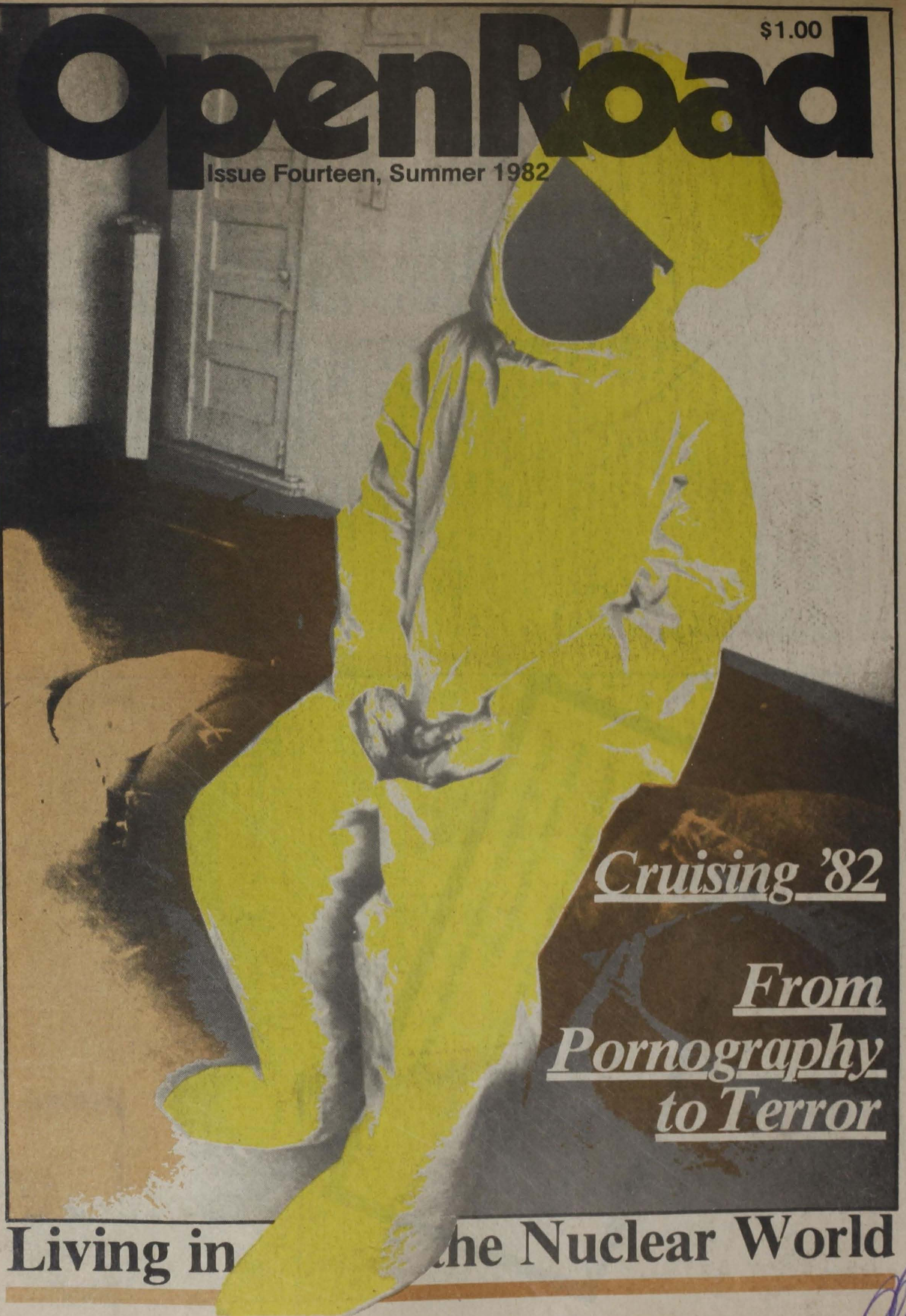


OpenRoad

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Issue Fourteen, Summer 1982



Cruising '82

From
Pornography
to Terror

Living in the Nuclear World

THE BLAST

Bitter Pill for U.S. Shrinks

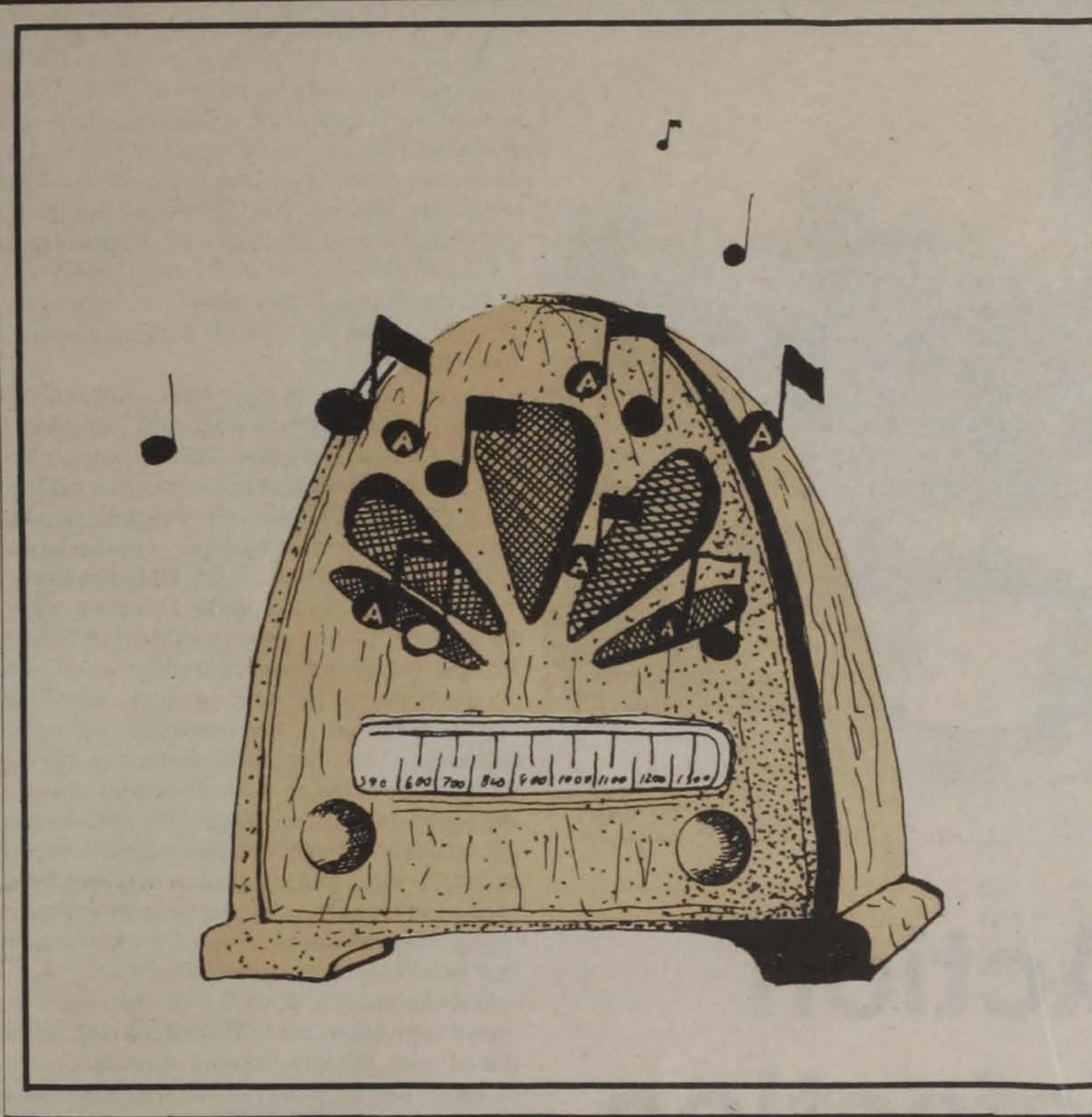
by Jenny Miller

ON May 17, sixteen people calling themselves the Psychiatric Inmates Liberation Lobby (PILL) held a silent vigil in the lobby of the Sheraton Hotel in Toronto to protest the meeting of the American Psychiatric Association (APA) there. All sixteen were arrested on charges of trespassing.

