns to give the New Republic a chance to consolidate itself.

The moderates, who were in a definite minority, left the CNT at that time, but returned

in 1936 at the fourth congress when it became obvious that the conciliatory gestures were not going to forestall a Fascist grab for power.

Despite all the wrangling at the fifth congress, the CNT did formally confirm itself as a revolutionary organization whose goal is libertarian communism.

Another important debate, as noted by a North American militant who was in attendance, was over whether the CNT should stick to anarcho-syndicalism (workplace organizing), or reach out in a formal way to the reborn anarchist movement outside the CNT.

"Here the congress decided it would remain a trade union movement first and foremost," he said. "Some unions wanted it to become a generalized libertarian movement incorporating the labour movement."

continued on p. 32

Takes two to 'terrorist'?

Two recent news bulletins from Greece were headlined:

"Athens an occupied zone: hundreds dragged into prisons."

"Greek anarchist prisoners win first victory in two years."

The descriptions are typical of the kind of ongoing battle being waged between the liberal-facaded, but right-wing, Greek State and its opponents.

In the latest of its mass strikes against its critics, the State used the killing of a riot police-chief in Athens as an excuse for hauling in hundreds of anarchists and other militants. That's when the city became an occupied zone.

Said one observer: "It was terrifying. Hundreds were taken to prisons—"questioning witnesses" it was called by the police. For long periods of time nobody knew where they were. Groups of people were arrested and accused of forming "terrorist groups" or any other offence they could think of under the infamous "Anti-terrorist" Law. Among those arrested were journalists, translators, an old woman of about 80 years and a child of seven who was kept in a cell with her mother for two nights before the police agreed to let the child go home with relatives."

But in a separate incident two prisoners—probably the best known victims of the Law—also won their first victory, however minimal, in two years.

Sophia and Philipos Kryitsis are still in prison serving nine and five years respectively for framed-up terrorist convictions, but with a combination of their inside actions (hunger strikes) and outside support (a public rally in Athens) they've managed to have some of the worst abuses by their prison guards stopped.

Sophia was on a hunger strike for 40 days and Philipos for 52 days to protest being confined in separate prisons, not being allowed to see each other and the daily force feeding to Sophia of massive drug doses which were inducing a physical and mental breakdown. She was then being

threatened with transfer to the State Mental Hospital, notorious for its brutal treatment of inmates.

The victory: Philipos was transferred to the same prison as Sophia, they are now allowed to see each other three times a month and the drugs have stopped. However, Sophia is reported to be seriously ill from the drugs.

It all started back in March 1978 when after consulting with the German prime minister, the Greeks introduced their own "anti-terrorist" law. (Ever since the overthrow of the Junta in 1974 Greek politicians have been striving to be accepted by the European Common Market as a stable industrialized nation).

Under the Anti-terrorist Law—practically a carbon-copy of the German one—even two people can be considered a "terrorist group" and persons who support or even suspect terrorist actions and fail to inform the police can get from two to ten years in prison.

Within a week of the Law's introduction the frame-up case of its first victims, the Kryitses was underway and read like the script for the "Persons Unknown" trial in England. (See OR #10½.)

A student who had a copy of the infamous (and not at all recommended) *Anarchist Cookbook*, said he'd borrowed it from the Kryitses and to get himself off the hook led the National Security Force (NSF) to their flat. The Kryitses were out of town but the NSF found books and magazines of "anarchist content" and a common household item: two bottles of petrol used for rubbing out stains from clothing. Nervous that this was obviously slim evidence, the student led the NSF to another flat where eight Molotovs, which he alleged were made by the Kryitses, were found.

The Kryitses have denied any knowledge of the Molotovs but not only were they charged with their possession but with having them in order to give them to a "terrorist group." It was this "terrorist" connection that brought down such heavy sentences even though during the trial the police admitted that to their knowledge there were no groups or persons to whom the Molotovs could be supplied for use.

The Kryitses case resurfaced in the public eye during student occupations of all the universities and polytechnics in Greece last December.

The occupations were triggered by what is known as the "#815 fascist law," an attempt by the government to streamline university education. To make it, as one student says, "more useful for the State, for industry and for the Common Market of Europe."

In spite of the repression, diverse sources indicate that an anti-authoritarian revival is spreading in Greece. To keep abreast of developments contact *To Rigma*, c/o Black and Red, Students Union, The University, Leeds LS2 9JT or *Ideodrome*, P.O. Box 4028, Neapolis, Athens, Greece.

It helps the morale of prisoners to know there is international support for their cases. Letters of solidarity can be sent to Sophia and Philipos Kryitses who are now both held in Koridallou Prison, Koridallou-Pireas, Greece.

NEWSFLASH

As we go to press we've just received news of a hunger strike that started in both the women and men's sections of the Koridallou prison and appears to be spreading to the 40 other prisons in Greece.

The Koridallou strike is to protest the "repression and medieval tortures exercised by the political authorities, politicians and penitentiary officials."

Demands from the women's section included being allowed to talk to journalists about prison conditions and the dismissal of the prison psychiatrist who cooperates in singling out political prisoners for transfer to the psychiatric hospitals.

The authorities responded by forbidding journalists, lawyers and relatives access to the prisoners. Several prisoners have already been transferred to different prisons and at least three women have been sent to a men's psychiatric hospital.

Prison supporters on the outside have asked that all prospective tourists boycott Greece. They say, "On the beautiful islands where you spend your holidays, there are prisoners regularly being tortured."

Rhinos waddle for one percent

While politicians flip-flopped on election promises and anarchists contemplated the merits of a "Don't Vote" campaign the Rhinoceros Party waddled into the public's imagination and lumbered off with 1% of the vote in February's Canadian federal election.

They call themselves Rhinos because "the rhino is myopic, thick-skinned, a little stupid, loves to wallow in the mud, will run from any confrontation and is therefore the prototype of every politician."

Founded in Quebec, they started off with two candidates and 413 votes back in 1965. But with a flare for satirical commentary on federal politics they've infiltrated the nation and today are Canada's fifth largest and fastest growing political party. The real leap came in May 1979 when they fielded 63 candidates for a total of 63,000 votes and then, only nine months later, in yet another federal election, almost doubled that with 121 candidates who pulled in 105,000 votes. All the more impressive when the overall voter turnout had dropped by 10% for that election.

With the exception of their new "leader"—a baby rhinoceros born last December in a Quebec zoo—the Rhinos are organized along anti-authoritarian lines.

At last count they had 30,000 vice-presidents—being non-hierarchical, all members of the Rhino Party are automatically vice-presidents. They say they "allow total dissidence," each candidate being free to announce her or his election platform and in at least one riding, the candidate admitted to having no prepared speech and asked instead for suggestions from the audience.

The essentially peaceful Rhinos did get themselves embroiled in an international crisis once when they declared war on Belgium for what they termed "an inexcusable act of provocation." A Belgian cartoonist had depicted the brutal killing of a rhinoceros. The Belgian embassy quickly agreed to the Rhino demands and sent a case of its best beer and mussels to the Rhino's Montreal headquarters as reparations.

Sound like a big joke? The media, who revel in the spectacle appeal of the Rhinos, consistently refer to them as being "just out for fun" and the straight politicians (including leftists) find them a nuisance especially now that the Rhinos are an official party (you need 50 candidates to become a recognized federal party). But while dogma may be lacking, you don't have to dig very deep to find the issues.

A sampling of Rhino statements:

- there should be a two-cent-per-word surcharge on telephone bills to pay for RCMP (federal police) wiretaps;
- people whose mail will be illegally opened by the police should pay additional postage;
- every Canadian should have a nuclear toothbrush and a nuclear generating station in his or her home;
- the New Democrats (a social democratic party) should be left to do what they do best—disorganize the organized;
- crime could be eliminated by abolishing our cumbersome legal system.

Canadian anarchists have mixed reactions to the Rhinos. Some are critical and want nothing to do with them. Said one anarchist, "The media and political parties tolerate the Rhinos because there's a lot of dissatisfaction with our political system and a joke like the Rhinos acts as a safety-valve so that Canadians won't take serious action."

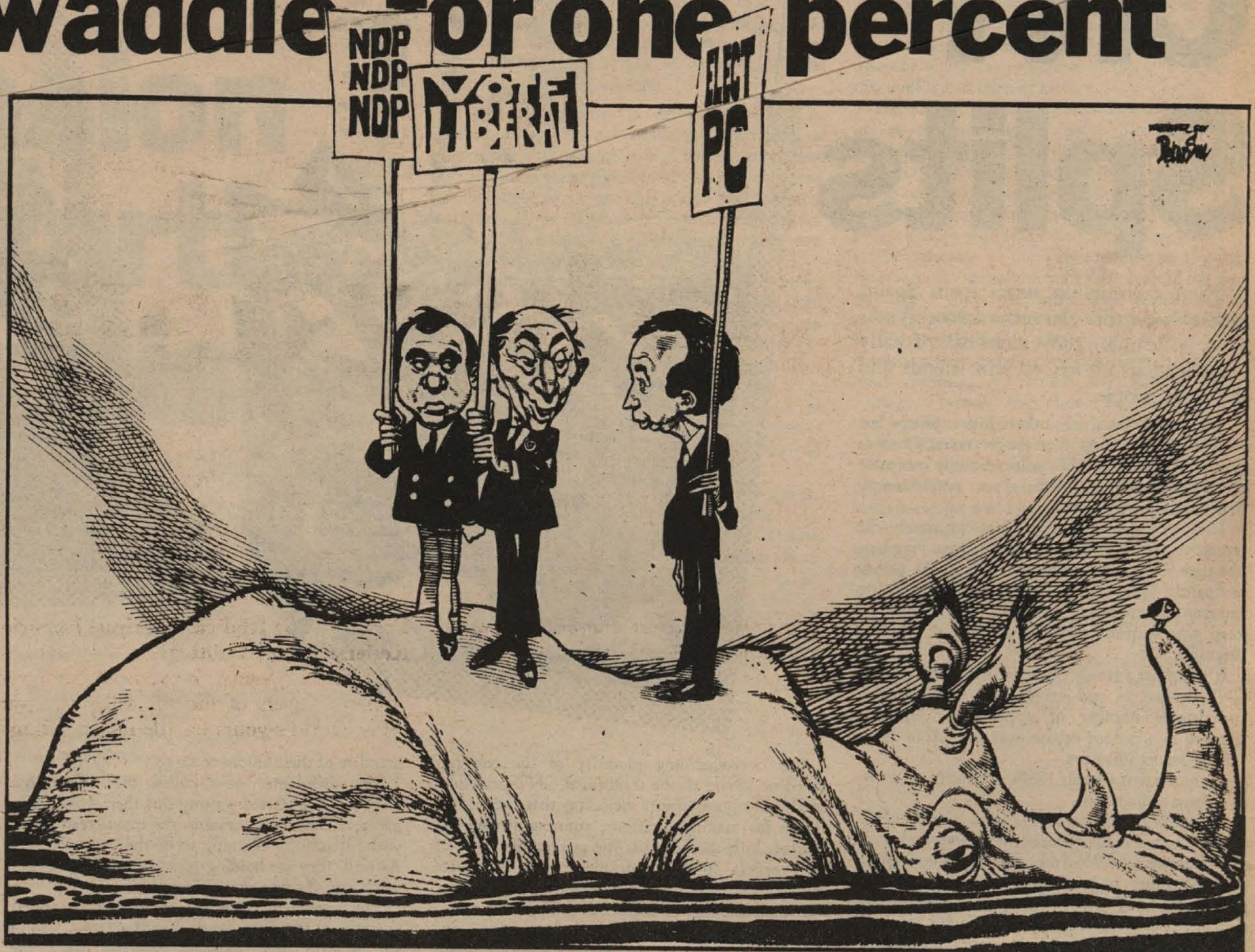
Another anarchist commented, "With our limited numbers and resources, I personally see 'Don't Vote' campaigns as low priority for anarchists. But I'm always happy to see the hypocrisies of the electoral system exposed and the Rhinos are experts at that. The media would never give anarchists such good coverage."

Most Rhinos are happy to be thought of as tricksters and wouldn't welcome the label of "radical," but there are a few issues they're firm on. In Western Canada at least, to be an "official" Rhino, you have to support global peace and the legalization of marijuana, recognize the importance of "Mother Earth" and oppose nuclear power.

But said one Rhino supporter, "The Rhino Party as such isn't what interests me. It's quite possible that they'll eventually turn into a one-issue environmental party. What intrigues and encourages me is that as it now stands, a vote for the Rhinos is, however muddled, temporary and undirected, a rejection of our electoral system."

The Rhinos say: "The Trouble with this Federal Rejection (their term for the election) is no matter who gets the vote, the government always gets back in."

The question now: can others learn from the Rhino art of imaginative protest and translate it into ongoing action for Social Revolution?



"Y'know, all of a sudden I feel a groundswell of interest from the "undecideds" in this election..."
(Leaders of the big three federal parties in Canada losing ground.)

Paper cups work best

Successful urban guerilla tactics were used recently by over 100 Madison, Wisconsin women and several men to counteract a \$10,000 anti-abortion billboard blitz in Madison.

The billboards, paid for by the "Wisconsin Citizens Concerned for Life" showed a picture of a two month old baby with the caption "Kill Her Now... It's Murder. 3 Months Ago... It's Abortion." Twenty-five billboards were placed at the entrances to the city and on all the main thoroughfares. Similar billboards had been placed in other Wisconsin cities, but nowhere else did feminists react with such ferocity.

During the two months the billboards were up, 15 out of 25 were defaced at least once a week, costing the billboard company between \$300 and \$500 per week. Defacements occurred so often at some locations that eventually the company stopped replacing the signs.

The main force behind the anti-billboard campaign was the Billboard Brigade, an impromptu group of over 50 Lesbians, non-Lesbian women and men, organized into affinity groups of four to five people each. (A conscious effort was made to reach and include men in the community who supported abortion rights and were willing to act on it. The men who responded formed their own affinity groups).

The Brigade planned so well that no one taking part in Brigade activities was ever arrested during the five different occasions the Brigade went into action. Two women, working on their own, were arrested but were never charged due to lack of evidence.

Groups scouted assigned locations to determine how safe they were and how the billboards could be reached with paint. Billboards near police stations or high on top of buildings were rejected. Each group was then responsible for deciding how to deface its sign and for bringing its own supplies. Some used rollers with extension handles or ladders. Others threw baggies full of paint, which was very messy. The most successful was paper cups with tempera paint covered with lids.

All the teams went out at approximately the same time and returned to the meeting place so that we could be sure everyone returned. Coffee and cookies were available to make things sociable. One person stayed at the meeting place to take



People's urban redecoration makes a point.

phone calls in case people got arrested. A bail fund was started by passing the hat, and two local bands promised to do benefits if we needed money for legal fees. The Brigade organizers did preliminary legal research on the level of potential charges we might expect so everyone understood beforehand what could happen if we got caught. Two lawyers volunteered to donate their time if anyone got arrested.

We went out a different night and a different hour every week to keep the cops guessing. We always went out well after bar time, when the cops were likely to be drinking coffee somewhere. To limit the number of phone calls we decided the night and meeting place for the next week at the end of each action. If people had to use the phone, we talked about "decorating parties." To minimize the time necessary for meetings before and after actions, only one person in each team signed in and out and acted as liaison with her group. We continued going out together on the same night because it made us feel more powerful and it made it more difficult for the police to get us all.

Whenever possible we tried to include a political message. Most effective were selected word changes that made our message out of theirs. This was difficult to do however, as the billboards were

20 feet high! Each team decided for itself if it was safe enough to deface its billboard artfully or whether speedy paint tossing was safer. Some painted messages on shelving paper and then rolled the paper which had been pre-dampened with flour and water paste to the board.

As the actions accumulated, so did letters to the editors of local papers, radio call-ins and editorials about "private property" and "free speech." To present our view we had a media committee which kept up a correspondence with the papers and gave radio interviews.

The final action planned by the Brigade in coalition with other groups was a rally and open civil disobedience. Some 300 people marched a mile and a half from the capitol building to a billboard near the University of Wisconsin. Everyone threw styrofoam cups of tempera paint, and three brave souls shimmied up a 20 foot pole to throw a pre-prepared banner, anchored with bricks, over the billboard in full view of TV cameras.

When the police arrived, the marchers gathered under the billboard until the people placing the banner came down. They then blended with the crowd. No one was arrested. We had legal observers present in case of trouble.

Reprinted from off our backs

Lessons
of the **70s/80s**
Strategies for
the

Anarcha-Feminism: Why the hyphen?

With the vision of anarchism and feminism's durability, we'll put up one hell of a fight to be human. By Kytha Kurin

While there have always been women who considered themselves anarchists, the term anarcha-feminist is a product of the 70's. The following piece attempts to trace its roots and possible future.

Part I—The Question

Those who moan about the apathetic 70's may be high-salaried academics, disillusioned student rebels of the 60's, male marxists or anarchists, dupes of the mass media who equate value with spectacle appeal, possibly even liberal womens libbers, but they aren't radical feminists.

Through the numberless twists and phases of large pro-abortion demos, intimate consciousness-raising groups, internal heterosexual-lesbian splits, anti-male separatism, feminist union organizing, rape crisis centres, in short, through confronting the present anti-woman, anti-life society straight on, the radical feminist movement has picked up the 60's euphoria of daring to demand the impossible and has set down to the actual task of translating the dreams into reality.

And anarchism has been forced to labour with anger, dynamism and love of the women's movement. Throughout the decade some feminists and anarchists have called for the synthesis of the two movements. In 1975 Peggy Kornegger first published "Anarchism, the Feminist Connection," the Zero collective printed their statement "Anarcha-Feminism" in 1977 and *Open Road* had several features on the subject.

But while these have been real efforts to deal with a hyphenated concept that many feel should be contained in the single word anarchism, there have been many more who see the two movements as mutually exclusive. Depending on who you're talking to, they're also likely to see "their" movement as "more genuinely revolutionary."

Many of us tend to welcome a new decade as offering a clean slate. That's one reason for reconsidering the dialectics behind anarcha-feminism. Radical feminists have worked hard, experienced unexpected joys and frustrations and learned a lot about confronting patriarchy. And no person for whom anarchism is more than a label can have failed not only to have learned from the feminist experience, but to have seriously questioned and refocused on the politics in anarchism.

Have the experiences of the feminists and the impact of those experiences on the anarchists been understood well enough for all of us to successfully confront and create the 80's? That's the urgent question—because, while a new calendar may seem to allow a fresh start, our anti-life society does not. Women are still oppressed by personal and institutionalized sexism, most people are still denied any life beyond a mere survival existence, and all humanity lives under the pervasive threat of nuclear annihilation.

The meaning or non-meaning of anarcha-feminism is not a question of semantics or preferences. It's a question of what we've learned and how we can apply that learning to reclaim the planet as our life source instead of seeing it prepared as our death bed.

While it is customary to define one's terms before using them, in an examination of anarcha-feminism it makes more sense to consider the activities before the label. It has, after all, been the concrete experiences of radical feminist activity that have created the need to understand the potentials and limitations of feminism and anarchism.

After looking at some of the major accomplishments, desires and disappointments of the radical feminist movement,

we should at least be able to appreciate the historical circumstances that gave birth to the concept of anarcha-feminism. Looking at where the word came from rather than arguing about what the purity of the words feminism or anarchism *should* mean, we'll be in a better position to consider the future of anarcha-feminism. And finally, from that to consider some of the most viable directions for revolutionaries of the 80's.

Part II—The Radical Feminist Experience Redefining the Political

The radical feminist movement has never been more than superficially related to womens libbers of the *Ms. Magazine* variety who fit so nicely into liberalism's "The-world's-yours-for-the-manipulating" image. Radical feminists, many of whom were first politically active in anti-war and student demonstrations, always knew that the establishment gets nasty when it's threatened. And because being a feminist means confronting that establishment at every turn, feminists have met with a lot of nastiness—from governments, from men, from repressed-oppressed women, from lovers, from non-feminist radicals and even from our own internalized sexism. But while the constant confrontations have been exhausting and at times demoralizing, they have also pushed feminists to redefine the political.

What are political issues for women? Health, day care, sexuality, family, work, prisons, education, housing? For each of these, the myriad "sub-sections:" health flies into psychiatry, food, abortion, contraceptives, drugs, nuclear radiation. It's not a matter of choosing a "project," it's finding yourself involved in a particular struggle that's manipulated by and implicated in this authoritarian destruction bent society.

For many women, our first specifically feminist politicization came through demanding the right to abortion, that is, the right to control our own bodies. When anti-woman laws were exposed not as neglected holdovers of the Dark Ages, but as conscious means of reinforcing a woman's body as property of the State, many feminists were prepared to work in political movements because we had already found ourselves in a political confrontation. There was no question of "learning" to make politics personal, the intimacy of the personal was made political by the intervention of the State.

Men hadn't been so clearly confronted by this reality. In spite of the fact that most men sell their body/mind power and potential through wage slavery, and that their creative abilities are drained, suffocated and side-tracked into commodity consumption, many so-called radical men still acted as if they accepted an electoral definition of "politics"—something you go out and "do" for at most, a few hours a day. While many men recognized the urgency of political activity (something's got to change soon), most did not recognize the immediacy (we've got to make changes every day).

Separatism

Traditionally women had been stereotyped as "not understanding" politics and to a certain extent many women acquiesced in that opinion. But being forced to fight for a say in our own bodies, many women now felt that we did understand politics and the need for a unified opposition to the present structures of society.

It's important to remember that originally many tried to work in existing left political groups. Anarchism, with its recognition that the process of making a revolution can't be separated from the goals of that revolution, appeared to understand the political in much the same way that feminism did. Anarchists recognized that an authoritarian, exploitative movement could not possibly create a non-authoritarian, non-exploitative society. But what anarchist theory recognized, feminists demanded.

Anarchist meetings were not substantially different from other Left party meetings. There were some subjects that were relevant to political meetings and

In the last Open Road (#10 1/2), we asked our readers to contribute to this special "Lessons of the 70's, Strategies for the 80's" theme issue. The responses we've chosen are serious attempts to place anarchist activity solidly on the threshold of this decade.

Anarcha-Feminism points to radical feminist work that has advanced anarchist practice but also questions the role of separatism within the movement. While The Promise of the 80's focuses on suppressed rage in America, Comics for Incorrect People suggests one approach for connecting that rage with political consciousness and the Bicycle article offers an accessible tool for direct action organizing. The West German Model of containing anti-nuke protest by brute force and intimidation complements Bookchin's analysis of movement cooptation where he warns that the ecology movement must consciously work for social change rather than environmental engineering if it's going to be truly liberating. In the Prison pieces increased repression behind the walls is answered with renewed militant actions to fight back. Anarchist Literature lists some of our heritage in print in the last decade and the GAF Program forges a provocative anarchist analysis of social struggle for the latter 20th century. Finally, Why Am I Here? is one person's recollection of her journey through the 70's and sums up a fairly general response we received to our question: Did the 70's burn you out? People got burned down, but definitely not out.



PHOTO: CATHY CADE

We exposed the irrationality of believing that a life direction that didn't spring from a sensitivity to the totality of life could in any sane way be considered rational.

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there were proper ways of speaking at political meetings. But feminists who now understood politics all too well, demanded that all types of domination and exploitation be recognized as political issues because when oppression confronts people in every aspect of their lives, how can some areas of living be acceptable for political work and others not? These feminists insisted on confronting domination, power tripping, and sexism right when it happened in a meeting instead of simply in the abstract or outside the group.

Feminists also refused to decapitate the "reasoning" self from the "emotional" self before participating in political meetings and demanded that the whole person, complete with warmth and confusion of life be present. We exposed the irrationality of believing that a life direction that didn't spring from a sensitivity to the totality of life could in any sane way be considered rational.

Most anarchists had never been asked to so directly live their anarchism and found the feminist insistence on "process" and the repeated "interruptions" about male domination, upsetting. And many feminists who had been attracted by anarchist theory but were really more concerned with anarchist practice, felt frustrated and refused to be placated with the rhetoric that would have one believe that anarchists couldn't possibly be authoritarian sexists.

So a lot of feminists left mixed groups. Some worked in anarcho-feminist groups and many gave up on anarchism altogether.

At the same time, feminists were naturally becoming disillusioned with other Left groups too. Most marxist parties didn't even have to pretend to deal with feminism because their party lines clearly set priorities and hierarchies for political activity. Feminist insistence on attacking sexism could be dismissed as bourgeois self-indulgence and when you're trying to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat, it's not inconsistent to be authoritarian.

So while some feminist stayed in mixed political groups, many left to work in women only groups. Inside these women only groups were a number of feminists who never had belonged to any political parties but who, like their more disillusioned sisters leaving the mixed groups, recognized that there was a lot of work to be done and that separatism seemed to be at least a temporarily necessary tactic for fighting patriarchy. And indeed, looking back over the decade, in North America and much of Western Europe, much of the significant political work was done by or sparked by radical feminists working outside the traditional Left.

Some Radical Feminist Work and its Implications

It's not surprising that most of the work done by radical feminists has been centered around education and service. For many women the transition from the traditional home help-mate role to the political help-mate role was a natural one.

Confrontations over abortion rights being the catalyst to many women becoming political, a logical extension was the growth of self-help health collectives. Aware that authoritarian structures, whether of the State or radical political groups, retain the power of authority by hoarding and mystifying knowledge, feminists tried to avoid becoming the "new experts."

They worked to reclaim the body as a natural organism that could be understood and cared for by women themselves rather than left to the authority of doctors, multi-billion dollar drug companies or even radical feminists. They tried to share skills among themselves and tried to share knowledge and skills with the "patients." Thus, "self-help" health collectives rather than simply "women's" health collectives.

But the big job of combatting the insidious drug pushing in our culture and the need for major medical research has meant that if feminists are to be really effective we have to also work outside our small collectives. If contraceptive research has only managed to deteriorate since the Dark Ages because it is economically profitable to drug companies and patriarchy to have it that way, and if contraceptive research is absolutely essential for women, then the power of drug companies and patriarchy has to be confronted.

People working in rape relief centres faced the same kind of problems. While the centres are essential to rape victims, if they're primarily "reaction" centres, they've got an unending future as helpers of the State.

While many women have pushed for stricter enforcement of rape laws, radical feminists know that rape is not a crime against society as we know it, but rather the ultimate expression of our society's belief in and acceptance of force as righteous. Aside from the fact that it's almost always poor and minority race men who are actually convicted, it's to the advantage of the patriarchal State to encourage its citizens to see rape as a perverted form of sexual pleasure because that helps to contaminate the whole concept of sexuality as nasty, thus reinforcing the idea of the body as something that has to be controlled and legislated against by that State. When the State calls rape a crime it distracts people from realizing that implicitly through advertising, frustration inducement, and the concept of the righteousness of power of the stronger over the weaker this society in fact promotes rape.

The reality of the staggering number of rape victims who are battered wives and the State's horror of upsetting the nuclear family has further forced feminists into directly confronting and

educating society about rape rather than relying on legal channels. In transition houses battered wives help each other in rejecting the "security" of their violent relationships. Unlike traditional social workers, radical feminists aren't interested in patching things up in the home or "getting even" through the courts. They're interested in eliminating rape. By distributing literature, which tries to explain the role of society in rape, by printing descriptions of rapists so that the rapists lose their anonymous power and by going with rape victims in groups to confront rapists in public, feminists work to expose rapists, expose society's implicit approval of rape, and by clearly attacking the real problems of frustration, weakness, capital and power, develop the highest form of education. That is, an education that learns from what really is and then moves forward to change the reality.

The kind of shared, living, explorative education that has grown within the self-help clinics and rape relief centres is representative of education as practiced by most radical feminists. The sharing of knowledge and skills is something women have been doing in their homes for centuries but because these skills were centered around such things as cooking and child care, they've generally been denigrated as "women's stuff." Likewise, the openness of women in talking about their relationships has been swept aside as "gossip." Now, in our printing, theatre, health—in all our groups—women have continued sharing our skills, knowledge and feelings.

As feminists rejected the lopsided histories of patriarchal society and demanded "herstory," we set to liberating education as lived experience in place of taught submission.

Some Limitations of the Radical Feminist Movement

With all the concrete work done by radical feminists, it's understandable that the feminist movement has been hailed as the strongest and most durable of the 70's. But while there's no question of its positive impact over the last decade, it would be destructive to the good work already done, to ignore its problems and limitations. Most feminists have displayed an amazing staying power and avoided much of the male burn-out but even so, there are many who have dropped out from exhaustion and there are many experiencing the tension and frustration of feeling unequal to the task of eradicating patriarchy.

Experiences within health and rape centres have clarified both the dangers of being coopted as a band-aid for the system and of being ineffectual beyond a small group (and seeing even that effectiveness restricted by the magnitude of the opposition).

Feminists have had to recognize that while endurance may be the prime quality of a serious radical, there really is an urgency to change the whole structure of society and no matter how hard any one group works, it can't liberate humanity.

And finally, what many feel to be the most serious limitation of the feminist movement is that not only are we unable to reach most women, but in many cases the concept of radical feminism is alienating to many women and more men. Perhaps we can best understand how this has happened by looking at a similar distrustfulness that developed within the movement itself—the lesbian/heterosexual splits.

Lesbians quickly discovered not only that many heterosexuals had internalized male modes of behaviour and work methods but that they often denied connections with lesbians in order to present a "respectable" public image. At the same time, while many heterosexuals didn't want to work with men, they hadn't given up on them altogether and didn't want to be associated with the anti-male separatism of many lesbians. So the original cause for splits developed out of real problems in trying to work together and could have taught us a lot about our own sexism.

But while many struggled with the situation, to a large extent the issue became dangerous to the feminist cause when the splits degenerated from a working problem to a holier-than-thou and defensive problem. Lesbians felt purer because they weren't selling out to men or the media. Heterosexuals felt purer because they were still working with the majority of the population, that is, other heterosexual women and men.

A lot of heterosexuals recognized their own anti-lesbian sexism and tried to overcome it, or feeling guilty, became defensive. Lesbians, with the historical reality of having been denied by their straight sisters, were often suspicious and often failed to appreciate genuine attempts of heterosexual women to overcome their sexism. What resulted was a lot of heterosexual women feeling unfairly rejected by lesbians and a lot of lesbians not trusting heterosexuals.

In many ways it's the same kind of problem that developed with men. Many men felt so consistently and often unfairly rejected by feminists that even many who originally tried to overcome their sexism finally felt too defensive to actually be able to learn anything valuable from the feminist experience. And many women who opposed sexism didn't want to be purer than men, just equal to them.

The lessons of the lesbian/heterosexual split have been crucial to feminists. Many of us backed off from painful confrontations. But that also meant we were backing off from learning. With this internal lesson about the shady boundaries between constructive criticism and harmful guilt, we should be more sensitive to non-radical females and men.

Finally, caught in the busyness of all the work needing to be done, feminists can lose a sense of direction about how to ultimately get out of "reaction" work. How to make sure that reforms will be replaced by change? How not to be directed by the power of the State and capital but rather to plan direction to dismantle the present system? How to make sure that the important work done in the 70's is not digested and catalogued as an interesting historical phenomenon of the 70's, but pushes through to inform, direct, and liberate the political activity of the 80's?

