

**American Indian Movement
attacked by cowboy cops**

Murray Bookchin Interview

OpenRoad

80¢

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West Germany: Resistance and Rebellion

THE BLAST

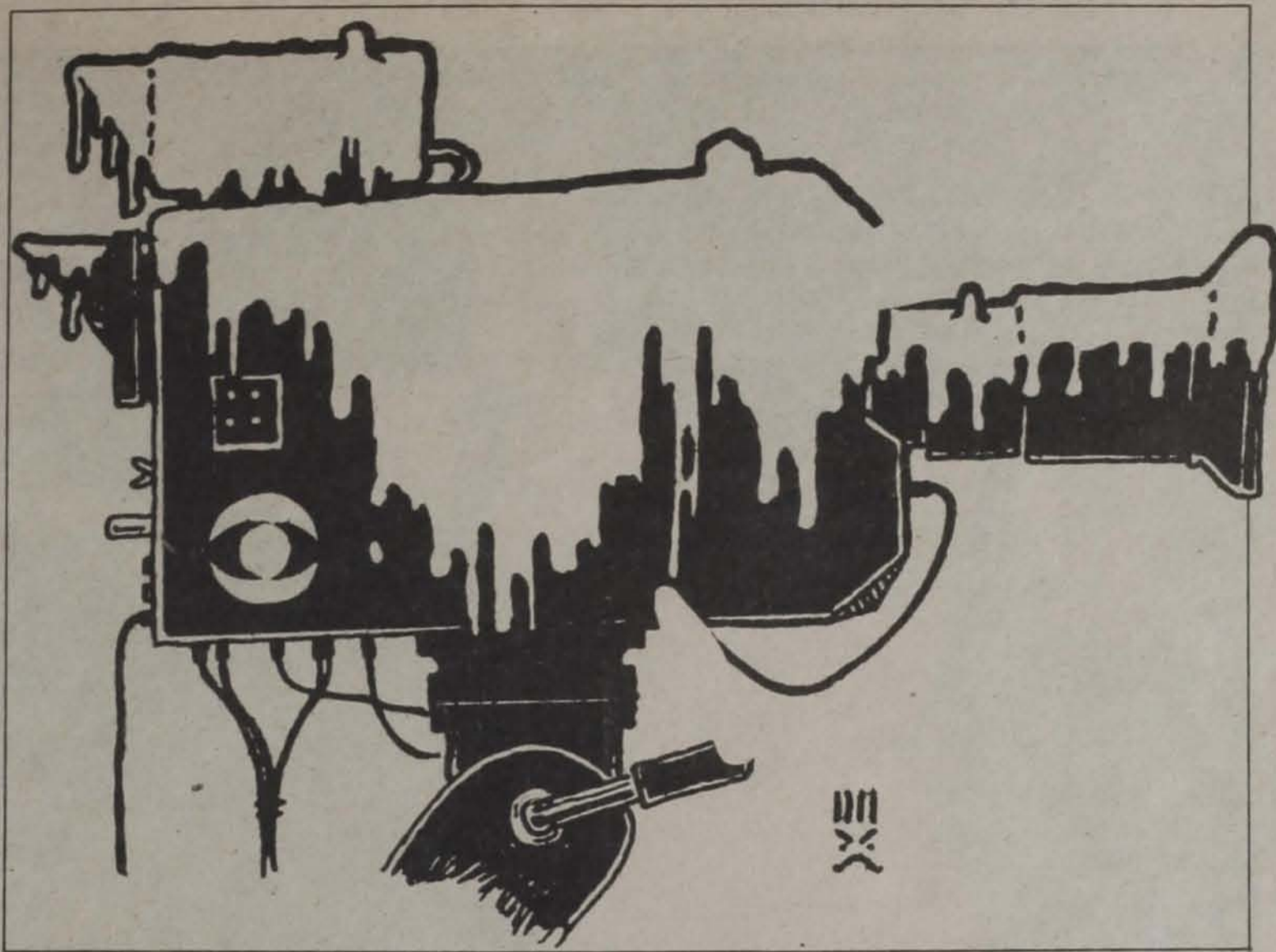
Autonomy Centre

AFTER months of fundraising and searching for a suitable location, the Autonomy Centre has opened in east London, England. Organized by local London anarchists, the centre will serve as a regular meeting place for anarchist groups and individuals, a cultural centre for anti-authoritarian art and music, a distribution point for anarchist propaganda, and as a forum for discussion and the exchange of ideas and experiences.

Already the centre has hosted a series of debates on feminism, revolutionary violence and "why Marx was wrong". In December an anarchist book fair was held, with Cienfuegos and Freedom Press among those participating. The main problem now is keeping up the rent payments.

Anarchists in other cities, including Belfast, Birmingham and Keighly, have organized their own local anarchist clubs and one is now being planned in Leeds. A network of anarchist community centres appears to be developing.

For all those travelling through London, or who feel generous and would like to help pay



the rent, the Autonomy Centre's address is: 01 Warehouse, Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, London E1.

Paint 'em Black

MEMBERS of the "movement" in Switzerland, whose slogan is "Make cucumber salad out of the state," made spaghetti sauce out of a CBS 60 Minutes film crew last fall.

The London based 60 Minutes crew went to one of the Swiss youth centres and began filming the scene outside. They had hoped to get interviews with some of the people inside but just as they stopped filming they were grabbed by a dozen or so masked youths and tied up to posts.

While some threw bucketfuls of red, white and black paint over the crew, others poured bottles of ketchup over their heads and others took the film from the cameras and burned it on the street. Someone slashed the tires of their van.

After about five minutes the men were cut free and the equipment taken from them was returned.

No Amnesty from Socialists

IN AN unprecedented move France's socialist government amnesty French political prisoners—with the exception of the anarchists. At least eleven anarchist militants remain in prison, dispersed throughout the French penal system in order to prevent them from communicating with each other.

The most well-known prisoners are the seven members of the Direct Action group being held for a rocket attack on a government office a few years ago. The new socialist government purposely removed their case from the juris-

dition of the *Cour de Surete de l'Etat*, depriving them of the general amnesty connected to the dissolution of that court.

In a communique the French Anarchist Federation asks, "What was responsible? A last minute ruse on the part of the magistrates, police pressure, promises made to big business or a deliberate political choice? We do not know. Whatever the case may be and however diverse our positions on violence in the face of state terrorism may be, we cannot let such a situation arise without taking action."

Oh Hell!



IT should come as neither a surprise nor a disappointment to note that on March 2, 1981, the Roman Catholic church's "congregation for the doctrine of faith" confirmed in an official declaration that Freemasons, Nihilists, Charcoal-burners and Anarchists are to be considered as automatically excommunicated from the church. (The Charcoal-burners, or Carbonari, were an underground radical sect of the last century, dedicated to the unification of Italy and the establishment of a republic. That'll teach 'em!) Such evil-doers are thus deprived of burial according to the Catholic rites and will, of course, be consigned to the innermost circles of hell.

The declaration was made following an attempt by clerical "progressives" to do away with the order of excommunication. The main protagonist of this line, a certain don Rosario, has been denounced as a heretic and a traitor to the Christian faith.

On the Road

RUMOURS of our death have been greatly exaggerated. *Open Road* #13 is our way of saying, "Hey, we're alive!" The great delay between issues is due to a simple lack of money. We need more support.

We feel that anti-authoritarian and anarchist publications like *Open Road* are needed more now than ever. When *O.R.* was founded in 1976, our intention was to put out a contemporary anarchist newsjournal representing a broad spectrum of non-authoritarian ideologies and practices. We never intended to be the mouth piece of any one anarchist sect. We are as opposed to anarchist sectarianism as to any sectarianism.

We want to encourage debate among anarchists, not to stifle it. We want to present different, and yes, even contradictory, views and outlooks. As individuals we each have our own gut positions. As a collective our position is basically anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian. We try to do justice to different views within this guideline.

We are confident our readers can think for themselves. That they can approach each article thoughtfully and critically. And we're more than willing to print responses and objections to views expressed in this paper. Next time you read an article you find especially bad (or especially good!) write us and let us know. We

want to keep the dialogue between *O.R.* and its readers open.

What threatens to halt this mutual dialogue is our lack of financial support. We would come out four times a year if we had the money. We don't. In order to cut costs, starting with the next issue (#14) we will be deleting from our mailing list anyone (excluding, of course, prisoners) who hasn't sent us any money since 1979. If you ain't got the bucks (subs are two hours wages per year) just send us a note and we'll keep you on the list. Otherwise it's goodbye. We know this is a drastic measure, but we can't afford to send out the paper for free.

Open Road is a reader supported newspaper. If you want us to continue send some support — money, stories, letters, whatever. We'll do everything we can to keep *Open Road* on the road, but we need some gasoline!

Suggested subscription rate is two hours pay or more per year, \$20 per year for an institutional subscription, and \$50 for a one year sustaining subscription. For overseas mail please send additional. The *Open Road* is mailed free to prisoners around the world, which is another reason for you to give more if you can.

Back issues No. 2, 3, 6, 7, 11 and 12 are available for \$2 a copy and No. 8, 9, 10 and 10½ for \$1 each.

Anarchy in Africa

THE libertarian movement has never managed to exist easily in the countries of black Africa. The economic, social and cultural context has favoured the implantation of diverse varieties of marxist-leninism. Is this situation changing? Yes, if we are to believe the declaration of the anarchists of Senegal, whose very existence is an event in itself.

In June a number of Senegalese met in Goree (an island off Dakar) and decided to create an anarchist association since, in theory, the presidency of Abdou Diouf has introduced political pluralism. They published their declaration in a more or less satirical journal called *Le Politicien*. We reproduce excerpts from this declaration here:

The anarchists of Senegal, after a rigorous analysis of the political, economic and social situation of our country, came to the following conclusions:

- The existing economic and social structures block the social mechanisms and human progress of Senegal. The structures envisaged by the parties have every chance of simply replacing one group or class of exploiters by another.
- The parties that compete with each other are weak before the common enemy: western imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.
- Not one among the various parties is capable of promoting the kind of direct democracy where the broad masses and free workers would be in a position to have their claims and their just needs respected.

The anarchists of Senegal decided to pass from the stage where they were evolving like a fish in the tank of the Senegalese universe, to the stage of organization.

The major preoccupation of the anarchists of Senegal is not to take power but to struggle persistently against all manifestations of power and against the private appropriation of the

means of production. We are struggling for the establishment of a decentralized and federalist self-determining socialism, which has nothing to do with imported "socialisms". We are struggling for the advent of a society in which the means of production will be communally exploited by Senegalese workers organized in associations of direct democracy.

Our projection of society takes its inspiration from the organization of Lebov village federations and from the social formation of the Ballante people of Southern Senegal and Guinea Bissau. These social formations, which were by no means primitive, were organized in such a way that the societies concerned had neither dominant classes nor exploiter chiefs. There prevailed a direct type of democracy which was not imposed from above. This form of organization could be perfectly well adopted even with the current state of our productive forces, if only the exploiting classes could be unseated and if the possibility of the appearance of totalitarian leaders could be removed. This is a model where passivity and blind obedience to exploiting anti-democratic bosses would not figure.

To bring about our projection of society we, anarchists of Senegal and our sympathizers, whom we believe to be numerous, will centre our struggles against the following phenomena:

- the advent of a statist or bureaucratic society
- obscurantism, fanaticism, pedantry
- antagonism of rich and poor
- chauvinist nationalism
- pseudo-democracy veiling an unjust economic organization.

As a result of their meeting, the anarchists of Senegal created their instrument of combat: the "Anarchist Party for Individual Liberties in the Republic."

From *Agora* No. 7, 1981

The Open Road
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Carl Harp: Death of an Activist

CARL HARP, revolutionary anarchist prisoner, was murdered Sept. 15, 1981. He was found in his cell at Washington State Penitentiary (Walla Walla), hanged by a telephone wire, his wrists slashed, and a purported suicide note lying close by. An inquest held over a month later declared his death a suicide, but the evidence suggests otherwise:

- The suicide note has been declared a fake by Harp's wife Susan Waymire and a close friend. Both deny it is written in Harp's handwriting.
- Razor blades were supposedly found hidden in his cell. Somehow Harp managed to slash his wrists, hide the blades, and then hang himself with telephone wire.
- Everyone who had been in contact with Harp shortly before his death found him in good spirits and in no way suicidal. In a letter to Open Road, dated Sept. 2, Harp wrote "I am well and doing O.K."
- Harp had learned from other inmates that some of the guards had put a contract on him. He publicly denounced this and had himself admitted to protective custody. The men in charge of P.C. refused to allow him to stay.
- The inquest into his death was a farce, without proper autopsy report or cross-examination of witnesses. The jury was hand picked by the coroner, whose wife, the deputy coroner, was the only person allowed to ask questions.
- Harp died alone. He had vowed that if he ever gave it all up and committed suicide, he would take a pig with him.

Clearly, not having the courage to murder Harp openly, the American state made his execution look like a suicide.

Ever since his imprisonment at the age of 23, Harp had struggled against state (in-)justice. Convicted and sentenced to four consecutive life terms for murder and rape, Harp claimed he was innocent and, outraged by his convictions, decided to fight back. (An appeal on his rape conviction by one of Washington state's best attorneys was about to begin at the time of his death.)

Through constant and often intense struggle with the state Harp evolved into a revolutionary anarchist, declaring himself a political prisoner in 1974. He began engaging in a series of actions at Walla Walla designed to force the prison officials and guards to follow their own rules and regulations regarding treatment of prisoners.

While many inmates would try to do "easy time", Harp developed effective skills in confronting authority and educating others. He churned out letters and articles to the outside, launched suits against the prison (some of which he won), helped other prisoners in their legal matters (and taught some to read), and was supportive and loving to friends.

Putting theory into practice, Harp helped found Men Against Sexism, a group established to help protect gay prisoners and change other prisoners' attitudes (see O.R. #6). He participated in strikes and rebellions Walla Walla prisoners waged against their captors (see O.R. #2 & 8). He co-founded the Anarchist Black Dragon collective (inside the prison) and its publication, which is still continuing, the Anarchist Black Dragon (C.P.2, Succ. La Cite, Montreal, Que., Canada H2W 2M9).

On May 9, 1979, after having exhausted all official grievance procedures for reform, Harp and two others, armed with a knife and a bullhorn, seized the Classification building and took ten staff hostage. Their aim was to "expose to the world the gross injustice and inhumanity in the penitentiary and force improvements."