During the protest demonstrators sat in a circle on the floor, holding signs assailing such psychiatric crimes as forced treatment of inmates ("mental patients") with phenothiazine drugs, electroshock, and lobotomy. A large crowd of supporters, police, hotel security, reporters, and smirking psychiatrists gathered around the silent group. After an hour and a half, all those identified as supporters were forced to leave the lobby, and the members of the vigil were dragged and carried to waiting police vans.

The demonstrators came from all parts of the U.S. to attend the 10th International Conference on Human Rights and Psychiatric Oppression, which was being held simultaneously with the APA convention in Toronto. The 10th International Conference did not sponsor PILL's action, but held their own much larger protest against the APA earlier in the day. Eighty conference participants marched, performed guerilla theater, chanted and sang in front of the Sheraton for several hours. The most popular chant seemed to be "Hey, Hey, APA! How many people did you kill today!"

These protests were not the first time the APA has heard from angry former patients. In 1980, 200 participants and friends of the 8th International Conference on Human Rights and Psychiatric Oppression demonstrated at the APA convention in San Francisco, and some of them formed a "human chain" to block the entrance to the convention hall. On hand for both the San Francisco and Toronto protests was Wesley Pomeroy, former Police Chief of Berkeley, and currently head of APA security. In an attempt to provide full cooperation, er, cooperation with the Toronto demonstrators, Pomeroy offered them their own



Radio Lib Makes Waves

FOR almost a year now Radio Libertaire, the French Anarchist Federation's fm radio station, has been broadcasting in Paris. Its audience is estimated at nearly 40,000 people. The daily schedule, ranging from locally produced shows to programs from the Spanish CNT, runs from 6 in the morning until midnight five days a week, with reduced hours on weekends. There is nothing really comparable to it anywhere else.

As can be imagined, equipping and running a radio station is expensive. Besides the original outlay involved in getting the station going, the transmitter recently broke down and had to be replaced. Radio Libertaire now needs \$30,000 to continue broadcasting. Everyone at the station works for free and, as with other anarchist projects (like *Open Road*), Radio Libertaire receives no funding from any political party, institution or Mobil Oil. As part of a fundraising drive Radio Libertaire posters, badges and T-shirts are being sold. The badges are going for \$1 and the T-shirts are \$10. You can order yours from: Radio-Libertaire, 145 rue Amelot, 75011 Paris, France.

workshop within the APA headquarters at the Sheraton. The workshop was attended by about thirty ex-inmates, three psychiatrists, and however many pigs cared to watch over closed circuit television. Halfway into the workshop, a member of PILL announced that all those who planned to attend the workshop on "alternatives to psychiatry" should leave, and the sixteen vigil participants made their exit. Pomeroy still suspected nothing when, a few minutes later, several members of the support committee left the room carrying a huge pile of posters, politely explaining to Pomeroy that they had another meeting to attend. When news of the sit-in reached Pomeroy, he reportedly turned white and mumbled that he'd been "betrayed."

All the participants in the lobby liberation were released from jail early the next morning. The majority chose to plead guilty and pay a \$53 fine, while some entered no plea

and were released on \$53 bail. Some of the groups whose members participated in the civil disobedience action were the Alliance for the Liberation of Mental Patients (Philadelphia), the Network Against Psychiatric Assault (Berkeley), Project Renaissance (Cleveland), Oakland Patient Environmental Nexus (Pontiac, Mich.), and the Mental Patients Alliance (Oswego, New York). The 10th International Conference was organized by a Toronto-based group called On Our Own, and was attended by a number of Canadians as well as American individuals and groups.

When asked for a statement after her release, Anne Boldt of Berkeley said: "Those of us who participated in the sit-in were survivors of psychiatric assault. I was locked up and given harmful drugs many times over a five year period and had no real choice about it. Then I had to listen to the psychiatrists, now they have to listen to us. This time I chose to be locked up in order to be heard."

Better Dead than Red?

A RECENT Gallup poll indicates that 45 per cent of Canadians would rather fight a nuclear war than live under Communist rule. Not as bad as in 1962, when 65 per cent of Canadians polled claimed they would rather nuke the Commies than be ruled by them. Today, 25 per cent of those polled say they would prefer living under Communism than being blown to kingdom come. Let's hope the remaining 30 per cent would rather not nuke anybody or be ruled by anyone.

Smarties Party

ANARCHISTS from all over North America met for three days in Montreal this June to found the Anarchos Institute, an association of anarchist writers, students, teachers and researchers. The purpose of the Institute is to develop "a sense of intellectual community" among anarchists involved in various fields of study.

The conference was divided into study workshops for institute members and a public conference on "Intellectuals and the State", with Noam Chomsky and Nicole Laurin-Frenette as the featured speakers.

The workshops ranged in content from a feminist perspective on anarchism to anarchist approaches to the workplace and the community. Unfortunately, many of the study sessions were held at the same time so it was impossible to attend all of them. At the more successful sessions, such as Elaine Leeder's talk on the "Anarchist Tradition," brief summaries of the topic papers were given and then people engaged in open discussion. These free-flowing dialogues were preferable to the monologues delivered at other workshops, which could be really tiring. Let's hope people keep their papers shorter next time.

At the "bilingual" public conference (Laurin-Frenette spoke in french, Chomsky in english), Noam Chomsky gave a rambling but entertaining talk to 300-400 people on American intellectuals' ideological subservience to the American State, and on their role in "manufacturing consent" among the people to State policies.