Part III—Anarcha-feminism and the case of the hyphen

In *Anarchism: The Feminist Connection*, Peggy Kornegger suggested that women were "in the unique position of being the bearers of a subsurface anarchist consciousness" and in an article in the *Open Road* last summer, Elaine Leeder said, "It has been said that women often practice Anarchism and do not know it, while some men call themselves Anarchists and do not practice it." While neither Kornegger nor Leeder are saying that females biologically make-for better anarchists, a too facile acceptance of their statements has encouraged many to believe just that. But if anarchistic tendencies within the feminist movement are accepted as a natural by-product of being female, it puts an unfair pressure on women to "live up to their natural anarchism" and it limits our potential for political development because it discourages us from examining why women behave more anarchistically than men. Many women's groups do disintegrate, many women do exploit other women and men, and feminists haven't been able to liberate humanity. These "shortcomings" don't make women less female, they confirm woman's humanness.

Feminists attracted by anarchist theory were more concerned with anarchist practice & refused to be placated with rhetoric.

So why have feminist groups incorporated so many anarchistic principles in our work situations? Largely because as women we've been raised to be sensitive, nurturing, and to think of our activities as being carried out in small intimate circles. While in the past these traits have facilitated the brute force of male domination, keeping women ineffectual in "worldly issues," now, with a conscious appreciation of the life nurturing power of our "female" qualities we are in a position to expand their influence while retaining their strength.

Also, by realizing that it is our education that has brought us to this point, we can more consciously extend that kind of education to men, and in particular, to rearing our sons and reinforcing our daughters. We can also recognize the inherent limitations of that very education. Those limitations include a tendency towards passivity and towards exploding inside our heads instead of fighting our oppressors. While we may excel at working in small groups we've traditionally been cautious of larger groups and need to guard against isolation.

This leads us right back to the question of education. As has already been said, women have had to fight to liberate our suppressed history. That experience should have taught us always to be suspect of "education." Just as the worker in Bertolt Brecht's poem asks if Alexander conquered India all on his own, so women have demanded to know where women were when the men were fighting. We've discovered what we always knew but wouldn't have found in most books—women were right there working, suffering, loving, and fighting—in fact, in spite of our invisibility in history—living.

The question for anarchists to ask is similar. While humanity has been dragged through domination, plunder and war, and brainwashed into believing that exploitative competitiveness is only natural, hasn't anyone resisted? How is it that if we're naturally so nasty we still manage to love and share? The answer is, because lots of people

have fought back and have insisted on remaining human.

It's because so many people individually and collectively have tried to liberate humanity that it's important to liberate our anarchist history to learn from and be reinforced by it.

While it would be ridiculous to pretend that anarchist groups have always practised their anarchism, what is revealed by studying anarchist theory and history is that liberation of the total human being is in the *essence* of anarchism. The radical feminist experience has often been traumatic for anarchists because it is something they *must* deal with and learn from if anarchism is more than a label.

It's also important to realize that anarchism isn't what it was before the radical feminist experience. If anarchism is its history, it is *also* a continuously created explorative and active response to the immediate and to the future. In theory, anarchism always included feminism but it's only in the last few years that we've really discovered what that means and therefore been able to learn about that part of ourselves.

Theoretically anarchists shouldn't have had to learn to be feminists, but they did have to learn and the lessons have been invaluable. These lessons have taught us what it really means to *live* our politics and they've given concrete, contemporary examples of direct, local, collective action.

It's easy to see how anarchism has benefited from feminism and there are many who argue in favour of a feminist rather than an anarchist movement. But while I think it is premature to drop the hyphen in anarchy-feminism, I do see the eventual return to—or rather arrival at—*anarchism* as a liberating prospect.

Putting the anarchy into feminism has helped to place the immediate concrete work done into a historical perspective. That's important so that successful, collective human ways of dealing with our struggles aren't seen as isolated fluke episodes but rather as part of a total life approach and vision to ALL our living.

While we can only move forward if we first perceive the present real problems (and these have become clearer through the work of feminists) we need a vision if we are to move freely forward. A vision can only be the expression of our past, present and future. Part of that vision includes our anarchist history and part of that history includes the sharing of skills traditionally considered male. If our positive "female" skills are products of our education, so are our "female" deficiencies. Our male comrades can help us liberate "male" skills from our denied pasts and from the destructive uses they generally suffer in capitalist society.

Although the feminist experience has advanced the practice, we *will* find attempts at living non-authoritarian collective lives in *our* anarchist history—and present.

Anarchy-feminism isn't the only compound in the movement. The other two one hears of most frequently are anarchy-syndicalism and anarchy-communism. In all cases the addition to the anarchism is the element of anarchism that seems to need the most emphasis. Anarchy-syndicalists recognize that most people's lives center around work and they believe that that is where the major organizing must be done. Anarchy-communists



PHOTO: MARION BARLING

stress the importance of the communes and the community. Because anarchy-communism is concerned with life in all its personal interactions I would suggest that the word anarchism *includes* the communism.

Anarchy-feminism exhibits aspects of both anarchy-syndicalism and anarchy-communism. To the extent that women are being exploited and degraded more than men, anarchy-feminism is like anarchy-syndicalism. The emphasis has to be on that part of anarchism that deals with personal and sexual exploitation. To the degree that feminism moves beyond "reaction to" exploitation and poses a total life approach, it is like anarchy-communism in that it becomes synonymous with anarchism.

Part IV — Anarchism in the 80's

Having said that it's premature to drop the feminist stress in anarchism, why have I done it? Mainly because I do see anarchism—an anarchism broadened by the feminist experience—as the most viable revolutionary direction for the 80's. Those of us who choose at times to work in mixed groups will probably still have to direct a lot of our energy to emphasizing the feminism in anarchism and of course, many of us will continue to call ourselves anarchy-feminists. For myself, I drop the feminism in the label, but not in the struggle.

Work that I hope will be inspired by the feminist experience includes uncovering our own anarchist roots and experiences, and recognizing the political as an everyday issue.

Anarchist roots doesn't just mean specifically anarchist inspired actions or theories. It means paying attention to all expressions of revolt and anti-authoritarianism. From such diverse revolts as the Diggers in England in the 1600's, to the Spanish collectives of the 1930's, to May 1968 in France, to squatters in present day Amsterdam, we are reminded that anarchist theory has grown from a human revolt against oppression and a responsibility to life that has preceded any theory. The experience of radical feminism is the most obviously recent example of this truth.

More attention to this heritage should encourage us to examine our immediate living situations more closely and to recognize in them the frequent indications of, and overwhelming potential for, radical rejection of authoritarian society. This is crucial if we are to be more than a discontented few and if we genuinely believe in the possibility of human liberation.

Particularly through "outreach" work such as the health collectives, street theatre, and rape relief, feminists have been most successful in combining a conscious political perspective with the unarticulated need of those whose lives are the expression of the need and potential for liberation.

The relation between a sense of immediacy and the effectiveness of the work being done has become clearer through feminist struggles and I expect that most radical feminists will continue doing the kind of work we've been doing for the

last decade—fighting sexism wherever we encounter it. Women definitely are still more oppressed than men, the State is trying to crack down on abortions now that it sees the serious consequences of "granting" a woman some say in her own body, and for the most part, political groups are still sexist.

As an extension of the feminist emphasis on fighting right where you are, I think that anarchists in the 80's will be fighting more to liberate our urban environments. There are always many who don't like city life and promote going "back-to-the-land" but throughout the 70's there does seem to have been more of a recognition that most people can't just drop out and feminists in particular fought where they were, that being primarily in the cities. As feminists move more and more from reaction to direction, and as we all work to develop community sharing skills, we should be looking at making our cities more livable rather than devising ways to escape them.

And while many of us would wish to escape, most of us do have to work in wage slavery for a living. If we really do intend to live our politics more immediately, we're going to have to work more on liberating our workplaces. Feminists have become progressively more involved in workplace organizing because the number of working women has risen so dramatically in the last two decades. As with our other political work we've had to fight the hierarchies of male dominated unions. Where unions already existed, women have fought to introduce even a slight degree of feminism, but for the most part, unions hadn't previously been interested in organizing women so that now to a large extent we're doing our own distinctly feminist organizing. It's important that our organizing be as creative and liberating as our lives should be.

For many marxists the workplace offers an ideally rigid and authoritarian setting for organizing for the dictatorship of the workers' State. But for anarchists who challenge the whole concept of the State and reject all dictatorships, workplace organizing requires more imagination. As Murray Bookchin has pointed out, the worker becomes a *revolutionary* not by becoming more of a worker but by undoing his "workerness."

Just as feminists have fought to clarify the personal of politics, now feminists and anarchists have to insist on our humanness at our workplaces and reject our objectification as workers. It is as harmful to organize workers on authoritarian lines as to simply wish that people weren't primarily workers. Because the workplace is generally so alienating and boring it seems difficult to liberate human energy. But, because the workplace is where most of us are, once we liberate the human being from the worker, the power of anarchy will be unlimited. Just as feminism has broadened the reality of anarchism, so will the unleashed energy of working people astound us with our own potential. If we are successful in claiming work as something we *do* for ourselves rather than

something we *are* for others, our imaginative creative future will know no bounds. If we fail, we know our future only too well.

While aware that the political will always be most strongly felt at the immediate, local level, we also have to recognize that the "immediate" is not easily contained. In this era of massive media brainwashing, of mind numbing drugs forced into protestors, of increasing militarism, and of nuclear mania, the global crisis is a local crisis.

Obviously we can't all be actively involved in fighting all the oppression weighing down on us but unless we see our struggles in their global context, we're doomed to the repetition of individual or small collective struggles and finally, to no struggle at all because at some point we will be destroyed by nuclear insanity. That's where the importance of an anarchist vision, history, and network come in.

It's important to see our constructive local struggles in their global context so that we don't get assimilated into the system, so that we can learn from others who are struggling in their own areas, so that we never forget that we're involved in world revolution and so that when we do join in large demonstrations such as anti-militarist and anti-nuke, we do so from an informed position and are able to participate constructively.

The kinds of struggles for liberation that I'm anticipating in the 80's have been made possible by our history.

The euphoria of many of the spectacular struggles of the 60's helped to liberate our imaginations. The 70's expanded definition of what is political extended the horizons for our imaginative visions and the steady, solid, local work of radical feminists has helped to establish our endurance as serious revolutionaries.

And in the 80's we're going to need all the spirit, imagination, and endurance we can get. The big powers are gearing up for war and playing with nuclear power. We'd be foolish to be optimistic about our future.

But with the visions of anarchism, and the example of feminism's durability, we'll put up one hell of a fight to be human.

Some sources: *Open Road*: most issues have at least one article on militant feminist actions. For specific discussions on anarchy-feminism see numbers 4, 7 and 10. The following Black Bear Pamphlets, available through Black Bear, 78A Crofton Road, London SE5: *Anarchism: The Feminist Connection* by Peggy Kornegger, *Feminism As Anarchism* by Lynne Farrow, *Socialism, Anarchism and Feminism* by Carol Ehrlich and *Anarchy-Feminism: Two Statements* manifestos of Chicago and Black Rose anarchy-feminists. A couple of excellent North American radical feminist papers are *off our backs* (sample copy, 60¢), 1724-20th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 and *Big Mama Rag* (sample copy, 55¢), 1724 Gaylord, Denver, Colorado 80206.





Bikesheviks: cycling for freedom

Militant cyclists have shut down bridges, disrupted auto-shows, and organized urban "die-ins." By Bob Silverman.

The bicycle is a vehicle for revolution. It can destroy the tyranny of the automobile as effectively as the printing press brought down despots of flesh and blood. The revolution will be spontaneous, the sum total of individual revolts like my own. It has already begun.

—Daniel Behrman in *The Man Who Loved Bicycles, the Memoires of an Autophobe*

The velorution has started. That's the message of radical bicyclists organizing and gaining strength all over the world for a bicycle revolution.

They believe that bicycles, when conceived as daily urban transport, are instruments of profound social change. The cyclists' daily confrontation with automobiles for the use of street and parking lot space induces a changed consciousness, they say.

For the bicycling militant, or Bikeshevik, the urban bicycle is the revolutionary's best friend.

Why? Because it permits individuals to take transport into their own hands, enabling them to bypass the *auto-necessity* constructed step-by-step by the giant car and oil monopolies and the governments who operate in their favour. Bicycling is accessible to virtually every healthy person and its advocates maintain their movement will gather irresistible momentum in the deteriorating Eighties.

Existing groups, like Le Monde a Bicyclette in Montreal, are calling for the velorution, and their methods and social theory are profoundly anti-authoritarian with conscious anarchists involved in the struggle to overthrow the *auto-crazy*.

Already militant cyclists have shut down bridges, disrupted autoshowes, organized urban "die-ins," and begun redesigning urban transportation schemes outside government channels. What's more, they've been successful in implementing many of their aims.

However, the velorution is far from over and the huge automobile interests have barely begun to fight. To understand the scope of the velorution it is first necessary to understand the profound socio-economic forces it threatens to topple.

Automobiles have been with us for so long many people, including radicals, view them as "normal," taking their necessity for granted. But normality is little more than accumulated economic interest and the private car is **the** supreme economic interest in the world.

The ten largest companies in the world are all producers of cars or oil. General Motors (GM) and Exxon both have sales far in excess of Canada's budget. And the car/oil multinationals have molded the world to suit their interests. Urban geography reflects the stamp of auto-necessity. And their billions have corrupted everyone's heads and value systems.

How did it all happen?

The automobile can be compared to the amoeba. They have multiplied and multiplied. First mass-produced and mass-consumed in the United States, they are now produced and consumed throughout the world. In *Running On Empty*, a book assessing the future of the automobile, the authors point out, "cars have assumed a major role in the lives of millions of people and in the aspirations of millions more. Automaking has become the world's largest manufacturing industry. More than 300 million passenger cars are now travelling the world's roads, and some 100,000 new ones roll off the assembly lines each working day."

Clearly, the automobile became the chief motor of capitalist growth in North America. Its attraction to a frustrated and alienated people was immense. For workers disliking their jobs, feeling powerless, the auto had a great appeal, promising to finally put them in the driver's seat of life. It offered them status and identity, and a tangible, visible justification for their labour. Owning a car actually gave meaning to life.

From the beginning the car created and attracted fellow travellers. Oil for cars, steel for cars, glass for cars, rubber for cars, cement for roads for cars, highway bureaucracies and police forces for cars. And every year these forces, both capital and

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labor, called for more roads to accommodate even more cars.

Kenneth Schneider, an expert on the subject of cars vs. people, writes: "Their variety is bewildering, and they infiltrate virtually every realm of industry, service, and government. Behind auto-making are machine tools, steel, rubber, glass, lead, lacquer, plastics, chrome, copper. Behind gas and oil lie exploration and drilling equipment, refining equipment and its machinery, pipelines and tankers. Behind highway, bridge and parking development lie construction machinery, cement, asphalt and steel."

In the mid-thirties, three of the principle auto-concerns, GM, Standard Oil of California and Firestone Tire Company, started to buy up and destroy the streetcar systems of North America in order to eliminate an impediment to expanded auto sales.

In 1974, Bradford Snell, before the U.S. Senate Committee on Monopolies, traced how GM annihilated all the alternatives to the car and "built the auto-necessity."

"General Motors is a sovereign economic state," Snell wrote in "American Ground Transport," "whose common control of auto, truck, bus and locomotive production was a major factor in the displacement of rail and bus transportation by cars and trucks." He notes, moreover, that these displaced methods of travel were energy-conserving, dependable, economical, safe and environmentally compatible. His conclusion: the monopoly in ground vehicle production has inexorably led to a breakdown in North America's ground transportation.

The economics are obvious, Snell continued, "one bus can eliminate 35 automobiles; one street-car, subway or rail transit vehicle can supplant 50 passenger cars; one train can supplant 1,000 cars or a fleet of 150 cargo-laden trucks. The result was inevitable: a drive by GM to sell cars and trucks by displacing rail and bus systems.

"Nowhere was the ruin from GM's motorization program more apparent than in Southern California. Thirty-five years ago Los Angeles was a beautiful city of lush palm trees, fragrant orange groves and ocean-clean air. It was served then by the world's largest electric railway network. In the late 1930's General Motors and allied highway interests acquired the local transit companies, scrapped their pollution-free electric trains, tore down their power transmission lines, ripped up their tracks, and placed GM busses on already congested Los Angeles streets. Largely as a result, L.A. is today an ecological wasteland: the palm trees are dying of petrochemical smog; the orange

Cyclists have become frustrated and angry. They see that cars have all the road space, pedestrians have the sidewalks; cyclists have nothing. In short, cyclists are suffering from cyclo-frustration.

groves have been paved over by 300 miles of freeways; the air is a septic tank into which 4 million cars, half of them built by General Motors, pump 13,000 tons of pollutants daily."

In another transport area General Motors and its allies succeeded in destroying intercity train and bus transportation. Greyhound was established by General Motors to replace inter-city train travel. They succeeded. Similarly, using its position as the largest shipper of freight in the country, GM imposed its diesel railway engines on the railways which shortly afterwards went bankrupt. At the same time railways in Europe and Japan converted to electricity and are still widely used both for passengers and freight.

In June 1932, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., president of General Motors, organized the National Highway Users Conference to combine representatives of the Nation's auto, oil and tire industries in a common front against competing transportation interests. Its announced objectives were dedication of highway taxes solely to highway purposes, and development of a continuing program of highway construction.

During the succeeding 40 years, the National Highway Users Conference has compiled an impressive record of accomplishments. Its effect, if not purpose, has been to direct public funds away from rail construction and into highway building. At the state level, its 2,800 lobbying groups have been instrumental in persuading 44 of the nation's legislatures to adopt and preserve measures which dedicate state and local tax revenues exclusively to highway construction. By promoting these highway "trust funds," it has discouraged governors and mayors from attempting to build anything other than highways for urban transportation.

Auto-cracry Damage

* Subway and rail transit proposals have had to compete with hospitals, schools and other governmental responsibilities for funding. By contrast, highways have been automatically financed from a self-perpetuating fund which was legally unavailable for any other purpose. From 1945 through 1970, states and localities spent more than \$156 billion constructing hundreds of thousands of miles of roads. During that same period, only 16 miles of subway were constructed in the entire country.

Likewise, at the Federal level this organization has been very successful in promoting highways over rail transportation. The National Highway Users Conference managed to persuade Congress to adopt the same trust fund arrangement which it had successfully promoted earlier to the state legislatures. The impact of the Federal Highways Trust Fund on transportation spending was similar to that which occurred at the state level. While urban rail proposals were forced to compete for funds with dozens of Federal priorities including national defense, health, and social security, thousands of miles of highways were built automatically with gasoline tax revenues unavailable for any other purpose. From 1956 through 1970, the Federal Government spent approximately \$70 billion for highways; and only \$795 million, or one percent for rail transit.

America and much of the developed world lies prostrate before auto-cracry.

In America public transport has been so thoroughly destroyed that 63 million American workers (87% of the workforce) are forced to commute by car. In many cities like Los Angeles and Atlanta over 60% of the total land area is allocated to streets, parking lots, and autoroutes. Vast sections of urban inner cities have been annihilated for parking lots. 55,000 Americans die every year in car crashes while the world figure is 200,000. Since the turn of the century 27 million human beings have been killed in cars. Air pollution causes countless cases of lung cancer, asthma, and other bronchial disorders. In Montreal alone, 25% of the inner city population suffers from lung diseases. Not to mention that automobile noises disturb the peace and tranquility of bicyclists, walkers and neighbours.

Schneider writes: "America is a corporate society. A corporate society is based upon corporate values like money, hard values like steel, operating values like production and consumption, human values like employment. Ever since the second decade of this century the corporate world has realized that there could never be a better vehicle to advance corporate values in the whole society than the automobile."

So, what's so special about bicycles? Are they not a commodity just like any other? Capitalists invest money in bicycle factories, workers are exploited in them and bicycles are sold in the market place like televisions, automobiles, pants and skis. It's all true, but in 1980 bicycles are becoming a unique commodity for a very important reason. Unique not because of how they are made, marketed or advertised, but because of their capacity to change users' consciousness when conceived as daily urban transport.

When viewed as daily urban transport, the bicycle becomes a tool of economic and social

One audacious velorutionary disrobed down to his underwear & mockingly made love to the car thus satirizing the auto-show's use of half-dressed women to sell their deadly commodity.

change. It becomes a means of bypassing the "official" transports and a way for cyclists to refuse the manipulations of the auto-cracry.

On an economic front you can't beat the bicycle. After four months of steady bicycle commuting the cost of a bicycle is paid in full, with saved expenses. However, the non-monetary benefits of the cycle are even greater. In a city, the bicycle is simply the best transport. Cyclists get to their destinations just as quickly as motorists and much quicker than the public transportation. Cycling advocates point out, "It is great fun. Your mind and body get stronger every day. It's a transport you can see and understand. It is a transport you can repair yourself. On a bicycle you become virtually an urban geographer. Just going to your destination you discover previously unknown neighbourhoods that you now find interesting. You observe the architecture more closely. You have daily random encounters with friends. You get door to door service. You can place your transport in your home."

The list goes on and on.

Bicycle Benefits

In the two decades before the turn of the century the bicycle was very prominent. It was the first personal transport. It gave women a tool which eventually permitted them to leave their homes unchaperoned and to wear pants (bloomers). The League of American Wheelman, founded in 1880, quickly became the biggest lobby in the United States and succeeded in getting the streets paved for the first time.

At the turn of the century the mass production of the automobile gradually displaced the bicycle from the streets which the bicycle had paved. And bicycle technology stagnated for 60 years.

This all began to change in the 1970's. The development of the ten-speed bicycle made bicycling easier for people in hilly cities and for longer distances. Slowly, throughout the decade and in all the cities of the developed world bicycles began to make their comeback in greater and greater numbers. For the first time in years bicycles outsold cars in the U.S., Canada, France, England, Germany and Japan.

Although the number of cyclists keeps growing, the facilities for bicycles haven't. Cyclists have become frustrated and angry. They see that cars have all the road space, pedestrians have the sidewalks and cyclists have nothing. They want to ride to work, to school, to market and to friends in perfect safety. They want to be able to park bicycles without worrying that they will be stolen. They want to be able to cross over or under all tunnels and bridges. And they don't want hassles on busses and trains. In short, cyclists are suffering from cyclo-frustration.

Cyclo-frustration

The urban cyclo-frustration has resulted in the creation of bicycling organizations to improve the cyclist's lot. In many cities, groups developed when the number of cyclists became sufficient to support an organization. Montreal's group, Le Monde a Bicyclette (LMB), began in April 1975. By 1979 similar organizations had sprung up in more than 90 cities throughout the world.

The programs of the various cycling groups are virtually identical, for similar realities engender similar responses. The cycling groups all demand:

1: A complete network of bicycle routes and paths so that a ten-year-old child could go any-

where in the city in perfect safety.

2: Safe bicycle parking at all cyclists' destinations: all schools, public transit stops, factories, office buildings, major stores, apartment houses, theatres, restaurants and bars, etc.

3: The integration of the bicycle into the public transport network. Bicycles must be permitted on all metros, on city busses by the installation of rear end bike racks like those in San Diego.

4: Access to all bridges and tunnels.

5: Showers at work places.

6: No dress code in offices so as to be able to work in your bicycle commuting clothes.

7: Bicycle education, both mechanical and signaling, throughout the school system.

8: The compensation of employees using their bicycles for work at a rate presently paid out to cars.

And, in the case of more radical groups like LMB in Montreal, 100,000 community bicycles to be placed in depots throughout the city.

Who would think that something so positive as encouraging bicycle commuting would or could lead to confrontations with the State? After all, don't high government officials in environment, health and energy fields take out expensive ads suggesting the public bicycle for health, energy saving and ecology?

In reality, however, governments have chosen to give the car most of the transport budgets and virtually all the street space. They have constructed bicycle-throttling bridges and tunnels on which only automobiles can travel. In fact, the main cyclist-State confrontations have taken place on bridges.

Confrontations with the State

One could say that bridges and tunnels built since the Second World War, which limit access to automobiles only, are a metaphor for Western society. People just don't count in their planning. All of the bridges built since the last war over the St. Lawrence River in Quebec have omitted facilities for bicyclists. And the four bridges involved include both those constructed by the government of Canada and the government of Quebec. The two rivals seem to be able to cooperate well when it comes to helping the auto/oil industry. Even worse, in Montreal things are actually retrogressing. The hundred year old Victoria Bridge was renovated to eliminate sidewalks in favour of two additional car lanes.

And it's the same all over America.

In Boston a tunnel divides two highly populated parts of that city. Cyclists can't use it and must take a thirty minute detour. In New York they built the Verrazano Bridge, the largest suspension bridge in the world. This bridge has 16 lanes and replaced a ferry boat. The ferry boat took bicycles. The Verrazano Bridge bans bicycles and pedestrians. It cost about \$600 million.

In Philadelphia, no less than four bridges crossing the Delaware River have no bicycle access. One such bridge is named after Walt Whitman, author of the *Open Road*. And it's the same unbelievable situation with bridges over San Francisco Bay.

Bridge inaccessibility brings out the most acute cyclo-frustration. For the other hassles, like lack of urban bike paths and safe parking, are only inconveniences. Cyclists can cope with them by being careful and by buying theft-proof personal bicycle locks like Kryptonites and Citadels. But they often can't cross over to the other side of the water.

Under pressure, in recent years, transportation authorities have made some concessions. In San Diego, California, busses are equipped with rear end bicycle racks. The PATH Subway system uniting New York with New Jersey under the Hudson River accepts bicycles at non rush hours. The BART subway in San Francisco also accepts bicycles at non-rush hours. During the morning and afternoon rush hours Caltrans, California's Transport Ministry, has provided cyclists with a bicycle shuttling service on the Oakland/San Francisco Bay Bridge. Cyclists pay 25 cents.

In New York City, the 12 lane Queensboro bridge used to have no bicycle access for the 4 million people who live on both sides of the East River in Queens and Manhattan. Last year militant cyclists from Transportation Alternatives and the Bicycle Commuters of New York organized several illegal rush hour crossings. In July 1979 the City of New York announced the opening of a lane for bicycles on the Queensboro Bridge. The cyclists' struggle paid off.

In Montreal, Le Monde a Bicyclette in conjunction with Velo-Quebec, the Quebec Government financed cyclotouring association, stormed the renovated and de-biked Victoria Bridge last August. Two baton wielding bridge police failed to stop the 40 cyclists. After the illegal ride, the cyclists were offered an escort if they phoned in advance. After crossing the bridge the protestors headed on to the Streetcar Museum to mark the 20th anniversary of the elimination of Montreal's streetcars.

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Lessons
of the **70s/80s** Strategies for
the

New Gulag hits body and soul

"Treatment" includes prolonged intense isolation and sensory deprivation in 6 by 8 foot cells. By Fred Mobile.

The 1980's arrived ahead-of-schedule in North America's prisons. While they were talking about "alternatives to prison" and other liberal remedies, prison authorities were moving quickly to prepare for all-out war between the keepers and the kept.

It's a classic counter-insurgency script, with a carrot-and-stick approach to pacifying a restive population.

Like another war from a by-gone era, the authorities are creating a network of "strategic hamlets" to isolate the main population from the rebels. Only this time it's the rebels who go into quarantine.

And to win the hearts and minds of even the most obstinate hold-outs, a whole new corps of "advisors"—call them something like living unit officers, counsellors, or even therapists—is being parachuted in behind enemy lines to counsel on the benefits of cooperation and passivity.

Being the kind of advisors that they are, these counsellors employ more than just sweet reason in their arsenal of therapeutic tools.

It's not a completely one-sided war, though. As always, the rebels have the numbers and—within obvious limits—the terrain.

They can work singly and in small groups to sabotage the smooth running of the machine, and they can join together in strength to shut it down for long periods of time (that's called a strike), or even thoroughly trash it from the inside (riot time).

But insurrection in the changed conditions of the 1980's (economic hard times combined with political repression) calls for some new tactics. Or at least a deeper understanding of the role prisons will play in the authorities' over-all plan for social control on both sides of the walls.

If one thing has been learned in the struggles mounted against the developing trends within the walls over the past few years, it's the necessity for good communications between inside and outside.

Prisoners, through their own organizations, carry on the battle at centre stage, but, like liberation fighters in every part of the world, they must rely on outside support to distract and weaken the enemy.

The decade ahead is likely to see an intensification and refinement of two distinct trends toward repression within the walls of North American prisons.

Both trends have already started gathering steam in response to growing prisoner militancy. One involves control of the body, the other, the mind:

- Development of a system of super-maximum security lock-ups, carrying labels such as *special handling units* or *intensive control units*, aimed at physically isolating "disruptive" (read rebellious) prisoners from the main population, and

- Increasing use of sophisticated mind-bending techniques, including behavior modification and drug "therapy," to stifle dissent and promote passivity.

In combination, these trends represent a nightmarish future for prison militants. In fact, the future is already here, especially for certain "target" groups who become the guinea pigs for the new methods.

These groups include Third World prisoners and women.

The regime they find in the super-max units is one of a total environment of concrete, steel and barbed wire, where movement is kept to a minimum, isolation even from other super-max prisoners is nearly total and monitoring and control is carried out through electronic surveillance and lock-up.

Typically, prisoners in such units are held in virtual solitary confinement for up to 23½ hours per day over extended periods of time. Visits with family and friends are limited and strictly non-contact, often through thick plate glass.

There is no work available, and reading and hobby materials are severely restricted. Diet and medical care are also inadequate.

But that's not the worst of it. As *The Kite* prison newspaper puts it, referring to the new North American version of the Gulag Archipelago:

"Prisoners say it is the hopelessness of the units that is their worst feature. Virtually all the prisoners in the units are serving long sentences—many will not even be eligible for parole until the next century.

"Suicides and self-mutilations run at three times the rate of the general population."



Inmates' self-management of the BC Penitentiary during a 1976 insurrection.

Already, the super-maximum units are spotted across both countries, and populated with escapers, prison organizers, hostage-takers and those sentenced for "political" crimes, such as urban guerillas.

The principal federal super-max in the United States is located at the Marion (Ill.) Penitentiary, the 1984-ish successor to the infamous Alcatraz Penitentiary, as the hardest-core lock-up in the system.

Another federal control unit is also located near Marquette, Mich., while two more are being built, in Alabama and New York, and two others are in the planning stages, in Arizona and New Mexico.

The Marion unit has been designated by federal authorities as their experiment centre for brainwashing techniques, including forced drugging.

The basic method of "treatment" includes prolonged intense isolation and sensory deprivation in "box car cells" (six by eight feet, with three concrete walls and a solid steel door), and harrassment and physical abuse by guards.

At least nine prisoners have died in Marion since the mid-1970's, including three suicides in one year alone.