Explaining why he abandoned legal resistance, Harp said, "They've got all this beautiful logic of why you should be in jail. Fuck it man. I've filed petitions, letters and protests...All it's doing is jumping off the St. Louis bridge... I've had first hand experience doing everything in protests in all the bourgeois forms. I've got scars all over my body, inside and outside. Now it's war. WAR..."

"May 9th was a beautiful day brother, a day of liberation for me. I regained totally my humanity. My faith in our cause soared high when I saw the total support that we received.



"An anarchist to me is not passive unless there is no need for any other behaviour. An anarchist to me is an individual who even if he/she is alone, does what he/she must do for right, for freedom, for the revolution. Anarchism is a philosophy of action and non-action to me. Change is constant and in order to deal with it one must ever remember and be prepared to shift into offensive and/or defensive positions as the situation demands it — SEIZE THE TIME! Doing is worth more than a million words, but sometimes talking is mandatory. In here, we have talked too much and I am for doing, even if I am alone. I am self-reliant, self-disciplined, and self-responsible to the best of my ability. If I have no support, it does not matter if something must be done. I have learned this position the hard way and it is consistent with anarchism in my opinion. I am a revolutionary and my business is to make revolution — not talk about it..."

Carl Harp, 1949 - 1981

Prisoners cheered us and stood bare-handed in front of armed pigs and refused to move in order to protect us.

"I walked through the door expecting May 9th to be my last day on earth. But *I am alive baby*, and grinning from ear to ear."

No one was hurt by the action although the prison system was publicly embarrassed. The prison administration responded by putting Harp in isolation. Under intense pressure from the state, the other two men involved in the hostage taking incident plead guilty as charged, but Harp refused, demanding a public political trial.

Harp was viciously beaten and raped with a riot baton by guards. After spending two weeks in hospital, he was transferred against his will to San Quentin. He was told he would be killed there by other inmates. News of his beating and transfer was internationally publicized by outside supporters, and Harp launched suits seeking damages and a return to Walla Walla.

Harp later described some of his experiences at San Quentin:

"In one yard we heard a white prisoner was stabbed by two Chicanos, the latter were both shot...in another yard Blacks had a fist fight among themselves; a warning shot was fired... In the yard where the prisoner was stabbed we heard other prisoners chanting 'Kill! Kill!' Everybody, even the gunrail, thought that was funny. I sat back and just wondered why I give a shit about anything or anyone — sick place prison, but then no sicker than the whole world is. Will it ever change?"

While at San Quentin, Harp finally started to win some battles. Last year, a civil suit Harp and others had launched led to a decision that Walla Walla was "cruel and unusual" punishment. Wishing to avoid being put on trial again, the state dropped the hostage charges against Harp. Then he was awarded \$7,000 for being kept illegally in segregation for 14 months. Recently, he won his transfer back to Walla Walla, where he could visit with his wife and friends.

Three weeks before his death, Harp found out that some of the guards at Walla Walla had put a contract out on him. Exhausted by his struggles during the last two years, Harp

distributed an open letter exposing the contract and checked into protective custody, hoping these drastic moves would force the administration to keep its guards in line. In a note to a comrade inside he said: "Don't know who started the fire. The fucking state never ceases. May not win brother, but gonna go down at least trying to fight back. Let me know responses (to the PC move). Sorry I got to do this, but best move. (They) won't expect this one and before they can do anything will be on them *hard*. State wants to play, I'll play my way. Ain't no sell out and ain't no rat. Down to life or death so making my defensive and offensive moves at same time. State will think it has at least isolated and alienated me, but watch my smoke brother. All I could do in San Quentin was write so that's *all* I did and it got me back here...Have come too far to quit or allow myself to be put on a cross, so only way I am convinced to deal with it is as I am..."

The men in charge of PC made it clear to Harp and the administration that they wanted him out of there within 24 hours, so Harp was forced to move into segregation, which would give him little more protection than he had in his regular cell. For this reason, and also because he felt his making the death threat public made it difficult for the guards to carry out their plans, Harp decided to return to the general prison population. He was then transferred to the admissions wing, a sort of "holding tank" from where prisoners are reintroduced into the general population. It was here that he was murdered, his death made to look like a suicide. Coincidentally, the two guards patrolling Harp's cell block were both in the prison kitchen when the murder suicide took place.

Besides the suspicious circumstances surrounding his death — the hidden razor blades, the two absent guards, the contract out on him, the faked suicide note — all those who had been in contact with Harp shortly before his death report that he was very satisfied with the moves he had made. He talked of future plans, and how he was looking forward to the next issue of the Anarchist Black Dragon. He was certain of victory in an upcoming suit against the guards who so brutally beat and raped him two years previously. An appeal on his rape conviction, a parole hearing, and

plans to publish some more of his writing were also scheduled for the near future.

Harp wasn't the only prisoner with a contract out on him. Several days earlier, black militant Benny Washington was supposed to have been killed during a melee in the cafeteria. Benny was said to have been one of the three prisoners with Harp on the hit list of some fascist guards known as either the Washington Cowboys or the Aryan Brotherhood. Fortunately, Washington found out about the hit and avoided the cafeteria that day.

An inquest into Harp's death was held on October 14, but it was clear the state had already decided its verdict. Instead of a judge, Walla Walla county coroner Stephen Ames, who had declared Harp's death a suicide two days after it happened, presided over the inquest. The deputy coroner, Ames' wife Anne, was the only person allowed to question witnesses. Susan Waymire's lawyer was neither allowed to cross-examine witnesses nor to have any say in their selection. The jury was handpicked by Ames himself, in order to assure "reliability."

It soon became obvious that most of the "witnesses" had rehearsed their lines before testifying. When they forgot what to say, Anne Ames said it for them. The pathologist couldn't identify Harp from the photographs. Toxology reports, needed to determine if Harp had been drugged, were never produced because, "We haven't received them yet." (Five weeks after being sent?) Susan Waymire had to hire her own pathologist, but by the time she could recover Harp's body it had been embalmed. The guard who had been in charge of Harp's cell block at the time of the murder was never even called to testify.

The great surprise of the inquest was the testimony of Harp's former cellmate and fellow Black Dragon member, John Bosch. Apparently under the impression that Bosch would answer all her pre-arranged questions as planned, Anne Ames called him to the witness stand.

Declaring himself a "POW" (prisoner of war), Bosch proceeded to demolish the state's carefully engineered case. He spoke of the contract the guards had put out on Harp's life, and how the administration refused to grant Harp protective custody. After saying, "There was no thought of suicide in Carl's mind," Bosch defiantly showed copies of the Black Dragon to the court, proclaiming the motive behind the state's murder of Harp "was the work he did for the Black Dragon newsletter. Carl was a great writer, a great man, and a hell of a fighter."

Despite Bosch's testimony and that of Susan Waymire afterwards, both of which exposed the state's complicity in Harp's murder, the inquest's verdict was, unsurprisingly, suicide.

Carl Harp is not the first victim of that horrible farce which some people call state justice, and no doubt he will not be the last. Many of his fellow prisoners at Walla Walla now face similar dangers. Prisoner Robert Shane Green is trying to save his life by getting transferred to a federal penitentiary in Washington state.

We urge our readers to write letters demanding:

- The immediate transfer of Robert Shane Green 628148 from Walla Walla to a federal pen in Washington state.
- The effective protection of Benny Washington and other prisoners threatened by prison staff.
- The removal from the prison of all guards associated with the hit squad, the Aryan Brotherhood, and all those guards originally fired in 1979 for brutalizing Carl Harp and other prisoners, but who were later reinstated.
- An immediate and complete investigation of the guards at Walla Walla prison.

Send your letters to: Amos Reed, Director of Adult Corrections, Olympia, WA 98504; Gov. John Spellman, Olympia, WA 98504; Prison Supt. Kastema, P.O. Box 520, Walla Walla, WA 99362.

For further information contact: Susan Waymire, P.O. Box 22094, Seattle, WA 98122, and Solidarity Committee, CP2, Succ. La Cite, Montreal, Que. H2W 2M9.

Anarchy in the USSR

IN THE spring of 1981 a member of the *Black Flag* collective went to Russia in search of anarchists. A communist official told him that there were Russian anarchists but he would not find any among the students, an elitist class. He did meet some students from South America and Africa who were familiar with anarchism, including a few who called themselves anarchist. With one of these students he approached some transit workers telling them he was an anarchist. One worker embraced him saying, "Durruti, Ulrike!"

Since this intriguing event we have learned there are at least seven anarchists being held in Soviet prison and labour camps for their political beliefs. One of these — referred to simply as "E" — is primarily a defender of human rights. Born in 1930 in the Ukraine, he was first imprisoned in the early 60s for "anti-soviet propaganda". Freed in 1971, he was rearrested for the same reason in 1974 and sentenced to 10 years in a labour camp.

The other six imprisoned are from Leningrad which, since the 60s, has been the centre of the extreme left opposition in the USSR. In Leningrad there are two known groups with anarchist members: the "Opposition of the Left", and the "Revolutionary Communards". Formed in the 60s, both probably stemmed from the "Young Communard" movement which included Marxists, Trotskyists and "above all" anarchists, who created and lived in communes in Leningrad.

Three of the anarchists now imprisoned are members of the Revolutionary Communards. Little is known about this clandestine group except that its members have organized demonstrations and published and distributed numerous political leaflets of a "radical anarchist" nature. In 1978, together with the "Opposition of the Left" they gave a counter-course on Daimat. Daimat is the obligatory course on dialectical materialism at Leningrad University. Before 300 people they talked about Bakunin, Trotsky, and others not covered in the official course.

On October 7, 1979, three members of the group were arrested for writing slogans on walls and distributing leaflets. The slogans read: "Democracy not demagogy" and "Down with state capitalism". The leaflets called for an "Anti-authoritarian order" and denounced "the family, private property and the state."

Two of these anarchists, Vladimir Mikhailov, a refrigeration mechanic, and Aleksei Stassevich, a poet and painter, had lived together in a Leningrad commune since 1975. This commune had been active in organizing demonstrations. During a raid on the house "illegal" revolutionary and philosophical material was confiscated including works of Marcuse and Fromm.

Vladimir and Aleksei were charged with vandalism. They refused to plead guilty but on December 25, 1979 were sentenced to three years in a hard labour camp. Alevtina Kotchneva, the third member of this group arrested, was sentenced to one year, three months in a hard labour camp. The three appealed their sentences on February 15, 1980 and lost.

Also imprisoned in the USSR are three members of the "Opposition of the Left", who had lived together in a commune called the Leningrad Commune. Alejandro Skobov, born in 1958, was one of the principal organizers of both the "Opposition" and the commune. A history student at the Leningrad University, he calls himself an anarcho-socialist and an enemy of all violence. Arrested on October 14, 1978 he was charged with anti-soviet propaganda. On April 16, 1979 he was condemned to psychiatric internment for an indefinite period of time. In the spring of 1980 he announced from the psychiatric hospital that he is a supporter of SMOT, a free trade union (like Solidarnosc) in the USSR.

Alexis Khavine, born in 1959, is a member of the anarchist wing of the "Opposition" who also lived in the Leningrad Commune. In 1977 he was interned for some time in a psychiatric hospital for distributing the works of Kropotkin (which, it seems, was still legal at that time). In 1979 he was detained for refusing to testify at Skobov's trial. There was no evidence against him but at the police station he was stripped, his clothes taken away, and in his absence drugs were supposedly found in his clothes. He was charged with the manufacture and sale of drugs and sentenced to six years of forced labour.

Alkady Tsurkov, the third member of this group who is now imprisoned, is perhaps more of a Marxist than an anarchist, although he worked together with Skobov and Khavin. He was arrested October 31, 1978 and sentenced in April 1979 to five years in hard labour camp and three years of internal exile.

WHAT follows is a portion of an interview with a former member of the "Opposition of the Left" who was forced to emigrate. It is reprinted from the Italian *Rivista Anarchica*.

Q: Some of the "Opposition" were active since February 1976. What was happening at that time?

A: Some youths and students distributed leaflets to coincide with the 25th Congress of the CPSU supporting communism with a human face. One leaflet ended with "Long live communism!" and "Long live the new revolution!" The group was pro-communist, pro-Marxist, but there were also some anarchists and socialists.

The KGB arrested Andrei Raznikov and Alexandre Skobov among others. Raznikov was only 17 years old and, according to the law, could not be sent to a labour camp. After two months in a KGB prison, he was consigned to a commission for juvenile delinquents, expelled from the university and sent to the army for two years.

Following the attempt of '76, Skobov organized a commune in Leningrad. It is very common among the young to travel by hitchhiking and we have a certain system of doing it. For example, if you want to go from Leningrad to Odessa or Moscow, we could give you some addresses of people where you can stay, to eat and sleep. In this way you discover here and there some communes, so a network of youth was established. In Skobov's there were not only young people from Leningrad, but also from Moscow, from the Baltic republics and from Siberia. Alkady Tsurkov, then a student at the university of Tartu, and Raznikov were there. Together with Skobov, they formed the nucleus of the Leningrad group.

Q: And you, how did you enter the commune?

A: I had a lot of friends in the academy of art; they often met in cafes such as the "Sphinx" or the "Red Castle" in Leningrad. In that way I came to know some people who knew Skobov. I was introduced to him and we became friends.

Our commune was on the outskirts of the city, in Primorsky Prospekt. It was on the first floor of a two-story wooden house. Skobov formulated the statutes of the commune: he defined the commune as a small communist society; everything for everyone. We didn't recognize private property and refused violence. There was a box (of cash) for what we needed and it was always open. There were five people living there, sometimes even 10, and many came from other cities.

Q: In what way did the commune become the centre of a political movement?

A: We used to talk a lot about the internal situation, foreign politics, the latest in culture, philosophy, etc. We understood how much hypocrisy there was in the system. So many lies. We detested the system of passports, the economic system, because all decisions came from the top. The educational system was wrong. Everything we studied was the official version of the party, the book of Brezhnev,

etc. We couldn't study history or literature except the official version.

In our commune we had a typewriter. We used to type proclamations on the politics of the party and the state, and what we had to do instead. We made appeals to demonstrate and to speak in public. We usually described the USSR as non-Marxist and non-communist; the Communist Party could not be Marxist as all the power is in the hands of the state. Communism had to be a free society. In the USSR the state only serves the interests of the rulers.