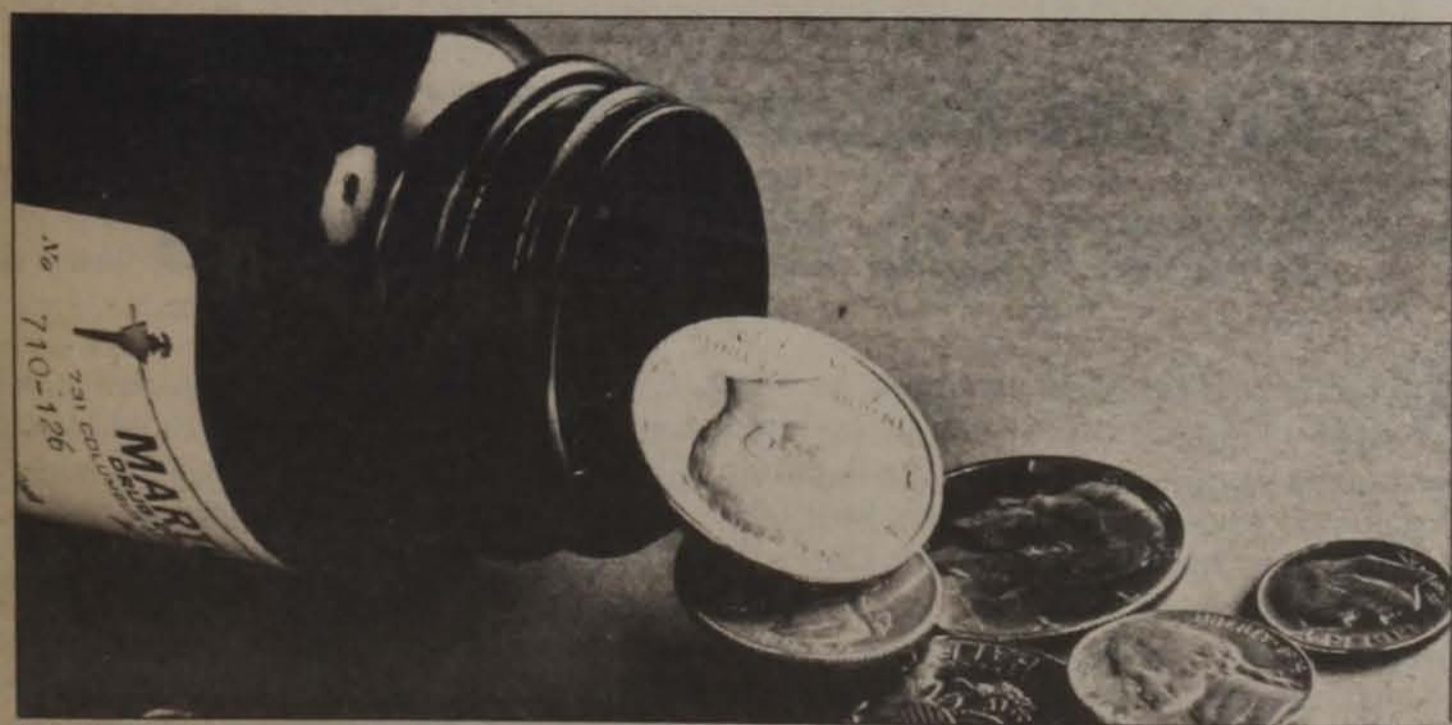
There was some confusion during the three day conference as to whether the study ses-

sions were open to non-Institute members. A few anarchists who were not members did attend the sessions freely with no problems, but some others who found the whole thing "elitist" boycotted the conference and organized their own workshops on such topics as workplace organizing, prisons, and how to deal with the Welfare State and its agencies.

On the last day of the conference an Anarchos organizational meeting was held, where it was decided to have another conference next year around the same time, at an as yet undecided location. It was also agreed that the Institute should be open to all anarchists interested in theory and research, regardless of income and profession. Annual membership fees will remain \$50 for fully employed professionals, \$20 for students, part-time teachers and other lower income people, and pay-what-you-can for people who are really broke. All members will receive a quarterly newsletter.

Despite a few minor problems, most of the sixty-odd participants at the conference felt it was a worthwhile experience. It provided an opportunity for people with similar interests to get to know each other, discuss new ideas and develop contacts for future research and projects. The atmosphere was low-key and friendly throughout. As a gesture of support, Murray Bookchin even donated his Spanish Anarchist archives to the Institute, which will remain based in Montreal.

For more information write: Anarchos Institute, 3981 boul. St-Laurent, suite 444, Montreal, Que. H2W 1Y5.



On the Road

JUST when you thought it was safe to go back to *Mother Jones*. *Open Road* is here again, in colour and full-size, thanks to our readers' generous response to our financial appeal.

We hope to come out again very soon. Copy-deadline for *OR* #15 is mid-September. We welcome your contributions.

Costs have gone up, and we are continuing to pare down our mailing list. If there is a star on your *OR* mail label, that means we haven't heard from you since 1979. The next issue of *Open Road* will be the last you receive unless you renew your subscription. If you're broke,

just send a letter and we'll keep you on the mailing list.

Suggested subscription rate is two hours pay (or more) per year, \$20 per year for institutions, and \$50 makes an *ORS* sustainer. For overseas mail, please send a little extra. *Open Road* is free for prisoners, which is another reason for you to send more if you can.

Back issues #2, 3, 6, 7, 11 and 12 are available for \$2 a copy and #8, 9, 10, 10½ and 13 for \$1 each.

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Direct Action Gives Satisfaction

WHAT'S black, smouldering, twisted and spread over a large area in jagged chunks? A B.C. Hydro substation on Vancouver Island after it was destroyed by environmental activists on May 31. Using 100 kg. of dynamite they reduced the station's 4 huge shunt reactors to rubble, sending shrapnel flying in every direction in a massive explosion. With damages estimated at \$6 million, the sabotage of the substation ranks as the most spectacular act of environmental protest in North America to date.

A group calling itself "Direct Action" claimed responsibility for the blast, saying in a communiqué that the sabotage "is the best contribution we can make towards protecting the earth and struggling for a liberated society." Denouncing "the ecological destruction and the human oppression inherent in the industrial societies of the corporate machine in the West and the communist machine in the East," the group vowed to make B. C. "an insecure and uninhabitable place for capitalists and their projects."

The destroyed substation is part of a controversial billion dollar project to bring 500,000 volts of additional power to the island. The extra power is supposed to prevent brownouts and power shortages, but environmentalists claim it is really meant to provide cheap electrical power for multi-national corporations, promoting a wave of industrial development which will irrevocably damage the surrounding environment.

Hydro has offered a \$125,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the saboteurs, but Hydro has made so many enemies over the years that one investigator admitted they would need a football stadium to hold all the suspects.

With dams built or planned for every major river in B.C., Hydro has destroyed thousands of acres of farmland and wilderness, ruined fishing, killed wildlife and generally disrupted the ecosystem. A secretive corporation run by a member of the Trilateral Commission, Robert Bonner, Hydro has the power to expropriate any land in the province and has frequently done so, depriving people of their homes and livelihoods. With plans to build an acid rain producing coal-fired electrical generating plant in the interior of B.C. and 5 nuclear reactors on Vancouver Island, Hydro is creating more opponents every day.

Prior to the May 31 sabotage, protests against Hydro had been limited to sitting in front of bulldozers and attending sham public hearings—neither of which have ever stopped Hydro from carrying out its projects. Now Hydro officials are worried. As one of them said after the blast, "there is a limited amount you can do to stop the determined anarchist."

Yet the sabotage itself has not halted the power project for Vancouver Island but only delayed it for several months. And environmentalist groups are now worried Hydro will use the incident to try to discredit them. Meanwhile, everyone is wondering what the "Direct Action" group will do next.

U.K. Anarchists Under Attack

AS the penguins in the Falklands resisted the brutal attack of the combined British and Argentine military forces, anarchists and anti-authoritarians in England had their own problems with the Thatcher government. The same day that Argentina invaded the Falklands, the British Anti-Terrorist Squad invaded the Freedom Press office in London, seizing a large quantity of unbound books. The books contained information on explosives, first aid, breaking and entering and related matters.

So far no charges have been laid, but in a similar case a Norwich anarchist was given 3 months for printing and distributing a pamphlet on how to make petrol bombs, and another anarchist, Simon Los, was sentenced to 3 years in jail for distributing a mimeograph of the *Xtra!* editorial, "Burn, Babylon Burn."