The Marion Brothers, the main prisoners' organization, has paralyzed the institution periodically with a wave of strikes and sit-ins. A series of legal actions, coordinated by the National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers, has succeeded in having the control unit declared "cruel and unusual punishment," but so far the authorities have managed to stave off any significant changes.

Lawsuits have also been successful in stopping a number of "medical" oriented programs aimed at blurring the distinction between prisons and mental hospitals. In both the U.S. and Canada, prisoners were offered a series of "rewards" (such as the right to wear clothes, or to live under lesser security conditions), for becoming passive and self-critical. Failure to cooperate would result in beatings, forced drugging, solitary confinement and denial of food.

Many individual states have also experimented with such programs, with Attica, San Quentin and Vacaville (Calif.) representing the state of the art.

At Walla Walla State Pen in eastern Washington, prisoners were subjected to a "role playing therapy," which required them to wear diapers and crawl around on the floor carrying baby bottles, while other prisoners were beaten and chained to beds.

The Walla Walla program was killed in its original form following a lawsuit and a five-year-long series of peaceful and violent insurrections by solitary confinement and general population prisoners.

With considerable outside support, the Walla Walla Brothers continue to fight against back-door attempts by the administration to reintroduce behavior modification techniques in a disguised form.

In Canada, two super-max units were established in the past three years following an extensive national debate over abolition of the death penalty. When the noose finally went, the government brought in the new units, and stiffened prison sentences (up to 25 year minimums with virtually no hope of parole, for murder) in order to appease the law-and-order lobby.

The Canadian units, both for men, are located in Ontario (for English-speaking prisoners), and Quebec (for French-speaking)—meaning that many prisoners are moved thousands of miles away from families and friends for years at a time. The units are being used not only for hostage-takers and others convicted or suspected of violent actions within the walls, but for many prisoners starting out on long sentences (to give them time to "cool out" and get used to prison life).

The fight against solitary confinement has been an integral feature of the Canadian prison movement, and a whole series of demonstrations, strikes, riots and lawsuits—as well as media disclosures of the cruel and unusual conditions inside—has helped move public opinion toward some realization of the problems. The authorities are feeling clearly defensive about their position, but there's still a long way to go before even the most inhuman features of the super-max are abolished.

Similarly, in women's prisons, activists have been hard put just to hold the line, especially in light of official studies that women are suitable subjects on which to

LINKS WITHOUT CHAINS

As the jails start to fill up with anti-nuke activists who refuse to play ball with the system, the need becomes greater to establish an effective network of monitoring on their conditions and treatment. A **National No-Nukes Prison Support Group**, aimed at keeping in touch with no-nuke prisoners and providing a central information exchange on all their cases, is now being established. Individuals and groups in each locality are needed to do the actual contact work. More information from Jack Joppa, Rt. 2, Box 169, Stephens City, Va. 22655; or Allyson Hunter, Box 1221, Eugene, Ore. 97440.

An attempt to win conjugal visiting rights for imprisoned Irish anarchists **Marie and Noel Murray** is being launched through the Dublin courts and through an international tribunal in Strasbourg. At present the Murrays are permitted a one-hour visit every three or four months.

Marie Murray is serving life in Limerick Prison and Noel Murray is serving life in Curragh Military Prison. They were convicted in 1976 of murdering a cop following a highly-charged political trial where their political views carried greater weight than did the scanty "evidence" against them.

A group of friends of the Murrays would like to receive information on conjugal programs in other countries. (South America and Scandinavia are cited.) Information, or requests for information, should be sent to R.D. Stenson, 15 St. Aiden Park Rd., Fairview, Dublin 3, Ireland. Money for the legal work is also urgently needed. Checks should go to W. Gaj and R.D. Stenson, account #48034381, Bank of Ireland, Lower Baggot St., Dublin 2, Ireland.

Latest news from lesbian-anarchist guerilla **Rita Brown**, now serving 25 years for a series of armed expropriations (bank robberies) in Oregon in 1977, is that she continues to be victimized by the paranoia of officials at Alderson federal prison for women in West Virginia. Brown is under super-maximum lock-up, despite the fact that she has made no overt moves toward rebellion. Reason given by the officials is that two friends of hers self-managed their own releases and have failed to provide the authorities with forwarding addresses; they are former Black Liberation Army member **Assata Shakur**, who was with Brown in Alderson, and who escaped from a New Jersey prison; and **John Sherman**, who worked with Brown in the Seattle-based George Jackson Brigade, and is now at large from Lompoc Prison in California. Brown's lawyer, Judy Holmes, needs help in mounting a protest campaign to get her moved out of segregation. Write her at 217-12th Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003; or you can contact Rita directly at Alderson Prison, Alderson, West Virginia, 24910.

Rape in prison is the same as rape on "the street": a brutal act of aggression that has more to do with violence and domination than it does sex. **Russell Smith**, a gay activist in the U.S. federal penitentiary at Terre Haute, Ind., has drawn the wrath of prison officials and some other prisoners because he is fighting to break down the competitiveness and distrust that divides men in prison, and to provide a different model of human relations—one in which sex is an expression of trust and cooperation, not of exploiting a female surrogate. Smith has been raped by other prisoners and beaten senseless by guards. He is coming up for parole in late 1980, but his defense group fears an incident may be provoked to keep him inside. Letters of support for his release to a St. Louis-area half-way house should be sent to the **International Committee to Free Russell Smith**, c/o Barry Mehler, Dept. of Biology, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 63131. After his release, Smith hopes to help launch a group to fight sexism inside the walls.

More good reading: Issue No. 6 of **Anarchist Black Dragon** contains a complete update on the insurrection at Walla Walla (Wash.) Pen. Available for a donation from B.D. Support Group, Box 2, Station O, Toronto, Ont. M4B 2B0. (Ask them for their new international prison newsletter, too—due out in July.) ... **Bail Out**, a handbook on organizing bail funds and other relevant topics, is available for \$1.50 from American Friends Service Committee, 1414 Hill St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

Breaking into prison

Hammer away at the liberating effects of collective, direct action.

This article distills some of the experiences of anarchists working in Canada on the prison scene during the past decade. Comments are welcome.

"We want to abolish prisons altogether. When nobody wants to be a warder or a policeman or a soldier or a hangman then we'll be able to call ourselves civilized!"—Miguel Garcia, in Franco's Prisoner (pub. Rupert Hart-Davis Ltd., London, 1972).

It's no big secret that anarchism long ago declared itself to be at war with society's prisons.

Not just with the masonry and steel bastilles, but with all instruments—physical, psychological and emotional—that serve to demoralize and imprison people's bodies and minds.

Despite this uncompromising historical stand, however, most practicing anarchists have managed to hide under a bushel basket any ideas they might be entertaining as to how to proceed now with this most basic task of the Social Revolution.

The classical anarchist writers, from Kropotkin to Berkman, relentlessly exposed the role of prisons in terrorizing the poor and disenfranchised in a class-plagued, authoritarian society.

And modern critics have cooked up a feast of alternative recipes for dealing with "crime and criminals"—everything from neighborhood street patrols to self-managed "therapeutic communities" for anti-social offenders.

But in the absence of some concrete and practical notions on how to breach the walls that are currently in place— notions that are uniquely libertarian—there is little to distinguish these streams from most others in the vast tide of utopian rumblings.

After all, any authoritarian Marxist can provide an overview on why prisons in a capitalist society are oppressive. And any liberal social worker is bound to jump at the opportunity of helping criminals rehabilitate themselves in more humane surroundings.

The reality, however, is that prisons, and the lock-'em-up mentality that gives them life, will be a fixture for some time to come. They won't disappear until the entire decadent carcass of authoritarian society is swept away, and in the meantime, the only kind of radical social engineering carried out with prisoners will be that sanctioned by, and for the benefit of, the State.

So anarchists, if they are to make any difference in the way the anti-prison movement contributes to the revolutionary process, need to continue hammering away at the one central insight that has provided such inspiration in the past and hope for the future.

Namely, the liberatory effects of collective, spontaneous, direct action.

It's true enough that the overwhelming majority of people who wind up in prison are from the working or impoverished classes. But that's only part of the reason they are behind bars—otherwise, the bulk of the population would be there with them.

For the most part, people wind up in prison because they have learned overly-well the techniques of bourgeois success—especially individualism and competitiveness—without really being in a privileged socio-economic position to reap the advantages.

Most of the "crimes" for which they are imprisoned, everything from armed robbery to drug pushing, are exceedingly faithful likenesses of the kind of legal rapaciousness that bring handsome rewards to the corporate honcho or to the Madison Avenue huckster.

Individualists, whether inside or outside the walls, act in their own self-interest against other individuals, often with reckless disregard for the effects of their actions on innocent bystanders (or innocent consumers).

Sometimes, these actions arise out of desperation born of hunger or material need; other times, out of political conviction (when, for example, armed robberies become "expropriations"). These are obvious exceptions to the rule, and require a different standard of assessment.

But for the rest, it almost goes without saying that prisoners are like the rest of us—they generally embody the same me-first consciousness that underpins capitalist relations and is, in fact, considered a necessary survival trait in every schoolyard, social club, subway train, work place and wherever else human people congregate under authoritarian restraints.

And once inside the walls, human people have even greater pressure on them to become manipulative, alienated, competitive and individualistic. The authorities see to it that every chink in the armor of prisoner solidarity is widened to the point where entire races, types of offenders, age groups, and sexual preferences are cast beyond the pale.

Divide-and-Conquer

That's called divide-and-conquer, and it works exceedingly well to keep prisoners down and powerless.

It's obviously a bit much to start preaching right away to people inside that they could have lightened their economic burdens—and avoided a scrape with the law—by starting, or even joining, a food or housing co-op.

Usually, it requires some prior concrete experience in working collectively (a type of experience that is systematically discouraged under the present system) before people can take that kind of advice seriously.

There's room for all types of activity within the prison movement, even apart from breaking out or helping someone else break out.

Anarchists on the outside are heavily involved in propaganda campaigns, explaining to the public the true nature of Solitary Confinement and other abuses; they work on defense committees over individual high-profile cases; they even get into suing the State or the prison system.

And, of course, they keep up communication with and support for anarchists and other militants who are locked-down.

Conscious anarchists on the inside seem to have their plates full just hanging on to their identities, developing their own analytical perspectives on the prison system and staying in touch with comrades on the outside. (Anyway, anarchists are a rare breed inside North American prisons, compared to Europe. Mostly, they "converted" following imprisonment.)

New Gulag

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try out the newest methods of control. Most recent major "victories," therefore, have resulted merely in short-circuiting or dismantling initiatives on the part of the authorities, rather than making concrete gains.

At the U.S. federal prison for women in Alderson, West Virginia, a special unit was set up three years ago in the backlash against the gains made by the women's movement. Claiming there was an upsurge in violent crimes by women (a line contradicted by the FBI's own statistics, by the way), law enforcement authorities pressed for special facilities to accommodate this "new breed."

The Alderson unit was supposed to be run on a "stratification" program, with prisoners working their way out through changes in their behavior. In fact, there was no laid-down guideline on how this was to be accomplished, and it was obvious from the start that the unit was meant as a permanent deep, dark hole for militants such as the

lesbian-anarchist guerilla Rita Brown of the Seattle-based George Jackson Brigade and Black Liberation Army member Assata Shakur.

According to the National Prison Project, "Alderson was created as lockup for the most unwanted, 'troublesome,' 'notorious' and politically-active women in the prison system. It is a way to cut them off from other prisoners. It is a method by which they can be legally deprived of what rights and freedoms, comforts and rights of access they might have as prisoners in the general population of a prison. The political implications of the unit are obvious."

The NPP spearheaded a campaign against Alderson that was ultimately successful in forcing authorities to backpedal somewhat.

After they were hit with a lawsuit attacking the arbitrary and non-specific criteria in the unit, and following an intensive lobbying campaign by NPP, they announced closure of the unit in 1979—but reserved the right to resurrect it when need arose.

Meanwhile, a network of maximum-security lock-ups for women labelled as "violent" or "sick" is emerging as the most sophisticated attempt yet to combine the new methods of physical and mind control.

A series of struggles by women in institutions such as the Matteawan State Hospital and the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility, both in New

This full spectrum of work is necessary to build a potent movement, but it's not the whole story, and it shouldn't interfere with what must be the key task—building militancy and solidarity inside the walls.

Strong and representative prisoner organizations, whether standing negotiating committees of the whole population or ad hoc riot or strike councils or self-help collectives on the Men-Against-Sexism model, are the first line of defense against increasing repressiveness and divide-and-conquer tactics. Propaganda and legal work on the outside figures in largely as support for the main task.

True enough: inside committee work is often focussed on short-term, reformist goals to improve conditions slightly. But it's not the goal in itself that's especially important as far as the political process goes (although if you have to spend years inside a cell-block, even a half hour out-of-doors each day can be a life-saver); it's the cumulative experience of working in a group, of fashioning a consensus, of taking responsibility for one's opinions and actions, that is the only truly revolutionary way of shucking off the vestiges of the old consciousness.

Anarchists can take part in this process by exhortation and by example. Each situation is different, so the tactics are variable. But an irreducible minimum is constant communication and dialogue between inside and outside. Effective prison work requires a great outlay of energy and creativity in just breaching the walls—recruiting new visitors, as the old ones get identified by the authorities; opening up "back door" channels through sympathetic or money-grubbing guards for letters and other messages; dreaming up respectable covers, such as do-gooder groups, to gain entry inside.

Building Militancy

It's slow, often tedious work, and often less immediately gratifying than media coups or courtroom dramatics.

But there's no other way to really prepare for Day One of the Social Revolution, when, as they say, the prison gates will fly open and the dragon will fly out—not to wreak indiscriminate vengeance on the brothers and sisters on the outside, but to participate fully in rebuilding society according to the vision of libertarian communism.

(For the classical anarchist view, check *In Russian and French Prisons*, and *Prisons and Their Moral Influence on Prisoners*, by Peter Kropotkin; and *Prison Memoirs of An Anarchist*, by Alexander Berkman.

(For a contemporary look, see "Crime and Punishment" and "An End to Prisons," in the *North American Anarchist*, January and February, 1980, issues respectively, available for 50 cents each from NAA, Box 2, Station O, Toronto, Ont. M4B 2B0; *Instead of Prisons* (\$7.00) from Prison Education Research Project, 3049 East Genessee St., Syracuse, N.Y.; or *Radical Alternatives to Prison* (free pamphlet), from RAP, 104A Brackenbury Rd., London W6, England).

York, the California Institute for Women and the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Framingham, have forced the authorities to revise their tactics.

Now, instead of out-front moves to create high-profile "therapeutic" facilities, the authorities are tending toward establishment of hidden locked units in general hospitals, where small groups of women can be stashed for behavior modification.

As well, they are beefing up security in the women's prisons, preparatory to placing their mind-bending programs right inside the walls.

Groups or publications doing work on super-max units or mind control include the National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers, 4556A Oakland, St. Louis, Mo. 63110; Solitary Confinement Abolition Project, Box 758, Station A, Vancouver, B.C.; Women Free Women in Prison, *No More Cages*, Box 283, West Nyack, N.Y. 10994; Coalition To Stop Institutional Violence, c/o Cambridge Women's Centre, 46 Pleasant St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139; *Anarchist Black Dragon*, c/o La Nuit, Box 2, Station La Cite, Montreal, Que. H2W 2M9; *Through the Looking Glass*, Box 2228, Seattle, Wash. 98122; Prisoners' Solidarity Committee, Box 2, Station O, Toronto, Ont.; Mental Patients Liberation Front, 230 Boylston St., Room 204, Boston, Mass. 02115, and National Prison Project, 1346 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Lessons
of the **70s/80s**
Strategies for
the

German war machine targets anti-nukers

Among the "weapons" confiscated were: hard hats, plastic rain coats, goggles, lemons, scarves, coke bottles...

It's no secret that during the 70's West Germany pioneered effective ways of deactivating and containing a fast-growing popular movement against nuclear power. Using the dangers of nuclear technology to legitimize massive State surveillance of the no nuke movement, the authorities adopted security measures that served as models for nuclear States around the globe.

The question now for no nuke activists in Germany and elsewhere is how to resist these strategies of control and continue the fight for a nuke-free future?

For starters, one way is to continue research into how the State has effectively contained the anti-nuke protests to date. What follows is an edited excerpt from a pamphlet called "The Atomic State and the People Who Have to Live in It," available for one dollar from the Campaign Against the Model West Germany, c/o Evangelische Studentengemeinde (ESG), Querenburger Hohe 287, 4630 Bochum 1, West Germany.

On March 3, 1979, over 100,000 people demonstrated in Hannover against the planned West German uranium reprocessing plant and atomic waste depot. Having experienced this demonstration, one could get the impression that all the denunciations, security checks and other repressive measures which accompanied the demonstrations and protest actions of atomic energy opponents in the past two years were simply a figment of one's imagination. This time, there was hardly a policeman to be seen (with the exception of the plain-clothesmen in camera teams), not one road blockade hindered the journey to Hannover, no armoured tanks, no barbed wire. Quite the opposite to the demonstration in Kalkar in September 1977.

But the extensive police manoeuvre planned for the Kalkar demonstration was in fact reality and it must be seen in context with the political situation at that time. The para-military operation was to serve several purposes.

Firstly, at that time, the politicians and the police administration wanted to avoid at all costs a confrontation on the construction site which could possibly result in a construction site occupation. Detailed analysis of the construction site occupation in Wyhl two years earlier had shown that an occupied construction site is not only a meeting place for all those resident (and non-resident) in the area concerned about the atomic question and consequently the birth place of numerous activities directed against the atomic industry; an occupied construction site also symbolizes the necessity and the real possibility of unlawful, that is illegal resistance against the State's politics.

The development of an oppositional power contesting the State's power monopoly must be prevented at all costs; the president of the Federal Criminal Investigation Department, Mr. Herold, insists that, for this reason, it is necessary to crush all attempts symbolic of oppositional power right at their beginning before their influence can spread. A fence torn down around an atomic power plant site neither threatens construction nor endangers operation of the plant but expresses psychologically and politically that which many people feel, namely, that the construction of an atomic power plant is legal but not legitimate.

The discrepancy between legality and legitimacy with respect to State politics thus becomes the key internal political problem. The State apparatus and institutions closely connected to the State can react to this problem in two ways: they can change the legality to fit the prevailing political situation; or, they can employ all the police and military force necessary in order to ensure that the State's legality is enforced. Every form of political activity which makes this discrepancy between legality and legitimacy evident is more than a minor legal offense; there is always the possibility that a movement could develop out of such activities that could start to question the fundamental structure of the present society.

Secondly, the political concept behind the police strategy developed for the Kalkar demonstration was also an answer to the provocation caused by Hans-Martin Schleyer's kidnapping also in September 1977; it was a sign of strength and of determination not to give in to a compromise. It was the opportunity to register the hard core opponents of the system. According to police logic, only the most determined enemies of the State could take to the streets to demonstrate in this time of emergency, after weeks of propaganda in the mass media against the demonstration.

This chance to get a complete survey of the opposition was fully exploited. The only other similar situation has been the identification procedures carried out on the participants at the funeral of Gudrin Ensslin, Jan Carl Raspe and Andreas Baader several weeks later. One can be sure that the registration of participation in each of these cases can mean the first step towards Berufsverbote (professional job ban), union expulsion, firing, a court case, and even imprisonment.

Thirdly, such a police manoeuvre was to add to the systematic discrediting of the anti-nuclear movement. With the help of the mass media, the impression was created that if so many policemen are on duty, these anti-nuclear people must be dangerous and criminal persons. Such attempts to influence public opinion are usually quite successful since most (West) Germans are blindly devoted to their State.

Fourthly, such police manoeuvres are also aimed at splitting the movement itself. The non-violent participators are to be turned against the violent ones, the liberals against the communists, the women against the men, etc. The basic principle behind such police strategy is to attack the bodies and minds of the "weak," the less determined, the hangers-on at assemblies and demonstrations. In a special police report about the demonstration in Brokdorf on November 13 and 14 in 1976, it is stated, "Throwing tear gas bombs out of helicopters in fan form at peripheral disturbers is immensely important. This form of operation is to be further developed." The "peripheral disturbers" were in fact people who had nothing to do with tearing down the fence around the construction site and had begun to make their way home.

Para-military operations, careful controls, a climate of fear serves to terrorize and intimidate "peripheral disturbers" so that they either withdraw from demonstrations entirely or begin a permanent fight against the more militant, more offensive members of the anti-nuclear movement.

In addition, it is always the political aim of such police manoeuvres to make non-party bound, self-organized activities difficult or impossible. The channeling of political conflict and discussion in West Germany into parliamentary forms, the establishment of an institutionalized sphere in which "political things" can be

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taken care of (eg. parties based on ecological or environmental interests), the principle of representative democracy, which restricts the political participation of the citizen to casting a vote, all make the person who acts independently and for his/her own interests appear as an enemy of the State. The largely uncontrollable activities of the citizens committees against atomic energy are consequently viewed with utmost distrust. Political parties are easier to regulate, to observe and to keep in line.

People who come together and form groups which don't want any financial support, which don't want to get into parliament, which don't have any official leadership, act outside the well-working relationship between the State and the State-supporting parties, breaking the unity between the governing party and the opposition.

Channelling Protest

It is not surprising that both the Social Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Party see the mere existence of citizens' committees as a "deviation from the principle of representative democracy." Those who act independently in this society are considered enemies of the State. Police manoeuvres, such as the one in Kalkar, are accompanied by urges to join the established parties in order to fight for the environment, to allow the courts to decide if atomic energy plants should be built and, if founding a separate organization is absolutely imperative, then at least to candidate in the elections.

The strategy of channelling oppositional energy and avoiding confrontation can be illustrated with a little incident that happened during the Kalkar demonstration. A big container full of sand was standing in the middle of the road at one point on the course that the demonstration was to take. Enthusiastic demonstrators went to work on the contents of the container and eventually managed to push it to one side. Later, as the story was told, it was said that the demonstrators had cleared the way and had enforced their rights to demonstrate. Success! But was the container full of sand really meant to serve as an effective barrier? Other barriers blocking off side roads were built up of planks entangled in rolls of barbed wire. The container was much more likely left by the police in order to give the demonstrators the opportunity to let out their frustrated protest feelings and to give them the feeling of having accomplished something.

Registration and possible constant observation of the so-called "hard core" of the anti-nuclear movement is another police strategy.

In January 1979 it became known that the Federal Criminal Investigation Department had been collecting data about "violent disturbers" since June 1, 1977. In May 1977 it was decided, "all persons who take part in the preparation for and/or the carrying out of violent demonstrations, especially against the building or operation of atomic energy plants, be registered by the Federal Criminal Investigation Department." As of spring 1979 the authorities admitted having registered 800 persons opposing atomic energy.

Residents from a village near a planned uranium plant were threatened with a \$2,500 fine if they didn't remove the "Atomic Power—No Thanks" stickers from their houses.

The criteria with which one is classified as a "violent disturber" depend of course upon the police's interpretation of the word "violent." One only needs to look at the various articles confiscated as "weapons" during the controls of those en route to the Kalkar demonstration to get an idea of what they have in mind; among the weapons confiscated were: hard hats, plastic rain coats, goggles, lemons, scarves, gloves, lipsticks, axes, trowels, wooden tent pegs, camping cookers, jacks, tools of all sorts, car-repair kits, first aid kits, coke bottles and hard boiled eggs. And, in the eyes of the police (and those who believe the press), those who carry "weapons" are, of course, "violent."

Violent Disturbers

The registration of such "violent disturbers" in the Federal Criminal Investigation Department's central computer makes constant observation of these people not only very easy but also, at least partly, automatic. For instance, each time a registered person is controlled by authorities at a border crossing, at an airport, during a traffic control, information about the place, time, persons accompanying the registered person are fed into the computer and automatically added to the data already stored about this person. The fact that the "violent disturbers" are registered in the PIOS section of the central computer, which has mainly been developed to collect information about those connected with the "terrorist scene" and has at present about 130,000 persons registered, shows that the State's definition of "terrorism" goes as far as to include practically all forms of radical political activity.

There is more to it all, however, than just

A controlled, contained march to vent steam?

simply observing and recording all sorts of facts about as many people as possible involved in the anti-nuclear movement. For certain individuals, the information collected has severe personal consequences. These selected cases serve to teach others a lesson, to deter other people from giving voice to their protest against atomic energy. For example, Peter Ruppel, a doctor employed by a hospital, was fired without notice because he "had agitated for the demonstration against the atomic energy plant in Brunsbuttel during working hours and in the presence of patients."

Enemies of the State

In Hamburg, several court cases have developed out of the controversy over the "Atomic Power—No Thanks" button; school officials had forbidden teachers to wear this button during working hours at the school. At border crossings cars with an "Atomic Power—No Thanks" sticker are much more frequently pulled off to the side and given the thorough-check treatment than cars with no sticker. In some cities, the post offices have refused to handle mail with "Atomic Power—No Thanks" stickers. In September 1979, residents of the village of Gustriz, not far from the planned uranium reprocessing plant in Gorleben, were threatened with a \$2,500 fine if they did not remove the "Atomic Power—No Thanks" stickers from their houses.

All these practices, which are partly the result of police investigations and partly the reactions of supporters of atomic energy in various social sectors, are supplemented and out-done by undercover operations carried out by the West German security departments directed against the citizens' committees. One such operation was uncovered by the members of the citizens' committee in Göttingen. Two policemen from the State Criminal Investigation Department had infiltrated the citizens' committee and not only were present to observe all the meetings of the committee, but went on holidays with members of the citizens' committee and took up relationships with women in the movement. In addition, these two young, long-haired, bearded men were the most loud-mouthed advocates of militant actions involving, for example, explosives. The head of the State Criminal Investigation Department justified the infiltration as being part of the general function of the police in preventing danger.

After the demonstration in Grohnde in March 1977, the atomic State began to intensify the attack against its opponents by imprisoning them. In addition to prison terms, there are enormous fines. The approximately 200 residents of the "anti-atomic village Grohnde" (a camp set up by anti-nuclear opponents on the Grohnde construction site) are to pay a total of \$106,000 compensation for the extra police costs caused. That is more than \$500 per person.

There is more to the fines than just the amount of money demanded by the State. It is expected that the solidarity mechanism within the anti-nuclear movement will force the main financial and political efforts over a longer period of time

towards raising money for the fines, that is toward paying the State. In addition, exactly those persons are to be made liable against whom the police actions are directed; thus, not only is the possibility of resistance made questionable from a legal and from a practical viewpoint, even the general political perspective of the right to resist is disputable.

These precautionary measures are to be seen elsewhere, too. Shortly before drilling was to begin in Gorleben, site of the planned uranium reprocessing plant, a daily newspaper carried the headlines, "Cells are already available for Gorleben delinquents." These seven words sum up the State's view of the anti-nuclear movement. Those who carry out resistance are delinquents; in order to carry out the plans for a uranium reprocessing plant, it is necessary to put the "delinquents" behind bars. Even the number of "delinquents" is known, namely 80—for 80 available cells. Resistance is criminal; the thought of resistance is either unconstitutional propaganda or agitation for violence. And this is certainly not just the opinion of a single daily newspaper.

The Atomic State

The atomic State is not a temporary or reversible development. It is a symbiosis between the development of military strategy all over in Western countries which are increasingly going over to considering and treating their own populations as the enemy and the development of a destructive technology (atomic energy technology) that is to be put to use by the electricity concerns and the energy fetishes regardless of the consequences that could follow. Atomic technology has developed out of a social system which has often proven that it will even risk genocide for the sake of economic progress. Criticizing atomic energy thus becomes a basic criticism of the way of production in this society. The atomic State is being mobilized against such criticism today.

The subversion-theoreticians do not differentiate between those who are already convinced that they want more than just hindering the construction of atomic energy plants and those who are just beginning to wake up. They do not differentiate between the "non-violent" and the "violent" opponents. In their eyes, the population is not a group which decides its own future. The population is only a military-political power for them that can't be neglected with respect to "civil defense." Publicity has nothing to do with public. They instrumentalize the public media for their economic and political intentions and persecute the critical voices.

A discussion about the "atomic State" shouldn't end with a description of the power of the State and the atomic energy concerns causing the other side to give up in resignation or to retreat to parliamentary forms of action (eg. voting in Federal elections, founding ecology parties). We, as atomic energy opponents, must learn to analyse the strategy employed by those insistent on carrying on with the atomic energy program.

This strategy has two clearly definable aims that will only be abandoned under extreme pressure: the first is to carry out the atomic energy program by employing all that is necessary to do so; and, the second is to split a unified oppositional movement against the atomic energy program, to paralyze the movement and eventually to destroy it. Attempts to accomplish these aims will not only involve direct attacks on the anti-nuclear movement, arrests, fines, and imprisonment, and other repressive practices; other elements of this strategy will involve generous integration offers, compromises and tactical acknowledgements of ecology conscious sectors within the political parties (such as is now happening in the Social Democratic Party).

There is certainly no one single answer to the problem of fighting atomic energy plants, fast breeder reactors, uranium re-processing plants, atomic waste depots, the atomic industry, the atomic State. The very strength of the anti-nuclear movement lies in its political diversity, in the diversity of practical forms of action, and in the coming together of different social groups over these problems.

We must always keep in mind that the State regards all atomic energy opponents as subversive individuals, regardless of the different paths we choose to take up the struggle against atomic energy and will continue to fight all forms of opposition to the atomic energy program. The fact that the State reacts differently to those who candidate for an ecology party than to those who tear down a fence around a construction site is merely a matter of tactics and an attempt to direct the energies of those active in the movement into controllable, integratable, institutional, parliamentary forms of expression.

(Ed. note: For one of the more convincing anti-nuke strategies we've seen put forward lately, see Frank Stevens, "Seabrook: A Dissent" in the North American Anarchist #5. Stevens suggests that past activity at nuke sites has been "primarily symbolic" and that now it's time to fight in the cities where the power behind the nuclear drive really lies.)

Lessons
of the **70s/80s** Strategies for
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An open letter to the ecology movement

Social ecology has to begin its quest for freedom not only in the factory but also in the family. By Murray Bookchin.

Murray Bookchin is a lifelong militant who has provided critical and constructive analysis of contemporary social movements through his seminal works on anarchism and ecology. In his best known (and highly recommended) book, "Post-Scarcity Anarchism," Bookchin argued how a true revolutionary movement must integrate ecological ideas with an anarchist critique of society. In the following piece he extends this analysis.

With the opening of the eighties, the ecology movement in both the United States and Europe is faced with a serious crisis. This crisis is literally one of its identity and goals, a crisis that painfully challenges the movement's capacity to fulfill its rich promise of advancing alternatives to the domineering sensibility, the hierarchical political and economic institutions, and the manipulative strategies for social change that have produced the catastrophic split between humanity and nature.

To speak bluntly: the coming decade may well determine whether the ecology movement will be reduced to a decorative appendage of an inherently diseased anti-ecological society, a society riddled by an unbridled need for control, domination and exploitation of humanity and nature—or, hopefully, whether the ecology movement will become the growing educational arena for a new ecological society based on mutual aid, decentralized communities, a people's technology, and non-hierarchical, libertarian relations that will yield not only a new harmony between human and human, but between humanity and nature.