Q: What were the principal tendencies in the group?

A: I will remember the three main ones. The Marxists, such as Tsurkov, Raznikov and Fedorova; the anarchists, such as Khavin and myself. Skobov was half Marxist and half anarchist. And three other left democrats, as Victor Pavlenkov, who came from Gorky. The left democrats were neither Marxists nor anarchists; simply, they belonged to the democratic movement for human rights, from a leftist perspective. We have differences on strategy and tactics, there was not one opinion.

Q: The "Opposition" group projected a general conference of the Left opposition. How was that project born?

A: Skobov, Tsurkov, Fedorova, Raznikov and others went to Moscow for a meeting. During the meeting, those from Moscow and Leningrad proposed an important conference in Leningrad. At the same time, using our commune typewriter, we put out our magazine, "Perspective". We used to make 10 or 15 copies of each issue, which were then passed from friend to friend. We wanted them to be distributed in the schools and universities to present our opinions and to find support. We printed a variety of articles, excerpts from books and poetry. The second issue included an analysis of the current situation in the USSR and drew some conclusions — for example, the most necessary thing was to make a revolution.

Q: Did the conference take place?

A: No. August 12, 1978 the militia arrived and destroyed the apartment. The commune then ceased to exist. Even if someone came around it was then controlled by the militia. October 14, Skobov was arrested. Tried April 16, he was condemned to psychiatric treatment for undetermined length of time. Arkady Tsurkov was arrested October 31. April 16 Khavin was arrested and sentenced to six years. Raznikov and Fedorova were relegated to Altai. Victor Pavlenkov and myself had to emigrate. A friend from Leningrad told me that my school was transformed. After the demonstration of December in which our classroom and another participated, the KGB simply closed the classrooms. Most of the teachers were fired.

Q: What can we do to help the movement of the young Soviets?

A: I believe that the movement is still alive in the USSR. We need to start a campaign for the liberation of Skobov, Tsurkov and Khavin. Speak about them, create committees, organize demonstrations and other initiatives.



"Maintiens le Droit"—RCMP Motto RCMP Maintain the Right

by Charles Tuke

ARSON, kidnapping, blacklists, illegal mail opening, break ins and wire taps are only a few of the methods used by Canada's paramilitary police force, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and its security service (SS), against Canadian radicals in the name of national security.

Security practices are aimed primarily at "subversives". There are very few foreign agents to go after in Canada—most of those here work for the Americans. So it is internal "subversives" and potential "subversives", (800,000 of them according to SS files), who are watched, reported on, and acted against.

How is the term "subversion" defined? A 1973 government security manual offers the following: "Subversion is the act or attempted act of diverting any person's loyalty in order to reduce his effectiveness in the work he is involved in, and/or to make him an active co-operator with a dissident group or another country. This threat may emanate from many different sources within Canada or without, but is normally associated with politically oriented organizations whose views are either on the extreme right or extreme left."

For the security service these sources can include anyone who has visited a communist country, believes in Quebec separation, is active in a militant trade union, women's groups or community organization, is gay, belongs to the left-wing of the New Democratic Party (a social democratic party) or subscribes to the wrong sort of magazine such as the *Open Road*. As Colonel Robin Bourne of the security planning and analysis branch put it, groups are mentioned in his secret weekly bulletin on

subversion, "if we feel their intentions are contrary to our interests."

For years illegal police practices continued unhampered until a chain of events led to their exposure. An RCMP SS officer, Robert Samson, ended up in hospital when a bomb he was planting outside a house exploded prematurely. At his 1976 trial Samson told the court that he had "done worse things" in his RCMP work and the revelations began. A break in at the radical Montreal APLQ news agency by officers from three police forces, the theft and copying of Parti Quebecois computer tape membership lists, illegal mail openings since the 1930s, the theft of dynamite, the burning of a barn that was to be used as a meetingplace, the kidnapping and use of violence to recruit informers in Quebec, and much more came to the surface.

The press and opposition were also exposing cases such as the 1971 blacklist of suspected radical civil servants prepared by the solicitor general and his office. This list was forwarded to other ministers and four foreign intelligence services, including the CIA.

Throughout 1977 the heat grew and the Liberals grew more embarrassed by almost daily new accounts of wrongdoing. In July they formed a commission of inquiry concerning certain activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, better known as the McDonald commission after its chairman David McDonald. The stated purposes of the commission were to investigate and report on the charges against the RCMP and to recommend solutions. The real purpose was to short circuit the continuing wave of charges by referring all enquiries to the commission during the four year period it took to write its report.

The three commissioners all have links to

the Liberal party. The chairman, David McDonald, was president of the Alberta liberal party for three years, appointed a judge in 1974 (after two previous attempts had been blocked by the bar association on the grounds of inexperience) by his old friend Liberal justice minister Laing.

Guy Gilbert came from the same law firm as Francis Fox (solicitor general at the time of the commission's appointment) and is an old friend of energy minister Lalonde. Donald Rickard was at Oxford at the same time as McDonald and Laing and is head of the Donner Canadian Foundation on whose board Francis Fox sat before becoming a cabinet minister.

The two chief investigators of the commission have links with those being investigated. Staff superintendent John McKendry of the Ontario provincial police (OPP) had to look into allegations that the OPP had been involved with the RCMP, the Toronto metro police intelligence unit, and an extreme right-wing group in the 1970 Praxis Institute break in and fire where numerous files disappeared only to later surface in RCMP hands.

The second investigator, Lt. Col. C.A. Christian, was Canadian Forces assistant-director for policing, detention, counter-intelligence and security training in 1977 at Canadian Forces Ottawa headquarters. Christian had started his career with the RCMP and came from the scandal-ridden military intelligence whose minister in 1977, defense minister Danson, had to admit to widespread spying on trade union, students, and "a number of people and organizations across the country".

With a commission made up of men like these it is no wonder that the hearings dragged out for four long years, taking the heat off the government. Early on, McDonald decided not to investigate security operations working out of the solicitor general's office or military intelligence.

The commission sidestepped many allegations. For example in the Praxis case they concluded "that no member of the RCMP or an agent at their request was involved." In fact, known RCMP agents (the right-wing

group) did the break in and then handed files over to the police who retained them for seven years. As there is no known written request from the RCMP and as no policeman actually entered the premises in this case, the commission was able to say that "our staff investigation found no evidence that would be at variance with that conclusion."

The commission left the police with numerous loopholes in their testimony. When evidence of widespread spying on university campuses was brought out, the RCMP said that "It is not the official policy of the force to put undercover men on campus". This slides past two points—that although it is not the official policy it was and is actual practice and that many of the spies are student informers, not "undercover" police.

Another example of a loophole is that only strictly defined wiretaps were reported by the RCMP. This avoided induction coils placed beside telephone lines because they are not mechanically attached to the line and are therefore outside the definition of a wiretap.

For all that it avoided, the McDonald commission was forced to hear testimony about wrongdoings such as Operation Checkmate. This was a dirty tricks unit operating between 1970 and 1977 with practices such as false tax returns, false letters using confidential medical information, threatening phone calls, etc., all aimed at harassing radical groups. They also found the police to be using illegal access to 'confidential' government files, agents provocateurs, spin-off wire taps (where an authority that names one person is used to tap the phones of other associates), and hundreds of illegal break ins to plant bugs.

When the report was finally issued it recommended setting up a new security service, called the Security Intelligence Agency, with powers to use mail opening and surreptitious break ins in national security cases. The government accepted most of the recommendations and is setting up the new agency. The obvious intention is to legalize the police abuses.

These abuses and the will to implement them are endemic in Canada. The War Measures act, a law which gives the government sweeping martial law powers, has been in effect several times in the last sixty years, most recently during the so called "FLQ crisis" of 1970 when over 450 people were arrested in Quebec and denied all legal rights for weeks.

In the last decade Canadian courts have ruled that we do not have the rights of freedom of speech, assembly, association or any freedoms not subject to infringement by federal, provincial or municipal governments. The recent court decision in Vancouver on the right to poster confirmed this. (See O.R. No. 12.) Immigration laws have been tightened and now state that advocating the overthrow of a government *anywhere* is grounds for an immigrant's deportation.

A recent order in council calls for the establishment of civilian internment camps such as those used during World War II. This document, published in June 1981, gives the details of procedures to be followed by ministers "in the event of war, a breakdown in public order preceding the outbreak of war or in case of terrorist acts."

The legal attacks on radicals, the failure of the justice system to prosecute legal lawbreakers, and the refinement of repressive laws are not limited to Canada. They are increasingly common to governments everywhere in the "free world". In Britain the Prevention of Terrorism act, in Italy and Germany the mass of laws that use "terrorism" as an excuse to repress social movements, in the United States the new unleashing of the CIA, in Poland the suppression of Solidarity—all these are linked by a common need of the state and its police: the need to maintain a tight grip on power and to maintain that power at any cost. They are the real terrorists.

For more information about the RCMP security service, military intelligence, and what we can do about it, contact the Civil Liberties Action Security Project (CLASP) at Post Office Box 790, Station A, Vancouver, B.C.

AIM Brothers: Busted not Broken

IF YOU were an Indian in Canada today, you'd run away too." John Trudell knows what he is talking about, but today he speaks for Dino and Gary Butler, two other members of the American Indian Movement.

On February 23, 1981 a Vancouver police cruiser attempted to pull over the Butlers' car. They fled and police claim shots were fired. Weapons were seized after the Butlers' car overturned.

Since then they have been held in Oakalla prison. Behind these bars they have prayed and fasted and won. They won the right to smoke the Pipe.

In the courtroom, the Butlers' lawyer Stan Guenther argues that the jury panel of 59 white people and one East Indian is not representative. Motion denied.

Guenther requests that the Pipe, symbolizing truth and connection with God be allowed into the courtroom.

Dino writes last March: "I am a follower of the Sacred Pipe which represents All Creation. It is told that a very long time ago a Buffalo Calf appeared to the Lakota People and gave them a Pipe."

The judge will not allow the Pipe.

Trudell says, "You swear on a bible, we use a Pipe. It's just a Pipe, we made it out of wood."

Denied the presence of the Pipe in the courtroom, the Butlers decline to participate further in the proceedings and fire their lawyers.

Chief Justice McEachern requests a plea, but the Butlers sit silently, not even acknowledging the request. The charges include: attempted murder and possession of a weapon with dangerous intent, among others.

RCMP Sargeant Graham testifies he examined a car "looking for lead fragments." He found two. Grant Meadwell says he was patrolling when he saw Dino walking with a parka over his arm. He approached Dino who gave him the parka. He discovered two handguns in the pocket and placed Dino under arrest.

The two officers who began the chase offer conflicting scenarios. They saw Dino in a phone booth, Gary waiting in a car. They called in the license plate number to the central computer. Constable Peters said Dino ran to the car and took off quickly; they were pulled over for speeding. Constable Holden says Dino quietly walked to the car and drove off; they were stopped for a regular traffic check.

When they switch on their siren the car pulls over. As the police get

out of their car, Dino and Gary take off, accelerating onto a freeway. Supporters say that as the police were getting out of their car they were reaching for their revolvers.

RCMP officer Shannon testifies he saw the accident and the men fleeing and chased them, identifying himself as a police officer, but Dino turned and pointed a gun at him. He backed off.

RCMP officer Hall testifies that he examined the seized weapons but did not check if the guns had been cleaned—if so it would have proved the Butlers fired no shots, otherwise it is inconclusive.

Hall also examined the lead fragments from the car. He said they were "consistent" with bullet fragments, but at the preliminary hearings he admitted they were consistent with lead from a wheel balancing weight.

Dennis Reilly, a B.C. Hydro employee, testified that he saw the natives fleeing and gave chase. He said one man ran at him with a gun. He is asked to identify the man. Dino sits with his head bowed. The judge orders him to raise it so Reilly can see him. He does not respond.

McEachern orders the deputy sherriffs to make Dino raise his head. Everybody tenses. A deputy sherriff enters the box and lifts Dino's head.

On the final day Dino tells the court he is a Pipe carrier of the Tuney tribe of Oregon. "The voice you hear coming from me is the voice of generations before me and generations to come." He told the court they had only heard half the truth. He mentioned Reilly: "I could not lift my head to that hypocrite who was lying after he swore on the Bible."

Gary asks to have Trudell, his people's Pipe carrier, to address the jury. Request denied: Trudell is not a member of the Bar in B.C.

The jury returns quickly. Guilty, but the attempted murder charge is reduced to attempting to wound.

Dino and Gary are taken back to jail. They know the inside of jails. Dino and Leonard Peltier were charged with murder after the Wounded Knee uprising. Dino was acquitted.

Trudell knows. He knows the names of five other AIM warriors now dead. Murdered. He knows the reality of the FBI threats. Once he burned an American flag in front of the FBI building. The next day his wife, mother-in-law, and child were killed in a house fire. "A deliberate act of political assassination," he says.



Guatemala: Deaths and Disappearances

by Bill Horne

NEARLY 5,000 people have been seized without warrant and killed by the security forces since General Lucas Garcia became president in July 1978. The bodies of victims have been found piled up in ravines, dumped at roadsides or buried in mass graves. Thousands bore the marks of torture, and most had been killed by strangling with a garrote, by being suffocated in rubber hoods or by being shot in the head.

In the same period several hundred other Guatemalans have been assassinated after being denounced as "subversives" — and at least 615 other people reported to have been seized by the security forces remain unaccounted for. The victims include members of

the clergy, teachers and students, lawyers, doctors, trade unionists, journalists, and community workers. But the vast majority of the victims had little or no social status; they came from the urban poor and the peasantry and their political activities were either insignificant or wholly imagined by their captors.

In spite of these murders and "disappearances", the Guatemalan government has denied making a single political arrest or holding a single political prisoner. (The "disappearance" tactic was pioneered by the Nazis when implementing Hitler's infamous "Night and Fog" decree. Its originator, Field Marshal Keitel, said, "effective intimidation can only be achieved either by capital punishment or by measures by which the relatives of the criminal and the population do not know his fate.")

However, in a report published in February 1981, *Guatemala: A Government Program of*

Political Murder, Amnesty International (AI) describes how the long-established program of extrajudicial killings and torture is coordinated from secret offices in an annex to the presidential palace. A declassified document from the records of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), *Termination Phase-Out, Public Safety Project: Guatemala* (July 1974), describes the annex as Guatemala's principal presidential-level security agency.