Since the ATS raid on the Freedom office, some anarchists have been subject to further harassment. One Freedom reader was visited by the "Special Branch" at work, where he was interviewed in the manager's office for half an hour by a Detective Sergeant. He was told his association with Freedom was not approved and could cost him his job. Around the same time, ten anarchists were arrested at an anti-Trident demonstration in Glasgow for giving out free *Practical Anarchy* newspapers, supposedly because the word 'fuck' was used in a headline, "Fuck the Falklands."

But the most serious act of repression occurred June 6th at the CND rally in Hyde Park. Bored with the predictable speeches of the official "invitation only" CND speakers, a large group of anarchists positioned themselves beside the stage with a megaphone which anyone could use to make his or her own speech. A CND steward protested this to the police who had been keeping an unusually careful eye on the anarchists, so the anarchists, bored anyway, decided to leave the park.

As they wound through the crowd of 150,000 with their black flags and anarchist banners, smaller groups of anarchists joined them, until their numbers had swelled to 300-500 people. They began marching down Oxford St., chanting "Free all Prisoners," "Smash the Nuclear State" and "Free Simon Los." It was the largest London anarchist demonstration in ten years.

The marchers soon acquired an unwelcome escort of Special Patrol Group riot squad vans. Without warning and unprovoked, the police attacked. While some people escaped into side streets, many others were beaten



with riot sticks and arrested. Forty-eight were later charged with a variety of offences, ranging from "abusive language" to "assault and possession of offensive weapons" (i.e. black flags!). As many of those arrested have little money, a defence fund has been set up. Donations can be sent to: Oxford St. 48 Defence Campaign, Box 48b Whitechapel High St., London E1, England.

In June, Taff Ladd, one of the Persons Unknown (see *OR* #11), turned himself in to face some outstanding conspiracy charges. He had skipped bail, but the other Persons Unknown were acquitted earlier so at his June 7 hearing Taff was declared "not guilty." However, as he left court he was arrested by Anti-Terrorist Squad detectives on charges of possession of 14 detonators. He is now being held in Cardiff with five other people facing similar charges. The five others are admitted members of either the Plaid Cymru Youth Movement or the Welsh Political Republican Movement. Support can be sent to: Welsh Political Defence Committee, 175 Mackintosh Place, Roath, Cardiff, Wales.

A group of Asian youths, dubbed the Bradford 12 after the name of their community, were recently acquitted of charges of conspiracy as well as offences under the 1883 Explosives Act. The court action against them was regarded as a major show trial by many black people and their supporters, in retaliation for last summer's uprisings in Brixton, Southall and other cities.

Despite an all white jury, the 12 won acquittal by arguing that the petrol bombs they were accused of making were intended for the defence of their community against racial attack. This may set a legal precedent in England, making it lawful to manufacture molotov cocktails for self-defence. So far, the police have refused to comment.

Goon Squad Goes Free Hearings End in Failure

WHEN Carl Harp died, one thing he was looking forward to was an up-coming trial against some Washington State Penitentiary guards who had chained him, beat him and then raped him with a riot stick. Carl was confident the guards would be convicted for this, as well as for brutally assaulting 5 other prisoners during the same incident. Shortly after the trial started, an informal poll of the jurors, 11 men and 1 woman, indicated they were in favor of the prisoners 5-1.

It came as a shock then to the 5 surviving prisoners (Harp was murdered last September. See *OR* #13) and their and Carl's friends and supporters when, on Wednesday, February 24, the jury found that the guards did not use "excessive" force in chaining, beating, and in Harp's case, raping the prisoners in Walla Walla's segregation unit on July 8, 1979. This decision came despite the state's attorneys themselves arguing that the prisoners should receive a lesser amount in damages than was justified, not no amount whatsoever. As plaintiff prisoner Isaacs commented after the trial, "the justice system works against suppressed people, so it's no wonder suppressed people have to work against the justice system. I'm not looking for revenge, but if I ever have another beef with someone, I won't even think about taking it through the justice system. The 'alley' system is fairer and faster."

With their hopes that the trial, by exposing the repression and inhumanity at Walla Walla, would have led to an improvement in the

conditions at the prison squashed, the prisoners now fear that the guards will interpret the verdict as a licence to harass and physically abuse prisoners. Threatened with layoffs, rumour has it the guards feel that a "disturbance" like a riot would safeguard their jobs.

Already the prison authorities have started a campaign of harassment against the source of this trial information, the Washington Prison News Service, a weekly information bulletin from Walla Walla written and edited by prisoners there (available for \$2.50/mo.—\$30/yr. from WPNS, 219 First Ave. N., Suite 135 Seattle, WA 98109). On April 3, 1982, the guards, under administrative orders, ransacked the cell where WPNS is put together, confiscating two radios, some locker boxes, a chair and some cardboard boxes (declared "contraband" for some reason) whose contents were dumped on the floor. Less than a week later 4 members of the cell were arrested without explanation and placed in segregation by order of warden Kastema.

At first prison authorities claimed they had found some heroin in the cell, but they later decided it was potassium cyanide! As WPNS noted, "the arrests and segregation of other prisoners on bogus charges is retaliation for being politically conscious and active... the administration wants to remove all the people who 'walk and talk' from the mainline to prevent resistance on any level to the implementation of its repressive policies over the summer."

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Interview with Comrade A

Open Road: Last issue we carried an interview with Murray Bookchin, who more or less stated the case for community organizing—that anarchists and their fellow travellers should get involved in towns or small cities because that's where there are most opportunities to bring good ideas and work styles into the public arena. He dismisses the workplace as too backward and conservative to offer much hope at the present time.

Now, are you telling us you're here to contradict that line?

Comrade A: Oh, oh, I smell an ambush here. It's a funny thing, but journalists, even the correct-line variety, are always trying to create controversy. I guess it sells newspapers or something.

Anyway, I read that interview, also a few other books along the same lines. They certainly help remind us what our ultimate goals are. But right now, I don't live in a small city which has been targeted by the Black International for a major organizing attempt, and I'm not about to say goodbye to my friends and family (extended, blended or even nuclear) so I can move hundreds of kilometres to the boondocks of New England, where all the action is.

Open Road: Okay, let's start over again. Who are you, and why are you here?

Comrade A: As you can tell by my name, I'm one of the hard-core. Wherever the action is (as long as it's in my neighbourhood, more or less), I'm usually there. No further identification is required because, as you well know, all through history, the true "anarchist" spirit has been expressed by the selfless legions that come forward at critical moments, do their thing to spur it along, and then melt back into the crowd. I read that in a book by Kropotkin about the French Revolution; he called them the *enragés*—the extremists.

Open Road: So spontaneity takes precedence over organization?

Comrade A: There goes that journalistic controversy again. What I'm trying to convey are some experiences of people who consider themselves a conscious part of the process of social change, but who have not been able to identify just what are the commanding heights of that process—the "correct" issue, sector of the population or organizational format that will push things along the fastest. Maybe somebody has figured it all out and can lay out a master plan for libertarian communism and how it can be achieved (isn't that where Bookchin and Co. come in?), but for most of the militant people I've met, they just take it as it comes. You asked me to be specific, so I'll just mention a few of the epic struggles that dot the landscape in the current epoch (New Left and after) in North America:

There was the battle to win back control over our minds (remember the *smoke-ins*?); the hollowing out of the rotten husk of the old society by new alternative institutions (that's why we endured those endless hours toting up food coop ledgers and sweltering through "house" meetings); there was fighting back in the belly of the beast, aka bringing the war back home (onto the streets for Vietnam, El Salvador, Canada); there was purging ourselves of impure thoughts and attitudes (you name it, there's an *ism* to cover it); and there was making the world safe for whales, spiderworts, human beings and other wholesome things.