Perhaps it may seem presumptuous for a single individual to address himself to a sizable constituency of people who have centered their activities around ecological concerns. But my concern for the future of the ecology movement is not an impersonal or ephemeral one. For nearly thirty years I have written extensively on our growing ecological dislocations. These writings have been reinforced by my activities against the growing use of pesticides and food additives as early as 1952, the problem of nuclear fallout that surfaced with the first hydrogen bomb test in the Pacific in 1954, the radioactive pollution issue that emerged with the Windscale nuclear reactor "incident" in 1956, and Con Edison's attempt to construct the world's largest nuclear reactor in the very heart of New York City in 1963. Since then, I have been involved in anti-nuke alliances such as Clamshell and Shad, not to speak of their predecessors Ecology Action East, whose manifesto, *The Power to Destroy, The Power to Create*, I wrote in 1969, and the Citizens Committee on Radiation Information, which played a crucial role in stopping the Ravenswood

reactor in 1963. Hence, I can hardly be described as an interloper or newcomer to the ecology movement.

My remarks in this letter are the product of a very extensive experience as well as my individual concern for ideas that have claimed my attention for decades.

It is my conviction that my work and experience in all of these areas would mean very little if they were limited merely to the issues themselves, however important each one may be in its own right. "No Nukes," or for that matter, no food additives, no agribusiness, or no nuclear bombs is simply not enough if our horizon is limited to each one issue alone. Of equal importance is the need to reveal the toxic social causes, values, and inhuman relations that have created a planet which is already vastly poisoned.

Ecology, in my view, has always meant *social ecology*: the conviction that the very concept of dominating nature stems from the domination of human by human, indeed, of women by men, of the young by their elders, of one ethnic group by another, of society by the state, of the individual by bureaucracy, as well as of one economic class by another or a colonized people by a colonial power. To my thinking, social ecology has to begin its quest for freedom not only in the factory but also in the family, not only in the economy but also in the psyche, not only in the material conditions of life but also in the spiritual ones. Without changing the most molecular relationships in society—notably, those between men and women, adults and children, whites and other ethnic groups, heterosexuals and gays (the list, in fact, is considerable)—society will be riddled by domination even in a socialistic "classless" and "nonexploitative" form. It would be infused by hierarchy even as it celebrated the dubious virtues of "people's democracies," "socialism," and the "public ownership" of "natural resources." And as long as hierarchy persists, as long as domination organizes humanity around a system of elites, the project of dominating nature will continue to exist and inevitably lead our planet to ecological extinction.

The emergence of the women's movement, even more so than the counterculture, the "appropriate" technology crusade and the anti-nuke alliances (I will omit the clean-up escapades of "Earth Day"), points to the very heart of the hierarchical domination that underpins our ecological crisis. Only insofar as a counterculture, an alternate technology or anti-nuke movement rests on the non-hierarchical sensibilities and structures that are most evident in the truly radical tendencies in feminism can the ecology movement realize its rich potential for basic changes in our prevailing anti-ecological society and its values. Only insofar as the ecology movement *consciously* cultivates an anti-hierarchical and a non-domineering sensibility, structure and strategy for social change can it retain its very *identity* as the voice for a new balance between humanity and nature and its *goal* for a truly ecological society.

This identity and this goal is now faced with serious erosion. Ecology is now fashionable, indeed, faddish—and with this sleazy popularity has emerged a new type of environmentalist hype. From an outlook and movement that at least held the promise of challenging hierarchy and domination have emerged a form of *environmentalism* that is based more on tinkering with existing institutions, social relations, technologies, and values than on changing them. I use the word "environmentalism" to contrast it with ecology, specifically with social ecology.

Where social ecology, in my view, seeks to eliminate the concept of the domination of nature by humanity by eliminating the domination of human by human, environmentalism reflects an "instrumentalist" or technical sensibility in which nature is viewed merely as a passive habitat, an agglomeration of external objects and forces, that must be made more "serviceable" for human use, irrespective of what these uses may be. Environmentalism, in fact, is merely environmental engineering. It does not bring into question the under-

lying notions of the present society, notably that man must dominate nature. On the contrary, it seeks to facilitate that domination by developing techniques for diminishing the hazards caused by domination. The very notions of hierarchy and domination are obscured by a technical emphasis on "alternative" power sources, structural designs for "conserving" energy; "simple" lifestyles in the name of "limits to growth" that now represent an enormous growth industry in its own right—and, of course, a mushrooming of "ecology"-oriented candidates for political office and "ecology"-oriented parties that are designed not only to engineer nature but also public opinion into an accommodating relationship with the prevailing society.

Fashionable Ecology

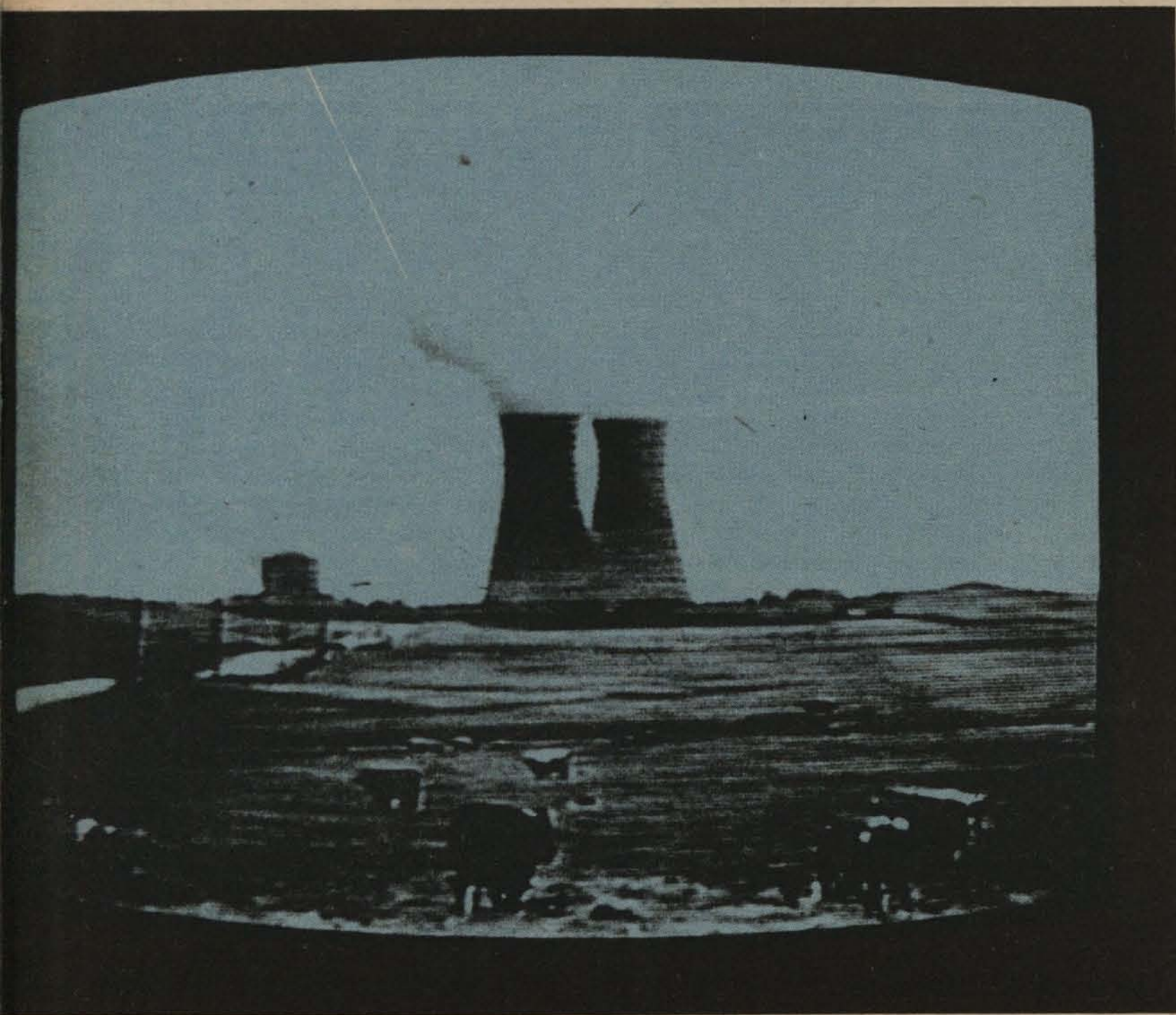
Nathan Glazer's "ecological" 24-square-mile solar satellite, O'Neill's "ecological" spaceships, and the DOE's giant "ecological" windmills, to cite the more blatant examples of this environmentalistic mentality, are no more "ecological" than nuclear power plants or agribusiness. If anything, their "ecological" pretensions are all the more dangerous because they are more deceptive and disorienting to the general public. The hoopla about a new "Earth Day" or future "Sun Days" "Wind Days," like the pious rhetoric of fast-talking solar contractors and patent-hungry "Ecological" inventors, conceal the all-important fact that solar energy, wind power, organic agriculture, holistic health, and "voluntary simplicity" will alter very little in our grotesque imbalance with nature if they leave the patriarchal family, the multinational corporation, the bureaucratic and centralized political structure, and property system, and the prevailing technocratic rationality untouched. Solar power, wind power, methane, and geothermal power are merely *power* insofar as the devices for using them are needlessly complex, bureaucratically controlled, corporately owned or institutionally centralized.

Admittedly, they are less dangerous to the physical health of human beings than power derived from nuclear and fossil fuels, but they are clearly dangerous to the spiritual, moral and social health of humanity if they are treated merely as *techniques* that do not involve new relations between people and nature and within society itself. The designer, the bureaucrat, the corporate executive, and the political careerist do not introduce anything new or ecological in society or in our sensibilities toward nature and people because they adopt "soft energy paths;" like all "technotwits" (to use Amory Lovins' description of himself in a personal conversation with me), they merely cushion or conceal the dangers to the biosphere and to human life by placing ecological technologies in a straitjacket of hierarchical values rather than by challenging the values and the institutions they represent.

Hierarchy and Domination

By the same token, even decentralization becomes meaningless if it denotes logistical advantages of supply and recycling rather than human scale. If our goal in decentralizing society (or, as the "ecology"-oriented politicians like to put it, striking a "balance" between "decentralization" and "centralization") is intended to acquire "fresh food" or to "recycle wastes" easily or to reduce "transportation costs" or to foster "more" population control (not, be it noted, *complete* population control) over social life, decentralization too is divested of its rich ecological and libertarian meaning as a network of free, naturally balanced communities based on direct face-to-face democracy and fully actualized selves who can really engage in the self-management and self-activity so vital for the achievement of an ecological society. Like alternate technology, decentralization is reduced to a mere technical stratagem for concealing hierarchy and domination. The "ecological" vision of "municipal control of power," "nationalization of industry," not to speak of vague terms like "economic democracy," may seemingly restrict

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utilities and corporations, but leaves their overall control of society largely unchallenged. Indeed, even a nationalized corporate structure remains a bureaucratic and hierarchical one.

As an individual who has been deeply involved in ecological issues for decades, I am trying to alert well-intentioned ecologically-oriented people to a profoundly serious problem in our movement. To put my concerns in the most direct form possible: I am disturbed by a widespread technocratic mentality and political opportunism that threatens to replace social ecology by a new form of social engineering. For a time it seemed that the ecology movement might well fulfill its libertarian potential as a movement for a non-hierarchical society. Reinforced by the most advanced tendencies in the feminist, gay, community and socially radical movements, it seemed that the ecology movement might well begin to focus its efforts on changing the basic structure of our anti-ecological society, not merely on providing more palatable techniques for perpetuating it or institutional cosmetics for concealing its irremediable diseases. The rise of the anti-nuke alliances based on a decentralized network of affinity groups, on a directly democratic decision-making process, and on direct action seemed to support this hope. The problem that faced the movement seemed primarily one of self-education and public education—the need to fully understand the meaning of the affinity group structure as a lasting, family-type form, the full implications of direct democracy, the concept of direct action as more than a “strategy” but as a deeply rooted sensibility, an outlook that expresses the fact that everyone had the right to take direct control of society and of her or his everyday life.

New Opportunism

Ironically, the opening of the eighties, so rich in its promise of sweeping changes in values and consciousness, has also seen the emergence of a new opportunism, one that threatens to reduce the ecology movement to a mere cosmetic for the present society. Many self-styled “founders” of the anti-nuke alliances (one thinks here especially of the Clamshell Alliance) have become what Andrew Kopkind has described as “managerial radicals”—the manipulators of a political consensus that operates within the system in the very name of opposing it.

The “managerial radical” is not a very new phenomenon. Jerry Brown, like the Kennedy dynasty, has practiced the art in the political field for years. What is striking about the current crop is the extent to which “managerial radicals” come from important radical social movements of the sixties and, more significantly, from the ecology movement of the seventies. The radicals and idealists of the 1930s required decades to reach the middle-aged cynicism needed for capitulation, and they had the honesty to admit it in public. Former members of SDS and ecology action groups capitulate in their late youth or early maturity—and write their “embittered” biographies at 25, 30, or 35 years of age, spiced with rationalizations for their surrender to the status quo. Tom Hayden hardly requires much criticism, as his arguments against direct action at Seabrook last fall attest. Perhaps worse is the emergence of Barry Commoner’s “Citizen’s Party,” of new financial institutions like MUSE (Musicians United for Safe Energy), and the “Voluntary Simplicity” celebration of a dual society of swinging, jeans-clad high-brow elitists from the middle classes and the conventionally clad, consumer-oriented low-brow underdogs from the working classes, a dual society generated by the corporate-financed “think tanks” of the Stanford Research Institute.

Managerial Radicals

In all of these cases, the radical implications of a decentralized society based on alternate technologies and closely knit communities are shrewdly placed in the service of a technocratic sensibility, of “managerial radicals,” and opportunistic careerists. The grave danger here lies in the failure of many idealistic individuals to deal with major social issues on their own terms—to recognize the blatant incompatibilities of goals that remain in deep-seated conflict with each other, goals that cannot possibly coexist without delivering the ecology movement to its worst enemies. More often than not, these enemies are its “leaders” and “founders” who have tried to manipulate it to conform with the very system and ideologies that block any social or ecological reconciliation in the form of an ecological society.

The lure of “influence,” of “mainstream politics,” of “effectiveness” strikingly exemplifies the lack of coherence and consciousness that afflicts the ecology movement today. Affinity groups, direct democracy, and direct action are not likely to be palatable—or, for that matter, even comprehensible—to millions of people who live as soloists in discotheques and singles bars. Tragically, these millions have surrendered their social power, indeed, their very personalities, to politi-

cians and bureaucrats who live in a nexus of obedience and command in which they are normally expected to play subordinate roles. Yet this is precisely the immediate cause of the ecological crisis of our time—a cause that has its historic roots in the market society that engulfs us. To ask powerless people to regain power over their lives is even more important than to add a complicated, often incomprehensible, and costly solar collector to their houses. Until they regain a new sense of power over their lives, until they create their own system of self-management to oppose the present system of hierarchical management, until they develop new ecological values to replace current domineering values—a process which solar collectors, wind machines, and French-intensive gardens can facilitate but never replace—nothing they change in society will yield a new balance with the natural world.

Obviously, powerless people will not eagerly accept affinity groups, direct democracy, and direct action in the normal course of events. That they harbour basic impulses which make them very susceptible to those forms and activities—a fact which always surprises the “managerial radical” in periods of crisis and confrontation—represents a potential that has yet to be fully realized and furnished with intellectual coherence through painstaking education and repeated examples. It was precisely this education and example that certain feminist and anti-nuke groups began to provide. What is so incredibly regressive about the technical thrust and electoral politics of environmental technocrats and “managerial radicals” today is that they recreate in the name of “soft energy paths,” a specious “decentralization,” and inherently hierarchical party-type structures the worst forms and habits that foster passivity, obedience and vulnerability to the mass media in the American public. The spectatorial politics promoted by Brown, Hayden, Commoner, the Clamshell “founders” like Wasserman and Lovejoy, together with recent huge demonstrations in Washington and New York City breed masses, not citizens—the manipulated objects of mass media whether it is used by Exxon or by the CED (Campaign for Economic Democracy), the Citizen’s Party, and MUSE.

Ecology is being used against an ecological sensibility, ecological forms of organization and ecological practices to “win” large constituencies, not to educate them. The fear of “isolation,” of “futility,” of “ineffectiveness” yields a new kind of isolation, futility and ineffectiveness, namely, a complete surrender of one’s most basic ideals and goals. “Power” is gained at the cost of losing the only power we really have that can change this insane society—our moral integrity, our ideals, and our principles. This may be a festive occasion for careerists who have used the ecology issue to advance their stardom and personal fortunes; it would become the obituary of a movement that has, latent within itself, the ideals of a new world in which masses become individuals and natural resources become nature, both to be respected for their uniqueness and spirituality.

Social Ecology

An ecologically oriented feminist movement is now emerging and the contours of the libertarian anti-nuke alliances still exist. The fusing of the two together with new movements that are likely to emerge from the varied crises of our times may open one of the most exciting and liberating decades of our century. Neither sexism, ageism, ethnic oppression, the “energy crisis,” corporate power, conventional medicine, bureaucratic manipulation, conscription, militarism, urban devastation, or political centralism can be separated from the ecological issue. All of these issues turn around hierarchy and domination, the root conceptions of a radical social ecology.

It is necessary, I believe, for everyone in the ecology movement to make a crucial decision: will the eighties retain a visionary concept of an ecological future based on a libertarian commitment to decentralization, alternative technology, and a libertarian practice based on affinity groups, direct democracy, and direct action? Or will the decade be marked by a dismal retreat into ideological obscurantism and a “mainstream politics” that acquires “power” and “effectiveness” by following the very “stream” it should seek to divert? Will it pursue fictitious “mass constituencies” by imitating the very forms of mass manipulation, mass media, and mass culture it is committed to oppose? These two directions cannot be reconciled. Our use of “media,” mobilizations, and actions must appeal to mind and to spirit, not to conditioned reflexes and shock tactics that leave no room for reason and humanity. In any case, the choice must be made now, before the ecology movement becomes institutionalized into a mere appendage of the very system whose structure and methods it professes to oppose. It must be made consciously and decisively—or the century itself, not only the decade, will be lost to us forever.

Essays which elaborate more freely on views only noted in this letter are available from Comment Publishing Project, P.O. Box 371, Hoboken, NJ 07030.

Lessons of the **70s/80s** Strategies for the

The promise of the 80's

Public misery could hardly be less of a secret; the evidence is legion. By John Zerzan

America is seething with suppressed rage which even the regular media are having to acknowledge according to John Zerzan in this edited version of a longer piece he submitted to the Open Road. Zerzan looks at the manifestations of frustration in the 70's and leaves us with the question: Will that frustration be channelled into reactionary hysteria (e.g. the anti-Iranian scapegoating) or will there be an upsurge of revolutionary activity?

For many, the 1970's were—and the 1980's bid fair to continue—a kind of “midnight of the century,” an arrival at the point of complete demoralization and unrelieved sadness. What follows is one attempt to gauge the obviously unhappy landscape of capital's American rule and see whether there indeed exists no prospect for the ending of our captivity.

To begin with the obvious, the public misery could hardly be less of a secret; the evidence is legion. The March 1979 *Ladies Home Journal* featured “Get a Good Night's Sleep,” in which epidemic insomnia is discussed. *Psychology Today* for April 1979 is devoted to the spreading depression, asking rhetorically, “Is this the ‘Age of Depression?’” A month later, the UN's International Labor Organization reported that “mental illness affects more human lives than any other disabling condition,” adding that the number of people suffering such disorders is “growing dramatically.”

It is clear that we not only feel a higher level of everyday unhappiness, but that what many social psychologists observe as a very high degree of suppressed rage prevalent is surfacing in terms of conscious disaffection with the social system. *U.S. News & World Report*, February 26, 1979, registered alarm in its “The Doubting American—A Growing Breed.” The article, like perhaps hundreds of others recently, noted the decline of “faith in leaders, institutions and the U.S. future,” going on to state that “many Americans doubt the strength and even the validity of old values—and are skeptical about the quality of their lives . . .” A case in point was the public attitude concerning the spring 1979 disaster at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant; as the *Manchester Guardian* correctly assayed: “. . . in the countryside around Middletown, Pa., and in the country at large, people were overwhelmingly certain that the authorities were lying.” And May 21 unveiled a



Gallup Poll which disclosed that "despite the best efforts of the Carter administration, energy experts and the oil companies," only 14% in the nation believed that a real gasoline shortage existed while 77% felt it to be artificial, contrived by the oil companies.

The steady decline of voting, as discussed in books like E.C. Ladd's **Where Have All the Voters Gone?** (1978) and Arthur Hadley's **The Empty Polling Booth** (1979), is bringing popular support of government to lower and lower levels. Nor, by the way, does this phenomenon seem confined to the U.S.: the June and October national elections in Italy and Japan, respectively, attracted the lowest turnouts since World War II.

And the participation of the young is the strongest portent for the future of the electoral diversion. Only 48% of the newly-enfranchised 18 to 20-year-olds voted in 1972, 38% in 1976, and 20% in 1978.

Resistance in Schools

The great socializer, education, is beset by an advancing resistance, which exhibits both passive and active forms without precedent in their magnitude.

The May 1979 Educational Press Association convention heard school officials term the 25% high school dropout rate "a national disgrace." The Lall's "School Phobia: It's Real and Growing," in which children experience panic and often severe physical symptoms in growing numbers (*Instructor*, September 1979), is another example of passive resistance to school on an important level.

And within the educational system there are the most active forms of rebellion paralleling the quieter, "tuning-out," which together create the growing and obvious "crisis in our schools." A brief chronological sample will have to take the place of an easily voluminous catalog of student mayhem and teacher retreat.

Early in 1979 two 11-year-old schoolboys in Marianna, Florida, armed with a gun and a knife, tried to take over their classroom but were forced out, police reported. On April 6 two Stafford (Connecticut) High School students were arrested for bombing a chemistry lab, which caused \$100,000 damage. On April 24 four Isleton (California) Elementary School children laced a teacher's coffee with poison; aged 12 and 13, they were later convicted in juvenile court of attempted murder and conspiracy to commit murder. The May 21 **U.S. News & World Report** reported that "Now It's Suburbs Where School Violence Flares: From ice picks to explosives, a frightening array of weapons are contributing to disorder in the classroom—especially in areas once relatively untroubled." Also in May, the third arson incident within a month occurred in California's San Juan Unified School District, which brought the school year's arson losses to over \$1 million.

In June 1979 a San Diego Teachers Association "violence inventory" was completed, showing increasing student violence; nearly one-fourth of San Diego public school teachers had been physically attacked by students during the '78-'79 school year. R.M. Kidder's "Where Have All the Teachers Gone?" in the July 19 **Christian Science Monitor** discussed the growing flight

from the field, owing largely to resistant students. Education periodicals feature articles like Lee Cauter's "Discipline: You Can Do It!" and "Lessons in Antivandalism," both from *Instructor*, September 1979.

Because traditional education seems to be failing as the pillar of society, it is not surprising that newer, less subtle devices must be projected to come to the rescue of a rotting social order.

Such a program was unveiled in mid-February 1979, with the Committee for the Study of National Service's report titled "Youth and the Needs of the Nation." It declared that universal service for American youth is needed to curb "a cynicism and selfishness that can destroy society." "Too many... are drifting without purpose, and their apathy or self-centeredness is seldom cured by schooling," it added.

Actually, of course, this is a return to the draft, with the option of civilian duty in slums, parks, and the like. Aside from its hoped-for results in terms of a national socializing force, it is also abundantly clear that the volunteer army, instituted in 1973, has been "a disaster verging on a scandal," according to Congressman Robin Beard in November 1979.

The Economist, March 10, 1979, spoke of "severe problems of discipline" with the voluntary service, the immediate backdrop for talk of reviving conscription. AWOL (absent without leave), training, and attrition are major problem areas, with turnover very high in combat units and a third of all soldiers never finishing their first term of enlistment. Pentagon sources have increasingly been calling the overall status of the volunteer Army "hopeless;" allegedly, only a few elite units have any semblance of morale or dedication to national defense.

Acts of Collective Violence

A more vivid illustration of anti-military hostility could be seen from within the Navy. Blaine Harden, writing for the **Washington Post** in late June 1979 chronicled the many fires aboard the carrier John F. Kennedy, believed to have been set by disgruntled sailors. In July Naval officials announced that the period April-July 1979 contained twice as many suspicious fires aboard Atlantic Fleet ships as there had been during all of 1977 and 1978 on both Atlantic and Pacific vessels. At the beginning of November the **Los Angeles Times'** Robert Toth notes the almost \$5 million fire damage to ships during 1979, postulating "deeper morale problems" involved.

Despite an everyday reality that enforces the surface calm of isolation and entropy, acts of collective as well as individual violence mount. Outbursts shatter the facade and contain mixed elements in their released rage; the 80's will, for a time, most likely bear this varied imprint as seen in a scan of some of 1979's group violence.

A Wichita rock concert "just broke into warfare," said a radio station director, when police shut off the power at the April 15 event. Hundreds of police firing shotguns and teargas required three hours to quell the riot, which saw squad cars destroyed by tire irons and four officers injured. San Francisco's "Dan White Riot" of May 21 caused over \$1 million in damage to Civic Center buildings and looted stores and banks. A largely gay crowd of 5,000 also injured 60 police and burned 13 squad cars in an all-night explosion which laid siege to City Hall; begun as a protest against the extremely lenient legal treatment of a reactionary county Supervisor who had murdered a gay Supervisor and the mayor, the riot included many other elements and quickly transcended concern with legality or politicians. On the same night, a crowd of 1500 attacked firemen and police with rocks and bottles at the scene of a million-dollar factory fire in Redwood City, 25 miles south of the San Francisco outbreak.

Two days of rioting occurred in the famous Philadelphia suburb of Levittown—a name once synonymous with suburban conformity and tranquility—in late June, involving 3,000 people and 200 arrests. Truckers blockaded the area and joined teenagers and motorists in burning gas pumps and vehicles, throwing objects, including molotov cocktails at police, and demanding more and cheaper fuel.

Four further examples from summer 1979 demonstrate continuing non-individual violence in an array of forms. The Chicago White Sox annual teen half-price night, July 11, was billed as "Disco Demolition Night," but the anti-disco theme provided the excuse for 7,000 rioters to overrun and destroy the playing field. Red Lake Indian Reservation experienced two nights of arson and gunfire, including a three-hour firefight between Indians and federal police, on July 21 and 22. One man was shot to death during a July 27 rock



Miami exploded in racial violence in May 1980, the worst race riots in the US since the 60's.

concert in Cleveland, which was marked by vandalism and rock and bottle throwing at police. An August UPI newswire from Slatington, Pennsylvania points out that even hamlets are not immune; it read: "The mayor of this tiny Lehigh County community Saturday declared a state of emergency and imposed a midnight-6 a.m. curfew in an attempt to break up street corner crowds. Mayor David Altrichter said the groups were at times, 'urinating and defecating on Main Street.'" Curfew was also imposed on the central Connecticut city of Meriden on September 6, 1979 following a teen-age gang's rock-throwing attack on a police station. Mayor Walter Evilia said the assault came from "Hispanics, blacks and whites" living in and around a downtown housing project: "It's going to get like New York City soon," he told a reporter.

After smashing some forty cars, killing one person, Blair was arrested screaming "I hate my job! I want to see my kid! I hate my job!"

Dozens of melees could be cited involving people vs. police, but it is also true that a brutalized population is quite capable of brutalizing itself, as with gang violence or the tragic storming of a Cincinnati rock concert entrance on December 3, 1979 which resulted in 11 youths trampled to death. With both its liberatory and its backward aspects, however, we do appear to be embarking on the 80's in an increasing current of discomfort with passive spectatorship. Steve Jenkins, in his mid-April 1979 **Newsday** piece "The Growing Spectre of Fan Violence in Sports," points to the mounting fragility of all types of sports spectacles, for example. Almost any large gathering seems vulnerable, as if physical closeness reminds us, bitterly, how far away real community is in this buy-and-sell existence.

Revolt Against Work

Turning to specifics of the less graphic, everyday plane of the job, an unchecked tendency to stay away from it as much as possible is seen. **U.S. News & World Report** for July 3, 1978, in its "World Business" column, observed that in the United Kingdom, bonuses are offered for coming to work in an effort to check rising absenteeism. And the 1979-82 United Auto Workers contract

increased the number of "paid personal holidays" to 26 from the 12 provided under the previous covenant, bowing to auto workers' refusal to maintain attendance. Concerning the phenomenon in Canada, the November 13, 1979 **Wall Street Journal** noted Manpower's report of absenteeism's \$8 billion per day price-tag there, plus the "growing tendency for workers to take a day off just because they don't feel like working"; their perspicacious psychologists opined that "frequent absentees may be trying to withdraw from life's tensions."

Caroline Bird's **The Two-Paycheck Marriage** showed that men are losing their ambition and seek jobs which allow them more time with their families. Although inflation has forced a situation in which there are now more couples in which both parties work than those in which the woman stays home, Bird has observed "a definite decline in the work ethic, with men coming in late or telling the boss to go to hell if they don't like what is happening or even quitting." Another 1979 book takes this theme further: **Breaktime: Living Without Work in a Nine to Five World**, by Bernard Lefkowitz, saw "average people" dropping out in protest "against a work culture whose values they no longer trust." **Breaktime** described the phenomenon as constituting a "quiet revolution taking place in the mainstream of American culture." Late January 1979 provided a most extreme case of rage in the person of Chicago snowplow driver Thomas Blair. After smashing some forty cars, killing one person, Blair was arrested screaming "I hate my job! I want to see my kids! I hate my job!"

The frequency of people quitting their jobs is a growing concern. At the end of April 1979 the Labor Department disclosed that job tenure of American workers decreased to an average of 3.6 years per job in 1978 from 3.9 years in 1973, with the tenure apparently shrinking at an accelerating rate. The October 10, 1979 **Wall Street Journal** announced an Administrative Management Society survey which observed that turnover among office employees averaged 20% in 1978, up from 14% in 1976.

In an early November 1979 Princeton Features piece, "Revolution in the Workplace," Carper and Naisbett declared that "a growing demand for more satisfaction from life" has brought dissatisfaction with work to the point where "workers refuse to produce and even deliberately sabotage the products they make." This point may be highlighted by a few of the more sensational acts of employee sabotage, such as the November 1978 damage to three of the world's largest electrical generators at Grand Coulee Dam in Washington state. In what investigators called "an inside job," 19 of the generators' coils had been broken with a crowbar resulting in "millions of dollars" of damage.