The National Palace Complex makes it possible for the security services to centralize their communications and also to have access to the central files of the army intelligence division, which are reported to be housed in the presidential residence itself. The files are believed to include dossiers on people who were political suspects even at the time of the overthrow of the government of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz in 1954.

The death squads which this agency coordinates aim at paralyzing real or potential opposition and dissent both through the elimination of leaders and the generalized threat of "disappearance", torture and violent death. They originated in the 1960's as a tactical innovation in response to the growing threat from guerrillas, mainly in the northeast. Colonel John Webber, U.S. military attache during the Zacapa campaign was reported by *Time* magazine (26 Jan '68) to have acknowledged that "it was his idea and at his instigation that the technique of counter-terror had been implemented by the Guatemalan Army in the Izabal areas." According to Malcom Coad (*Index on Censorship* Vol. 10, No. 1, Feb. '81), the counter-insurgency campaign involved Green Berets and troops from the Panama based Southern Command, and was



tion approved a \$3.2 million sale of 100 jeeps and 50 military trucks to the Guatemalan military. The State Department reclassified the equipment from 'crime control' to 'control for regional security' in order to sidestep congressional rules which prohibit the sale of arms to countries guilty of gross human rights violations.

A report carried by Interlink Press Service (27 June 1981) cited high government sources as saying the U.S. will sell \$2.5 million worth of helicopter spare parts, as well as beginning a program for pilot training for the Guatemalan military in the near future. The sale of the military trucks and jeeps followed a visit to Guatemala last May by General Vernon Walters, an aide to secretary of state Alexander Haig. General Walters reportedly discussed the restoration of military aid which was terminated in 1977 on the grounds of widespread human rights violations.

The foreign business community in Guatemala is mainly composed of U.S., West German, British, Canadian, Japanese, Dutch, French and Belgian companies. Some are organized in chambers of commerce. In April 1980, Thomas Mooney, President of the American Chamber of Commerce in Guatemala, made the following statement to a meeting of corporate leaders in New York: "The state department opposes the use of violence as a weapon to subdue the leftist oriented groups which seek to depose Guatemala's government. . . . There is another point of view that contends that the only feasible way to stop communism is to destroy it quickly."

In September 1980, Fred Sherwood, former president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Guatemala, asked, "Why should we worry about the death squads? They're bumping off the commies, our enemies. I'd give them more power. Hell, I'd get some cartridges if I could, and everyone else would too. . . . Why should we criticize them? The death squad? I'm for it."

If you would like more information about Amnesty International's work or if you would like to participate in appeals on behalf of the "disappeared" and political prisoners in Central America or other parts of the world, contact an AI group near you or:

**Amnesty International
Canadian Section (English Speaking)
294 Albert St., Suite 204
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6E6;**

**AIUSA
304 West 58th St.
New York, NY 10019, USA;**

**Amnesty International
10 Southampton St.
London WC2E 7HF,
England**

Bill Horne is the Central American Special Action coordinator for Amnesty International, Canadian Section. He compiled this article for Open Road from A.I. documents.

Open Road Innocent!

NEAC Clarifies Itself

by the New England Anarchist Conference

Through no fault of the members of the *Open Road* collective, the Spring/Summer 1981 issue (# 12) misrepresented our views on the revolutionary potential of the working class. The article on the founding of the New England Anarchist Conference quoted a NEAC organizer saying: "It is our belief that the labour movement has long exhausted its potential as a revolutionary force, that the traditional working class as a class has so assimilated itself to the regimes of a consumer society that it has become an actively counter-revolutionary force."

It is obvious to us that no revolution can hope to succeed without broad-based popular support, including the bulk of the working population. However, for a revolutionary movement to type-cast people into their roles as workers is to confine rather than to catalyze and emancipate those human impulses that motivate revolutionary activity.

Revolutionary consciousness, in the present age, begins when people refuse to view themselves primarily as workers and search elsewhere in their lives for ways to express both their frustrations and their creativity. It is those workers who limit their world-view to the one imposed upon them by their job and the products they consume who find themselves hopelessly trapped within the value nexus of market society.

Marx set many generations of radicals on the wrong track when he defined revolutionary consciousness in terms of one's economic relation to the means of production. This wholly economic approach played itself out through the history of the classical workers' movement, roughly from 1848 to 1939, with mixed results until the rise of bureaucracy, state capitalism and transnational finance made "ownership" of the means of production an increasingly ambiguous notion. Major economic and even social decisions came to be made by replaceable bureaucrats seeking to sustain faceless institutions.

Rather than viewing history exclusively in terms of "class struggle" and the development of economic exploitation, our policy statement posits a critique of forms of hierarchy in every sphere of life — social and personal, as well as economic. History has shown us that hierarchical social structures and non-economic forms of domination both precede class formations and economic exploitation, and

have played a more integral and deeper role in the dialectic of human development. The "class consciousness" that motivates our analysis of state societies is rather a consciousness of the hierarchical relations of power including economic oppression, that prevent us from realizing our full potential as human beings.

None of this is to deny there is a dialectic to history or that economics has increasingly penetrated every aspect of our lives. Our very lives are in fact becoming defined by exchange relationships. The various forms of state capitalism that now wield power over the world's population are precisely the working out of the logic of capitalism and the broader dialectic of human domination which produced it. Marx's dangerous alignment with scientific "progress" and the technological plundering of the natural world is only beginning to reveal its tragic consequences. We must seek to exorcise the oppressive and destructive logic of historical "progress". A narrow emphasis on labour and production have prevented Marxists and syndicalists alike from developing a strategy for human liberation that breaks with the oppressive development of capitalism — precisely because they have adopted the oppressor's own categories. Marxism and syndicalism have become aberrant forms of capitalism itself, replete with new legitimations for rapid industrialization and all its associated ills.

It is for these reasons that we have chosen to concentrate upon the community rather than the workplace as an arena for consciousness-raising and political activity. We do not intend to glorify the traditional approaches to community organizing, with all their underlying conservatism, any more than we glorify the labour movement. Rather, we embrace the community as possibly the only arena in which our natural impulses toward cooperation continue to appear despite the dehumanizing influences of the culture of rationalized production and consumption. In the community we can begin to evolve a new revolutionary culture in which people come to consciousness in the fullest sense, reflecting upon all aspects of their lives. Beginning in a community setting we can evolve new forms of organization leading not only to the "collective ownership of the means of production", but to the end of ownership itself. We shall transform ourselves at the level of face-to-face relationships in our cities and towns; here we take our stand as the heat begins to build; here begins the destruction of hierarchical society.



"modelled on the Operation Phoenix campaign in Vietnam, complete with napalm, free-fire zones and 'protected villages'." Colonel Webber was later assassinated by guerillas.

Guatemalan security forces have massacred entire families and villages in recent counter-insurgency campaigns in the resource-rich Development Zones and other areas of the north, where most of Guatemala's native people live. AI received reports that on 19 July 1981, between 150 and 300 peasants were killed when army troops bombed the village of Coya. The majority of those killed were women, children and old people. After the killings, the army reportedly piled up the bodies and hacked them to pieces using machetes. The authorities apparently said that the army had discovered and destroyed a "communist" school in Coya and that 25 "subversives" had been killed.

On 5 June, 1981, the Reagan administra-



Germany

Tu-wat

(Do Something!)

by Peter Francis

WHEN ISSUE AFTER ISSUE comes to the boiling point, and thousands of demonstrators crowd the streets prepared to defend themselves, authorities cry: "The forces of anarchy are loosed upon us!"

However premature this fear is, it is certain that in the movements growing in West Germany to counter American-instigated nuclear build up, "peaceful" nuclear power plants and to support the squatters, there is a dominant anti-authoritarian component.

A housing crisis in West Berlin, fueled by speculation, including speculation by several companies owned by the city government, has forced the homeless into direct action. The first squats were established in 1979, but the movement picked up steam thanks to attempted evictions by the police which erupted into street fighting. Now there are over 175 *besetzt* (occupied) houses.

Many of the occupied houses, although classified as slums by the city administration, are actually structurally sound, although suffering from minor deterioration from neglect.

Squatters occupy the houses autonomously, seeking to rebuild the dwellings through the re-organization of the society within them. Weekly meetings are held by occupants in which problems are discussed and work assignments distributed. Work duties are shared, including the necessary duty of watching for police raids at night.

One of the strengths of the squatters is the organization which brings hundreds of supporters instantly to the defense when police attacks are suspected.

But the crunch came after last May's elections brought conservative Richard von Weizacker of the Christian Democratic Party to power, partially on a promise to clear out the squatters.

The result was the mobilization of squatters and supporters, not only from Germany but also from neighbouring European countries. The movement *Tu-wat* (Do something) was born when the government announced an eviction of eight houses.

Given a month's warning, including the exact addresses to be cleared, squatters organized workshops, theatre, seminars, street festivals and direct action including raids on tourist shops.

A visit by American secretary of state Alexander Haig brought 80,000 people out in protest of militarism, and the action grew. Seven thousand riot troops attacked some 15,000 demonstrators who were marching to meet the general, but squatters, accustomed to the trigger tactics of West German security forces, were prepared with three ambulances and their own small hospital.

The government, who wanted evictions without negotiations, then demanded that the squatters move within 72 hours. The next day 50,000 people participated in a peaceful protest march.

Squatter supporters who volunteered to help occupy houses included doctors, lawyers and other professional types. This was not only in support of the squatters movement, but also to protect less prominent people from police brutality.

When the deadline arrived, each occupied house decided its own tactics, and all opted for passive resistance. Even though the police were informed of these decisions, they arrived a day later in numbers up to 4,000, armed with battering rams.

The TV camera present recorded the prominent supporters escorted out of the houses by smiling police, while nearby, out



of the camera's eye, police used water cannons on a group of squatters which included old people and children.

Afterwards interior minister Heinrich Lummer held a press conference in one of the cleared houses to boast of police efficiency. Groups of demonstrators gathered carrying placards depicting caricatures of Lummer as Napoleon.

Riot police charged again, and 18-year-old Klaus rattay was chased by baton-wielding police to his death beneath the wheels of a passing bus.

Squatters occupied the site of Rattay's death with flowers, and authorities attempted to clear the area using tear gas and clubs. To add insult to injury they stomped on the flowers and called in street sweepers to clear away the debris.

A week later the riots had spread to Bremen, Munich, Hanover and Goettingen. The death site remained occupied.

In Munich squatters occupied a former tobacco warehouse, but were evicted by police after a battle lasting several hours.

A pedestrian shopping mall was attacked by 400 people in Frankfurt who ended up battling 150 police. Seven police were injured with only three arrests.

The night of Rattay's death West Berlin was in flames. Barricades were set up on streets by helmeted demonstrators, supermarkets were looted, banks were smashed, a high fashion women's boutique and a porno shop were smashed. All in all 15,000 rioters firebombed four banks and hospitalized 90 police. A group of 2,000 peacefully occupying an intersection were tear gassed by police, then clubbed for not moving — even though some were unconscious from the gas. A riot by sympathizing squatters in Amsterdam led to another death when an older woman had a heart attack after being shot in the back by a tear gas canister.

A week after the attempted evictions were begun, 70,000 marched calling for Lummer's recall. The government finally wanted to negotiate, offering over 100 apartments to squatters and a promise to cease evictions. But having seen the true face of the state, the squatters have refused to negotiate until Lummer is removed.

Part of the militancy of the Berlin squatters and their supporters comes from the long campaign against the capitalist ideal of the German state and the manifestation of those ideals in nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants.

Situated at ground zero of a potential east-west conflict, Germans have increasingly realized the necessity of challenging the militarist objectives.

As well, many Germans have realized the connection between nuclear power plants, increased state security and the arms race.

Part of this awareness has been generated by The Campaign Against the Model West Germany. This campaign has produced a series of well-documented booklets designed to illuminate the repressive face of the German government.

"West Germany, with her economic strength, social-liberal government, and her generally high standard of living and progress is representative of an attempt to find a third alternative to the choice between a constant crisis in capitalism on the one hand and dictatorship or a socialist development on the other. This new development in West Germany within the last ten years is not one of open dictatorship of a fascist or Latin American type. It is the integration of organizations into the state by guaranteeing a high standard of living provided that there are no disruptions of social unrest, and through extensive control of newsmedia and other forms of publicity."

The booklet says that the model is based on the prerequisite of an end to the class struggle, and those refusing to give up that struggle face extremely repressive measures by the state.

Nuclear protesters who gathered at Kalkar in September 1977 were photographed, fingerprinted, and entered into

security computer files. A similar procedure was carried out on people attending the funeral of Gudrin Ensslin, Jan Carl Raspe and Andreas Baader several weeks later. Those identified face possible *Berufsverbote* (professional job ban), union expulsion, firing, a court case, and even imprisonment. All these measures have been made legal by the German state as well as censorship.

The capitalist press has assisted the government in depicting protesters as a violent minority opposed by the vast majority of Germans. However, among the "weapons" confiscated by police from demonstrators en route to the Kalkar demonstration included "hard hats, plastic rain coats, wooden tent pegs, goggles, lemons, scarves, gloves, lipstick, axes, trowels, camping cookers, jacks, tools of all sorts, car-repair kits, first aid kits, coke bottles and hard-boiled eggs. Those "weapons", of course, "prove" the demonstrators violent intent.

Registration of such "violent disturbers" in Federal Criminal Investigation Department's central computer has continued in earnest. The two-year-old campaign booklet states that there were over 130,000 names on that list. Further information on individuals is compiled each time they cross a border, use an airport, or undergo a traffic check.

Police actions have also been working against the activists in other ways. The legal penalties for participation in an action have been severe, often fines in the thousands of dollars. The

state's plan in this case is to divert anti-nuclear groups towards a long term fund-raising effort to raise money for the fines. Also it sets the precedent that those whom police actions are directed against are liable for the costs involved.

Police are also using their powers to check on license plate numbers of visitors to certain areas, and regularizing observation through publicly mounted TV cameras. The expectancy is that the state is moving to develop special segregated security zones.

Demonstrators have also mobilized against militarism in a growing European movement against becoming the battle field for World War III. Popular support for this anti-militarist stance has forced the West German government to cut \$87 million from defense spending. However this still leaves almost \$19 billion left for the state to spend on arms. Even this is not enough for the Americans, however, who want the Germans to spend more on the military. Currently the U.S. has over 260,000 troops and 7,000 nuclear warheads stationed in West Germany.