Don't forget all the time and energy devoted to helping "other people"—poor people, prisoners, native people, alienated youth, minorities of every stripe, victims wherever we found them. Now they're even talking about helping "the community" in small cities, claiming their birthright of town hall democracy.

Open Road: Sounds like you're describing a lily-white in-group with a social worker approach to the world's problems.

Comrade A: I don't want to sugar coat it, but I prefer to think of it as the M & M syndrome. The Margin and the Mainstream. The margin is the growing edge of the revolution; it is the boundary of experimentation; it's where our ideas and practices can be seen in their most undistilled form, where we are freest to follow our own inclinations. But it's also a self-enclosed and self-reinforcing universe; we deal only with like-minded people, or with people who are in such dire straits that they are in no position to refuse our "help." For all other people, our main response has been to feel superior, or to try to outrage or shock them into recognition of the truth with mind-bombing media trips or (shades of a bygone era) long hair.

Then there's the Mainstream. Guess what—that's where everybody else is. You could also call it the real world, where people are trying to get things done without having ever read *Open Road*. Issue #12 contained a big spread extolling 10,000 telephone workers who occupied their work places and practiced a form of self-management in defiance of the State and the boss—and all without a single live anarchist among them. The real world is the place where our ideas and practices have to be realized.

Open Road: So who doesn't know all that?

Comrade A: Lots of people *know* it, but it's still very tough to make it really happen. I guess there's all sorts of "objective" reasons why it doesn't happen—like we're all a bunch of spoiled, middle-class brats or superannuated hippies with no base or contact in the real world, or the ideas are so extreme and fragile that they're totally impractical. There's not much we can do about that, other than to kill ourselves, or the ideas. I'm not much inclined that way.

I'd like to mention two other things, however, which I think are slowing the process down. Both of them have to do with specific attitudes, or maybe analytical concepts, that can be worked on. One of them goes back to an earlier question in this interview—who are we?—and the other is the old ends-vs.-means argument.

Who are we? If you look at the types of activities that anarchists are involved in these days, and I mentioned a bunch of them before, then it's obvious that we are outsiders—creating our own perfect world on the margins, or helping poor unfortunates fight their battles. Where are the battles we are fighting in the real world? We live 95 per cent of the time there as working people, students, tenants, health care consumers, neighbourhood residents and on-and-on, but by and large we are not really shoulder-to-shoulder with other people in these struggles. Objectively, we *are* working people, students, tenants, etc. but subjectively in our own minds, we are a breed distinct; so even when we condescend to "organize" the neighbourhood or the workplace, it is as political people looking for an issue. The Leninists do this all the time, and are rightly criticized. But at least they are conscious vanguardists; they see themselves as different to ordinary people, and they act it.

If anti-authoritarians have any contribution to make to the world, it is that ordinary people can handle the problems they face. Politically conscious people have their role at this juncture, but maybe an up-dated version of the *enragés* is closer to it than the New (or Old) Left politico. In other words: from the Mob, to the Mob.

Then there's ends-vs.-means. The big argument from the Margin is that everything in the Mainstream is totally compromised and decadent, that anything you do to improve things is only making the system more resilient and therefore stronger. That's certainly true enough, but it's beside the point. Our "real" goal isn't to win a stop sign at a dangerous intersection, nicer furniture in the visiting room at the local joint or a bigger pay raise for the rank-and-file. All nice to have, but in themselves and unaccompanied by any learning process on the part of the people in struggle, they are essentially bribes from the boss to dampen militancy.



Open Road: It's all very fine to rail against the boss, but when you jump into one of these Mainstream groups, you're just playing into the hands of all the opportunists and manipulators who use people's energy to further themselves.

Comrade A: That's definitely a danger. By boss, I also include union bureaucrat, so-called progressive politician, neighbourhood demagogue—all those who try to know best.

What we're after is to enlarge the zone of freedom in our lives, to learn ways for ordinary people to work together in the absence of hierarchy or leadership. Our specific goals at this time are not revolutionary; they can't be revolutionary, because this is not a revolutionary period. But when the time comes, we need to be ready to take advantage of it. If we leave the field to the authoritarians, whether of the left or the right, then when the time comes, people will adhere to the methods they have learned up to then. Unless, of course, Revolution is some mystical process where everybody, all of a sudden, just knows what to do and how to do it. I'm skeptical about that.

To sum up—One: Be here now, and be part of it; Two: pay attention to process as well as product.

Open Road: It's a good thing you decided to sum up. Rumour has it that all those sweeping generalizations were really just a set-up so you can plug your pet project.

Comrade A: Thanks for reminding me of what I'm supposed to be here for. There was an article a couple of years ago in *Open Road* applying some of these ideas to the prison movement ("Breaking into prison," Issue Eleven, Summer, 1980). The article waxed eloquent on "the liberatory effects of collective, spontaneous, direct action." But it disappeared into the void. Nobody threatened to cancel their subscription, or even bothered to agree with it. So I'm wondering if anybody really reads those straight polemical write-ups. That's why I'm trying this corny question-and-answer scam this time.

You can call this Invasion of the Marginaloids, or How I learned to live in the Mainstream and actually have some fun without giving in to reformism, leftoidism or any other bad *ism*.

Opening shot: a modern factory in a backwater urban centre of the western world. The factory turns out a product which it is not essential to the story to identify. Two thousand people are employed in this factory; half of them are production line workers. They have their own union, and are not central characters in this particular script.

The other half—our half—is composed of everybody else that is required to make a modern corporation hum along: clerical workers, technical and professional staff, salespeople, the distribution end of things, the building maintenance workers. A real grab-bag, all organized in one "industrial" union.

Now before anybody gets their hopes up, this is not a story about how a bunch of ordinary people ("workers") rose up angry and, with the aid of their little black book, set the boss class back on its ear. It's a bit too early in the game for that. Mainly, it's about how a handful of people among those one thousand managed, after a year of somewhat diligent effort, to figure out that their immediate problem was not the boss of the company, but their own "leaders" in the union.

Open Road: That's all that was accomplished after a year?

Comrade A: Doesn't sound like much, does it? But then, that's the real world. It's a lot easier blowing each other's minds with a trippy leaflet, or getting off on a street theatre stunt. You may not be able to assess the impact on anybody outside your friendship circle, but who cares—it sure was fun.

I think it would be more precise to say that the handful figured out their problem was leadership in general, that the good things that happened did so when people did their own work, made their own decisions and relied on their own resources. Leaders, especially the elected ones, tended to slow things down, or detour them.

Now this union is no worse than any other. It's not particularly corrupt, nor, comparing it to other unions, are its contracts below average. At the level of the local, the problem is that it has been ticking over for years primarily as an instrument for winning contracts. Once every two or three years, it rouses itself to a semblance of life to go after a pay increase; then returns to sleep as contract clauses governing health and safety, overtime, promotions and other conditions of work are routinely ignored and undermined. Since most of the jobs are relatively "clean," there is no clear-cut physical danger to the workers, and they tend to have very low expectations of what collective (i.e. union) action can accomplish.