On February 15, 1979 a strike by mutual clerks at New York's Aqueduct Race Track got out of control and all 550 mutual betting machines were put out of action by sabotage. On May 7, 1979 it was discovered that lye had been poured into 62 uranium fuel elements at the Surrey nuclear plant in Richmond, Virginia; two employees were later arrested and convicted for the act. During September 20 and 21 of the same year, 4,000



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Chrysler workers, anticipating a two-week shutdown of their Detroit factory, ripped the vinyl tops of the new cars, breaking windows, tearing out dashboard wiring and starting small fires throughout the plant.

Unlike the general charade/catharsis nature of strikes—though it may be noted that strikes appear to be more often taking illegal or violent forms—workers obviously are opposing work in a thousand ways, from purely visceral reactions against it to the most calculated attacks. This opposition registers itself most fundamentally in terms of productivity, or output-per-hour-worked. A July 31 *Washington Post* story announced that "productivity of U.S. businesses fell more rapidly in the second quarter (of 1979) than it has since the government began keeping records in 1947."

Meanwhile, unions and the left publicly exhibited delusions, if not callousness, on the subject. Befitting their roles as champions of "honest toil" and the "good worker," the entire crisis is denied by them! The May 1979 *AFL-CIO Federationist* and the June 1979 *Monthly Review*, in "Bringing Productivity into Focus" and "Productivity Slowdown: A False Alarm," respectively, dispute the facts of diminishing work output and ignore the individual's primacy in productivity.

Returning to reality. On June 4 and September 10, 1979, *Time* editorialized on the plight of America, in "The Weakness that Starts at Home" and "The Fascination of Decadence." Considering the mass circulation involved, we glimpse here the growing awareness of how critical the changing work posture is. The June essay deals with "a damaging slackness... in U.S. society at large" and locates a key part of the problem in "the state of American productivity, which after several years of declining growth has in recent months actually dipped below zero progress." September's opinion piece declared that "the work ethic is nearly as dead as the Weimar Republic," citing "the last business quarter's alarming 3.8% decline in productivity" as a symptom of decadence.

It is a certainty that the 80's will see even more on capital's productivity dilemma, inasmuch as it cannot be "solved" without the destruction of that wage-labor/commodity relationship which is capitalism.

In mid-October Theodore Barry & Associates management consultants reported their findings that the average worker is productive during only 55% of working hours. James Fields, of the Barry firm, said this compares with 80 to 85% spent productively working around the turn of the century; "the implications of that are staggering," declared Fields.

Corporate management has recently been forced toward a restructuring, as restive workers create more difficulties for their bosses. In mid-October, Information Science, Inc. disclosed that a survey of 2,000 executives showed almost twice as many of them devoting from five to 20 hours a week to personnel matters as was the case five years ago; the respondents also indicated that pay for personnel execs has risen significantly.

Of personnel chiefs surveyed at a November, 1979 meeting of the American Society for Personnel Administration, 85% felt unions will have increased difficulty controlling their members during the 80's according to the November 20 *Wall Street Journal*. It is this sense of union infirmity which is bringing on the great bolstering of personnel departments, and, more importantly, pushing increased union-management collaboration.

More Class Collaboration

Whether or not unionism is seen as weakening, its vital, disciplinary role is unquestioned by America's corporate leadership. The appreciation of this role is exemplified by a May 21, 1979 *Fortune* article by Lee Smith, entitled "The UAW Has Its Own Management Problem." It focuses mainly on the auto companies' worries about the top Auto Workers' officials who will be replaced by the end of 1983: "What the companies dread is a power vacuum created by a weak, inexperienced, and indecisive leadership." Noting "sullenness," a shift of values, and general distrust of institutions among the workers, a strong union is prescribed as the best defense against "chaos." Manufacturers "want to know whether or not the UAW leadership can deliver a manageable labor force," inasmuch as "a fundamental problem not just for the UAW but for most unions in this epoch has been the increasing disaffection of the rank and file and, with that, an erosion of discipline."



Management and unions have been advancing toward greater institutionalized collaboration, whereby joint management programs—labeled "worker participation," "job enrichment," "quality of work life" projects—aim at increased worker motivation. Business periodicals see the need for strong union partnerships in these developing set-ups, just as they have, for example, bemoaned the "anarchy" in the coalfields produced by a weak United Mine Workers Union, or applauded the United Steelworkers' partnerships with steel companies in pursuit of higher productivity.

Working people, policed by unions and aware of their ever greater collusion with employers & government, exhibit a rising anti-unionism.

The highest levels of power also see clearly the stakes involved, the need for new forms to contain the individual. In 1979 the Trilateral Commission published Roberts, Okamoto, and Lodge's *Collective Bargaining and Employee Participation in Western Europe, North America, and Japan*, a Task Force Report to the Commission. Its summary called for labor-management cooperation, lest "the marvels of modern technology and raised expectations lead to disaster."

The union-management committees and the other forms of "quality of work life" co-determination seem "on the brink of important growth in the U.S.," according to *Business Week*, September 17, 1979, which noted that representatives of 32 unions attended a spring 1979 American Productivity Center meeting aimed at such programs.

The biggest top-level change, billed "a major breakthrough in U.S. labor history," was the UAW trade-off of \$500 million in contract concessions for a seat on Chrysler's board of directors. Douglas Fraser, UAW president, will obtain the directorship in May 1980, prompting such editorials as "Are Unions Knocking at Boardroom Doors?" (*Industry Week*, November 12, 1979). The move also sparked discussion of a possible shift toward the "social contract," in which unions and government agree upon and attempt to enforce various social programs at the national level; Fraser, for one, has declared himself quite interested in this direction for American unionism, following European examples.

Certainly there already exist labor-management bodies with broader social objectives than has generally been the case before. California's Council on Environmental and Economic Balance, or CEEB, was founded in 1973 and is composed of bankers, oil company executives, nuclear power industry representatives, land developers and the like, plus the heads of the state Building and Construction Trades Union Council, the Teamsters and the United Auto Workers. A great power in the state capitol, CEEB characteristically has done much toward lowering environmental laws and nuclear safeguard standards. Investigative reporting by David Kaplan in the summer of 1979 further uncovered that this "form of fascism" intends a national organization with CEEB's set up across the country. Collaboration of this sort recalls the Golden, Colorado pro-nuclear power rally of August 26, 1979 organized by Local 8031 of the United Steel Workers and paid for by Rockwell International, which operates the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant near Goden.

Government help for unionism has recently been increasing, especially in the form of helpful court decisions defending the power of unions over their members and extending their roles; this tendency is an invaluable aspect of the class collaboration directions indicated above.

In early January 1979 the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the dismissal of an action brought by members of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 1547 in Alaska against the international union for its refusal to submit terms of a national contract to a membership ratification vote in 1977. The court decided that IBEW president Pillard was justified in interpreting the union's constitution in such a way as to negotiate and implement the agreement without ratification.

Early March 1979 found a federal Appeals Court deciding, against a membership suit in St. Louis, that the UAW could give union funds to whatever causes or organizations the "officers' discretion"

Angry gays torch cop cars in San Francisco. Memories of Kent State haunt America.

dictated. At the same time a New York Court of Appeals sided with the Communication Workers of America executive board who fired shop steward Dave Newman merely for criticizing union policy; the judgment, concluded that a steward's duty is to represent the policies of the "management of the union" and not the views of the members who elect them. The Supreme Court, in the summer 1979 *IBEW vs. Foust* case, ruled that a union member could not recover damages over the failure of the union to fairly process his grievance. Although the right of fair grievance representation is guaranteed by law, and the individual was denied an opportunity to grieve his grievance within a time deadline, the Court decided that interference would antagonize the union, would "disrupt peaceful labor relations."

The unions themselves are moving toward structures and policies aimed at more effective bureaucratic control of their members. Fifty-seven mergers involving 95 unions and employee associations took place between 1956 and 1978; of these 57, 21 took place since 1971, evidence of the quickening incidence of trade union amalgamation.

These few words on directions in unionism's structure bring to mind the European situation and its possible relevance to American developments. In England a strong parallel suggests itself from these comments by James Prior, Prime Minister Thatcher's minister responsible for union relations, interviewed in *Business Week*, April 16, 1979: "We have too many unions. And a lot of them are much too weak in administration, in ability to get a message across. The unions have lost a lot of control to the shop floor."

Working people, policed by the unions and aware of their ever-greater collusion with employers and the government, exhibit a rising anti-unionism.

The *Gallup Opinion Index* for June 1979 showed a decline of about 15% among both union and non-union families since June 1965. The downturn has been a steady one since 1965, having reached in 1979 the lowest point of public approval in Gallup's 43 years of polling.

And unions are being hit by work actions as never before. Richard Sennett, in "The Boss's New Clothes," *New York Review of Books*, February 22, 1979, stated rather mildly that "During the last decade, the number of wildcat strikes has risen—strikes as much against the union bureaucracy, for example that of the United Mine Workers, as against the managerial bureaucracy." The Supreme Court decided in December 1979 that unions are not liable for losses caused by their members' wildcats, a finding very consonant with Sennett's observation, recognizing that such acts are not an extension of union activity but antagonistic to it.

In 1970 Herman Kahn predicted a frenzy of social travel developing in the new decade. Ten years later, Stephen Pappson's *Futurist* article, "Tourism: Biggest Industry in the Twenty-First Century?" sees its arrival "with the growth of affluence," as emblematic of the need "to get away from all routine, not just one's work." But "getting away" isn't that easy and the frustration corrodes. A way of death is dying but it may survive us. Arming ourselves with an accurate sense of our inter-subjectivity in its complex fight with this alien place is necessary to help us strike hard and well.

1980: Why am I here?

We will strip ourselves gently of constraints. We will lie, steal, write beautiful songs. By Catherine Sand

Catherine Sand's recollections of her journey through the 70's is one of the responses to our theme question in the last issue of the Open Road: Did the 70's burn you out? Catherine dedicated this piece to Jordan Hess.

Hello Open Road. Just received your half-issue calling for responses to the seventies. I offer you this picture of one small American city. This funny thing inspired me:

Walking up the business section, noon time busy. Glanced inside an office door, noticing a man (grey hair, stocky, neat jacket and a hat) I'm thinking oh, he's pulling up his fly but what do you know it's his prick.

My first reaction—repulsed. Something must be done. This should be stopped, of all the nerve. Should I walk back and call for help? Maybe just give him a piece of my mind? Maybe I should call the cops.

Call the Cops?

That's when I started laughing with that rush of real thought freeing up my questions, racing past my nervousness and cooling out the cops that flare in me all too often.

First free thought: will this guy come? Most likely not and that's too bad, a sign of the times, reflecting our culture and our lack. For most of this community (all classes) is running on battery powered frustration and it's crushing the rest of us or at least interfering, as we try to achieve the energy of a union that is free. Surrounded by the masters' culture, taken out of the time when lust was forbidden, enter the scene of anxious bombardment. Taking the image of woman out of the girdle, setting us up for perpetual window shopping. From all rituals of chastity to all rituals of exposure.

And this is the center, isn't it. What else do we really have? Except ourselves, our bodies and our needs. And who is responsible for making pleasure another commodity, moving on the market next to stainless steel? And how will we (women) break this double bind of false restrictions and very real dangers?

I continue thru the town (mind now alert) *Poughkeepsie*, a place to get out of, the brunt of many jokes. But show me one city in the US of A, one place that's essentially different. The poor side of town is the old side of town is the run down, crowded colored people's side of town. And the rules are seldom broken and very few move from one side of town to the other (even to play or just take a walk). And this is true in the Capital, in the Motor City and in the Big Apple, in every city I've been in in the United States.

But in this town a new veneer has been laid on the bones of destruction. *Model cities* ushering in a new era of capitalist development. More money spent here per person than any other city in the United States. Ushering in a new era of urban renewal. Ten million to tear down houses along the waterfront. Starting with the Nixon era, money poured right into the ground—highways and sewers, a hotel foundation that will never be built, curbs, parking decks, sidewalks.

Concrete and bricks from the top down. From a year's budget of three million, \$60,000 was spent on "social services," meaning one referral center where the barely living can go to get a list of where to go (and the poverty pimps make a killing, or at least a middle class living).

And the sad fact is it was our money. Taxes federally squeezed before we even saw the pay check.

We occupied a building for a while (no help from Model Cities). It was owned by the City destined to be torn down. Had been abandoned for five years when offered to us (as a tax evasion for local rich church). Frank, Danny and I walked in, we started to clean and made repairs. Summer nights we opened the door. Whoever walked in sat down. We talked, and organized, and kept it running. Chose the name: *The Peoples Community Center* (no apostrophe, possession is assumed). It was simple and it blossomed. Three stories of living space: free clothes always, free meals twice a week, a space to sleep for anyone who needed, art studio, children's play, coffee house (The Other World), and meeting space. No records were kept, no one refused. All free. All achieved by free cooperation, decisions by consensus, what was needed was done.

The Peoples Center survived for slightly more than a year. It was basically destroyed by an economist error. Thinking that it would be good to pay ourselves for this "work" we accepted a government grant for ten positions. It was received under cover of local church connections and appearing as a social services project (read a-political). Not only did this cause endless conflict between those who were paid and those who were not, when funds were cut (on a charge of late time sheets) the "staff" was drastically (and overnight) reduced to two people.

Those who once freely participated had become dependent on a wage that we

could no longer produce. When the City came down with its third eviction notice we were too small to fight, and had to move on. I walk past what was the Center. They have covered it over with black painted boards, here in the center of Poughkeepsie.

Oddly enough, the Peoples Center was located in the business section, *The Main Mall*, part of a strategy to save the city with money. Using that ever-present federal money, Main Street was paved with bricks and lined with trees. It's actually nice, where children can run (not looking both ways) and elders can sit, and people gather to talk. But there is constant clamour from City Hall—the benches attract "Undesirables," people are afraid to come "Downtown," the businesses are dying. And they can't cover it all up.

More money per person than any other city in the United States was spent here. And those who live next to the Main Mall are still poor. And the cry of "undesirables" is the cry of those who are embarrassed (and frightened). The problem is that no money has been spent to help *people and the abused have remained powerless. Poughkeepsie is a dumping ground, surrounded by institutions (mental hospitals, homes for the "retarded"). In order to save money they are gradually releasing their populations, renting them out to small homes, state run and private, woefully inadequate.*

In many "homes" recreation means that residents must be out of the house from nine to five. Suddenly the people who were once stored out of sight in huge facilities are out on the street, many unfed and poorly clothed. The casualties of a vicious system. Uncovered by bricks, aggressive and loud, unappeased by concrete. Wandering and talking to themselves, the Main Mall has become home.

The City Council solution was originally to REMOVE ALL OF THE BENCHES. But obviously the situation requires analysis, not blind reaction. And this brings me to Jordan Hess.

He describes himself as a teddy bear; Mr. Hess is a brilliant man, a singer and a political analyst. Owns a Russian rifle built in 1917 and can sing the German's regiment song from the Spanish Civil War (also his own version about Wall Street and the atom bomb). He was one of the people to wander through the Center's open door. He's a founder of "Fountain House" a forerunner of the Mental Patient's Liberation Front.

MPL was founded by former psychiatric inmates for themselves. A group that was once unilaterally condemned to being useless and helpless, raises its voice and claims its humanity. MPL has exposed the systematic terror that is pressed on mental patients under the name of treatment and it has exposed the systematic repression that is applied to all of us under the name of order. Inspiration to struggling women and other downpressed groups.

In May 1979 the people of the Center moved into a small book store dedicated to radical "stuff". *Changes* is physically beautiful, black and purple walls, hand-made shelves from rough bark planks, local artwork displayed on one wall (Shifting Sands). It's neat, "important", but many frustrations.

The business end is hard and it hurt to pay the rent with christmas money from Frank's father. And don't I feel irresponsible when I get those notices from the publishers: *you are past due if your bill is not paid within thirty days we will be forced to turn your account over to a collection agency.* What do they think we do, eat the books? So-called leftists. Okay turn me over. Sue me, arrest me, whatever.

The customers often assume your role is to serve them, often walk in to criticize, examine and leave without buying a thing. Too often, hostile men walk in to laugh and taunt as they run through their act. Questioning me on police, Spanish, Iran, revolution. Men's power playing, calling me girl, liberated radical. My response is silence, theirs *I'm gonna make you talk.* Street jive putdowns, flip side of police men, same trip against women. Will I carry a pistol, seems to them it's as good as a pistol. And this is important—what will be my weapon?

Professional/student feminists walk in sizing us up: *where are the women's books?* Walk out without noticing the paintings that cover one wall, real woman inspiration, color and thought. Don't notice me either, soul disappointed, ready to cry. We have all worked hard to open this place, what a letdown when your "friends" don't notice.

Occasional agents cruise in here, local police, FBI, etc. snoopy and obvious. Never buy a thing either. Underbelly of the police state that surrounds us here. Within the past year: Danny picked up while making a phone call (dropped off three miles away), Bala arrested while having dinner on the Vassar campus (unreachable for 24 hours), Makini dragged from his home at midnight (parole violation), Tim stopped after bank robber's escape (had to take off his pants to prove his leg brace was real), Lucy three hours late (they claimed her car was stolen).

And it still takes us by surprise. We haven't organized well enough for our own protection. Bouncing every time when the hand comes down.

And I feel overwhelmed, angry about the past. Why am I here in such a mess? Why wasn't I born in an earlier time? 1917—wasn't that a good year? 1968—if only the rebellion hadn't failed. They've been practicing since then: TV surveillance, riot control, psychological warfare, urban extermination. It's getting way out of hand, and it's all *against me.* 1980—why am I here?

Anarchy: an Italian model

Anarchist activity in Italy must work against the natural evolution of the system which is totalitarian and hierarchical.

We are reprinting an edited version of this Italian Anarchist Program because we believe it is one of the most provocative and lucid analyses to come out of the 70's. We hope it will inspire other anarchists to look just as seriously at the 80's.

What follows is not *the* anarchist programme but *one* anarchist programme, that of the Federated Anarchist Groups (GAF) approved by their assembly of 20-21 March 1976.

This programme is the result of ten years of joint experiences and discussions and is simply the schematically organised expression of *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 in space and time.

Some fundamental assumptions e.g. the unchangeable nature of equalitarian and libertarian principles, the coherence between means and ends etc., are the theoretical and historical heritage of anarchism as a whole and as such are not linked to particular situations or convictions, being common to any interpretation of anarchism and therefore *also* to this programme.

The programme has a deliberately "open" character, open not only to modifications and corrections in its analyses, a natural consequence of objective structural changes and a thorough critical theoretical examination, but also to new ideas and modifications as regards the practical side for new experiments and experiences. Thus, in line with the character of the GAF, it is a programme to be continually verified and periodically confirmed or rectified.

3. THE HIERARCHICAL SOCIETY

Anarchy then is the global alternative to the hierarchical model of society. To the model as a whole and not to any particular hierarchical society. Thus anarchism is the theoretical system and the social movement opposed to *all* hierarchical structures with their values, religious and pseudoscientific ideologies. Although in historical terms anarchism originated in the workers' fight against capitalism in the last century, it has always stood for and continues to stand for a refusal not only of domination by the bourgeoisie, but of all kinds of domination.

In hierarchical societies all human relationships are in one way or another based essentially on domination, in so far as the hierarchical model is reproduced in every aspect of society and in the seeking for authority becomes a pronounced character trait. Of prevalent importance in these relationships of domination is the relationship deriving from *economic exploitation*, which is the fundamental stratification. Nonetheless this stratification is an expression not only of hierarchical division of productive functions in the narrow sense, but more generally the *hierarchical division of social labour*. In some societies economic power (and/or privilege) has become fused with political power, whereas in others there is a formal division: in some societies the former appears derived from the latter, in others vice versa. In either case however both are monopoly of a privileged *elite*.

The state is the fundamental political institution of every modern hierarchical society and the anarchists' attacks are thus directed, as they have always been, first and foremost against the state, and not only the "bourgeois state" (the political structure of capitalist society) but *every* kind of state of the present, past or future in as much as the state is organised power, i.e. domination. The anarchist criticism of the state takes on a new dimension in the face of the monstrous totalitarian interference with indi-

vidual freedom and its on the spot transformation of economic power as well as political power.

(Ed. note: Parts 4, 5 and 6 of the program discuss the limitations of the "classic" interpretation of class struggle (the struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the proletariat). This approach is criticized for its failure to see a broader "class" struggle present in all societies between those who rule and those who seek their own emancipation (including not only "the proletariat," but also agricultural labourers, service-industry workers, underemployed, unemployed, dropouts, etc.—all those without power over their own lives). Characterizing this historical period as one of transition from capitalism to a new, more sophisticated form of exploitation, the program introduces the concept of the struggle among three classes—the third class being a potential ruling class "on the way up"—in this case, what is called the "technobureaucracy.")

7. THE NEW BOSSES

The new ruling class, the technobureaucracy, defines itself in the intellectual work corresponding to managerial functions in the hierarchical division of social labour.

The "new bosses" have these functions and from them derive their relative privileges and powers not on account of private ownership rights of the means of production but rather by virtue of a sort of intellectual ownership of the means of production, i.e. a possession of the knowledge inherent in the direction of the great economic and political groupings. The most complete form of their present domination, i.e. in the so-called socialist bloc, presents a picture of technobureaucrats with a monopoly of economic and political power, exploiting not at an individual level but collectively by means of "class ownership" of the means of production. That is, they appropriate a privileged share of goods and services not directly, as happens under capitalism, but indirectly by means of the state which appropriates this "class" quota and then redistributes it among its own functionaries depending on each one's position in the social pyramid, i.e. depending on the hierarchical importance of that particular function.

In advanced capitalist western societies the new bosses have less clearcut outlines and their specific role of exploitation is linked to capitalist exploitation in general. Both in historical and functional terms they derive from the clerical middle class at the service of the capitalist bourgeoisie. The growth of joint-stock companies, of commercial and financial trusts and of multinational companies, together with the steady expansion of state functions in the social and economic field, have generated (and continue to do so) the conditions for an increased importance and power of technical and administrative company bosses and bosses of state institutions.

Bureaucrats (state managers) and technocrats (managers of private companies) are two aspects of the new class, still differentiated even if mediated by the hybrid figure of the manager of a public company. The techno-bureaucrats appropriate their class privilege, i.e. the fruits of their exploitation, by means of very high salaries, prizes, bonuses, special emoluments, etc. In the case of managers of private companies these various payments may be seen as disguised company profit, i.e. capitalist surplus value. The privileged payments made to state managers are instead typically technobureaucratic. The pay of managers in public companies and in those with state participation show in part as profit (a vestige of mercantile capitalist mechanism) and in part as truly privileged rights to a slice of the wealth produced, not so much in company terms as at a national level.

8. JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES AND THE MULTINATIONALS

We see increasingly a split developing between the traditional capitalist pairing of ownership and control: the owners remain interested in company affairs but it is the technobureaucrats who in fact and also by right (the so-called "delegation") exercise economic control. *Legal* ownership of the means of production, whilst still a source of privileged income, is no longer necessarily economic



ownership.
The independence of the technobureaucrats is yet more marked in multinational companies.

Shareholders' power over "their" company at an international level is practically non-existent. The production-distribution processes are so complex and articulated that only the managerial staff is capable of controlling and coordinating them. Furthermore the multinationals are structured in such a way as to produce a hierarchical division of labour, among the various geographical regions, corresponding to the vertical division of labour within the company itself: the power of decision and high level jobs are concentrated in the metropolises of the developed countries (with a certain number of sub-capitals in the not so developed countries) whereas in backward countries activities with a very low technological content are developed.

This is a new kind of international exploitation involving not only advanced states and backward states, but also the multinational companies who directly take on the new function of colonialisers.

9. THE ADVANCED CAPITALIST-STATE

The state plays a fundamental role in an advanced capitalist economy. Firstly either directly or indirectly it possesses a thick network of industries and services in the key sectors. Furthermore it regulates, controls, plans and coordinates, to an ever increasing extent, company activities, by means of legislation, credits, taxes, etc. Finally it is far and away the principal client of the private sector.

When 30-40% of the Gross National Product of advanced capitalist countries is absorbed by public administration, one can say that from being a question of quantity it has passed to one of quality.

The state, in its role as defence apparatus of capitalist interests, is changing into being a privileged breeding ground for the new ruling class, concentrating as it does, that is at its higher levels of hierarchy, a very high and growing percentage of economic power, which in turn fuses with political power. The latter thus comes to progressively lose its subordinate role. While the technobureaucratisation of the big private companies goes ahead, in the public companies and in the state apparatus technocrats and bureaucrats come to express less and less the interests of the old bosses and more and more *their own*.

In a similar fashion effective political power is passing from the legislative assemblies to the executive organs and thence to heads of administration. The majority of advanced capitalist countries have a democratic, parliamentary political structure, but in no case does parliament, the formal seat of "popular sovereignty," really govern the state.

10. POST-CAPITALIST SOCIETIES

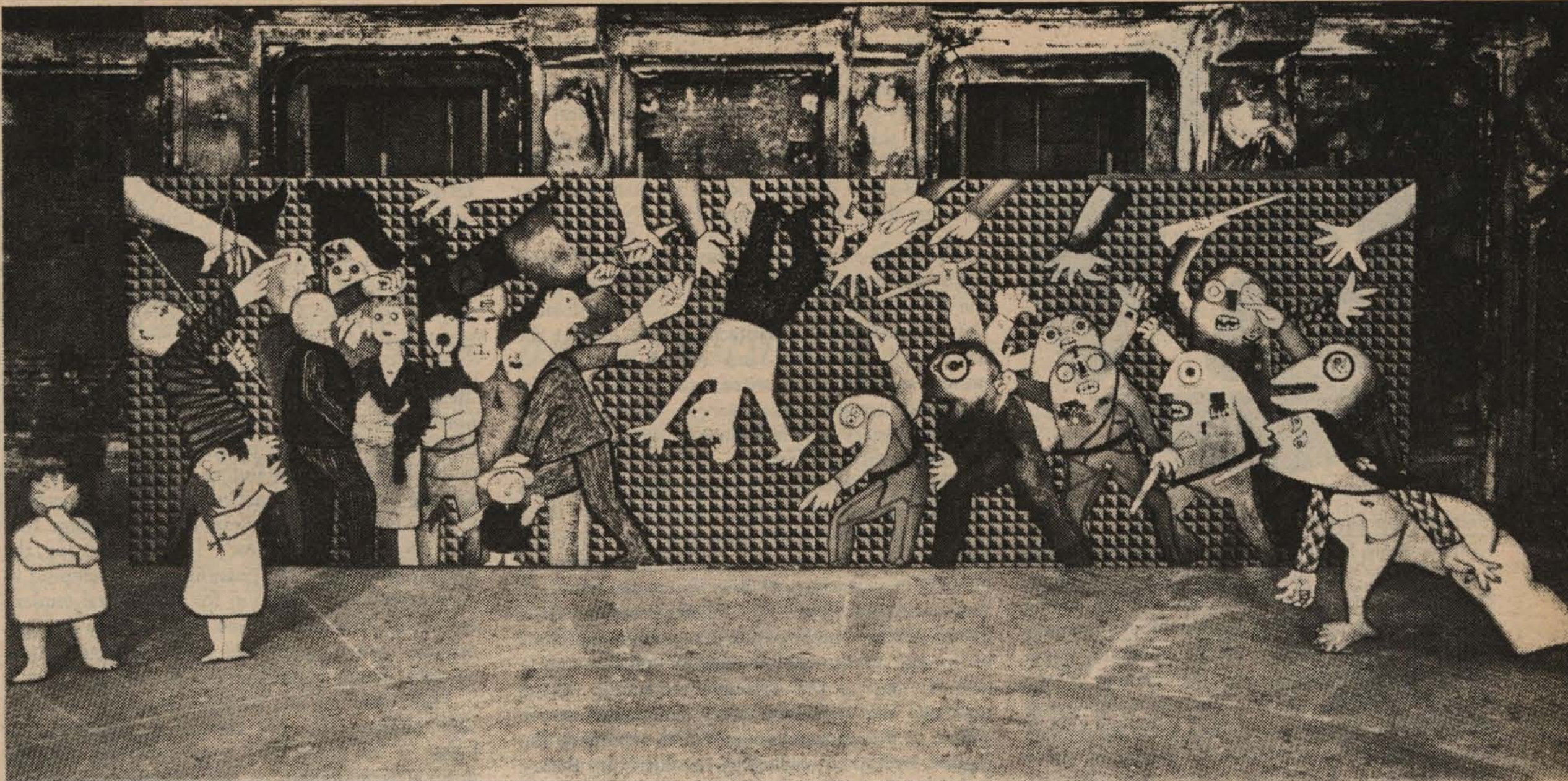
In those countries with a "state socialism" we see the full realisation of a technobureaucratic post-capitalist set-up.

The Russian model is the most suitable for a portrayal of post-capitalist societies, not only because it is the model of nearly all the "state socialism" countries (even Cuba is rapidly adapting to it, after having produced its own original features in its initial period of "socialism") but also for the fact that after more than half a century of existence it is sufficiently well-known and consolidated.

It has all the typical features of the technobureaucratic system. The merging in the state of economic and political functions identifies the social hierarchy in the state hierarchy. The abolition of private ownership of the means of production signifies their collective appropriation on the part of the technobureaucracy, which directs production in its own interests, appropriating the social surplus value in the form of special privileges: not only in terms of high salaries but also, and perhaps especially, privileged goods and services such as the *dacia*, special shops, trips abroad, the use of motorcars, higher education for their children, etc.

Below the technobureaucracy and a clerical, technical, professional and artistic "middle class," there is the overwhelming majority of the exploited ones, manual labourers in the city and country alike, modern slaves of state, deprived even of the only economic freedom conceded by capitalism to the proletariat: the possibility of selling one's labour to the highest bidder and of fighting together with one's comrades in exploitation to wrest more tolerable working and living conditions.

The post-capitalist economic structure hinges on planning, which substitutes the labour and goods market. With an economy which is entirely in state hands and hierarchically structured from the factory right up to the heads of planning, it is no



"The funeral of the anarchist Pinelli," by Enrico Baj. The mural depicts the assassination of the GAF militant, Giuseppe Pinelli, pushed to his death from the 4th floor of the Milan police station during an interrogation in 1969.

longer a question of urging the various companies to follow the indications set out in the plan: the power group *decides* the results to be sought and sorts them among the various sectors and companies, who are bound by them. The plan decides not only the quantity and quality of the products, but also investments, prices and wage levels, quite apart from any mercantile mechanisms. Thus categories such as wages, currency, etc. have an economic meaning which is completely different from the corresponding capitalist-mercantile terms: the terminology remains but the underlying relationships are changed.

The party, to which in the USSR belong a mere 10% of the population, runs right through society from the lower middle levels up to the top, excluding only the lowest social levels, in a hierarchy superimposed on the state hierarchy, like a church within the state. Nonetheless at the uppermost level the two hierarchies converge. The party directly administers production and distribution, but also exercises a tight control over every aspect of life in the society, in so far as it is the carrier for the state ideology (Marxism-Leninism), which serves as the formal legitimization of the power and privileges of the new bosses.