Some individuals and collectives have chosen an armed struggle path against the West German state. The most well-known of the armed struggle groups is the Red Army Faction, which continues the work of the discontinued June 2 Movement, both popularly known in the capitalist press as "The Baader-Meinhof Gang", after two of its founding members. Both are dead now, killed in prison.

In 1977, the June 2 Movement attempted to assassinate Alexander Haig, then commander-in-chief of NATO forces. The attempt unfortunately failed due to a slight miscalculation in the timing of an explosive device.

Many actions against US military personnel occurred last September. Two American officers were hospitalized after a bomb attack on the joint US-NATO headquarters.

On September 15, General Fredrick Kroesen survived a grenade attack thanks to the armour plate in his car. Two days later two bombs were planted outside the Rhein-Main air base, but they were defused by security police. These actions and others have been claimed by the Red Army Faction.

In a statement, the RAF indicates the necessity of seeing the anti-militarist, anti-imperialist struggle as one of life or death.

"The politics of imperialism are now seeking the military solution, and in its preparation for total destruction is showing its true self."

"A new and probably last strategic, military defeat in the 3rd world, is to be prevented through the unleashing of a war in Europe, which from the beginning has been conceived as an atomic war. The theory of 'limited war' is a perverse new variation."

"The war preparations are not aimed at dividing the world between imperialist partners. Its context is revolution or counter-revolution — and this is where the decision will fall."

"The decision of the international confrontation will ultimately be reached in the metropolises."

"It is whether the revolutionary process — destruction of the state, self determination, identity — which has in recent years achieved a ripeness and a special meaning, materializes itself or not."

"This is the question put to the whole left in Europe: in this escalated situation, in which a decision will fall, will they take up their historic task or betray it?"



Spain

Squat or be Squished

RAPID industrialization in Spain since the 1950s has encouraged mass migrations from the poverty of rural life towards the promised prosperity of life in the cities.

In the 1960s alone more than 4,000,000 people emigrated to cities resulting in a great housing shortage. In response, a massive squatting movement began.

The squatting movement was strong from 1976 until 1978. In this period there were numerous occupations in Madrid, Seville, Malaga, Las Palmas, Valladolid and Bilbao.

Co-operation was strong. Squatters and their neighbors assembled to discuss the housing shortage and to organize squats. Entire neighborhoods were mobilized. Committees were formed for different projects: locating and investigating empty living spaces; legal action committees; finance committees; organizing new squatters and newly occupied buildings; defending against eviction by security guards; spreading the fight and co-ordinating with assemblies of squatters and their supporters in other neighbourhoods.

Evictions happen only where the movement is not strongly organized. But the government has been weakening the movement everywhere. Two tactics are used: a partial alleviation of the housing crunch through new systems of allocating and distributing government housing; and the creation of Mixed Commissions with members of the government ministry and representatives from neighbourhood associations.

The creation of mixed commissions has succeeded in slowing the development of squatters' organizations and initiative. It hides the fact that government policies are the cause of the housing shortage and that the government is unable, and basically unwilling, to provide adequate housing. The commissions serve only as a buffer to the misery of living in poverty in the nation's cities.

Translated from the Spanish paper C.N.T.



Netherlands

A Squatter's Day in Amsterdam

IT IS a Saturday morning. Forty or fifty colourfully dressed squatters have gathered. Five people want to squat a house and the rest of us have come to help. People are loading furniture and material for barricades onto a van. The sun is shining.

The house we are going to take is on a busy street and we have just discovered that a strange event, a mass jogging marathon, will be passing the house all day. The street will be crowded with police and spectators.

We set off, about 70 of us now, to the empty house a few streets away. The street is crowded and police are directing traffic. We line up in front of the door, all 70 of us, and pretend to watch the joggers, clapping and cheering as loud as we can. The police smile back at us.

Behind our backs, Hans is smashing the two Yale locks with a hammer and chisel. He is nervous, and it seems to take ages. Suddenly the door is open and people are rushing in. The van pulls up and a chain of people pass the gear through the door. The door is shut, barricaded, bedsprings are nailed across the windows. A big banner flaps out from the roof—one more house has been liberated!

That was the first squat of the day, by evening we have taken four. If the house is empty and unfurnished the police cannot legally evict you—unless they find out your name. A strange law! In a few months a new law will make it much more difficult to squat.

The following Tuesday there is an eviction at the Groenburigival, we have been expecting it. Rumours have gone out that the special riot police have been seen. Informers have told us that they will come at dawn. The inhabitants of the house have barricaded it with steel plates and bars, wire mesh, trap doors, bedsprings, barbed wire...

At 4 a.m. they send out a general alarm through the squatters

telephone network. Hundreds of sleepy-eyed squatters start arriving and barricade the area, overturning cars, tearing up the cobblestones.

At 5:30 a.m. 1,000 riot police arrive in armoured trucks, with dogs, riot gear, tear gas, motorbikes, horses, bulldozers and helicopters. The barricades are set alight and abandoned as the police smash through. But it takes them three hours to break into the house, by that time large crowds have gathered. Small groups, especially the anarchists, roam around stabbing police van tires and smashing windows. That night we march around the city barricading streets, chasing police cars and smashing windows of banks and speculators. The house is lost, but the next day two are squatted.

The squatters are a strong community, against authority of all sorts. They have their own squatted pubs, cafes, cinemas, their own illegal radio, theatre, music groups, newspapers, squatters' aid groups, squatters' depots, etc. As well as houses, empty offices, factories, schools, churches, a swimming pool and even an old prison have been squatted!

The city is divided up into areas, in which squatters organize new squats and actions, which are discussed at meetings, but nobody is ordered in any way by any squatters' authority, because no authority is accepted.

The increasingly radical resistance of squatters and their supporters has led to the passing of a new law prohibiting squatting, which should be in operation by the end of 1981. Occupants of squats will be given one year to find new housing—which does not exist. 50,000 people are in need of housing in Amsterdam. Squatting will certainly go on, but the atmosphere is growing more tense.

Reprinted from the Dutch paper Tulips.



Interview with

We interviewed Murray last September here in Vancouver while he was finishing his new book, *The Ecology of Freedom*, forthcoming from Cheshire Books, 514 Bryant St., Palo Alto, CA 95301. Many of the topics discussed in this interview are dealt with more fully there and in Murray's *Post Scarcity Anarchism and Towards An Ecological Society*, both available from Black Rose Books, 3981 boul. St Laurent, Montreal, Quebec (8.95 each.) Murray also puts out an irregular newsletter, *Comment* available from P.O. Box 158, Burlington, VT 05402 (\$5/ 6 issues).

Open Road: How did your tour of Europe go last year?

Bookchin: I was there for six weeks. First in Holland where I saw the squatters' movement; it is more or less settled now. Apparently they have the sympathy, at least in Amsterdam, of most of the people I saw, ordinary citizens. Then I went to northern Belgium. Most importantly, I wound up in Germany, in Frankfurt, and I went to Freiburg where the youth movement is particularly active. I gave a talk at the autonomous youth centre, the AJZ, there. I also went to the village outside Frankfurt that had been created in the forest by people who are trying to stop runway extension to Frankfurt's airport.

The thing that struck me was that I saw 'A's all over the place in circles. Wherever there was a free 'A' lying around, like on the word "bank", they would circle it. And also the reconstructive nature of the activities. Most of the activities that I heard of are happening outside the very large cities, which are basically unmanageable—they're not scaled to those dimensions that you feel you can intervene and control. In Freiburg, which is almost a medieval town, or Nuremberg, you find the real centres of the youth movement.

In the case of the airport they had done an incredible thing; they had built houses in the forest which was to be cut down for the runway. They had tree-houses, terrestrial growings, kitchens, meeting centres—it was very well put together. And they have the support of the community.

Open Road: Is it mainly single issue organizing or is there a larger background for the activities?

Bookchin: It is a much larger context involved in all of the things that are happening in Europe that I saw. The all-embracing context right now—it exists on several levels—is a vast feeling in Europe, particularly in Germany, that the United States is going to fight its next world war in Europe. And what that means for Europe is absolutely terrifying. And so there is a tremendous public feeling against the importation of American missiles into western Europe generally, and into Germany in particular, which is supposed to be the main centre of these missiles. That's the first feeling that exists. It's so strong that it almost broke up the German Social-Democratic party.

Then there are the young people, and by-the-way many of them of working-class background, unlike the 60s, overwhelmingly of working-class background that I saw, who simply want their own culture. They've been called the no-future generation by American newspapers. They're just angry at the whole world as things stand right now.

Open Road: Are these the people that are writing the anarchist 'A's everywhere?

Bookchin: I don't know. I know that the people who paint these 'A's are not anarchists in the sense that the FAI is an anarchist in Italy or Spain. The Spanish or Italian FAI wouldn't know what to do with these people. They're wild kids apparently; they smash windows, they smoke marijuana, they listen to rock and roll music, they're not workers, their relationships are not very stable. And to many a traditional anarchist they would seem to be ruffians, thugs, youth in rebellion, nihilist.

But their attitude is not pure nihilism, which is the impression you're getting; they also want to create their own space. It's an attempt for free space. Let me put it this way, in Holland it started out as a struggle for squatters' rights, and in Germany and even more so in Switzerland, it turned from squatters' rights into free space, not just rent-free homes. And youth by the thousands have been trying to establish autonomous youth centres which are unsupervised. Not that the governments don't want to give them youth centres, but the authorities want to supervise them. For them it's a question of their own culture, in its own way, with new wave type music, punk rock and the like, opposing the official culture of the adult world.

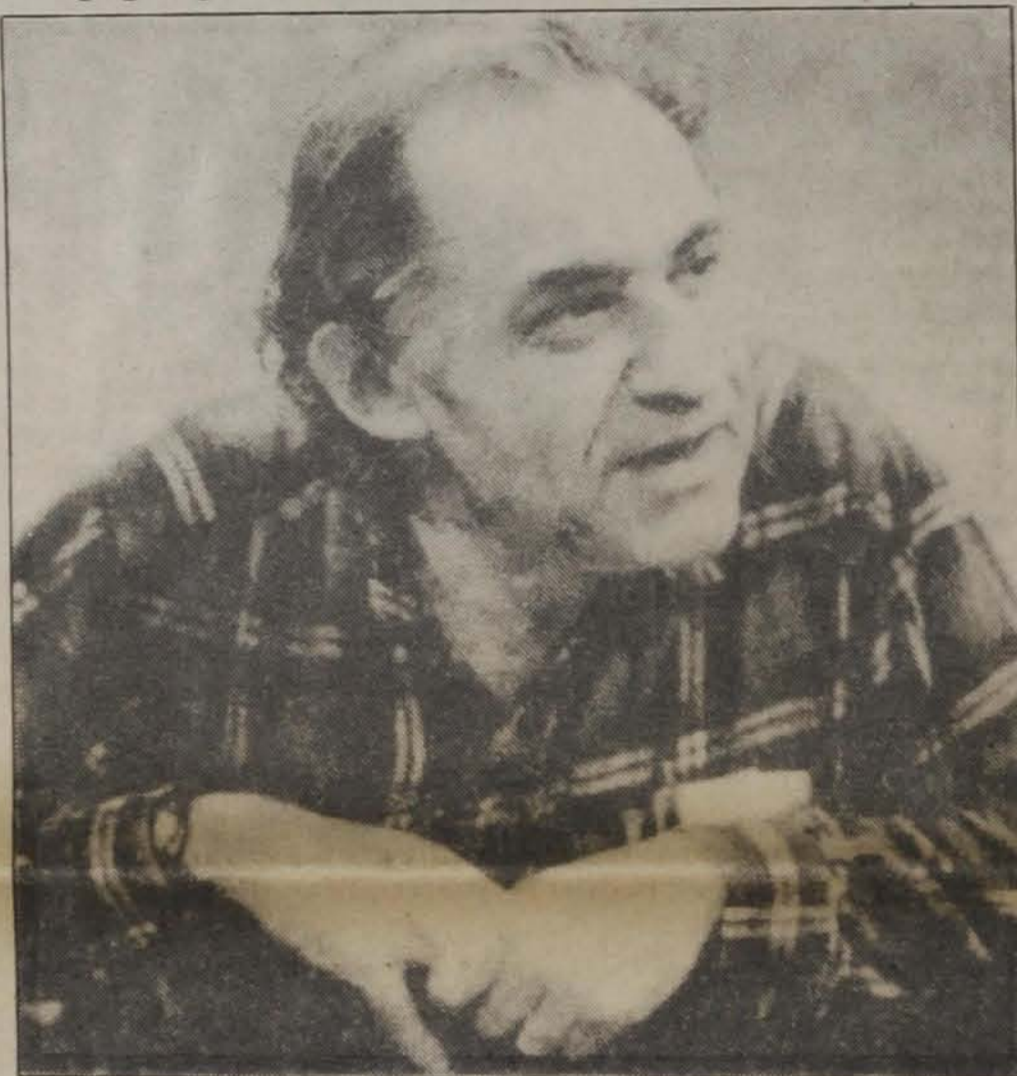
There are two interesting things about the autonomous youth centres. The first thing is they are extremely libertarian: there's an open microphone, for example, in Zurich in the youth centre, and as many as several thousand people, probably as many as three thousand at times, will gather and they will just walk up to the open microphone and say whatever they want to say. And ultimately with this give and take, without any chairpeople or committees running the meeting, they get something done. And they do get it done. So that's the first aspect: the extremely libertarian dimension of their organization. This is real, and it happens once a week, at least while I was there.

The second thing that's very impressive is the way their autonomous youth centres have been organized, how effectively they've been put together. They have cafeterias; they have food services; they provide dwellings for people; they have meeting centres, craft shops. In Freiburg they have a very elaborate organization, basically anarchistic in character. I spoke to the Freiburg group at their youth centre which had been donated to them by a private individual because the one

they had seized was completely occupied by the local police and it was strung around with barbed wire; it looked like a military fortress. They had been dispossessed of that youth centre. They were using almost all the space they have for cultural reasons, not simply music but food and crafts, carpentry, glassworks—making windows. They were patching it up and working on it. Lots of exciting slogans, like the numerous "we're many," "we're beautiful," "we're wonderful," all with big 'A's.

Since most of the governments in power are socialist and Marxist, at least in origin, they've identified Marxism and the people in the 60s who became Marxists, with the state and with the official society. In other words, you don't have to convince them on anarchism because they have seen socialism at work, at least in social-democratic forms. So they identify Marx, or Marxism, or Marxists, with official society. They've taken a bigger leap than we have.