The elected leaders of the local are not so much an organized clique, as an assembly of individuals who embody this low energy view of what a union does. While they are overwhelmingly male and higher paid (half the union is women, and a third of the membership earn approximately half what the other two-thirds get), they have not been out-of-synch with the general attitude of the members. After all, it's basically a white collar union—not a natural crucible for militant, class consciousness.

For a long time, there was no conscious anti-authoritarian activity in this workplace, even though at various times there was always at least one or two people working there who harboured those sentiments. The thing is, they just tuned out those eight hours a day, and lived for the Margin.

Then, things started to change, and the main reason they started to change was the worsening economic situation. As inflation climbed, the lower paid workers in the union were starting to fall further and further behind. The union had always bargained for percentage increases for all workers. That sounds fine—say 10 per cent for everybody equally. But ten per cent of \$300 per week is a lot less of an increase than when it comes on top of \$500 (I'm not just pulling these figures out of a hat). After all, bread and milk costs the same at both ends.

So the lower paid, mainly women clerical workers, started to beef. It was a year before the contract was due to expire, and the beefing was at an individual level—mainly gripe sessions. There had been beefing during previous contracts, but inflation had never been so bad before, and the protests hadn't really gotten off the ground.

Another factor in the change: a group of orthodox leftists (for want of a better label) started to get active in union affairs. They managed to revitalize some of the standing committees, so there was some movement, although it was isolated at a bureaucratic level and had not really been picked up by the rank-and-file.

Open Road: So this is supposed to add up to a breakthrough?

Comrade A: Well, some of the ideas mentioned above had been percolating around a bit, and so the anti-authoritarians went through an identity crisis: whether to leave the cacoon of their other life and become real people in the real world. This was purely a subjective problem, as I said before, because objectively, they were out there eight hours a day, and had been so for years.

It became clear that the problem of the lower-paid was really part of the larger problem of low-level workplace militancy. A strong, united and combative group of people is in a better position to improve the general welfare of all its members than is an apathetic and fractionalized one. So the efforts of the lower paid to get themselves together were really just the opening shot in a campaign to democratize the entire local. By democratize, I mean a sizeable section of the membership actively defending their rights on a daily basis.

Open Road: You're veering a bit over towards jargon now, and anyway aren't you saying that the legitimate complaints of one group of workers can be manipulated towards a master plan coming from above, or outside?

Comrade A: Manipulation will always be a problem when the conscious activists are outsiders who are coming in to "organize" some people. When they are part of the group whose general welfare is being improved, then it cuts down on this danger. It doesn't eliminate it, though, cuz even an insider can be arrogant and condescending.

cont. p. 15

Riot Meets Left

by Janet Cotgrave

TEAR gas stings your eyes and nose. Dizzy and disoriented—but that might be from running, from excitement. Standing in front of the riot police. Now turning and running as they charge. Bricks whizzing overhead. The gas clears and we turn and go back. Some begin to run toward the police. The ones in front, unmasked and laughing, throw bricks at police vans, at the American consulate, at police. A trailer is overturned for a barricade. Everyone cheers.

I'm not afraid, as I thought I might be, and I wander around taking photographs. But I miss the best shots: the storming of the consulate; the fences being torn down; the smoke bombs, bricks and tear gas cannisters flying through the air; the horses charging, then retreating.

When I first arrived I asked someone what was going on. "There is a demonstration about El Salvador," he said. Then he smiled, "And now they are fighting." This, it seems, is what a demonstration means in Amsterdam: street fights with police.

But with 10,000 people against 70 riot police it's not very frightening. I walk up to the police and take their picture. Laugh as a brick hits a window. The police actually look silly as they run about in formation.

Ran into Moe from *Freedom* (a London anarchist paper) and we went for a beer, talked about the riot, about Amsterdam. Feeling high. Full of energy. Amsterdam. Something is happening here.

There is nothing subtle about Amsterdam; its energy is vivid. The streets are not attractive or clean but they are full of music, bicycles, activity. A city's streets always seem to have a mood of their own and in Amsterdam they're "punkish": colourful and scruffy and, although full of laughter, also harsh.

Having just come from London I am startled, delighted. London streets are so lifeless: dull eyes in pale, mask-like faces. Bodies stiff as umbrellas. There is nothing that shines, nothing that is beautiful.

But here are bright and eager faces. A sense of abundant health. They are not at all polite but very friendly. Clean, colourful and untidy. A man dressed in red, yellow and white skips along the street, singing. I smile as he comes toward me and he returns a large grin.

The squatted house I'm staying in is somewhat chaotic. Cluttered but comfortable. Most of the clutter is the result of renovations they are doing, building two new rooms and a kitchen upstairs, putting in a shower. They seem always busy.

There are quite a few people around. Little room for privacy. A striking difference between these people and many North Americans is the lack of possessiveness. You help yourself to whatever you need (including housing). What you have you expect to share. When the tobacco I bought is passed around the room with no one asking or saying thanks, I'm relieved. They trust me. It's hard to say who lives here and who doesn't but it doesn't matter. They hand me a key and, for the next while at least, I live here.

We go to a squatters' cafe and I'm amazed by the playfulness and ease between these people. But most amazed by the women who come up to talk with me. Their openness and playfulness immediately includes me and I'm suddenly aware of how much tension and mistrust there often is between women at home. Yet I respond to their friendliness immediately. We have a genuine interest in each other. Conversation is not restricted but open to any inclination: seriousness or laughter. I notice I'm touching them as I talk. I don't usually do that.

But while Amsterdam is exciting I am full of questions: What motivates these people? Why is squatting so wide-spread here? Who are these people rioting? What do they believe in and believe they are doing? And what makes me feel slightly ill-at-ease here?

There's also the question of what anarchism has to do with all this. One conversation in particular stands out: Henk trying to explain why he doesn't call himself an anarchist. I'm intrigued because his life seems so very anarchistic: denial of property and of authority; a lifestyle of co-operation and direct action. A lifestyle which seems emotional, thoughtful and creative.

The theme is repeated by countless people, here and later in other parts of Europe, who live very anarchistically. What are they saying? That anarchism, being a *system* of practices and principles is an artificial and lazy way of responding to the world. That they want to respond to each situation in its own terms,

with emotion, understanding, spontaneity, and not simply be referring to an adopted ideology which can be dogmatic or inappropriate.

And I find some response here to old doubts of my own. While agreeing with many anarchist values, criticisms, practices and visions, it seems wrong to adopt an entire system and define myself and the world strictly in those terms. Would that not limit open questioning, place limits on truly critical thought and on a whole-hearted response to the world?

The use of the label 'anarchist' seems a little irrelevant and Henk's concern with it somewhat misplaced—although he does get a point across. Martin in England calls himself an anarchist and his deep ecological concerns are not abstract, forced or nebulous. His is not a radical sense imposed on his vision of the world but intrinsic to his experience of it.

But there is a "correct line" anarchism. And to follow it can not only create a life which is dry and rhetorical, it can also foster a curious deception, an illusion created by a minority dogma. Because most other people do not seem so "enlightened," anarchists can appear to have broken out of conservative attitudes, to have raised bold questions and to be living a more natural and more responsible life—while actually thinking and living for themselves no more than the most conservative.

* * * * *

I returned to Amsterdam two months later with a head full of thoughts, with eagerness for energetic streets and the city which seemed to be intuitively anarchistic.