14. ITALIAN POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS

Apart from Parliament's abdication from its role as supreme institution, the Italian state presents us with another typical characteristic of advanced capitalism: its progressive tendency towards totalitarianism, i.e. the state tends to intervene in every

social function, in the first instance to regulate it and later to absorb it into itself; it tends to invade and indeed does invade every aspect even of the private life (for the totalitarian state the word "private" does not exist) of the citizen. The Fascist state was openly totalitarian, whereas the post-Fascist state is *de facto* totalitarian, and the process of identification between state and society has been taken up again since the War in a less folklorist fashion but in an even more insidious fashion, both at an institutional and ideological level.

With this invasion of privacy and the strengthening of the apparatus of repressive control and psycho-ideological conditioning, the state is well on the way to a progressive limitation, *de facto* rather than *de jure*, of personal and collective freedom, quite apart from the *form* the Italian politics may assume in the short and middle term.

15. THE LONG MARCH OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI)

The peculiarity of the Italian political system and thus of its probable model of evolution, with respect to other Western social democratic models, is the presence of a very strong reformist communist party. In one way or another, all aspects of Italian politics have to take this presence into account.

The PCI is a mass working-class party which can count on the votes of a third of the electorate, controls the main trade union centre, has the ruling majority in many communal, provincial and

regional administrations, possesses and controls jointstock companies and cooperatives, has an important influence on culture, a party which for thirty years has pursued with great ability the strategy of letting things take their time and which is in fact already a participant in power.

Nearly three quarters of legislation between the years 1948 and 1968 had the assent of the PCI, which cannot therefore be considered a party against the system, i.e. a revolutionary party but rather one of the very pillars of the system.

The most probable political hypothesis for the future is the "Italian way to reformism" which, in the absence of a genuine and strong Social Democratic party, can only revolve around the PCI, be it in the version of the "leftist alternative" (a government made up of Socialists and Communists), or in the form of the "historical compromise" (between Christian Democrats and Communists). The fact is that a serious economic plan is essential for Italy, as for any other advanced capitalist countries, not least because of the lack of organisation and partial backwardness of the structures of production and distribution, economic dualism between North and South, etc. This plan can only be effected with the collaboration of the Unions, managers and controllers of workers' conflicts. To speak of unions in Italy today means above all to speak of the PCI.

To be sure, this is not the only *possible hypothesis* for the future direction of Italian politics, but to us it seems the *most probable*, the one we will most likely have to face up to. This hypothesis implies a process of transformation of the state, in an authoritarian sense—continuously but under "democratic" forms, together with a further shift "to the right" of the PCI and it is on this supposition that a revolutionary strategy is to be based.

16. LEFT OF THE PCI

The progressive shift to the right of the PCI, which in recent years has abandoned quite openly all trace of revolutionary language and mythology, has left and will leave ever more political space to the left. The first effect of this has been to spawn a myriad of Marxist-Leninist organisations, mini-versions of the PCI but also revolutionary, who ably rode the tiger of student protest and the almost contemporaneous recommencement of proletarian combativity, adopting forms which were initially assembly-based and which were instrumentalised as quasi-anarchosyndicalist, thanks in part to the virtual non-existence of an anarchist and libertarian movement.

Objectively speaking the Marxist-Leninists have played a contradictory role, a disturbance for the PCI while at the same time doing it a great "service." The involuntary service has been to give the PCI "extremist cover," thereby enabling it to stress its reasonableness and reformism, whilst at the same time being a sort of "parking zone" for juvenile rebellion, whence it is easy, sooner or later, to end up in the arms of the PCI. Indeed in recent years its youth organisations have begun to grow again, recuperating many of those disillusioned by the extra-parliamentary experiment.

Something analogous has happened, starting from 1968 and even more after '69, on the left of the trade unions with the opening up of a political space for actions (wildcat strikes, sabotages, etc.) and organisations (assemblies, the CUB—"Unitary Base Committees"—etc.) outside the unions. The unions however have taken even more effective and intensive steps than the PCI to recuperate their lost sheep. It is far less dangerous



Italian militants dance during their demonstrations.



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to allow room for student "insubordination" than for that of the workers. Student rebellion, originally a revolt against authority and arising also from a deep sense of unease of the category regarding the inadequacy of the scholastic structures when confronted with the opening of the institutes of the masses and the new competences and functions of the technicians, does not in itself contain any truly revolutionary prospects, given the functional destination (petty technobureaucracy) and hence the class interests, of the various levels of graduate. The same load of revolt, when applied to the reality of the exploited classes evidently gives quite different results. Apart from anything else, student unrest upsets the system rather less than worker unrest. Terrified of being unseated from their control over the proletariat, during the "hot autumn" of 1969, the three main Unions have subsequently shown themselves able to adapt to the needs of a direct democracy expressed by the base, and showing in this a surprising elasticity and ability, thereby recuperating most of the assemblies, shop-stewards and shopfloor committees, using them as probes for the feelings of the proletariat and as instruments for the manipulation of consent.

In any case, the Marxist-Leninists, reproducing as they do the false revolutionary sentiments of old-style authoritarian socialism, cannot be said to constitute a genuine alternative to the PCI and the bureaucratic Trade Unions. Only anarchism has something serious and coherent to say in the struggle of the exploited of today, speaking out as it does against bosses both old and new. Anarchism alone can provide the theoretical and practical instruments for interpreting and combating the technobureaucratic evolutionary process and for organising the refusal of the whole system into a revolutionary project, a refusal which the PCI is ever less able to pretend to represent, in so far as it distinguishes itself less and less from this same system.

17. THE REVOLUTIONARY CHOICE

The anarchists' plan is *revolutionary*, because the constitution of an equalitarian and libertarian society is possible only with a "revolution," i.e. with a more or less violent historical phase of rapid and profound economic, political and ethical transformations, etc.

The revolutionary choice is obligatory, because revolution is a necessary passage for every substantial change in society. Indeed revolution is a necessity, not only, or perhaps we should say not particularly, on account of the violent resistance put up by the ruling classes to the loss of its privileges, but even more because it is only through revolution that the popular desire for radical change may find an outlet, that the minority can then become a majority or near totality and the exploited masses can become a protagonist in history.

It is only in certain periods, when the "certainties" of existence lose their significance, when the traditional system of values and the institutions of power lose their sacred character, it is only in these moments of crisis that the true base of constituted order starts to crack, this base being the passive consent of the masses. It is only in these periods that, both in the individual and in the masses, the psychological domination of the "bosses" begins to come unstuck, a domination consisting of characterial attitudes and mystifying ideologies, modelled and inculcated in the exploited right from the moment of birth! For this reason the history of mankind has always seen revolutionary "crisis" as the necessary point of arrival for past evolutions and at the same time the necessary starting point for future evolutions.

18. THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND REVOLUTION

The anarchist plan for revolution derives from the class struggle of the exploited classes its guarantee of possible, or even probable, achievement. The universal existence of the class struggle in every hierarchical society gives us an initial indication of crucial importance however banal it might seem: *social inequality is not natural* and only

the resort to instruments of force (both psychological and physical) guarantees its survival. A second indication, drawn from the observation of the variety of forms of conflicts between rulers and ruled is that the serfs, slaves, wage labourers, exploited and in general all those downtrodden by each and every system, show a constant tendency to refuse their class condition.

All this, in *objective terms*, means that the emancipatory aspirations are only to be achieved through the abolition of classes, by means of a transformation of society into equalitarian forms. In fact the history of revolution and revolts has left us numerous examples as witness to the fact that the exploited masses, whenever it is possible to, organise society as it feels does so with *approximations* of equality and freedom.

A third element which the history of class struggle gives us consists precisely in these practical indications, in these popular "utopias" achieved from time to time, albeit in fragmentary fashion, in a creativity of clear libertarian stamp, in these examples of how the exploited masses sees its own collective emancipation. Anarchism arose out of this age old tension for equality and libertarianism, developing the objective tendencies of the exploited and their exemplary indications into a system of thought and action which represents the highest level so far reached by revolutionary theory and practice. Nonetheless class struggle and anarchist revolutionary struggle are not synonymous. Firstly the former can also express itself in reformist terms and that is indeed the dominant form it takes outside pre-revolutionary periods. Secondly social conflict does not exhaust itself in the class struggle but expresses other revolts in addition which, in a complicated and sophisticated hierarchical system, arise from inequalities and dominations not directly class-related: sexual, ethnic, racist, etc. All these revolts have a common equalitarian matrix in parallel with the class struggle although not necessarily and not completely. From all these revolts, as from the revolts of individuals, anarchism may derive new theory and practical material and re-order these movements or aspirations to partial emancipation into its revolutionary programme for total emancipation.

Only with this deliberate and organised programme and with this re-ordering is it possible to realise the revolutionary potentiality of the class struggle. Outside this *possibility*, there is only the historical reality of a continual transformation of the exploitation and oppression, in which the class struggle of the exploited cannot "make history," i.e. it cannot bring about any structural changes unless they be to the advantage of a new ruling class, for whose mystifying interests it will become once more the vehicle. In Italy in the near future, this signifies that the class struggle of the exploited will serve, willy-nilly, the "technobureaucratic" interests, until, and unless, the libertarian revolution makes sufficient impact.

19. THE LIBERTARIAN REVOLUTION

We have spoken of "libertarian" revolution rather than of an "anarchist" revolution or of "revolution" alone. We do not believe either in a purely anarchist revolution or in the usefulness of any revolution as such. After fifty years of historical experience (Russia, Spain, China, Cuba, etc.) it is in fact clear that 1) the unleashing of popular equalitarian and libertarian tendencies is a short-lived phenomenon unless it can have the possibility of self expression in adequate organisations; 2) "state socialism" is not a step forward on the road of human emancipation.

At the same time, however much the anarchists may grow both in quality and in numbers prior to the revolution, we do not believe they can have sufficient strength and their ideas have sufficient influence to give an unequivocal mark to the revolutionary transformation: other forces will participate. However, right from the beginning the anarchist presence should give an equalitarian and libertarian character to the revolution (with the destruction of the state apparatus, the abolition of private property, and the creation of base organisations for workers' control and direct democracy). The other revolutionary components should not then prevail to such an extent as to stifle at birth workers' control, direct democracy and revolutionary experimentation nor such as to impede a pluralist and decentralised development of the revolution. This revolution, the libertarian social revolution, the only revolution for which it is worthwhile sacrificing some of the present, arises from the coming together of a series of favourable conditions. The aim of anarchist activity is to create these conditions.

Of these conditions, some may be considered *subjective* and others *objective*, i.e. some are determined by the will of the "revolutionary subject"; others by external factors. The objective conditions are generally those which tend to favour any revolution, economic crisis, wars, conflicts between dominating social groupings, an excessive weakening or even disintegration of power, etc. The history of revolution gives us abundant

examples of these objectively favourable conditions. In so far as they are not directly or predictably subject to the influence of the revolutionary movement, they are outside the specific aims of anarchist activity.

The necessary subjective conditions for a libertarian social revolution may be schematically indicated as the maximum possible quantitative and qualitative development of the anarchist movement and of the organised libertarian presence in social conflict and the maximum possible diffusion of the critical awareness and of the spirit of revolt against authority.

When we say maximum "possible" development we wish to stress that on the one hand in a non-revolutionary period there are relatively tight limits to revolutionary militancy and to the acceptance and even understanding of anarchist ideology and the putting into practice of libertarian method. On the other hand, we would also underline that this level of "saturation" is necessary for the revolution to have the possibility of developing in an anarchist direction, i.e. for the natural tendencies of the exploited to have the chance to emerge, organise and progressively mature towards more advanced forms of freedom and equality.

These then are the strategic objectives of anarchist activity. It is not possible to quantify it or locate it in time. The time necessary for the optimal development of the subjective conditions for the libertarian revolution (and indeed the very possibility of its being attainable in a reasonable space of time) is linked to so many variables that predictions can do no more than indicate the pessimism or optimism of an individual opinion. The most we can say is that as things are at the moment we are still a long way off and the work still to be done is enormous.

20. MEANS AND ENDS

We can trace a series of intermediate objectives of successive stages which define the revolutionary strategy only in the sense of a progressive construction of the final objectives, i.e. of the progressive realization of the subjective conditions favourable to the libertarian social revolution; means and ends come together and the growth of the one corresponds to a gradual seeking after the other.

This is not to deny all revolutionary values in the thousands of fights put up by the exploited and the oppressed to wrest a few crumbs of betterment or fragments of liberty or to keep what they have hard won. It is indeed mainly thanks to the anarchists' presence in these social conflicts that revolutionary conditions can mature. It is anyway undeniable that such struggles, quite apart from their validity for the revolutionary end, *rightly* attach great importance to the lower classes, to whom it would be nonsensical to ask them to set aside for the time being their desire to live better. We do not believe however that the partial conquests resulting from these struggles can be aligned in a progression that *objectively* brings us any closer to the revolution.

Anarchist intervention in these struggles is motivated by the *subjective* value (i.e. the social maturation of their protagonists) they can have, especially if they set themselves objectives and use methods which are *tendentially* libertarian and equalitarian. Thus, for example, workers' demands which aim at reducing the inequality in the place of work are of value only in so far as they may serve towards giving the exploited an increased sense of solidarity and desire to level, and *not* of any belief in the progressive elimination of inequality up to a point in which it would be possible to unify the objective interests of the workers. There are in fact definite maximum limits to the elimination of inequality in a system inherently based on exploitation. Thus, even the battle for the conquest of greater freedom is of value only in so far as it may increase the rebellion of the oppressed against authority.

The State cannot afford to have no limits to the freedom it allows to its citizens and indeed, in formally "democratic" regimes such as Italy, the various fights for freedom turn out in general to be attempts to defend the existing liberties from attacks by power, and as the state in an advanced industrial society gets increasingly totalitarian, so these battles will become even more *defensive*. To fool oneself that there exist partial objectives and conquests of objectively revolutionary value is a paradoxical version of reformism. Precisely because they are essentially partial and limited they must be reformist in the sense that they may be integrated or reabsorbed in the dynamics of advanced capitalism. But the awareness acquired, the growth of organisation, outside the institutions, i.e. all that derives from the libertarian *mode of fighting* it is this that interests anarchists. For results, if obtained with workers' control and direct action, bring the libertarian revolution nearer, but if these same results are obtained with delegation and hierarchical organisations, they make it more remote.

This is a classic case of the consistent coherence of the anarchists as regards means and ends, which does not have an exclusively moral basis but also a scientific one. Means and ends are in a cause and effect relation to one another and the choice of

The anarchists are not a guiding minority but rather an aware and active minority; not a vanguard of the masses but rather an element of revolutionary ferment in the masses.

ends necessarily determines the means, whatever the wish may be of those who recourse to a particular means. Therefore it is idealistic or worse, mystifying, to say that the end justifies the means. Rather the opposite is true, that the means "justify" the end, in so far as they contain the end already, albeit partially.

21. THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

The anarchists are not a guiding minority but rather an aware and active minority, nor is it therefore the vanguard of the masses but rather an element of revolutionary ferment in the masses. The anarchist movement must be a theory reference point for the exploited, spokesperson for the anarchist programme (revolutionary, libertarian and equalitarian) in its entirety and in all its coherence and pluralistic diversification. We said entirety and coherence: by reminding us of the essential ends at each partial success, at every deviation, at each consequence, however insignificant or not it may be. We said pluralistic diversification: a fruitful development of the anarchist's wealth of interpretations, analyses and organisational ideas.

One of the objectives of our activity is to build a movement strong in its influence, widespread, serious and organised, without the organisation compromising our coherence in the name of a false ideal of "efficiency." The anarchist organisations, be they groups or federations or whatever, should even be prepared to sacrifice a little *efficiency* to their coherence, because it is precisely in their coherence that their *effectiveness* lies. It is only in this way, by avoiding the dangers of authoritarianism and bureaucratism that the anarchists can aspire to the critical conscience for libertarian organisations against excessive preoccupations regarding "efficiency."

22. GROUPS AND FEDERATIONS

The organisational structure of the anarchist movement must correspond to its pluralistic nature, i.e. it should be articulated in a confederation, be it formal or informal, of groupings with similar ideas about what anarchism means, and of geographical groupings bringing together groups of the same town or region and therefore, presumably, with the same problems and conflicts. A federal grouping is the natural organisational projection of anarchism, which should reach up to international level.

But even before joining in a federation, the fundamental organisational step, in our opinion, is the traditional "affinity group," i.e. a nucleus of militants small enough to permit the active participation of all in the decision making process and yet ample enough to contain within itself a variety of personal experiences and struggles: flexible in its decisions but faithful to the anarchists' refusal of the majority-minority principle.

In so far as the essential features of anarchist organisation are assembly democracy, unanimity of decision taking, only small nuclei with most general and more specific ideas held in common can be coherent with anarchism's basic principles and at the same time efficient in the dynamics of decision taking and at an operational level. The "affinity group," as we may call this unit, will have an affinity of ideas but also a certain personal affinity, and this is indispensable when we remember that the group is not a company but a living together of the struggles and conflicts and as such will occupy a major portion of one's life.

The richer the life of the movement the denser and more differentiated will the organisational network be, a network of groups, federations, associated nuclei, of local or national importance, short-lived or lasting, collectives, committees, etc.

Even in the field of the press and publishing anarchist enterprises have always been and will always be instruments of cohesion and functional connection.

23. THE LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT

The libertarian movement is the totality of organisations consisting not only of anarchists—the anarchists may indeed be in a minority—but all will share, if only in part, the same means and ends as anarchism. In other words they are organs which, while not necessarily accepting anarchism *in toto*, do accept to a considerable degree the anti-authoritarian and equalitarian basis both in theory and practice, albeit in a sectorial way and in the form of a compromise and/or mediation with the reality of the social struggles. In factories, the barracks, the schools, the neighbourhood, etc., wherever conflicts develop, wherever rebellion manifests itself against class rule, wherever there is the refusal of exploitation, of ethnic oppression, of sexual repression, wherever there is the more or less conscious refusal of authority—there will arise, sometimes as an anarchist initiative but more often spontaneously, libertarian organisational nuclei, of a more or less ephemeral nature.



All these base structures, instruments of direct action, as well as cooperatives genuinely controlled by the workers themselves, experimental communes which set out to be viable alternatives to the traditional family, anti-authoritarian pedagogical ventures... these are the bricks and mortar for the building of a libertarian movement, in which what anarchist militants "do" may become what the exploited "do."

24. LIBERTARIAN ORGANISATIONS

Anarchists should work not only for the setting up of self-managed nuclei of struggle, but also so that these cells may link up on the basis of the sector of intervention and on a geographical basis, to avoid their isolation destroying them or reabsorbing them into the institutions (parties, unions and their lackeys). The active presence of the anarchists and their clarity of ideas is crucial in this phase of aggregation and development in order to combat any hierarchical regressions.

Naturally, it will not be possible to apply to libertarian organisations the same organisational criteria which would be valid or rather essential for the anarchist movement. The anarchists' constant task will be, however, to prevent the formation within these organisations of any kind of hierarchy and to avoid any corrosion of a group's self-management of its struggles, i.e. of *direct democracy*. We maintain that in social struggles and in the building of libertarian organisations the anarchists must tend to operate in a "unitary" manner, fully aware that what differentiates them is still less important than what they hold in common. There would in fact be no sense in reproducing that organisational pluralism at a level of libertarian organisations which at a specifically anarchist level is natural and indeed vital.

On the other hand we believe that the relations between the anarchist movement and the libertarian movement should not be in any way institutionalised and even less should there develop a hierarchical relationship out of their association (such as that existing between a trade-union and a political party). The only link, but it is a strong one, between groups and anarchist federations on the one hand, and libertarian organisations on the other, should be the active presence of anarchist militants in the latter and the influence they can have on their comrades in struggle on account of the respect the anarchists will have won for themselves by their daily actions.

25. ANARCHOSYNDICALISM

Historically the libertarian presence has made itself felt above all in the movements of the peasants and industrial workers, nor is this a mere coincidence. By its very nature anarchism, as the theory and practice of emancipation, could not but be a participant if not the actual promoter of organisations for the defence of the exploited and of their struggle, could not and cannot but be present in organised manifestations of the class struggle. The anarchist movement was actually born from the anti-authoritarian sectors of the First International. The most important and regular form assumed by the anarchists' presence in the daily struggles of the workers is *anarchosyndicalism*, thanks to which in many countries, even if often only for brief periods, a vast libertarian movement has been established—aggressive, feared and respected, a movement similar (and perhaps in Spain in 1936, identical) to that which we believe to be the essential prerequisite for the libertarian revolution.

More practised than theorised, as is proper, and with a certain diversification from one country to another, anarchosyndicalism has consistently shown two aspects: it is both libertarian and revolutionary, i.e. its structures were as decentralised as possible with virtually no bureaucracy and its ultimate aims of subversion, working that is for the total emancipation of the workers, and were always present even in the single episodes of the daily struggle which were lived as preparatory skirmishes for the final battle.

At a distance of half a century from the years of maximum development of anarchosyndicalism it is still valid as a basic form of libertarian intervention, as one of the key sectors of that libertarian movement that we must construct and develop. The themes of anarchosyndicalism should be thoroughly and seriously studied and rediscovered. The movement of the workers is no longer the same, because the working class itself is no longer the same: from being an emarginated community and hence culturally autonomous and subversive as well as being ferociously exploited, it has become little more than a statistical category, well on the way to cultural integration and exploited to a degree and in a fashion which are easier to tolerate. The authoritarian and reformist organisations which have hegemonised the movement of the workers have been both the effect of this class evolution and also an acceleration and facilitation of the same evolutionary process.

Nonetheless the last decade has shown that the political and cultural integration of the working class is not an irreversible process; we have seen how the refusal of the system can still take root in struggles which began as a wish to improve one's class position *within* the system; we have seen especially in countries torn by strong social and economic contradictions how the proletarians can be the protagonists in a violent social conflict, dangerous for the stability of the system itself. From 1969 up to today the workers have, to a greater or lesser degree, done without the institutional structures of the class struggle (the trade unions) on a number of occasions even if they have not hitherto been able to form an organised alternative outside the institutions, with some ephemeral and partial exceptions.

Unfortunately, in the crucial years in which the proletarian struggle re-emerged, an anarchosyndicalist presence was completely lacking, as also a strong and qualified anarchist presence in such a way as to favour the aggregation of the episodic and temporary in a revolutionary programme and libertarian structures, in order to avoid dispersion and to recuperate the most aware and combative minorities. In these structures, which should not come "from without" or "from above" but from "within" the movement of the struggle outside the institutions or against them, in this "refounding" of a revolutionary and libertarian syndicalism, it is here that the guarantee of true proletarian autonomy lies.

Today, in advanced industrial societies, we believe that anarchosyndicalism still has the possibility of taking root, and though it may be a minority movement, it will still be important, for its combativity and agility will compensate for the disadvantage of smallness with respect to the bureaucratic trade unions. Particularly appealing will be found its *libertarian* aspect, i.e. its belief in assemblar democracy and direct action which is also its best guarantee of fundamental irreconcilability with the social, political and economic hierarchies, i.e. of its revolutionary nature.

26. CULTURAL PRESENCE

All hierarchical societies are based not only on repression but more even on the consent of the exploited themselves, through their adhering to the system of dominant values. This consent normally helps to maintain the inevitable class antagonism within controllable limits. The tendency for advanced capitalist society to evolve towards totalitarianism exercises a growing psychological and ideological control, by means of

The affinity group is not a company but a living together of struggles & conflicts and as such will occupy a major portion of one's life.

the extraordinary possibilities provided by the mass media, which spread the dominant ideologies with an intensity and strength of conviction comparable only to the golden days of religion. Also, the mass media and mass scholarisation are rapidly eliminating the sole advantage of popular emargination—its cultural autonomy.

Pure bourgeois ideology practically no longer exists, in the sense of liberalism with its values of unequalitarian individualism, and the dominant ideologies in the Italy of today in terms of information and culture are in fact simply various versions of one sole ideology of technobureaucratic evolution, with a constant nuance varying from the blandest and most disguised reformism with all its hybrid values of bureaucratic paternalism to a more coherent Marxist-type reformism, with its values of hierarchical and meritocratic collectivism. This latter is the most solid and most coherent cultural presence, on the increase also at an academic and artistic level, thanks to its greater suitability to historical evolution, thanks to its greater intellectual dignity, thanks to thirty years' patient and intelligent work on the part of the PCI which has constituted a presence almost unopposed in the context of Italian progressive intellectuals.

A libertarian cultural presence is virtually non-existent at all levels, both among the intellectuals and in the masses and rebel minorities. Because of this absence, fundamentally anti-authoritarian concepts have been translated into Marxist (and thus authoritarian) terms in the fields of education, townplanning, sociology, psychology, etc., neutralising such revolutionary content as they may have had. Thus a libertarian culture must be re-founded at all levels by means of the strengthening in quantity and quality of the anarchist press and publishing, by means of a greater number of cultural initiatives, but first and foremost by efforts being made to constantly enrich and update the main themes of anarchist thought, which are in fact identical with the main themes of the liberation of mankind.

Anarchism, with its extreme coherence and critical lucidity which denies every form of domination, should be the reference point for whatever blossoms in a genuine anti-authoritarian sense, for everyone outside or/and against the "academies." Anarchism, with its impassioned defence of individual and collective free creativity, should be the reference point for writers, actors, singers, painters, who refuse to be mere jesters for the system and yet do not wish to put themselves at the service of old and new Zhdanovisms. Anarchism must be above all a point of reference and cultural ferment for the exploited masses, because a genuinely alternative culture to that of the ruling classes is inseparable from the growth of a strong libertarian movement, i.e. from the increased number and commitment of consciously anti-authoritarian social struggle.

27. VIOLENCE AND ARMED STRUGGLE

Apart from small fringes of believers in non-violence and terrorists, the anarchists have always had a balanced attitude towards the question of violence, neither wholly accepting it nor wholly refusing it but rather justifying it on certain conditions and in certain circumstances.

They have always refused indiscriminate violence and terrorism. On the other hand they have justified or at any rate condoned *on an ethical level* the use of violence as instrument of defence or justice, whilst at the same time possibly having different ideas as to the usefulness or opportunity of a given act of violence in so far as the recourse to violence can cause political and psychological consequences which will be different and even contradictory depending on the time, place and modality chosen. It is with the criteria of opportunity and hence of effectiveness that anarchists have judged and will always judge "violence to things" (bomb explosions, offices being devastated, sabotage in factories, etc.).

However fundamental elements in the judging of the sagacity of violence are the logical link and the *apparent* quantitative proportion between violent actions and their motivations, i.e. the extent to which these actions may be understood

by the proletarian "Audience," if not for all the public opinion. The genuine armed struggle, urban guerrilla warfare of the kind we have seen recently in Italy (the "Red Brigades" and "Armed Nuclei of the Proletariat"), France (GARI), Germany (RAF and "June 2nd"), outside pre-revolutionary situations, can have value only for their exemplary nature of "propaganda by action." This particular kind of revolutionary propaganda, of stimulus to revolt, should be judged as to how opportune it is also on the basis of efficacy and how "economical" it is, i.e. on the basis of its *real* capacity to provoke rebel ferment and increase or accelerate the reawakening of awareness in the exploited and also on the basis of the relationship between the "cost" of the armed struggle and its results.

We believe that in Italy today and indeed in all the formally democratic industrial societies, there is more to be lost than gained and thus our opinion of these actions at this time in these countries is negative, as *broadly speaking* the use of violence is to be considered negative when it is not endorsed by the collective consciousness of the exploited or at least by substantial minorities of rebellious proletarians. This by no means signifies that elsewhere, or in given different times and conditions, our judgment might not be positive.

28. THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION

Anarchist action can and must be international in its scope, not only because of the fundamental internationalist vocation of the anarchist, but also because the libertarian revolution, if it can come about in a national context, cannot hope to avoid being crushed and suffocated; not simply because exploitation and domination have a supernational aspect, particularly pronounced in countries with a fragile economy such as Italy, but also on account of the fact that social conflict and the political situation present remarkable analogies and connexions in a number of European countries. In this sense the other Latin countries in Europe (Spain, Portugal and even France) show a certain affinity to Italy: these countries both because of the level of social and economic development and because of historical tradition present a higher level of working class combativity and also those new ferments of rebellion against hierarchy which typify advanced capitalist societies.

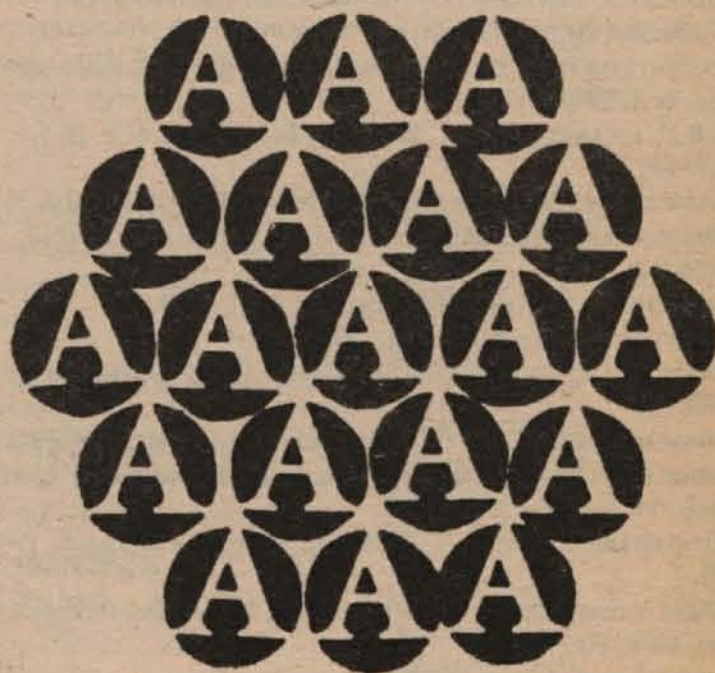
29. AGAINST HISTORY

To sum up, anarchist activity in Italy, starting out from immediate reality and its contradictions without conceding anything to illusion—or pessimism—must work *against* the natural evolution of the system which is tendentially totalitarian and hierarchical, and at the same time uphold everything that tends towards the equalitarian and libertarian, in the factories, the schools, working class neighbourhoods, in the country, in every field of the social conflict, supporting existing struggles and instigating new ones.

In the immediate future our task must be to keep alive the rebel spirit, grown up especially in the young in recent years, and stressing and clarifying its original and essential nature of being anti-authority. We must organise or help to organise equalitarian tendencies in coherent programmes and structures, in order to prevent these from being absorbed or exploited by institutionalised opposition. Lastly we must organise the highest levels of equalitarian and libertarian consciousness in anarchist projects and structures.

Thus our initial task will be to combat the dynamic balances of advanced capitalist evolution, the consolidation of social, economic and political reforms which bear the mark of technobureaucracy and the new ideologies of consent, in order to enlarge and defend the space for action outside the institutions, in order to keep alive the conflict and to spread a more conscious spirit of rebellion, to prepare in the long run for the revolutionary clash.