So I think it is important to get the message across of one, how this movement has evolved from squatters to free space; two, how it has grown from an uncontrolled youth culture—basically working-class in background—and thirdly, to emphasize its constructive side, not just its so-called nihilistic side. These young people form the background of much of the anti-nuclear, ecological, and anti-war or anti-militarist activities that exist in Europe. They're the real demonstrators that get things going in demonstrations.



Open Road: This revival of social activity by youth seems to be confined to Europe at this time.

Bookchin: The fact that Europe still has a certain sense of community has given them an edge over us in North America. But I don't know that it's totally disappeared in North America; I just think that it's taken a different form. I mean, we're a continent. Europeans, although they belong to a continent, don't think in the continental terms that we do, and aren't as spread out as we are. There's greater continuity, there's greater closeness. Holland is a postage-stamp country. Amsterdam is a city that's completely understandable. Frankfurt, on the other side, which is this large city, doesn't have the equivalent of what I found in Zurich. I'm beginning to discover that a lot of things that are happening, when they do happen, happen in small areas. Areas where there is still some sense of community, not only in Europe but even in North America. In Burlington, Vermont, for example, which is really my home town, it's possible to do things politically that are impossible in New York City. All I know is that it's not accidental, to some extent, that much of the youth culture or youth revolt that's taking place in Europe is taking place in smaller towns.

My concern is to develop a North American type of anarchism that comes out of the American tradition, or that at least can be communicated to Americans and that takes into consideration that Americans are not any longer people of European background. Another consideration is to find out what is the real locus of libertarian activity. Is it the factory? Is it the youth? Is it the schools? Is it the community?

The only conclusion I could arrive at with the death of the workers' movement as a revolutionary force—you know the imagery of the proletarian vanguard, or proletarian hegemony—has been the community.

I've tried to start up from a different perspective involving a broader ecological perspective perhaps, and more or less updating my thinking historically, to many of the ideas expressed in *Mutual Aid* by Kropotkin (which doesn't mean I'm a Kropotkinite). And I've gone toward an idea which in fact Kropotkin played around with a great deal, and which unfortunately acquired a bad name because it was associated with a French anarchist, Paul Brousse, who became a reformist...

I've followed Brousse's career very carefully and I don't know that you necessarily have to wind up in the type of situation where Brousse did. And that is to restore the image of the commune, the revolutionary commune, the neighbourhoods, the townships, in which the factories at best would be part of the community, not the factories usurping the com-

munity. This is anarcho-communalism in the full sense of the word. Thus I would like to believe that the arena would be an attempt to restore the revolutionary communal situation that existed in the 19th century and that I think can exist today even though we have tremendous crisis and division in the cities.

The goal would be basically to try to revive civic organizations which would aim for the municipalization, the equivalent of collectivization of industry, of land, and create assemblies in the smaller communities, or many such assemblies federated in the larger communities.

As for the workers' movement, I find that I reach workers more easily as neighbours than I do standing outside the factory despairingly giving out a leaflet telling them to take over, say the Ford plant. This doesn't mean, of course, that you may not have worker's movements developing, but the real question is whether or not one is going to have a unionist orientation or a communal orientation, whether the factories link with factories or the factories link with the people in the community. This is reinforced in my opinion by my conviction that the American middle class is being wiped out. In fact I believe that's probably going to happen in much of North America through inflation, taxation...

Open Road: One of the obstacles to a municipal or community movement in North America would be the absolute lack of community in this society. There's no interaction among people in neighbourhoods anymore.

Bookchin: Admittedly that's so, but the problem of reviving it is another issue that has to be discussed. How about trying to revive it? I can't think of any other arena in which to function as an anarchist.

Open Road: What about the alternative of rather than working within an existing geographical community, stepping outside of that whole grouping with one's peers and building a base—rather than starting from within and all the compromises that would entail?

Bookchin: That's one way of looking at it. And another way is starting from within but not within institutions, but creating counter institutions in their own community. Suppose you have food co-ops that interlink with, possibly, alternative schools. This is purely hypothetical. Right now there is a great deal of passivity; people are watching and waiting. And there is a very strong feeling of powerlessness. So, admittedly, if you were to point to institutions that exist right now in North America, or for that matter to a great extent in Europe, I would certainly agree with you. There is nothing to work with. But the point is what could we work with, or what could we try to create. And one of the things we can try to create would be the food co-ops, the health centres, the women's centres, educational centres, even protective centres for elderly people in crime-ridden areas. In some instances even certain social services that normally were supplied, or preempted by the state. Take the United States, the Reagan administration is withdrawing assistance, all kinds of welfare programs, and if people don't improvise their own resources to cope with problems of the ageing, problems of the sick, problems of the young, problems of the poor, problems of tenant rights, who will? And out of this may come the possibility of creating counter institutions, which I don't believe in and of themselves are going to replace the existing institutions, but could be a dropping off point for the development of attitudes, techniques, and the practice of self-management.

Open Road: Getting back to the libertarian municipalism, what you're emphasizing is creating decentralized, democratic assemblies?

Bookchin: Yes. You see my residence is in New England, and New England has a strong tradition of localism. What is ordinarily called election day in most of the United States is called town meeting day in Vermont. And there are town meetings that are to one degree or another active, however vestigial their powers. They, for example, banned uranium mining in the Green Mountains of Vermont. And the governor of the state was forced to knuckle down to that even though he wanted uranium mining. A number of town meetings—not very large a number but at least a majority of those who had it on their agenda—voted for a nuclear arms moratorium. They're taking up issues like that at town meetings. What we would like to do if we could is foster, at least in Vermont, greater local power, discussions around issues that are not simply immediate local issues. We would like to raise broad issues at these town meetings and turn them into discussion arenas and interlink the various assemblies and town meetings or try to help create growth of this type of local municipal power—communal power—with a view toward, very frankly, establishing a grass-roots self-management institutional framework or network. Now this may be a pure dream, a hopeless ideal, but it's meaningless for us to go to factories, I can tell you that much.

For me it's meaningless to function in a very large city like New York, because I don't think that one should measure the social-weight of an area by the number of people it has. I think it should be measured by the quality of the politics involved. New York has a tremendous number of people but the quality of its politics is unspeakable. By contrast, in a smaller township, I find there's a great deal of social awareness, less of a sense of powerlessness, less of a polarization of economic life. More people have been affected, in an amusing sense, by the fact that Burlington elected a socialist mayor—and I'm not con-

Murray Bookchin

cerned with elections at the moment: I'm concerned with what are called impacts—than they are by a demonstration for El Salvador in New York.

Open Road: *One thing you mentioned is the danger of counter-institutions and projects becoming co-opted. Couldn't they be used to supplement deteriorating social services and merely obscure the real nature of the state?*

Bookchin: Yeah, that could happen. And that's why I think an anarchist consciousness is necessary and why an anarchist movement is necessary. There is nothing that can't be, at least hypothetically, co-opted, including anarchism. I've seen the professionalization of anarchism in a number of universities. That's not what I'm saying. What I'm addressing myself to is an anarchist theory of community and community activities. I'm not speaking of these things just occurring without any consciousness, intuitively or instinctively, merely in reaction to things that the state power does.

My feeling is that anarchists have to think in terms of a specific. I think the dispersal of anarchists all over the place, particularly very gifted ones who can turn out periodicals and do very effective public work, and their tendency to just pick up and take off is a liability. What I'm trying to do in Burlington is to help foster the development of a group of anarchists who will pick up on American radical tradition, or confederal traditions which might even exist in Canada as well. And I'm more interested in seeing some good examples established here, there and anywhere, than I am in seeing an attempt to build mass movements that in fact involve the dissolution of almost any movement in an amorphous mass that is politically very passive.

Open Road: *What authentic North American radical traditions can you see us building on?*

Bookchin: What I'd like to see developing is an American radicalism, libertarian in character, which relies, however weak, faint, and even mythic these traditions may be, on the American libertarian tradition—I don't mean right-wing libertarianism obviously. I'm talking of the idea, basically very widespread in America, that the less government the better, which is obviously being used to the advantage of the big corporations, but none-the-less has very radical implications. The idea of a people that exercises a great deal of federalist or confederalist control, the ideal of a grass-roots type of democracy, the idea of the freedom of the individual—which is not to get lost in the mazes of anarcho-egotism a la Stirner, or for that matter right-wing libertarianism. So I feel that now we have some opportunity in North America to go back and say the American Revolution was the real thing. I don't want to think any longer simply in terms of the Spanish Revolution or the Russian Revolution. It doesn't make any sense to talk Makhno to an American.

Open Road: *What sort of activities would you suggest that conscious anarchists be doing?*

Bookchin: At this point in North America the most important thing they can do is educate themselves, develop a propaganda machinery in the form of books and periodicals, a literature, engage in discussion groups that are open to a community, to discuss and develop their ideas and to develop networks. I think it's terribly important that networks of anarchists establish themselves with a view toward educating people. In my case I would emphasize anarcho-communalism, along with the ecological questions, the feminist questions, the anti-nuclear issues that exist, and along with the articulation of popular institutions in the community. I think it's terribly important for anarchists to do that because at this moment not very much is happening anywhere in North America. This may be a period of time, and a very valuable period of time of preparation, intellectually, emotionally and organizationally. My main interests right now are to publish, to write, to explicate various views which I hope have an impact on thinking people.

I know one thing: that you can do a lot of things but if you don't educate people into conscious anarchism it gets frittered away. In the 60s there were a lot of things which were anarchistic, May-June '68 was riddled by anarchistic sentiments, dreams and ideals, but in so far as this was not strengthened organizationally and intellectually by a very effective, powerful infrastructure, then what happens is the movement becomes dissipated.

Open Road: *What kind of balance do you find between a Marxist or historical materialist concept of necessary conditions, and the idea of anarchism as an act of will, anarchism as voluntarism, anarchism as a potential in any historical situation according to the desire, consciousness, etc., of those who advocate it?*

Bookchin: I'm less influenced by any of Marx's ideas today than I've ever been in my life, and most significantly Marx's theory of historical materialism, which I think is virtually a debris of despotism. But to respond very directly to what you said, I'm by no means convinced that capitalism and the development of technology has made anarchism easier. On the contrary, it has imposed tremendous difficulties by reinforcing domination and hierarchy with instrumentalities, techniques, from electronic devices to thermo-nuclear bombs and neutron bombs, has reinforced hierarchy and domination on a scale that I could never have even foreseen, say in my youth, when I was a radical and a Marxist at that time. But here's what I do believe very strongly: that once capitalism comes into existence, once it creates this mythology of a stingy nature, then that myth has to be exorcised. In other words, we

have to get out of people's heads the idea that without a market economy, without egotism, competition, rivalry and self-interest, without all the technological advances that Marx imputed to capitalism, we have to eliminate the feeling that we would sink into some kind of barbarism. We have to give people the freedom to choose lifestyles and material satisfactions that suit their needs, and we have to redefine need itself. We can't redefine need among ghetto people by telling them we should all give up our TV sets or automobiles; we have to tell them there's enough to go around, now let's talk about using it sensibly. So in that sense I speak of post-scarcity because my concern is to eliminate the sense of scarcity that people feel. Capitalism has created a situation called scarcity. And that scarcity is not natural, it's socially induced. Along with that sense of scarcity, or feeling of scarcity, is a feeling of economic insecurity. Along with that is a feeling of deprivation... And unless we can demonstrate that that feeling is not justified technologically, we will not be able to speak intelligently to the great majority of people and reorganize our economy so that we really know what needs are rational and human and what have been created, almost fetishistically, by the capitalist economy. What I'm saying in effect is we have to say the goodies are all here to be had, but to what extent do we really want them and to what extent are they goodies? As long as we feel that we can't have them, we'll want them and we'll make them central to our lives.

I've been criticized by many anarchists as believing that anarchism is impossible without affluence. On the contrary, I think affluence is very destructive to anarchism. If you are absorbed by that commodity world then you're not going to move toward any radical positions, you're going to move toward a stance of protectiveness.

Open Road: *On the other hand, it is those affluent countries in Europe—Switzerland, Germany—which seem to be developing the rebellious youth movement.*

Bookchin: That's an intriguing fact. I have been criticized for pointing out that anarchism is likely to flourish more easily, at least in the western world, and to a certain extent in eastern Europe, in those areas where there is either grim need or considerable technological development. Since you've pointed this out, I'll be the last one in the world to deny that. But I don't believe that you can make a whole historical theory out of it. That's very important to see.

After reading *The Great Transformation* by Karl Polanyi I realized that capitalism did not naturally grow as Marx would imply by his theory of historical materialism. People were dragged into capitalism screaming, shouting, and fighting all along the way, trying to resist this industrial and commercial world. And I'm convinced more than ever that capitalism, with its technological development, has not been an advance toward freedom but has been an enormous setback of freedom. I am more disenchanted with "civilization"—which does not mean that I'm a primitivist—than I've ever been in my life. In *The Ecology of Freedom*, my critique of what is called civilization and industrial society is massive, and my attack upon Marx's commitment to it as a necessary stage in human progress and the domination of nature is very sharp.

Open Road: *Is there a necessity for a spiritual or religious idea in addition to practical, every-day demands, in organizing, as a unifying bond for a political or social movement?*

Bookchin: I believe that there has to be an ideal and I favour an ethical anarchism which can be cohered into an ideal. I believe that it's terribly important to have a movement that is spiritual—not in the supernatural sense, but in the sense of German *Geist* spirit, which combines the idea of mind together with feeling, together with intuition. I'm sorry that some self-styled anarchists have picked up on the word spirit and have turned me into a theological ecologist, a notion which I think is crude beyond all belief. There has to be a body of values, I would prefer to call them ecological because my image of ecology goes beyond nature and extends into society as a whole—not to be confused in any way with socio-biology, which I think is an extremely regressive, reactionary tendency...