I'm staying at a different squat this time: a house called Lucky Luyk. A graffiti covered mansion, an enormous—and well barricaded—castle. There is a scrap-book of about a hundred newspaper clippings covering the squatting of the house, the repossession by the owner's "fighting squad," and the re-squatting by the kraakers. Barricades, security precautions, blackboards with organizing info and emergency procedures: it is likely they will have to fight for this house again soon.

The owner bought it cheap because the squatters were in it at the time. If he succeeds in getting them out he'll make a fortune on the resale. I don't think he'll succeed. No one is actually able to live here any longer so different groups take turns staying in it, using it, protecting it. Someone is always here. And an enormous support crowd can be mobilized with just a few phone calls.

I'm up before anyone else one morning and it takes half an hour to figure out how to let myself out of the house so that the barricades will fall back in place behind me (I know they do this somehow!) But outside it's very cold and rainy and I'm not sure I haven't made a mistake 'cause there's no way to get back in again. Oh well, there's lots to do.

Excited to be here but the ill-at-ease feeling I had before is stronger. While they are as friendly as ever, I feel a little as though I'm scraping against rough edges. There seems to be a coldness under those smiles and an arrogance that I'm suspicious of.

There are the little smirks when I'm telling them of the actions and organizing going on in Vancouver. Or, when I'm impressed by the extent of the Amsterdam squatting movement, someone condescendingly comments, "These things don't happen in your country, do they?" or, "The organizing you do is not difficult, then?" There are the quips about American consumerism or lack of culture, as the eyes dart self-righteously in my direction.

Do they think North Americans are lazy, tainted, incompetent? There is so much going on here. They are so organized, active. Do they think we spend all our time at McDonald's or buying T.V.s or eating white bread? No, I think they know better, but they associate North Americans with these activities and ignore it going on in their own city.

It stinks of nationalism. Some pride would be understandable but this "European arrogance" is self-righteous and rigid. A nationalism and a popular anti-Americanism: without knowing or caring to know about the people they snub. And without realizing that their lives are no more and no less shaped by the traditions of their countries than ours.

Being very doubtful at first, thinking that arrogance justified. So much going on here, so active. Why? And how is it that this lifestyle is so "intuitively" anarchistic?

Sitting on a bus is Julie from Ontario. She is on a Mennonite cultural exchange program and for the last year has lived with ordinary people, families, working folk. I ask her the

biggest differences between Canadian and Dutch culture and personalities. She doesn't hesitate: "In this order: they have no regard for authority and rules; they are very individualistic; they say exactly what they think and often harshly."

These ordinary people, the majority and the equivalent of our middle-class working-class, are so much less reactionary, more socialist minded than Canadians. The whole country is more socialist. A slightly smaller majority has turned against imperialism—mainly American—because of realizing the possibility of nuclear war here.

These attitudes are not necessarily radical but they begin to question objectives of governments and capitalist corporations. And while even the nuclear threat is not real enough to make many people step too far out of line, the awareness of this threat, and the general socialist and anti-authoritarian attitudes are important background to what is active in Amsterdam.

Met a woman in the park, after another demo/riot and I'm wondering how people in general and the media respond to that sort of thing. I'm thinking of the editorials at home: "We must crack down on these violent, rebellious kids who are ruining our streets..." She explains: "If an anti-nuke demo turned into a riot the general attitude would be—we must get nuclear weapons off Dutch soil so that these people (admittedly rather rebellious) are not made so angry that they turn to riots. Generally they are sensible. The solution to riots is not to squash them but remove the cause. This is not the solution of police and government, of course..."

It is not a radical culture but it is to some extent supportive of radicalism.

But it was the squatting movement that made radicals. And I finally realize that it was not radicals that made the squatting movement. The activists in Amsterdam are not more active. And while realizing this makes

me less ill-at-ease I wonder what that implies about being active and the possibility of making changes.

Certainly radicals were involved in initiating squatting but as a large movement it was spontaneous, created by a real and present need. And by particular circumstances: in a city of 700,000 people, 50,000 needed a place to live. And thousands of buildings were empty (due to another set of circumstances). And squatting is—sort of—legal.

But the fact that this has happened and that a certain amount of action is necessary to squat a house, have had a great effect on attitudes toward property, government, capitalism and direct action. Also, in a smaller way, toward violence—a certain amount of which is necessary to break open a door, and a lot occasionally to defend the house.

So they can afford to dispense with the label "anarchist" but it is not quite an "instinctive" anarchism which emerges. Neither is it simply the result of hard work by committed activists. Rather, it comes from living in an environment which encourages anarchistic attitudes.

And the question to address back home is not how to follow their example but what are the particular circumstances of this country which we could take advantage of and encourage. And how to live anarchistically in this country without it being dogmatic or inappropriate.

People riding their bikes on the street recognize me now and we exchange waves and grins as they race by. The alternative bookstore with a large anarchist section is crowded with colourfully dressed people who are eager to talk. It is a lively and intriguing city. An exciting place to do things, to learn things, experience things. And a good place to come home from, with more understanding, more eagerness and inspiration. With still more questions and more of an open mind.

Ireland

Nation or Liberation

A lot of articles about Ireland start off by telling us that 'there is a war going on'—as if this was something peculiar in our society. Surely, there's a war everywhere. War between the rulers and the ruled the whole world over.

In some places it's obvious—bullets and gas from the State, getting petrol bombs in reply; in other places it's more covert—40 hours of exploitation each week in the factories, with widespread absenteeism and sabotage in response.

A 34-year-old woman killed in an industrial accident, or a kid maimed by a plastic bullet—it's the same war; exploited and the exploiters.

The trouble is that regarding Ireland, a lot of people say it's a specific type of war, a national liberation struggle waged by the Republicans against 'British Imperialism.' And victory will mean that the Irish people will at last be happy, having gained their right to 'national self-determination.' Indeed? Well, I reckon I know who'll be happy—the people who get to rule over this cosy little national republic.

A war to free people from authority? Oh no, it's to free 'the nation' from the Brits.

Well, redrawing frontiers isn't my idea of

freedom, nor is aiding a bunch of reactionaries in their bid to seize power.

Some people still think that the IRA is 'progressive' while fighting the British State; by the same logic the latter was progressive while fighting the Third Reich, and we all know what use the British made of their victory—over 50 counter-insurgency campaigns since 1945 (including Ireland!).

Meanwhile, on Ulster's streets, the Provisionals carry out such routinely progressive activities as knee-capping 'anti-socials' (recognise the same terminology employed by people like Castro, Hitler and most governments). Recent victims include a 14-year old boy for TDA (Taking and Driving Away a car without permission) and another for stealing. There's Law 'n Order for you, without even the bother of a Diplock Court—Whitelaw must be impressed!

The IRA is no more than an alternative police force. They wander round the Catholic ghettos armed, stopping and searching people, demanding to know where they're going, setting up road blocks and intimidating people.

On humanitarian grounds there must be much sympathy for the hunger-strikers, but what of the demands for political status? Previous to the withdrawal of POW status the IRA and also the Loyalist groups such as the UDA and UVF used to parade in full military uniform, even to the extent of carving guns from wood and drilling with them. Talk about consciousness-raising eh?

Prisoners' demands for better conditions must be supported, but not on a specialist basis, applicable to only a few people—sectarianism is a weapon in the State's arsenal, not ours.

Certainly the H-blocks are disgusting manifestations of oppression, but no worse than the notorious military-run prison of Curragh in the 'Free State,' or somewhere like Wandsworth in England.

Support for Republican prisoners is a necessity, but only as harshly treated prisoners—not as Republicans.