Copies of the full GAF program in English are available from CDA, via Guido Reni, 96/6, Torino, Italy for \$2 plus postage.



Bike-sheviks

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Kenneth Schneider points out that in the early years auto drivers, before they were powerful enough to attack the general tax resources, built their own roads "with wrench and hammer, and pick and shovel." Well cyclists are now doing the same thing.

The most spectacular "do it yourself cycloroute" was built in the summer of 1979 between Bristol and Bath in England. George Platts, chairperson of Bristol's bicycling organization, writes: "We have achieved a number of 'firsts' including the construction of a five mile stretch of inter-urban cycle/footpath (on a disused railway line between Bristol and Bath) in ten weeks, using voluntary labour and raising the 5,000 pound material costs ourselves." Platts adds that thousands of people use the path every weekend.

Impatient cyclists took paint brushes in hand in New York in the early winter of 1979. After the City of New York Traffic Department was slow in repainting the Broadway Bicycle Path, members of New York's Transportation Alternative started repainting the lines in plain daylight.

In the summer of 1978, bicycle paths suddenly appeared one morning on the side of Marianne and St. Urbain Streets in Montreal. Cars "illegally" parked in the paths built by the impatient cyclists received official looking tickets. The *Montreal Gazette* wrote in its editorial several days later that they had hoped that it was city crews who had built these North-South and East-West bicycle paths. The *Gazette* editorial recommended that the bicycle paths be extended East-West and North-South throughout the city. Unfortunately, the newspaper's advice was not followed. Three

days after the appearance of the bicycle paths, the Montreal road department painted them over with a dull grey paint.

In Vancouver the threat of direct action brought quick results. The Lions Gate Bridge crossing Burrard Inlet had expansion joints which were vertical and grabbed bicyclists' wheels. For years the Vancouver Bicycle Club (VBC) had demanded that this be changed to horizontal expansion joints to protect cyclists. Their letters drew no response. Finally they decided to make their own, and install them themselves. That did it.

No Bridge Access

A week before the cyclists had intended to install the safe expansion joints the bridge authorities installed expansion joints similar to those designed by the VBC.

In 1977, of the five bridges over the St. Lawrence River at Montreal, only one, a pre-war bridge, the Jacques Cartier, had sidewalks for bicycles and pedestrians. In March of that year a piece of one of the sidewalks collapsed and fell into a parking lot. Probably fearing another more serious incident, the National Harbours Board closed both the sidewalks, thus depriving cyclists of their only access between two river banks.

LMB and a sister group on the South Side of the St. Lawrence, La Rive Sud au Becane, reacted quickly to the provocation. They first wrote and phoned the authorities only to be told that repairing the sidewalks was not a priority.

The cyclists then decided that if bicycles could not cross the bridge then cars shouldn't be allowed across either. They prepared a mid-bridge "Die-In," planning to play dead in the middle of bridge traffic. A leaflet was prepared and a press conference organized.

On April 9th, the day before the scheduled die-in, the authorities caved in and reopened one of the sidewalks, covering up the hole and other weak points. Instead of halting the action the cyclists

decided to go ahead. Next day contingents of pedestrians and cyclists, *walking their bicycles*, left simultaneously from each end of the bridge blocking traffic as they went.

The two groups, numbering 400 cyclists in all, united at the summit. They embraced, sang and danced in joyous delirium. And then, for 15 minutes, to show their good will after the Harbour Board's reopening of the sidewalks, they sat down, tossed volleyballs around and listened to some speeches about the need for "bicycle access".

But the sidewalks on the Cartier Bridge were still dangerous. Several months later, in August 1977, equipped with wheel barrows and cement, militants from Le Monde a Bicyclette and La Rive Sude au Becane repaved a portion of one of the sidewalks. Several weeks later the Harbour Board repaired both sidewalks and even rounded over the steps which had inconvenienced cyclists for years.

Enemies of the Velorution

Since the cyclists' one legal way across the St. Lawrence River is inadequate, and since they sometimes get flat tires, and since it sometimes rains suddenly, and since it is so reasonable, they have demanded bicycle access to Montreal's Subway at non-rush hours. Polite letters get nowhere.

In the Spring of 1978 Montreal cyclists began to step up the pressure on the local Subway system to gain access for bicyclists. On May 10 of that year 200 riders, dividing their forces, entered the Subway at about 8 different stations. They then headed to the chief transfer point on the Subway, Berri de Montigny, and there sang and danced to the amusement of subway passengers. Unfortunately, at one of the stations there was a fracas and two velorutionaries, Claire Morissette and Françoise Guay were arrested.

In November, Morissette and Guay were found guilty of "disturbing the peace" and fined \$25 plus costs of \$50. Rather than pay this, the two

velorutionaries decided to go to jail. They were sentenced to three days but were released after one.

The struggle to gain access to the Montreal subways continues even today. On April 13, 1980 cyclists were arrested for being next to their bicycles in Montreal's Subway. At the same time they announced the launching of a bicycle-subway pass identical to that of the PATH Subway System in New York which enables New York bicyclists to cross the Hudson River into New Jersey. 40 cyclists demonstrated outside Montreal Transit Authority's Offices while Le Monde a Bicyclette launched the pink card. The struggle continues. A mock application form for the permit was also prepared.

On a world wide scale progress is being made. Berlin, Germany, recently modified its subway to reserve one car per train for cyclists.

On the die-in front, LMB has been a pioneer. They believe death is a frequent consequence of the auto-crazy. To illustrate the point a hundred-plus bikeshbeviks dropped dead on Montreal's main street at evening rush hour. It was an effort to commemorate the first anniversary of the public transit fare hike and it received continent-wide publicity.

To illustrate the same point another way, every January the LMB uses the occasion of the International auto show to carry out anti-car propaganda. For the first few years they demonstrated outside the show with a ketchup child on a stretcher, gas masks and the twisted remains of car fenders, hubs, mufflers, etc. But for the last few years the Montrealers have stepped up their guerrilla theatre in the face of the auto show's thick carpets and disco dancers. Last year, ten militants paid the admission to the show and at a prearranged moment they all "died" in front of a Cadillac. The demonstrators were dragged out after 30 minutes, but the point was made.

This year, escalating auto-phobic theatre further, six militants interrupted a carefully orchestrated auto show opening for the press by lying down on the carpet, playing an anti-auto

Anarchist literature

While thinking about material for this theme issue we here at the OR considered the richness of literature that has appeared in the last decade. The result of our collective brain-storming appears below. While far from exhaustive, we believe it should provide some indication of the incredible revival of interest in anarchism. It is also the beginning of our attempt to develop a more complete listing. For this, we need your help. Please send us titles of English language books (annotated if possible), that you feel should be included (old or new; in print or not).

The list below has been pared to those titles published in the 70's and, as far as we can ascertain, that are still in print. Hardcover (H), and paperback (P) have been marked to try and give you some idea of the cost. Books from Revisionist Press, Gordon Press, and Kraus Reprints are expensive reprints, but ones we hope that you can convince your local library they shouldn't be without. Pamphlets (with a few exceptions) were skipped, mainly due to the large numbers involved and the difficulty in checking their availability.

Publishers' addresses should all be available at your local library. A sampling of anarchist publishers and distributors' addresses is also included. They need your support, and will provide catalogues on request (any that we've missed, we'll be glad to mention in future issues).

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tape depicting a car crash and beginning with the words Pinto, Pinto, Pinto, while others banged away at two bashed up mufflers. At the same time one audacious velorutionary disrobed down into his underwear and mockingly made love to the car, thus satirizing the auto show's use of half-dressed women to sell their deadly commodity.

This year, cyclists from around the world will be celebrating International Cyclists' Day on the first Saturday of June. As they have in past years, cyclists will ride down the main and most coveted street of their respective cities. In Montreal, upwards of four thousands cyclists participate depending on the weather.

In their campaign to wake up people to the revolutionary potential of the bicycle, velorutionaries identify four basic contradictions:

1: Between the great social value and the vast scope of our demands and the little money required to implement them.

2: Between the positiveness of our demands and the resistance of the governments to accord them.

3: Between the horrors of the automobile and the general reluctance to so perceive it.

4: Between the governments' declarations in favor of bicycling and their doing almost nothing to encourage it.

Velorutionary Syndrome

There is another contradiction which has become apparent in the last few years. It's known as "the law of urban street space" or the "velorutionary syndrome." The cyclists want utilitarian commuter bike paths. The authorities keep conceding recreational paths costing a great deal. Why allot urban street space in this manner? Street space for cars constitutes a subsidy to cars, and car oil companies. These interests don't want to surrender this space to that alternative road user, the bicycle. But recreational bicycle paths, safe bicycle parking, showers at work places do not

The two groups numbering 400 cyclists in all united at the summit of the bridge. They embraced, sang and danced in joyous delirium and then, to show their good will to the authorities, sat down and tossed volleyballs around.

directly confront auto interests. It is in these areas where there is no direct car/bicycle clash for the city street space and parking lot space that cyclists are advancing the most rapidly.

In 1979, Chrysler lost over a billion dollars, Ford lost a billion dollars on U.S. auto operations

and even G.M. lost money on U.S. car operations. Both Ford and G.M., however, made money on foreign car sales to compensate for the domestic losses. Autocracy started in the U.S. and its decline, militant cyclists hope, is now starting there.

As an issue, bicycling is virtually unassailable. Almost everyone, from all social classes and occupations can identify with the cyclists and their demands. The "apple pie status" of bicycling probably explains why velorutionaries receive such good press when the achievement of their aims would require a drastic revolution in North American lifestyle.

However, make no mistake about it, the powers that be are still a potent threat to the bicycle revolution. Just like the automobile companies bought up and destroyed the streetcar systems, an alternative to cars, and destroyed the trains in America, they are ready to do the same to the only street alternative that they have not yet destroyed: the bicycle. This danger is a "velorutionary's nightmare." Exxon already makes an expensive Grafite bicycle. Peugeot makes cars and bikes. Montebecane, a fine French bicycle, was just taken over by Renault which two years ago bought up Gitane Bicycles. Since the takeover Gitanes have got worse and more expensive. In Italy, Fiat just bought the biggest Italian bicycle company, Biachi. They will make them more expensive and of a worse quality.

In an issue of the Wall St. Bible, *Forbes* magazine, editor Malcolm Forbes said of radical cyclists: "This is one species of health nut that should be harvested by the law." Forbes understood that urban bicycling tends to liberate city bicyclists, to him the real threat is the freedom inherent in bicycling. And that is what will eventually goad the powers that be to reaction.

The apparent success of the velorution to date could also prove to be a danger in the long run. When safe parking or an access to a bridge or subway is won the cyclofrustration of those concerned is reduced. Temporarily.

But militant cyclists hope the urban advantages of cycling will become clearer to millions of people in the coming decade. Objective factors like scarce and expensive gasoline, subjective factors like wanting to be in good health and the pleasure principle will promote bicycle commuting.

The car and the bicycle represent polar opposites. When generalized in the city the contradiction becomes even more acute. The generalisation of cars in the city means uricide, destruction of communities, pollution, noise, intimidation, isolation, and death. The generalisation of bicycles in the city means community, ecology, quiet, efficiency and love. Cars mean dependence. Bicycles independence. Cars mean exploitation and hierarchy. Bicycles mean mutual aid and equality and openness.

Freewheeling is must reading for velorutionaries. For a sample copy, write to them at 14 Picardy Place, Edinburgh 1, Scotland, U.K. Run by a journalists' co-operative, **Freewheeling** gives extensive coverage to the cyclists' struggle throughout the world as well as giving the reader technical and economic information about the cycle industry and related subjects.

Other recommended reading includes Ivan Illich's masterpiece, **Energy and Equity**. Already translated into 14 languages, the validity of Illich's central theory—that energy when it surpasses a certain threshold becomes increasingly destructive—is becoming manifestly evident.

Another important book is **Autokind vs. Mankind** by Kenneth Schneider (Shocker Books), as is **Access For All** (Pelican). Others on the subject include: **Dead End** by Buel, **Paradise Lost** by Emma Rothschild; **The Social History of the Bicycle** by Smith; **The Penguin Book of Bicycling**; and **The Man Who Loved Bicycles** by Daniel Behrman.

It is still possible to get the 1980 tri-lingual (English, French and Spanish) World Bicycling Calendar by writing to Le Monde a Bicyclette, 4224 Clark Street, Montreal, Quebec. Costs \$3 and the 1981 calendar is out in July.

from the 70's

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Lessons
of the **70s/80s** Strategies for
the

Melting down the symbols

Put up the rec-room panelling and run it backwards.

This is a reprint of a recent interview with Jan Kinney in Annex, a San Francisco paper.

Taking off into the 80's, the underground comics, which were once embraced by a dope-smoking, long-haired counter-culture, are rapidly changing priorities and form.

As evidence, the titles of Last Gasp Publishers' latest spurt from the collective unconscious—*Anarchy Comics*, *Slow Death*, and *Commiss from Mars*—show a distinct political and social consciousness.

At the forefront of this New Wave of comic art are *Anarchy Comics* creators Jay Kinney and Paul Mavrides. While Kinney has a demeanor which speaks a serious intent, he admits to one recurring weakness when he says, "...once I'm involved with any group (political or otherwise) I begin feeling this desire to poke them in the ribs and say, 'This thing you're doing here is sort of humorous, right?'"

AX: Do you see a change in function in the underground comics, between the late 1960's and now?

JK: Yes, in the late 60's and early 70's underground comics had a relation to an amorphous counter-culture, to a series of values which involved dope and long hair and all that stuff. At one time the comics were relatively liberating because they were expanding what people expected from them. The artists delved into their own subconsciouses and tried not to have any taboos about dealing with any notion that came to mind—sex, drugs, or violence were the three main subjects of the undergrounds at that point.

AX: Ideally, what do you want your comics to do?

JK: I'm trying to do five things at once, which is part of the problem. With *Anarchy Comics*, I view it from a lot of different angles. One way is almost as a political project: having stories about revolutionary history, about radical activity early in the century or in Spain—around the world. It's important for me to share that with people so they have some sense that there's some history to revolt, so they don't feel totally alone inventing this thing now with no earlier people to learn from or be inspired by.

But I've increasingly seen the comic—the part that Paul and I are involved with—as an attempt to give a comic equivalent to New Wave. By experimenting with my styles, and in fact obliterating my previous styles. By taking clip art, which is advertising art, in the first issue and in the second issue taking pictograms, universal symbol people: that whole men's and women's room, stop-signs and no-bicycling-here symbology and running them backwards as a deprogramming device. To me they are like the invisible symbols of language that people identify with. Every time you see a little stick figure with a round blank head doing something, I think at least subconsciously, there's a message there, that we're all these little faceless, nameless stick people. I like running that backwards and trying to erase that tape because on some subtle level that's vaguely insidious.

AX: Are you erasing it by making it appear ridiculous, or humorous?

JK: That's part of it, and part of it in the context of the story in the second issue was to have the pictopeople transform and convert into all these weird little characters. In the story in the first issue, it was taking all these stock advertising scenes, like putting up the rec-room paneling and running it backwards—where I utilize that same picture for the guy tearing apart the rec-room to sell off the paneling.

AX: Were you influenced by the Situationists in that way?

JK: Yeah, to a certain degree. I became familiar with the Situationist writings, *The Society of the Spectacle*, and some of their approaches to the comic and the media. To a certain extent their impulse was the same: to take stock imagery in the media that surrounds us, that people don't think about and flip it over on its back, what they called detournement, which is to use it to defuse itself, decode the code. To me the Situationists are important, though they're not the ultimate theory.

AX: What brought you to naming a comic *Anarchy*?

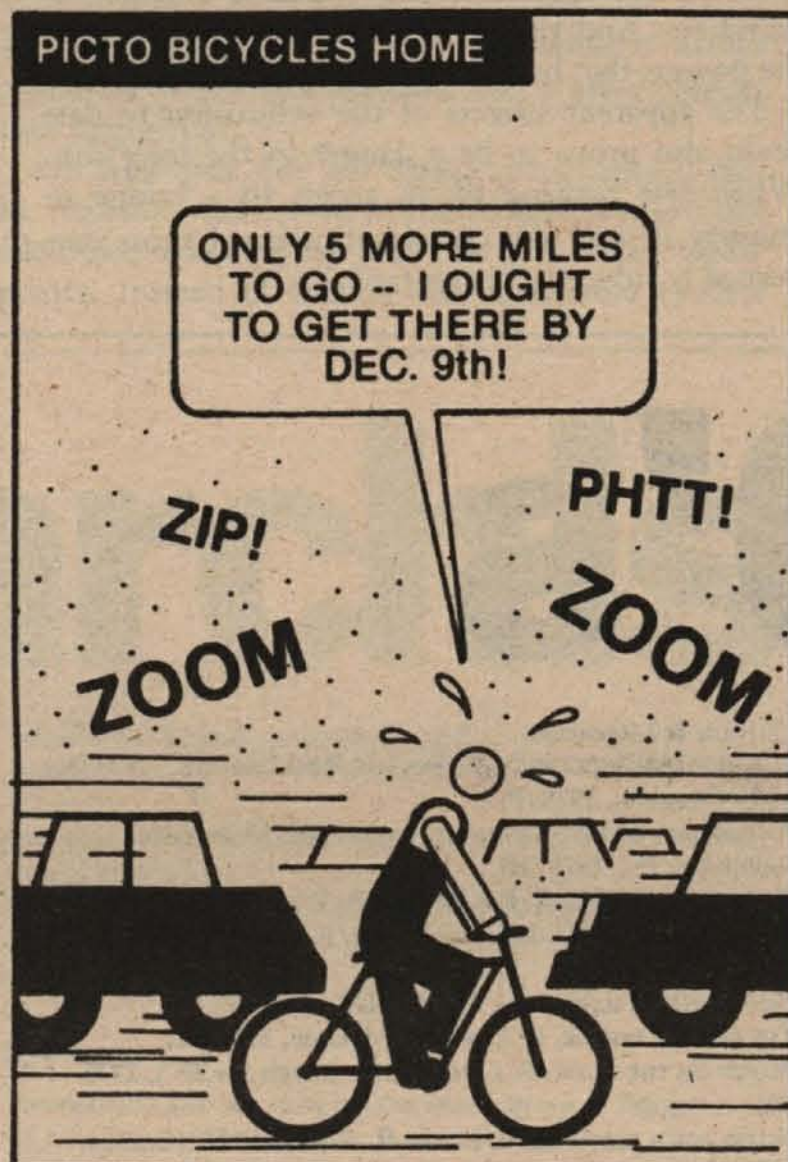
JK: My original idea was to have this place where you could have all these different stories that were relatively open-ended about political change. I wasn't interested in having one political line that everyone had to follow. Anarchy to me, in its most positive sense, means the maximum amount of freedom, and the minimum amount of authority. It had all these relatively positive associations in terms of "Anarchy in the U.K.," and ones that were positive to some people in terms of everything falling apart. It was a space for political comics with some subversive content.

I don't expect to convert everybody who reads it, that would be utopian. Instead, I just push for chipping away at the base—the trajectory of the economy seems to be destroying itself anyway.

Part of what I hoped for the comic was to have hints of visions of other possibilities combined with humour, so that people can get off in thinking that this reality that we seem to be stuck with, here at the moment, isn't necessarily the only choice you have. But it's very tricky because it's easy to have a certain preference of how you want things to go and fall into becoming this didactic soapbox creature, and to me, that's destructive for an artist.

AX: Earlier today you were talking about art, politics and fashion.

JK: Yes. Recently, one of the things I've been trying to figure out, looking back over what happened to the counter-culture, is what fashion is, because one theory of what went wrong with



The interesting thing about the comics in the late 70's has been that they began responding to a lot of political stuff in the culture. Where the comics will go in the 80's is really open, because to me, there's not any one solid direction. My preference would be that they end up being experimental in the same way that New Wave (like the Sex Pistols), have been, where you're really pushing the limits of the form and trying to expand it beyond the cliches. I think underground comics have really gotten into a lot of formal cliches, and it's important that they attract artists and allow artists who are working in it to push out of the cliches they've gotten caught in.

the 60's is that all the original symbols and cultural stuff that people thought meant something, became fashionable. Like long hair. And then these old symbols didn't have any content anymore. They were disseminated to the population at large, and it just became another choice or style and obviously that's happening with punk and New Wave. The thing is to not have illusions about fashion having too much subversive content, because they're just momentary vehicles for certain feelings and expressions which live on far longer as styles than the original ideas.

That's been one of the neatest things about the 70's. With three bucks you can go into one of these printing places and get 100 copies of anything—tack them around and it's street art.

AX: How do you view yourself as a cartoonist? As a pop artist? How do you think pop art makes people think?

JK: My attitude towards underground comics has been that they're this media that sprung up, that was cheap and that got out to thousands of people, that had relative freedom and lack of censorship. I could do pretty much what I wanted to do with a story and not have to worry whether it would sell or not.

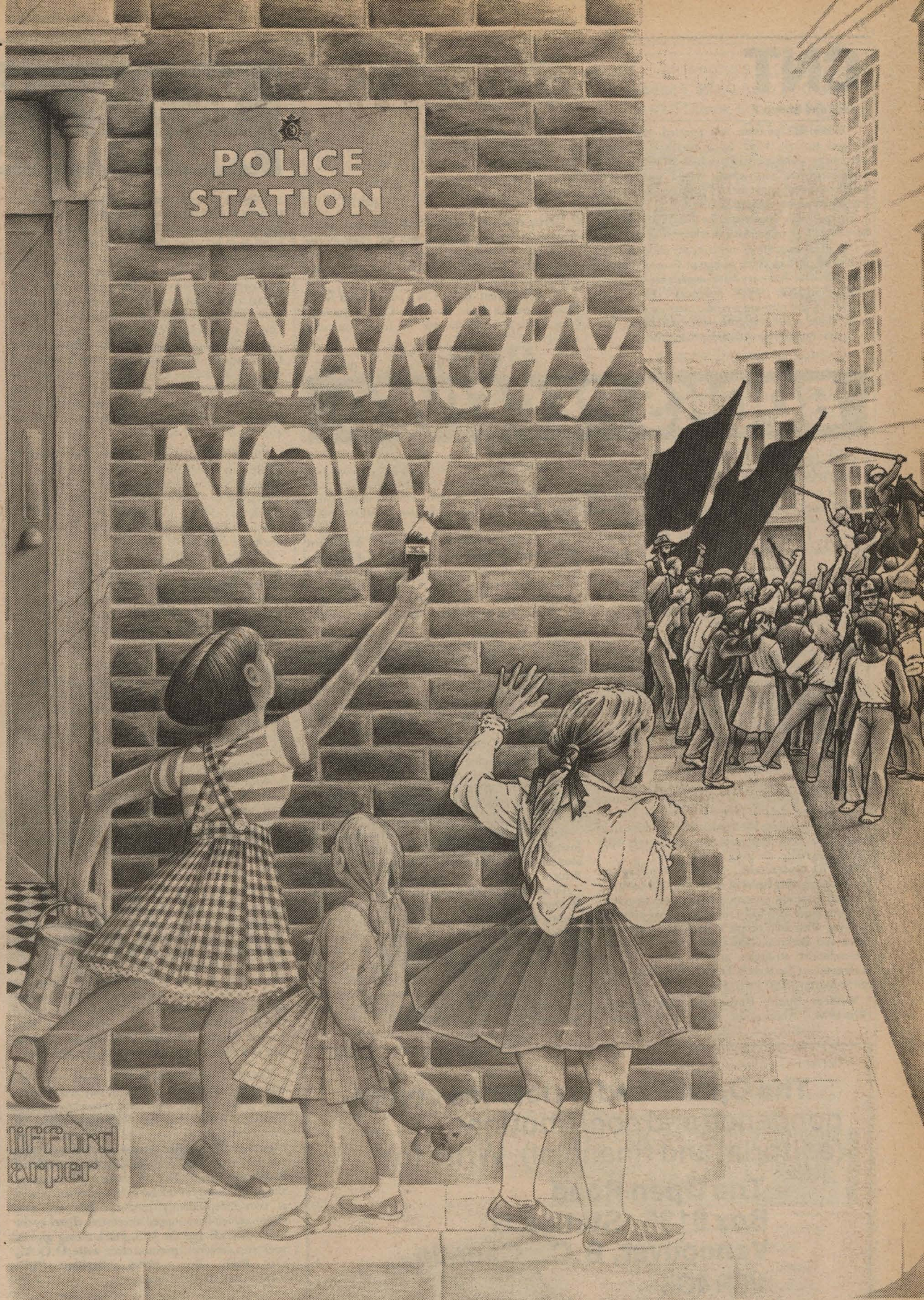
Perhaps this is the sort of ego illusion that one needs to sustain oneself, but comics always seemed more important to me than art in galleries. The stuff in galleries is only going to be seen by a few hundred people—rich people. If you're a gallery artist, you have this unconscious pressure to do stuff that rich people are going to be able to picture on their walls—formalist stuff that doesn't have much to do with the artist's own feelings or with hitting the viewers with some impact and making them see the world in a new way, that causes them to question what's going on. To me, that's possible with comics, because people aren't coming to them with these preconceptions about Art, they're coming to be entertained. Comics give you this audience that's ready to listen, and you only have to pay a buck to read it and take your art home—still one of the most positive things about the comics. The same with xerox and postcard art.

AX: Putting technology and art into the people's hands?

JK: That's real important. That's been one of the neatest things about the 70's. With three bucks you can go into one of these printing places and get 100 copies of anything—tack them around and it's street art—instant access that was previously in the hands of the media for advertising. There's been a real explosion, and that's a good thing. A lot of that is a key to getting people to see things differently, to be more open to change and to changing stuff, and making more information and analysis, and decoding and deprogramming available to people.

I read a whole slew of newspapers and magazines every week. Half the time I don't even feel like adding to the morass of imagery that's being spewed out. What I tried to do with *Anarchy*, with Paul's and my strip, was to take already existing imagery and symbols and combine them, melt them down, and help clear them out of people's heads, or out of my head, at least. It's like housecleaning; instead of accumulating yet more imagery, you help clean out a bunch of these old images that are bouncing around in your head, symbolizing junk that you don't want to be thinking about anyway. Melt that stuff down into a stew and throw it out the window!

Anarchy Comics #1 and #2 are available for \$1.50 each (postpaid) from Last Gasp, 2180 Bryant St., San Francisco, CA 94110.



This beautiful 16" by 24" multi-colored poster by English anarchist artist Clifford Harper, is available for \$4 from Moonlighters, Box JC 234, Camden Hight St., London, England.

Why?

continued from page 23

First of all because I take things very seriously. Especially those incredible persons who appear to give me those moments of touch and beauty. I am learning to intervene, to take a stance in this situation of death. For their sake and for mine, Edith, four feet tall, grey hair, baggy pants, and a neat jacket, the look of toughness, introducing her huge and messy son with a grin and a hug as "the hairy gorilla". Joanie who learned to cook her first food after many years in state institutions. Reggie in his colorful clothes and platform shoes comes singing down the Mall, talking so high can't understand a word. Margaret who has lost her husband takes my arm, if it wasn't for this break-

fast I'd have nothing to live for.

They are my street leaders, the ones who propel me to the projects and the actions, rooted from our cause which was learned in the life of this place. The projects: the bookstore, the People's Center, spontaneous pickets of Army Day, harassing social services with marching outside their doors, leaf-letting for peace when the Olympic runner passes thru. The free poetry readings kept us going for months, recovering from the bombardment of hype and lies. Spoken poetry lighting up the rooms with rhythm and truth. The community gardens have been planted for four years, three locations near the center of town, more food produced than we could give away.

And the projects are fed with support from outside, the rejoice of affirmation, newspapers, magazines, journals with national news. Also the leadership of hope from other countries. Canada, Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Zimbabwe, which I know less about but manage to catch that glimpse of struggle.

Through this all my personal situations have constantly affirmed my belief in the power of free association, union through acts. In Poughkeepsie we have formed no formal club or party, no non-profit corporations. Our accomplishments have come from the context, flow and change. Friends who have worked together. And anarchy is the proper name for the love we feel, the bond between each of us who have acknowledged at our quietest, sanest moments that we are being killed. But we will keep on fighting.

Not because of coercion: "god" and marriage, "home" and country. But for that life pulse, absolute conviction, that joyous analysis *anarchy*. We will strip ourselves gently of constraints. We will lie, steal, write beautiful songs. We'll perform oral sex, consume drugs and write slogans on the walls of city hall, uniting briefly in a million petty and glorious acts of preparation. And from these slender, magic stones we will organize ourselves to protect one another and retain the resistance.

I'm still here. Hello *Open Road*.

CNT

continued from p.7

"While this position was rejected, the CNT pledged to help build up a parallel libertarian movement alongside itself, which it would help bring together and which would include the neighbourhood movement, ecology, women's, gay and other movements."

To meet this challenge, the CNT is going to have to do a lot of growing in the coming months.

The great majority of militants are under the age of 25 and, having come of age in Franco's Spain, naturally have had very little experience in open, anti-authoritarian work practices. Even just organizing and running a public meeting or debate—let alone a full congress—calls for skills that were too-long suppressed under Fascism.

As another North American militant who was in Spain at the time of the congress notes, "droves of people have left the CNT, totally disillusioned and burnt out with the internal wars."

She adds:

"Many womyn, especially those who consider themselves in the feminist movement, have left (or always refused to join) the CNT. Mujeres Libres (anarchist women's group—ed.), which is very small these days, is not in the CNT. It is easy to see why."

"Men dominate meetings and marches, sexist slogans fill the air at demos, and just basically the CNT hasn't freed itself from 1936. It was very progressive in 1936 of course, but that's not enough for today."

(To stay current on the CNT, check with *News From Libertarian Spain*, Box 733, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003; sub. \$5, free if you can't afford it.)

NEWS FROM NOWHERE

Summer-time happenings for footloose activists include: a **Conference on Non-Violent Anarchism** in Southern Ontario, August 22-24. It's billed as an opportunity to "meet people, create an organization for promoting anarchist ideas, network, and start relevant projects (e.g., resisting militarism and nukes)." Participants will share costs, labour and decision-making. More details from The Bookshop, 72 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont., Canada K1N 5W9.

Over the border, check out the "**Peacemaker Orientation Program in Non-Violence**," Aug. 15-24. "One focus will be to explore how our commitment to non-violence affects and changes our day-to-day lives." More info from Jim Johnson, 510 N. Gray St., Indianapolis, Indiana, 46201; phone: 317-636-5211.

On the labour front, **anarcho-syndicalists in Chile** are rebuilding their organization and urgently need international support. Money can be forwarded to them c/o the Manchester Branch of the Direct Action Movement, Box 20, 164/166 Corn Exchange Building, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, England, M43 Bn.

Over in Spain, you'll find the newly relocated International Secretariat of the **International Workers Association (AIT)**. They're encouraging anarcho-syndicalists from throughout the world to submit regional reports on activities. Write: AIT, Apartado de Correos no. 14.836, Madrid, Spain.