Open Road: *Anarchism and its various qualifiers—communalist, syndicalist, eco-, collectivist, etc.—seems to have a pretty nebulous identity at the present time.*

Bookchin: We have to clarify the meaning of the word. We have to give it a rich content. And that content has to stand apart from a critique of other ideologies, because the way you sharpen a knife is, frankly, on a grindstone. And the grindstone for me is Marxism. I've developed my anarchism, my critique of Marxism—which has been the most advanced bourgeois ideology I know of, into a community of ideas and ultimately a common sense of responsibilities and commitments. I don't think anarchism consists of sitting down and saying let's form a collective. I don't think it consists of saying we're all anarchists: you're an anarcho-syndicalist; you're an anarcho-communist; you're an anarcho-individualist. I believe that anarchists should agree to disagree but not to fight with each other. We don't have to go around as the Protestant reformation did, or as the socialist revolution did, and execute each other as soon as we are successful—assuming we'll ever be successful. But I believe that if we do have a commonality of beliefs we should clarify them, we should strengthen their coherence and we should also develop common projects that produce a lived community of relationships. And also we should try to become better people, ethically speaking, reflect upon ourselves and our very limited existences and develop a

sense of tolerance for each other, as well as for other anarchist groups with which we may disagree. But we're not committed to toeing a line called anarchism; there are many different anarchisms. My anarchism is frankly anarcho-communalism, and it's eco-anarchism as well. And it's not oriented toward the proletariat. I would like to see a critical mass of very gifted anarchists come together in an appropriate place in order to do highly productive work. That's it. I don't know why that can't be done except for the fact that I think that people mistrust their own ideals today. I don't think that they don't believe in them; I think they mistrust the viability of them. They're afraid to commit themselves to their ideals.

You see something very important is happening. Personality is being eaten out, and with that the idealism that always motivated an anarchist movement—the belief in something, the ideal that there is something worth fighting for.

I'm much more interested in developing human character in this society. And I'm much more interested in the social conditions that foster commitment to ideals, a sense of solidarity, purposeness, steadfastness, responsibility...

Open Road: *I'm not that clear on what you were suggesting when you said you felt that highly gifted anarchists should get together in one location and...*

Bookchin: Anarchists should get together who agree, and develop their gifts at a critical point, in a critical place, and form genuine affinity groups in areas where they can have certain results, notable results—not move into areas of great resistance where they're almost certain to be crushed, defeated, demoralized. And secondly, I would not want to be in the same movement with an anarcho-syndicalist, however much I may respect and like that person. Some of my best friends are anarcho-syndicalists. I mean, I realize that we do not have a commonality, even a language, that makes it possible for us to communicate.

Open Road: *How do you feel about the developing "doctrine of Bookchinism" around your ideas?*

Bookchin: Terms that are related to individuals like Marxist, or Hegelian, or Bakuninist, or Kropotkinist, are completely outside my intellectual and emotional horizon. I'm a follower of no one; I'm a Bookchinite, and nobody has a right to claim that but me. When I die Bookchinism comes to an end, and all the allusions to it both among Marxists and anarchists... (lots of laughter).



In the Beginning...

THE A in the circle is so well known and recognized it is considered a traditional anarchist symbol that has always existed. Actually it is a newcomer to libertarian iconography. The A in the circle was born in 1964.

In April 1964 a proposal for a graphic symbol for anarchism appeared in the internal bulletin of the *Jeunesses Liberales*. Why this proposal?

There were two main reasons: to find a simple graphic which reduced to a minimum the time needed to sign slogans on walls; and to find a symbol sufficiently general which could be adopted by all kinds of anarchists.

Why the capital A in a circle? Presumably it was derived from the antimilitarist symbol — CND "fork" symbol was replaced with the initial letter of the work anarchy (in all European languages).

"The symbol we propose," *Jeunesses Liberales* wrote, "fulfills these criteria. By constantly associating it with written anarchist propaganda it will eventually end up evoking the idea of anarchism on its own."

The proposal did not then bear fruit. But in 1966 the young anarchists of the *Sacco and Vanzetti* group in Milan took up the symbol again. From 1966 to 1968 the symbol appears to have been used only in Milan. Then, with the explosions of May 1968, use of the A in the circle exploded too. Re-exported to Paris, it appeared on walls, posters and flags, and from there its use spread all over the world.

The reason for such widespread use? The great simplicity and immediacy made the A a powerful graphic symbol. And it became attached to a "new" movement — young, expanding rapidly, and in need of a unifying symbol. In the absence of any anarchist symbol at the international level, and faced with inadequate national or local symbols, the A in the circle "imposed" itself, without any federation or group "decreeing" its application.

Roadside Notes

Armchair Anarchism

An Open Letter to Anti-Authoritarians:

There is a problem among many of us that is being avoided. It is the near bankruptcy of radicals who do little more than analyze and publish.

This criticism was originally part of a response to a controversial and slanderous article about the prison movement and Carl Harp which appeared in *Strike!* (formerly the *North American Anarchist*). *Strike!* ran my response to the article but cut out this criticism. Maybe it was too close to home?

When I first received the article that *Strike!* later reprinted (it was in the form of an open letter) I was worried that some anti-authoritarian publication would reprint it just to generate controversy — it sells papers, eh?

Later I was in Washington State visiting Carl Harp in prison. He had just sent out an open letter describing the contract put out on his life by fascist guards. None of the anti-authoritarians living there gave any help. But they discussed extensively whether to reprint the article. (*Strike!* hadn't done so yet). They decided not to and two prominent individuals wrote good criticisms of the article.

When I asked why no help was shown for Carl, the typical responses were, "We're too busy." "The prison scene isn't our field." "We're not close with Harp." I was a bit pissed off because I found they were indeed very busy with talk and radical literature. While they weren't involved with anti-prison work, they did spend a fair amount of collective time on that article. So did numerous other anti-authoritarian media makers. And, after all, the death threat was from guards in their own back yard.

Soon afterwards, Carl was murdered. One of those prominent Washington anti-authoritarians issued a press release saying we must not let ourselves become inactive, abandoning prisoners to their fate. "Whatever the exact level of support we can provide, such an involvement is the best, most meaningful response to Carl's death." Carl's widow went around trying to get support to indict the state and take some actions to protect the other prisoners. These anti-authoritarians froze her out. One sent her a letter asking for evidence that would disprove the charges the article made against her dead husband. Then when *Strike!* printed responses to the article, only mine was from someone participating in anti-prison work.

That event illustrates a too common example of how our movement responds to oppression — lots of flutter while the issue is drowned in words. Literature and jive talk must be the opiates of the Left. Our movement has an extremely large number of spectators who analyze situations, but won't act on them; who criticize activists — but aren't activists; and, reaching absurdity, develop ultra-theory without any practice to validate it.

The effect of this hypocrisy is betrayal. It leads to the objectification and alienation of real people and real events by spectators. That's why *Strike!* can print an article trashing the prison movement and a revolutionary inside — because it's not real to them. They're not involved.

As long as the anti-authoritarian movement is occupied communicating, its people are off the streets and out of trouble. They're not developing or exercising necessary skills of direct-action, civil disobedience, organizing, fighting and winning. Revolutionary politics remain largely an armchair activity.

Those who are active find themselves fighting alone. Take the example of Harp when he had the contract on his life. Except for a few people, everyone else did sweet fuck all to help save him.

What could they do? They had no skills in real them-vs-us politics. It has all been a media trip. There were no demonstrations demanding his protection, or threats of resistance or retaliation. Shit, in London, people protesting his murder created havoc with the American embassy.

The tragedy is that for most people who consider themselves radicals, events such as

the murder of a jailhouse revolutionary will just be another thing to read and chit-chat about.

I'm not advocating abandoning our media and discussions. But no struggle for freedom was ever advanced by radicals who avoided direct involvement as much as our movement does. What's the use of all our radical media and inflammatory talk when it's often a substitute for ACTION?

The job of radicals is not as much to ponder reality but to change it! Sit-ins, strikes, protests, phone calls, building new ways, occupations, consciousness raising, support, sabotage, demonstrations, destructions, defending your gains, takeovers, newsletters, jamming the state, guerilla theatre, visiting, arm-in-arm, door-to-door, etc. *Practice what you preach.* As for myself, I'm finishing my commitment to the upcoming issue of the *Anarchist Black Dragon* and returning to more direct participation with the issues at hand. I've co-opted myself too much as a producer and distributor of radical publications.

Ron Reed
Montreal, Quebec

Why Wychoff?

Friends,

In her "Screw the State..." article, Hogie Wyckoff asks, "Who was there to teach us to do what feels right instead of fitting into prescribed life patterns?" Interestingly, none of the criticisms of the piece by the *Open Road* staff raised the point that Wyckoff does not offer any real alternatives to those "prescribed life patterns". All of the "alternatives" she offers are either extremely common or simply trivial variations on existing patterns. What real difference does it make if couples are of the same sex or opposite sex? What real difference does it make if a couple is monogamous or non-monogamous?

Wyckoff's "alternatives" do not offer a hint of relief from the economic and social problems besetting all those people involved in "prescribed life styles". Given the economic inefficiency of single adult and couple arrangements, it's not surprising that people spend a great deal of time and energy obtaining the basics of survival. This results in both a suppression of rebelliousness and a weakening of the ability to sustain rebellious activities (eg. strikes). It should also be pointed out that one of the proffered "alternatives" (the single parent) quite often results in both the parent and child being dependent upon the tender mercies of the state.

Socially, Wyckoff's "alternatives" also have serious drawbacks. Adults, in situations where children are present, spend a hell of a lot of time on housework and physical maintenance. This diminishes the amount of time and energy available to invest in social actions. The dependence of children inhibits the ability of those adults to engage in any form of risk-taking activity. It's generally conceded that children should be exposed to a wide range of adult role models. In situations where kids are exposed to only one or two primary adult role models, the results are often tragic if the adult(s) are sick. Screwed up kids usually end up as screwed-up adults; and screwed-up adults are not effective revolutionaries. Finally, Wyckoff's "alternatives" fail to address a problem of couple-type relationships: emotional over-dependence on one other person caused by putting all one's emotional eggs in one basket. This combined with economic vulnerability, helps to produce the reactionary "us-against-the-world" mentality so prevalent in this culture.

Wyckoff's solutions are no solutions. They are suggestions which would maintain the social status quo while making cosmetic changes. The "alternatives" she proposes would still leave economically/socially isolated and vulnerable individuals and couples.

Are there any real alternatives to "prescribed life styles"? One is multi-person relationships. At least such relationships could minimize the problems I've outlined in my criticism of the article.

Transforming society is a very difficult task. A good place for us to start would be to truly transform our interpersonal relationships.

Chuck Bufe

Dear Open Road:

While I found the article "Screw the state, caress your lovers" somewhat facile, and lacking in social analysis, I reacted more negatively to some of the criticisms of the article. Especially frustrating was: "We want to work towards better relationships not only because they're a desirable end in themselves but also because they may help us be more effective in actual revolutionary work." Ahhhh! The implication is that working toward better relationships is not *actual* revolutionary work, that the revolution takes place in the streets but not in the homes, not in the daily interactions between people. The revolution is a process of change which we must integrate into all aspects of our lives. To make a distinction between the personal and the political is to buy into the capitalist motif: to dichotomize, to hide the connections.

Changing the economic/political system is the simplest aspect of revolutionary change. Just as we must create economic alternatives, we must change the power relationships that exist between us as human beings. It is in our first personal relationships — in our families — that we learn about authority, hierarchy, POWER; that we learn all the assumptions that the capitalist system rests on. In changing our personal relationships, making them cooperative, loving and supportive, we will achieve the basis of a truly egalitarian society. Personal change is integral to revolutionary change.

Sincerely,
Jim Pfeiffer
Providence, RI

Open Roaders,

I've just finished reading "Screw the State, caress your lovers" — not a very appropriate title as there is no connection between the political and the personal on any significant level in the article. It would have been better left unprinted. I also had some real problems with what was said in objection to the article. As these are the views of members of your collective, I feel it more important to deal with these statements.

You say, "We want to work towards better relationships not only because they're a desirable end in themselves but also because they may help us be more effective in actual revolutionary work." This follows the traditional leftist view of politics and personal life as separate. While "work towards better relationships," may help us be more effective in "actual revolutionary work", Bakunin forbid that we should see them as the same! This is the ass-backwards logic the leninists are guilty of. We work towards better relationships in order to be more effective revolutionaries. By making revolution itself the goal you mystify it and, like leninists, demand that we sacrifice ourselves to the Revolution. Revolution is not an end in itself; it is the means toward another end: real human community, the possibility of liberated relationships — with ourselves, each other and will all of nature.

In your comments you imply that human community is not possible under capitalism, but you don't conclude that this might be one goal of revolution. It would have been far more revolutionary to say: "We want to work toward revolution not because it's a desirable end in itself, but because it will open the possibility of truly liberated relationships and real human community."

You also say, "Any human endeavor of beauty and inspired substance requires pain and great struggle for its backbone and our search for a way around this will leave our politics as shallow as our relationships seem to be." Due to the control of our lives by institutions dedicated to the rule of commodity and so inherently against beauty and inspired substance, I'll grant that social revolution will involve some pain and struggle. I'll even grant that human endeavor of beauty and inspired substance, *under the rule of capital*, involves pain and struggle. But in your statement you slip beyond leninism into christian morality. Pain and struggle are not the backbone for human endeavor. They are the opposite, the reaction of an oppressive system to this endeavor. It is christian to idealize pain and struggle. Anti-Authoritarian revolutionaries should recognize pain and struggle as oppressive reaction to beautiful and inspired human endeavor. The way around this pain and struggle may involve having to go through it, but we go through it in order to get beyond.

These statements were blatant examples of a philosophy that has permeated *Open Road*:

that revolution is an end rather than the means. This philosophy has allowed you to write sympathetically of authoritarian guerillas struggling not to free people but to represent them. It has also allowed you to write glowingly of the IWW and the CNT both of which see a future society in which people's activity continues pretty much the same as now. In the same issue you will carry articles supportive of the urban Indians who are against every aspect of this society.

These groupings have different and conflicting goals; yet you praise them all, because they are "revolutionary". Unless you define why you want revolution you will remain self-contradictory and your politics will be shallow to the point of meaninglessness. It is imperative that differentiations be made, that the myth of unity be squashed. Your uncritical perspective causes you to appear to be part of a movement that includes many ugly, authoritarian left fascist groups. If that's what you want then you're not on my side, though I had thought you were. I do not want that revolution, not for its own sake, but for what I hope it will bring.

Sincerely,
David N. DeVries
San Francisco, U.S. of A.

Green is a cute colour

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

The last *O.R.* (#12) is a beautiful piece of work. I like best Rosa Collette's "Operators Dial Direct Action". Here was a piece of journalism that was reality *and* literature. If there is a Pulitzer Prize for anarchist writing, I'd vote that Collette get the award!

"Black and Green" is also an interesting work. Traditionally "Black and Red" spoke of revolutionary sacrifice and struggle to abolish the oppressive state. Green is a cute colour. It speaks of fields and forests, and is very ecological (i.e. contemporary). But it seems a cop-out: without shedding of blood — only with contemplation, conferences in Vermont — anarchism won't be achieved. By vote, with the built-in bourgeois safeguards for the status-quo, capitalism won't be toppled. Look at Chile. The bourgeoisie and the latifundieri allowed as a safety-valve the Marxist Allende to come by legitimate vote to power, but only to go so far. When he began expropriating their holy and sacred private property, the butcher Pinochet shot him with a cannon... Spartacus J.

N.Y., N.Y., U.S. of A.

The Dragon Speaks

Dear Open Road:

You know, it's really amazing how most people in prison can organize to rob, rape, beat, and murder each other. But very rarely can these same prisoners organize to fight the only enemy of us all.

It's kind of frustrating to do anything positive in prison against the enemy and watch one's back, too. And it's really heartbreaking to see all the enemy-made ignorance that is so well ingrained in the thoughts and actions of prisoners. Especially when we all know it is ignorance.

Sexism in prison is sadly funny. It doesn't matter who is on top or who is on the bottom — it's still a homosexual act. Most people in prison are either bisexual or have had a homosexual encounter. So why do we disrespect each other? Why do we treat homosexuals worse than rats? Shouldn't we feel ashamed of the way we treat other human beings? Buying and selling other prisoners, having sex with them and putting them down, raping, robbing, beating and murdering them because they are weak and/or gay, is sickening and makes us just as much of a PIG as the enemy. We are all prisoners in here, no matter who we think we are. Why can't we come together against our real enemy?

And let's discuss racism in prison. Don't you feel ridiculous calling another Brother or Sister a "nigger", a "honkey", or whatever — and wanting a riot — especially when you know we're all "niggers" in the eyes of the enemy? The enemy loves it when we fight and kill one another. Who wins in a race riot? The Whites? The Blacks? The Browns? If you picked any colour you're wrong. It's the enemy who wins. The old divide and conquer game is all that racism is.

Sexism and racism are products and tools of the enemy. He uses them to keep us as slaves! If you are not a slave and don't wish to be, then STOP THE FUCKING IGNORANCE!

There is no reason, no justification, for what we do to each other in here, especially when we all know who the real enemy is. For any of us to be free, to even survive individually and collectively, we *must* make change. We can only do that by changing ourselves and the world around us. As long as we play games with each other — rob, rape, beat, and murder each other — we cannot even think about change and *real* freedom, we cannot call ourselves human beings.

We can begin the process of change anytime we desire by not doing negative things to each other and by organizing with friends against those who do. We can all put it back on the enemy by confronting him with it and demanding that it stop. If that doesn't work, we can force him to stop it in any manner that is necessary. We have the right to self-defence. Pass the word — WE ARE ALL ONE AND WE ARE NOT THE ENEMY. UNITE! FIGHT IGNORANCE!

Nothing to lose but our chains.

A.B.D.C. (Anarchist Black Dragon Collective)

Washington State, U.S. of A.

Jesus who? To Hell with Heaven

Dear O.R. comrades;

I'd like to reply to the engaging letter of the Quaker from Indiana:

Hi, D.S., you seem like a searching guy and an honest soul — that's why I bother. Jesus was a good and sincere man and a revolutionary for his times. What he said and the way he said it made sense for his times and in the environment he was in. Today he and his teachings are archaic and irrelevant. You might as well believe that Alexander the Great was Son of God. Why not? He and his mother claimed he was fathered by Zeus and not by Philip. And everybody knows Zeus is the top god in the universe. You see, this business of

"sons-of-gods", "enlightened Buddhas", "exalted Confucii", "Holy circumcised Mohammed", "great-balls-of-fire-Moses", etc., is a lot of crock for the illiterate masses who slowly but surely have raised their level of knowledge to the point where they want a good life here on earth and to hell with the promise of the beautiful afterlife in paradise.

To be of "Christian orientation", as you admit, is not a boast. It is a sorry admission of a state of frozen mental development. Sorry to come a bit hard on you, but we all have the duty to help awaken our sleeping and confused brothers and sisters. Read not Fox, Dale Carnegie, Joseph Smith or Billy Graham — it is a waste of time or worse — but read the works of Bakunin, Marx, Kropotkin, Durutti. Yours in the struggle for decent life, Elko Sofiyanez, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S. of A.

Stick 'em up

Dear Open Road:

I read your article on the revolt of the poster people with great interest. Here in Seattle, we have experienced an explosion in posterism over the last couple of years. I myself am a professional poster person; the rate is 10c per poster plus the cost of staples. I personally know of six different people who make their living putting up flyers and posters on telephone poles and other outside locations.

There are laws here against putting up posters, but not strictly enforced. I've been stopped by police a few times, and I watch pretty carefully, too, but so far I haven't received a ticket which could cost up to \$500 and/or six months in jail! It's hard to imagine what the reaction would be to a crackdown on posterism, but perhaps it would take the form of the Vancouver rebellion. At any rate, I just want you to know that I am totally in favour of your movement, and that I am demonstrating poster solidarity with y'all. Keep on putting those posters right on!

Yours truly,

Ike Horn
Seattle, Wash.,
U.S. of A.

Pacific Life Community is organizing non-violent resistance to the Trident nuclear submarine base in Washington state. This summer they plan to take direct action against the U.S.S. Ohio, the first Trident submarine to enter the Pacific Northwest region. People interested in supporting or participating in the action should contact: **Pacific Life Community, 538A Yates St. Victoria, B.C. Canada V8W 1K8.**

PERIODICALS RECEIVED

Anarchy — A Journal of Desire Armed. P.O. Box 380, Columbia, MO 65205. Columbia Anarchist league publication. \$3.00/six issues.

Spectacular Times — 84b Whitechapel High St., London E1 7QX. Situational pocketbook series. Subs: \$2.00.

Processed World — 55 Sutter St., 8829, San Francisco, CA 94104. Great new anti-authoritarian mag geared toward office workers. Subscribe and short-circuit the system. \$5-\$10 for 4 issues.

Work and Pay — c/o Haight Ashbury Switchboard, 1338 Haight St. San Francisco, CA 94117. An "outlet for anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist writers." Available to all receptacles of anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist writing for free or by donation.

Direct Action — 164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Manchester M4 3BN. Organ of the Direct Action Movement, an anarcho-syndicalist federation in England. Subs: \$3.00 UK and Ireland, \$4.50 overseas.

Yard Roots — Caribbean Media and Community Resources, 314-17th St., Oakland, CA 94612. Black communitarian-anarchist newsjournal. \$6.00 year.

Revolution or Death!

Friends,

I have received your paper since you started publishing. During this time the guerrilla movement in North America has disintegrated. Your publication became the only one that printed the voices of the guerrilla movement. Your presentation was excellent. What happened? A recent issue (#11) contained the most ridiculous buffoonery. You have eliminated the progressive and militant voices of revolution. Anarcha-feminism, anti-nuke and ecology are all superficial, isolated issues that do not represent revolution.

My hope is that *Open Road* is still open to the voices of revolution.

The idea of revolution has been neutralized into a meaningless term. Essential to revolution is the reality of violence, yet those advocating revolution in North America have not supported violence as a means for liberation. There was no support for the Black Liberation Army, Front de Liberation du Quebec, Symbionese Liberation Army and George Jackson Brigade, who were creating revolution in the only possible way in the twentieth century: urban guerrilla warfare. The conciliation and reform that characterizes the North American Left has more to do with its role within the structure of the state than with the issue of violence.

The North American Left has been integrated into the illusion of democracy and no longer represents revolution. Revolution has been reduced to dialectical exchange and civil disobedience. The rhetoric of the Left has transformed revolutionary ideas into polemics of the technocratic state.

The elimination of violence in both theory and practice is the result of the dogma that revolutionary ideas are a necessary antecedent to violent insurrection. In other words, revolutionary violence must be legitimized.

The support for the anti-nuke movement marks the extreme deterioration of the revolutionary movement and illustrates to what extent the fear of public disapproval conforms revolutionary politics. Motivated by the need for support and legitimacy in the minds of the people, the revolutionary Left now solicits from any group mobilizing social dissent. This compromise has left the movement in shambles.

Whether it be under the guise of a labour dispute or an anti-nuke rally, revolution is a commodity to be bought and sold on the open market of political ideas. Open forum politics are conducted through dialogue and legal civil action defined by the authority of the state. This is not the nature of revolution, nor any revolutionary movement.

As long as dissenting groups preach revolution and function within the legal guidelines of the state, revolutionary violence will not be a significant threat to the existence of the state. The reformed role of the Left within the society is a participatory one serving the illusion of democracy. Violence is not in the interests of these advocates because it threatens the illusion.

This dependence of the revolutionary movement upon the state fosters a very dangerous illusion—the belief that progressive change can occur within the legal structure of the state.

In North America, civil law has replaced moral codes as the means of social control. Only those who choose to be are accountable before God; however, everyone is accountable before the state. It is not the function of those seeking revolution to question their own foundation in law—legal or moral—but to destroy all forms of law. Advocates of revolution should not be concerned with defining their place within society for we have no place within this society. To believe that revolution can be based on isolated issues is to be seduced by a destructive illusion.

Revolution cannot continue to survive as a potent force if the movement continues to exist as a function of the state. It is time to actively support all guerrilla organizations engaging in revolutionary struggle. The guerrilla movement will be built with or without the support of the Leftist ideologues and revolution will no longer be a political commodity nor simply an idea, but a reality.

In struggle,

P.H.

U.S. of A

Shaking in our shoes

Dear Sirs, Mesdames;

I received the first issue of my subscription to *Open Road*, and Christ, was I disappointed. After the wonderful few issues friends had given me (from "Bikesheviks" on back), this issue (No.12) was just abysmal. There were a bunch of articles that said, "Clasp arms, Comrades!" How dull! How useless! The only conceivable chance we good guys have is to be ultra-human animals. If y'all want to be an anarchist computer I'll shoot you just as fast as I would a Commie or Capitalist pig computer.

Be pissed off, not sarcastic and indignant! I'm a dancer. I'd love to dance for the person who wrote "Why does Poland's struggle seem more noble than ours?"

Keep sending them. Hope they get better.

Good luck,

T. Casimir,

Portland, Ore., U.S. of A.

News from Nowhere

North American anarcho-syndicalists are initiating **Libertarian Aid to Latin America (LALA)**, a newsletter designed to mobilize support for anarcho-syndicalists and libertarian currents in Latin America. Contact the **Libertarian Workers Group, P.O. Box 692, Old Chelsea Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10113.**

The **North American Anarchist** has disaffiliated itself from the **Anarchist Communist Federation** and changed its name to **Strike!** Formerly a bi-monthly, it will now publish on a monthly basis with a smaller size. Subs. are now \$6.00/year, and the address has changed to **Strike! P.O. Box 284, Main Station, St. Catherine, Ont. L2R 6T7.**

Bayou La Rose also has a new address: **P.O. Box 9522, Hanahon, S. Carolina 29410.**

Anarchist News desperately needs financial support if it is to continue publishing. Send donations and subscriptions (\$5.00/year) to: **Libertarian Press Service, P.O. Box 162, Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003**

The **Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation** is planning a gathering this summer, probably in Washington, D.C. For more information, write: **SRAF, Box 52, Cottage Grove, OR 97424.** Also, check out the new **SRAF Bulletin, P.O. Box 21071, Washington D.C. 20009** (\$6.00 six issues).

The founding conference of the **Anarchos Institute** will be held in Montreal, June 5, 1982. Noam Chomsky will be presenting the keynote address, "Intellectuals and the State". **Anarchos** is intended to provide a forum for anarchist theory and research, and to facilitate communication and cooperation among anarchist intellectuals. For more information on the conference and the institute write: **Anarchos Institute, 3981 Boul. St-Laurent, Montreal, Que. H2W 1Y5.**

Books Received

Situationist International Anthology, edited and translated by Ken Knabb. A collection of articles, leaflets and film scripts. More ammo against the society of the spectacle. From Bureau of Public Secrets, P.O. Box 1044, Berkeley, CA 94701 (\$10.00).

Protest Without Illusions, by Vernon Richards. A series of articles dealing with anti-nuclear protest, from a critical anarchist perspective. From Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High St., London E1 7QX (\$4.35).

The Polish August. Documents from the beginnings of the Polish Workers' Rebellion. From Left Bank Books, 92 Pike St., Seattle, WA 98101 (\$6.00). Ask for their catalog of anti-authoritarian literature.

Revolution In Seattle, by Harvey O'Connor. A personal history of anarchist and socialist struggle in the Pacific Northwest, 1900-1920, including the Seattle General Strike. From Left Bank Books (\$7.50).

Radical Priorities, by Noam Chomsky, edited by C.P. Otero. A selection of Chomsky's writings on such topics as "The New Cold War" and "The Relevance of Anarcho-Syndicalism." From Black Rose Books, 3981 Boul. St-Laurent, Montreal, Quebec H2W 1Y5 (\$9.95).

Louise Michel, by Edith Thomas. A biography of the famous anarchist. "One of the most extraordinary legends in the literature of freedom." From Black Rose Books (\$9.95).

You Can't Blow Up a Social Relationship. The anarchist case against terrorism. From Anarchist Communist Federation, P.O. Box 3658, Regina, Sask. S4P 3N8 (\$1.00).

Campaign Against the Model West Germany. Pamphlet of articles in O.R. No. 11. From Box 282, Station E, Montreal, Que. H2T 3A7 (\$4.45).

The following titles are available from these Cienfuegos Press distributors:

U.S.: 3512-12th Ave. So., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407;

In Europe: Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney KW17 2B1.

The Poverty of Statism. A debate between the Leninist N. Bukharin and the anarchist Luigi Fabbri, with additional material by Rudolf Rocker, highlighting the differences between anarchism and marxism (\$3.50).

Anarchism — For and Against, by Albert Meltzer. A literally pocket-sized introduction to anarchism (\$1.50).

State Socialism — A Critique. Bakunin's attack on state socialism, with cartoons by R. Warren (\$2.00).

High Intensity Subversion, by Ronin. A humorous look at counter-insurgency (\$2.50).

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