Partisan Press are now working on "**The Christie File**," the long awaited autobiography of the Scottish anarchist Stuart Christie, and "**Festival and Revolt: Insurrection in Italy 1976-1980**." More info, and copies of their posters from P.O. Box 2193, Seattle, WA, 98111. Donations welcome.

Coloring book fans—especially the young ones—will enjoy Ocean Beach Community Free School's (P.O. Box 7423, San Diego, CA, 92107) new **anti-nuke coloring book** that sells for \$1 each or 60c for five or more copies. "**The Ghost of San Onofre**" is a tale told by a young person about a very real nuke power plant built on a fault line.

If you can't find the right card for the right occasion, get some all-purpose black on yellow anarchist postcards with a "**No Bosses, No Bureaucracy, Workers Self-Management, Anarchism!**" slogan on the front. They're \$1.5 each from Black Cat Press, P.O. Box 11261, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, T5J 2T6. From the same people, a series of pamphlets: "**Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution**" by G.P. Maximoff (\$1.50); "**Masters Old and New**," by Max Nomad (\$.25); "**Poland 1976—State Capitalism in Crisis**," by Bruce Allen (\$.25); plus more.

The Vancouver based **D.O.A.** punk rock band will tour Canada and the U.S. in July and August. The group which impressed everyone at the **Chicago Rock Against Racism** concert last summer has played many local benefits and helped organize an **Anarchist Anti-Canada Day Rally** and taken the lead in promoting **Rock Against Radiation** events. **D.O.A.** have a self-produced album scheduled for release in late summer, as well as two independently produced EPs and two singles which have topped alternative charts in the U.K., Canada and the U.S. For booking gigs in your area, records, promo, etc., write **D.O.A.**, c/o P.O. Box 65896, Station "F", Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

And for "correct line" summer fashion wear, what could beat multi-colored **anarchist Tee shirts** from the Red Pepper Poster people, Box 11308, San Francisco, CA, 94101. Write to them for details.

New or reprinted anarchist pamphlets include: "**Anarchism and the Black Revolution**" by Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, available for \$2 from ABC-ACU, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY, 10012.

New from Bratach Dubh (Box 11, 45 Niddry St., Edinburgh, Scotland), is **Armed Struggle in Italy, A Chronology**, available for \$3 a copy, plus postage. They've reprinted their previous pamphlets, and for \$1.30 each, plus postage, you can get "**Anarchism and National Liberation Struggles**," "**A Critique of Syndicalist Methods**," or "**Workers Autonomy**." An interim issue of the **Anarchist Black Dragon** is out and can be had for a **SAE (8 1/2" by 5 1/2")** from Kate at 3841 Hobbs St., Victoria, B.C., Canada, or in the U.S.A. from Patrick A. Press, 55 Sutter St., San Francisco, CA 94104.

And from our odds and ends file: the correct address for the **Anarchist Worker**, the journal of the Anarchist Worker's Association is 49A, Leinster Rd., Dublin 6, Ireland. . . . **Charlatan Stew** has a new address: P.O. Box 437, Somerville, MA, 02143. . . . Back issues of the anarchist research journal **Interrogations** are yours for postage or a small donation from Imperato Tobia, Vicolo Tiziano #9, 10024 Moncalieri, Italy. . . . Bargain of the month is **Notes for a Discussion on the Regeneration of the American Labour Movement** by Sam Dolgoff plus a current issue of the **Self Management Newsletter**, both for only \$1 from Resurgence, P.O. Box 2824, Sta. A, Champaign, IL, 61820. . . . finally, if anyone has info on a "rural, cooperative anarchist community" with space for new people, then V. Woodward, 818 Cowper St., #2, Palo Alto, CA, 94301, would like to hear from you.

New anarchist papers received include: **Resistance—c/o ABC Books, 7 Marlborough St., Dublin 1, Ireland.** First issue covers "H" Block prison struggles, anti-nuke activity in Ireland and France, plus more. Sub: 70p for three issues plus postage.

Disease—Falling Sky Books, 97 Victoria St., N. Kitchener, Ontario, Canada N2H 5C1.

The first issue includes "Against the Language of Self-Defeat," "Perceptions of Militancy," an exchange of letters between two activists discussing anarchism and organizing, and an analysis of the all-pervasive effects of "Capital." No cover charge—donations to cover expenses welcomed.

Social Anarchism: A Journal of Practice & Theory—Atlantic Center for Research & Education, 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD, 21218.

Inaugural issue includes article by P. Kornerger on social science research, E. Leeder ("Feminism as Anarchist Process"), an article on Paul Goodman, and more. Printed twice yearly—\$1.75 per issue in North America, \$2.25 elsewhere (or what you can afford).

Xtra!—Box 151, Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, Islington, London, N1, England. Published by the 'Structureless Tyranny' collective, some of whom formerly worked on **Zero**. The second issue includes a look at the British terrorist squad, the SAS, "Anarchism & Fascism: The Italian Connection," a feature on infiltrating the neo-Nazi National Front, and reports from an English Anarcha-feminist conference and a French Anarchist conference. Subs are \$12.00 for 12 issues. They would appreciate North American correspondents.

Front Line—P.O. Box 21071, Washington, D.C., 20009.

Put out by Washington-area anti-authoritarians, the Spring 1980 (first) issue articles include anti-draft demos and "19 Steps to Total Anarchy." Subs are \$5.00 or 25c per issue.

Regular anarchist papers received and recommended include:

Fifth Estate—4403 Second Ave., Detroit, MI., 48201. Subs are \$4.00 for 12 issues of this bi-monthly.

Industrial Worker—3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657. Monthly paper of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Subs are \$1.50 for 6 months.

News From Libertarian Spain—Box 733 Cooper Sta., New York, NY, 10003. Sub for \$5/year or contribution.

La Nuit—B.P. 2, Succ. La Cite, Montreal, Quebec, H2W 2M9.

North America's only French language anarchist paper. Free on request, but donations welcome.

Flashpoint—New address is Box 7702, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada. Irregular, 25c per issue.

Minus 4—1984 Bookshop, 180 Lockhart Rd., 1st Floor, Wanchai, Hong Kong. Libertarian analysis of Chinese situation. Now a quarterly. Sub info available on request.

Emancipation—P.O. Box 840, Benjamin Franklin Station, The District of Columbia, 20044.

"Always free," but would appreciate a \$3.00 sub.

Bayou La Rose—3525 Gravier St., New Orleans, LA., 70119.

Free on request, but donations welcome (make cheques payable to Arthur J. Miller).

Black Rose—P.O. Box 1075, Boston, MA 02103. A quarterly journal of anarchist thought. Sub: \$6 in the USA; \$8 elsewhere.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Impossibilities of Social Democracy, by Vernon Richards. A volume of 30 political articles grouped under Labour Party Socialism; Bevanism or the Power Struggle; The Trade Unions, or the Dog that Wags the Party Tail; Elections and Vote Catching. From Freedom Press in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St., London E1, England (\$2.50).

Without a Trace. "Originally published underground in German in Zurich in 1977, the book is a complete guide to the state-of-the-art in modern police investigations science and technology, and the means to circumvent it." Available from Partisan Press, P.O. Box 2193, Seattle, WA 98111 (\$4.95).

Bring Out Your Own Book, by Barbara McFadyen and Marilyn Gayle. Everything you need to know about the liberating practicalities of low-cost self-publishing. From Godiva Publishing, P.O. Box 42305, Portland, Oregon, 97242 (\$6 plus \$.50 postage).

Reinventing Anarchy, edited by Howard J. Ehrlich, Carol Ehrlich, David DeLeon, Glenda Morris. An anthology of articles on anarchism from the past decade. Prepaid orders of one to three copies available for \$9 each through Research Group One, 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218, otherwise, the price is quite steep.

May La Refractaire, by May Picqueray (in French). Autobiography of an 81 year old remarkable and inspiring woman whose active anarchist life spans more than half a century and has included working with such people as Makhno, Goldman, Faure and Berkman. She's still going strong in anti-militarist struggles and as editor of **Le Refractaire (The Rebel)**. From **Le Refractaire**, 320 rue St-Martin 75003 Paris, France.

Wildcat Spain Encounters Democracy, 1976-1978. Anonymous texts from factory

workers that deal with social struggles which have occurred since the death of Franco. Includes theoretical pieces as well as reports and communiqués. From BM, bis, London England, WC1V 6XX (\$4.20).

A Short History of the Anarchist Movement in Japan, edited by Le Libertaire. Contains a chronology, translated writings, and some fascinating photos. Available for \$10 from Le Libertaire, c/o S. Hagiwara, 2190 Oizumigakuencho, Nerima, Tokyo, Japan.

The following titles are from Cienfuegos Press, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, Scotland, KW17 2B1:

The Guillotine at Work, Vol. I, The Leninist Counter Revolution, by Gregory Maximoff. Serves one main purpose: "To dispel the aura which Lenin's disciples have bestowed on him by showing that Lenin was primarily concerned with attaining power and holding on to it as a dictator by means of terror."

Charlotte Wilson on Anarchism, by Charlotte Wilson (1888). Three major essays by this British intellectual.

An Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto, by Joseph Lane. Lane was one of the little known founders of the libertarian socialist movement in Britain.

Towards a Fresh Revolution, by the Friends of Durrutti. Analyzes the disaster caused by the counter-revolutionary movement in Spain, 1938.

Barred from Prison, by Claire Culhane. A long-time anti-prison activist, Claire was at the B.C. Penitentiary during a 1975 hostage-taking, and gives an hour-by-hour firsthand account of the confrontations during the 80 hours of life and death negotiations. Available from Pulp Press, Box 3868 MPO, Vancouver, B.C. (\$5.95).

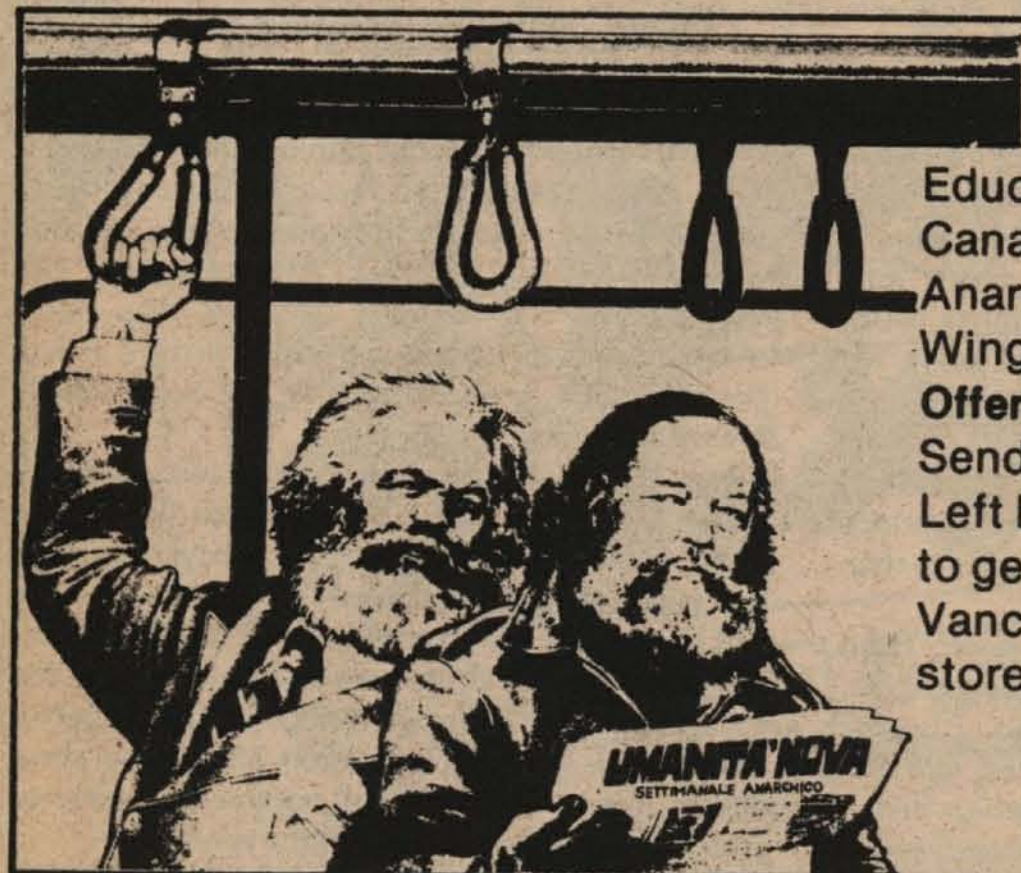
The Open Road welcomes correspondence and contributions (editorial and financial). Write to:

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

Spartacus Books

Education for Social Change. Canada's widest selection of Anarchist, Marxist and Left Wing books and periodicals. Offering a mail order service. Send orders for any recent Left book in print—they'll try to get it for you. Box 2881, Vancouver, B.C. Or visit the store:

311 W. Hastings,
Vancouver.



ROADSIDE NOTES

Daily anarchism

Dear OR Collective,

We are a handful of Anarcho-whatevers living in a suburb near Melbourne, Australia and we heard the call from you—the OR collective.

OR #10½ was very inspiring, hence this letter. Thanks for your diligent efforts in producing that issue to keep the road open. It keeps our hopes up when we hear the sparks of revolt against authority still flying.

The so-called "movement" here has ceased to exist and for the most part apathy reigns. But there are some obviously constructive things going on. At a real basic level, i.e. our daily lives, we have begun to break down the expected codes of behaviour in relation to private property and the anti-social nuclear family.

We rent 5 of 9 houses on the street and are learning to cooperate in order to meet our own and each other's needs. This seems to be affecting the attitudes of some other households in the street who appear to like what they see and are gradually becoming more friendly.

We are preparing one of the backyards for a community vegetable garden, share 3 washing machines that were rescued from the community dump and plans are afoot to collectively purchase a vehicle to transport our bulk buying. We're getting together items that we've produced ourselves (clay beads, bags, paintings, seedlings, Bantam chickens, salvaged electrical equipment, old clothes, etc.) to sell at some local "trash and treasure" markets. There are quite a few musicians in our midst, and they might go down really well at the market too.

It may sound fairly mundane in comparison with the militant struggles being carried out in Europe but it's an indication that co-operation and mutual aid are possible even in a country as conservative as this.

Better still, with the use of our imaginations we plant a new future that our children may benefit from instead of suffering. To die with that knowledge is better than dying without hope. love, Brian, Paul, Brett, Phoebe, David J., Sarah, David, Gay, Marian, Ray, Tim & Gayle Melbourne, Australia

Asian Anarchism

Dear Open Road,

I have been interested in Anarchism for many years. I believe the Spanish Rural Anarchist Movement in the thirties has much to teach Asia. On this the recent writings of Sam Dolgoff and Murray Bookchin have been most illuminating. And now your article on the revival of the CNT's work in Spain.

In Asia the possibilities for Anarchist type activity are beginning to be seen. The Ghandhian Movement Sarvodaya has been called "Gentle Anarchism." Only in recent times (since 1974 with J.P. Narain's campaign in Bihar, India) has the gentle (non violent) militant potential of Sarvodaya begun to flower. But growth is slow.

Good luck to you,
Chandra
Bangkok, Thailand

Guerilla theatre

Dear Open Road,

Not long ago I was sitting in a cafe when a woman burst in, upset and slightly dishevelled, crying that a man she did not know was harassing her, and begging the cafe owners to call the police. The response of the cafe owners was to tell her she was making too much noise and to go away. The man soon followed her into the cafe and she retreated to the rear, towards where my friends and I were sitting. We got her to sit down with us, and stood between her and her aggressor, and

told him to leave, which he fortunately did, most likely realizing he was by far outnumbered.

She was shaking and crying uncontrollably, and talking in a language with which I am not very familiar, which made my attempts to provide her with assistance very difficult. She soon left unaccompanied, despite our offers to go with her. A short while later we saw her in the Metro and she, having calmed down somewhat, approached us to explain her situation and the assault. When she left I felt exhausted and frustrated with my inability to communicate with her, to support her.

Had anyone, at any time during this event, jumped out of some corner and proclaimed that I had merely been a witness to a piece of theatre that had been enacted for the purpose of testing the reaction of myself and others to the plight of a woman being sexually assaulted, I would have been outraged.

The arrogance of those in the "Guerilla Theatre," whose action you reported in OR 10½, is no less outrageous. It seems to me that those who came forward, to assist a woman whom they believed was being sexually assaulted, were victimized by those who had the arrogance to undertake to test their reactions. This piece of theatre was an abuse of the good faith of those who did step in to help, and would quite possibly result in members of the audience hesitating when faced with an "unstaged" sexual assault situation, hesitating lest they be fooled again.

I do not question the good intention of those in the theatre group, to attempt to present the reality of sexual assault to the public, to destroy the false distinction between participant and observer—but I would hope that they endeavour to find less arrogant and abusive tactics.

In solidarity,
Megan Ellis
Paris, France

Prison money

Dear Open Road,

Enclosed is a \$2 donation for your paper. I myself am incarcerated in Massachusetts State Prison doing eight to twelve for armed robbery. I'd like to show my appreciation more towards your paper and its cause, but with only \$1.50 a day for pay it's hard to make ends meet.

Yours in the struggle,
Lawrence Auld
Orange, Ma.

Mouth magicians?

Dear Open Road,

The battle for hearts and minds in the '80s requires public affirmation of popular anarchist values, effective presence at issue events, and a constant high profile from original graffiti to pop media. Larger numbers of people need to enjoy contact with credible anarchists, need access to follow up through publications, regular open gatherings and active self-help associations. Anarchists in particular need to avoid sectarian, incestuous tower dwelling if we are to liberate the public imagination.

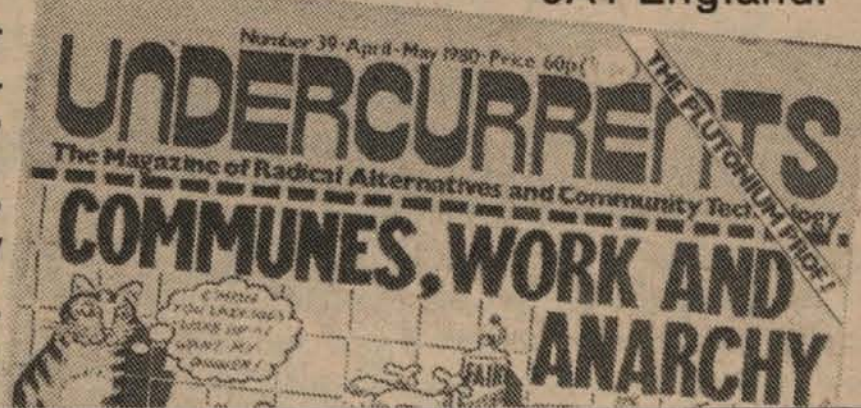
In terms of our public image the 'Persons Unknown' trial reinforces popular prejudices both from the association with urban civilian bombers to the personalities revealed under stress. Stewart Carr,—what could be more calculated to inflame every Briton than proclaiming assassination planning for the royal family in the wake of the Mountbatten bombing. Taff Ladd, deserting his coaccused and guarantors behind a smokescreen of male rhetoric, the rights are his and the responsibilities are dumped on women.

Crazy bombers and mouth magicians, how did we deserve that publicity? Why do we allow ourselves to personally deteriorate to that point? Are comrades above supportive scrutiny? If we do not control our public image, who does?

Up the revolution!
Alan Lowson
Ladner, B.C.

A blend of radical political consciousness, practical tips on self-sufficient lifestyles, and alternative technology. Issue #39 includes 14-page International Communes Newsletter, 'Co-op Radicals,' mixed-technology housing, mutual aid, gooseberry bushes, and more.

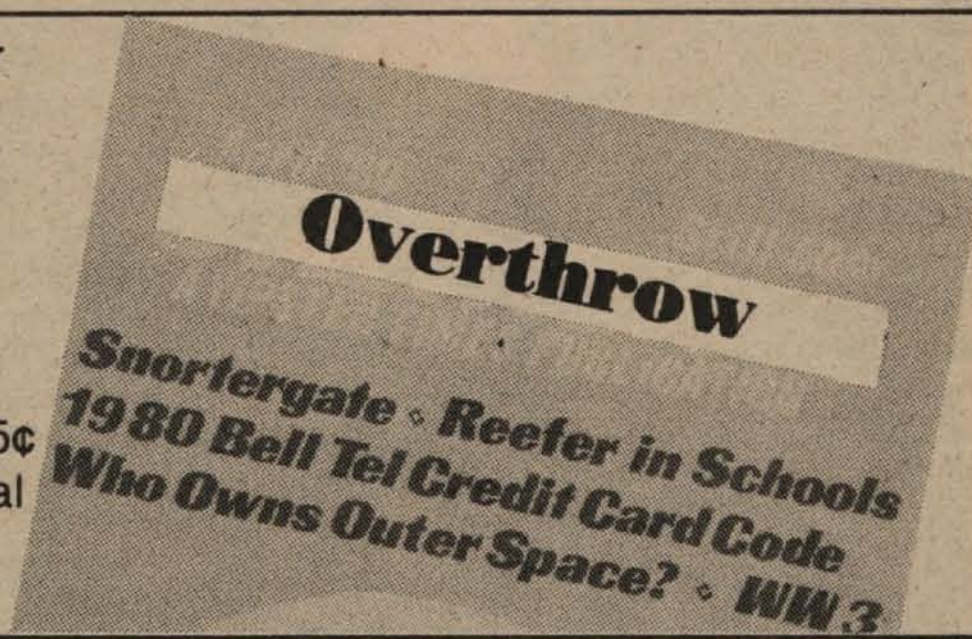
(airfreight) \$11.00; single issues, \$2.00 from 27 Clerkenwell Close, London, EC1R OAT England.



Freedom

Anarchist fortnightly. Timely news, reviews & reports from around the world. Surface mail subs: \$15.00 (U.S.) \$18.00 (Canada); airmail—\$20.00 (U.S.) and \$22.50 (Canada). Freedom Press, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St., London, E.1, England.

The successor to "Yipster Times." Articles on "101 Ways to Dodge the Draft;" native resistance, birth control profiteers, Yippie! update, 1980 credit card telephone code plus more. Subs: \$10 or 50¢ a copy, 25¢ bulk. From: POB 392, Canal St., New York, NY 10013.

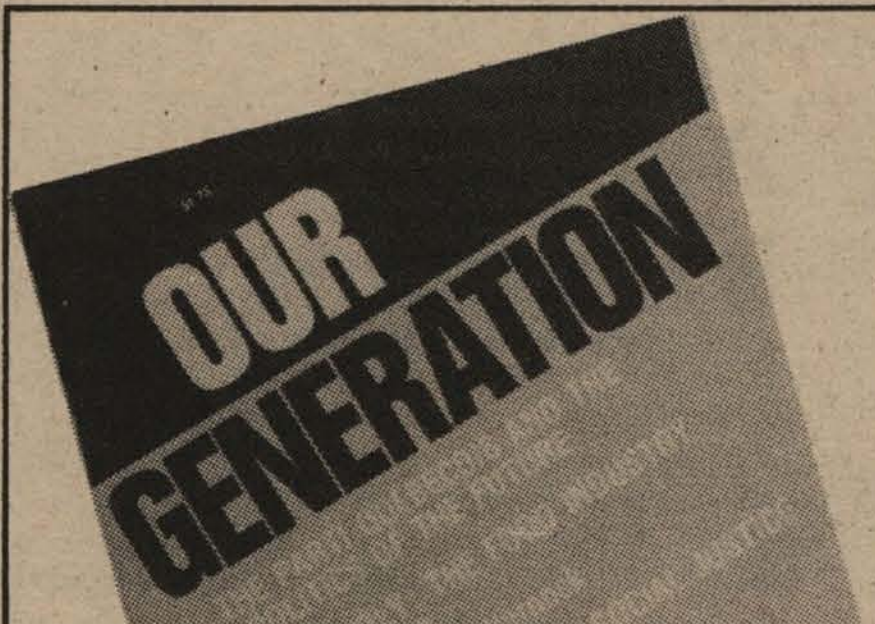


Publication of the Anarchist-Communist Federation. Issue #4 includes articles on the Draft, Quebec referendum, Seabrook, Leonard Peltier, Poland, the CNT. Subs: \$5 for 6 issues or a donation. Free to prisoners. From POB 2, Station "O", Toronto, ONT., Canada M4B 2B0.



Cienfuegos Press & Black Flag Anarcho-Hyperborean publishers & mail order booksellers; books on anarchism, libertarian socialism, & self-management. Latest Anarchist Review now available—\$8.00. A \$30.00 sub entitles you to all the books they publish in the next year.

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Libertarian socialist journal that celebrates its 20th birthday next year. Latest issue features the Quebec referendum & Afghanistan. Hard hitting analysis. \$2.00 per issue. Subs \$7.50 from Our Generation, 3981 St. Laurent Blvd., Montreal, Quebec H2W 1Y5.

Fortnightly, produced by non-violent anarchists. Consistent coverage of sexual politics, opposition to militarism and secrecy, personal growth, racism, building alternatives, opposition to nukes and more. Seamount sub: \$20 per year. Trial sub, 5 issues for \$2.50 from 8 Elm Ave., Nottingham, England.



continued on page 34

These three ideas seem to have dominated our thinking of the causes of the revolution in the 70's. It has led us to harangue the people moralistically or to try to educate them to believe things that they have not experienced. Thus, we ostracize ourselves. We form our little cult of revolutionism and wonder why others don't join. We must recognize that we are a part of the people, not a separate group bringing the truth. We all recognize the problems of inflation, unemployment, poor education, bad working conditions, etc., even if we lack revolutionary consciousness. Most women and blacks recognize their oppression.

Second, the religious revolutionaries tend to prefer symbolic to effective action. They pour blood on draft records, hold signs in front of the president's church, chain themselves to doors of the Pentagon or plant a bomb in the capitol building. The important thing is to reach the hearts of people they say. I respect the sincerity of these people, but the main thing they inspire in the hearts of most people, whose only source of information is a press that is more interested in the spectacle than the message of the activity, is revulsion for what they consider dangerous neurotics.

This activity only helps to reinforce the picture of the revolutionary as a weirdo who knows nothing of the problems of the average working person.

Third, religious revolutionism seems to produce an unconscious, and occasionally a conscious, desire for martyrdom. Thus, we see the Ghandian stoically going to jail for chaining him/herself to a Pentagon door. We hear the Christian revolutionary preach about "redemptive suffering." We see the revolutionary desperado performing daring and ill-planned bank robberies in the name of a people who never asked them to do so. She/he becomes a professional elite whose duty it is to bring liberation to the people.

In conclusion, I feel that a strong religious element entered into revolutionary activity even among those who theoretically rejected religion. The result has been the loss of the potential mass base that the 60's developed and the growth of a specialist class of revolutionaries who live in their revolutionary communes, go to demonstrations together, go to jail together and generally form a nice comfortable clique which is capable of escaping a lot of the realities faced by most people. True it is not a closed clique. People who burn out from lack of results leave. People who find themselves in theoretical agreement join, but no mass movement develops, because, no matter what our theory, we have made ourselves separate from the people.

For the free society,
David Devries
South Holland, Illinois

French breakdown

Dear friends,

Thank you for sending me a copy of *Open Road*. Here in France everything is collapsing, how do you like that? Anti-prison committees are in crisis, the French freudian school doesn't exist any more and traditional organisations are more than ever rotten.

I myself do some work concerning american indians but in a rather difficult way since I find other people working on the same not very interesting.

I don't know what anarchy means here these days. Perhaps only to take some dope somewhere. That is why I like to know you have written something about 'spirituality.' Because that's the only anarchy still existing to some extent here in France.

Love and rage,
Leon

Paris, France

We'll send you to Spain

Open Road,

Here's some \$. Love your publication, tho' I preferred the previous layout/format. I began my anarchist education through you, even went on to live in Barcelona for 8 months, so you are effective.

Capitalismo No
Communismo No
Anarchia Si
Billy King
San Francisco, Ca.

Parole's not easy

Dear Friends,

Please stop sending me Revolutionary material at this time, it is causing me trouble making parole and a lot of hassle. I'll contact you once I'm out. Hope you can understand my situation. Thank you,
D.E.

Prison porn

Open Letter to Joe Remiro, c/o *Open Road*,

I'm writing this letter hoping to clarify where Women and Men are coming from in terms of struggling against porn in prisons.

Now that porn is allowed in the concentration camps it is a distraction from discovering the nature of our oppression as a distinct class within the capitalist State, that is we are exploited as slave labourers for which we receive slave wages, at the hands of the State and private capitalism.

Have you stopped and thought of how such material downgrades and exploits the women within this society? This same material also upholds and reinforces stereotypes of what women should be and that women are ugly unless they emulate the Farrah Fawcett types. The women and men who speak out against such material do want Freedom, not only for themselves, but for all peoples, and as you said in your letter in OR 10 1/2, it shall not come about by guilt-tripping prisoners be they political or otherwise. Nor will the reading of such material bring someone's Freedom, and the same applies to the viewing of porn flicks as you seem to suggest. On the contrary it will only serve to reinforce the myths that have clouded our minds in regards to this issue.

Ideally, the only true solution to resolving sexual repression in the prisons is for the total destruction of every single prison worldwide, but this has no chance of occurring presently. And because of that, I propose that we have as an alternative the setting up of houses or whatever, which will permit conjugal visits.

This is only an alternative and should be analyzed as to its feasibility. I am also well aware that this could lead to more apathy among prisoners as a result, and so therefore our main emphasis as prisoners should be directed towards educating prisoners as concerns the contradictions within the capitalist State.

Prisoners can be the most revolutionary force in North America, that is, provided we have no distractions to this end. It is high time that we who are captives of the State start to analyze our relationship to the State and to our women comrades!

Solidarity & Anarchist Greetings,
Ken
Matsqui, B.C.
Canada

Typical journalism

Dear *Open Road*,

I am an anarchist trainee reporter at a college in Darlington and I am writing a research project on the anarchist press. I want to use your paper as an example of international anarchism. Could you please send me details of how your paper is financed, where and how it's printed, how and who decides what should go in it, who writes the articles, and any other info you think might be useful.

Yours in love and anarchy,
S.E. Boyer
London, England

P.S. If you can't be bothered etc. to send any details can I make them up?

Germoney

Dear Comrades,
Dear people from *Open Road*,

The anarchists in "Germoney" are on their way!
Good luck and liberty!
i. A
Peter
Koln, Germany

Bicycles?
Anarcha-Feminists?
Comics?
Rage?
Is this
Social Revolution?

A PENNY FOR YOUR THOUGHTS



And, speaking of money, how long is it since you sent some our way for feeding those thoughts?

The *Open Road* badly needs money to continue with our contribution to the Social

Revolution. We already dig into our own pockets. How 'bout checking yours?

We're looking for sustainers to send us \$50 a year. Take out a gift subscription for a favourite friend, lover or relative.

And, if neither of these fit your budget, a contribution of two hours wages per year will get you your own sub. It all helps.

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**You think it's the end...
but it's just the beginning**