So where are we in this war? The answer, of course, is where we have always been—right in the thick of it, on the streets fighting all the authoritarians who want to control us. Chucking bricks at the police and army, or inciting them to disaffection, but never taking orders from some 'revolutionary' grouping who just wants to be the new government.

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Order

"We are now in an interim period, moving from anarchy and poverty on the way to order and overcoming the crisis."

—Radio Warsaw 12/18/81

"Many Western bankers privately applauded the move because they believe the army's action will end the political impasse that has developed between the government and Solidarity and that has paralyzed the economy."

—Business Week 12/28/81

"The resistance, like the movement that led to the now-suspended Solidarity union, has come from the workers themselves."

—The New York Times 12/24/81

THE current suppression of the Polish workers' movement has assumed the proportions of a global tragedy: the radical dissidence of an entire class is being eliminated by military power. The loss is made doubly tragic by the cynical use to which it has been put by the forces of order everywhere. While the soldiers of General Jaruzelski impose "normalization" at gunpoint, Commander-in-Chief Reagan has mobilized his ideological troops in an attempt to turn the defeat of Polish workers into a victory for the "free" world, whose superiority has supposedly been demonstrated by the army's coming to power in Warsaw. As if on cue, the American media intone a dirge about the descent of "darkness" in Poland, while conveniently turning a blind eye to the night of authoritarian domination which reigns internationally—and as an international system.

It is precisely the importance of what has been taking place in Poland during the past 16 months that is lost in this loud chorus of "concern" and "outrage." If the silence of Polish workers, students and intellectuals has been ensured by tanks and mass arrests, the silence here is no less deafening about a crucial fact: Polish strikers have been engaged in a struggle for an *alternative* society, one different from both the imperial "rationality" of Western capitalism and the state capitalism of Eastern "socialism." The Polish movement has been an inspiration to the extent that, however tentatively and confusedly, it broke the conformist mold of social organization in the world. Its defeat is a matter that involves not simply the fate of the "Polish nation," which showed itself to be divided like all other nations, but the way people live everywhere. Now, as Polish workers are physically prevented from speaking for themselves, it is not a question of speaking on their behalf but of confronting the implications of what they have already done. The shortcomings of the Polish movement—and the role of Solidarity in its defeat—are no less important to analyze.

THE declaration of a "state of war" on December 13th only gave official status to the social war that has been taking place in Poland for over a year, a war fought essentially between workers and the bureaucratic class which rules over them in their name. The military solution now being pursued by Jaruzelski is an attempt to forcibly put an end to this conflict and to do so on behalf of the bureaucracy, even though the latter may have had to surrender some of its formal authority. The present Military Council of National Salvation has made clear what it intends to save: state power. That power will be preserved even if it has to be reduced to the most primitive administrative machinery, that of the state-in-arms. In an unthinking homage to Trotsky's concept of "war communism," Polish Stalinists have resorted to the militarization of society and the brutal reimposition of a *command* economy.

Jaruzelski's enforcement of a labour discipline in which workers are presented with the alternative of work or death seeks to resolve the twin crises of Polish state capitalism, those of social power and economic production. The two are obviously and necessarily related: now, as in 1980, 1976 and 1970, the real barrier to the accumulation of capital in Poland appears as the resistance of Polish workers themselves to austerity and authority. Moreover, as a result of the increased integration of the Polish economy (via massive indebtedness and a dependency on Western export markets) within world capitalism, the Polish workers face another set of masters in the form of Western banks. Thus, if the present conflict in Poland is most certainly a social conflict, it is also a graphic manifestation of economic crisis.

However much the current struggle takes place—on both sides—under nationalist ban-



ners, its global context is crucial to its outcome. Jaruzelski's power is clearly circumscribed by factors outside Poland, namely, the power of his Russian superiors and Western creditors; but the fate of the Polish workers' movement is equally an international question. Polish workers face a material scarcity that, in addition to being the result of the inept policies of the bureaucracy, is concretely related to the cycles of international capitalism. And an eventual victory of the Polish opposition—beyond mere reform of the existing power structure—could only be achieved through an internationalization of its struggle. Such a prospect, unlikely as it seems in the immediate situation of repression, puts into question the nature of Solidarity, the role of the Church and all the *traditional* characteristics of the Polish movement.

AS the battle between the Polish opposition and authority enters its decisive phase, it is already fashionable in the Western press to lament the fact that the workers went "too far." This argument is contradicted both by the actual history of the workers' movement and by the unfolding of the current crisis. If anything, the official actions of Solidarity, including Walesa's prior negotiations with Jaruzelski about a "National Council of Understanding" and the interventions of Solidarity's national leadership against unsanctioned strikes, prepared the way for a defeat of Polish workers by disarming them in the face of a state offensive seeking to suspend the right to strike itself. This took place on both a figurative and literal level: in words, Solidarity's leadership promoted an exaggerated image of the strength of the workers' movement; in acts, it weakened the effective force of that movement.

In the months before December 13th, Solidarity's national executive was engaged in a double manoeuvre involving at once the disciplining of its own rank and file and the attempt on the part of the leadership to achieve legitimized power for itself in relation to the party and state. Thus, while it appeared "radical" in its ultimatums to the government, the Solidarity leadership moved to contain any autonomous action on the part of its members and directly opposed wildcat strikes and occupations such as that of the women textile workers of Zyrardow in October, 1981. If the army eventually arrives at an accommoda-

tion with a collaborationist wing of Solidarity, it will know with whom it is dealing.

As long as Solidarity could function effectively as a trade union, i.e., as long as it could deliver the working class, the party was ready to recognize Solidarity in its role of official opposition. When Solidarity could no longer completely control its constituency, and when certain of its leaders wanted more power vis-a-vis the state, it became expendable in the state's eyes. The ensuing "Operation Three Circles," moreover, was directed not only against Solidarity but against all those—workers, students, intellectuals—who might contest existing authority. Jaruzelski's coup has been less a move against Solidarity's trade unionist aspirations as it has one against those in Solidarity's rank and file who saw it as a mass movement of social transformation.

Although the remnants of Solidarity have undoubtedly constituted the major part of the current resistance to the military regime in Poland, and despite the uncertain status of the actual organization itself, few illusions should persist about official Solidarity. It can be seen as an unstable formation which ultimately failed in its attempt to mediate that which could not be mediated, namely the conflict between Polish workers and the state. From the beginning, Solidarity's project of "renewal" presented contradictory aspects: Solidarity's leadership in alliance with the intellectuals of KSS-KOR sought to subsume the workers' rebellion under the reformist program of a "self-managed republic" in which a democratized civil society would coexist with the party; meanwhile, much of Solidarity's base pursued a more radical aim—the immediate and direct extension of an alternative social power in Poland. As the Polish conflict deepened in the latter part of 1981, workers proposed to administer social production themselves and undertook action against the state on their own initiative.

IN view of the present forced conscription of the Polish workforce, Jaruzelski's assurances about the continuation of "renewal" acquire a different significance. What is being renewed in Poland is a violent, direct form of class conflict. While the possibility of an eventual understanding between a rehabilitated Solidarity and a demilitarized government

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cannot be ruled out, and Jaruzelski may yet borrow from the repression-and-reform school of Tito and Kadar and indeed create a "new model" in Poland, such an outcome depends on a semblance of popular legitimacy for state power, a credibility which would appear to be forfeited at present. Rather, the imposition of "normalcy" in Poland more resembles the "sanitizing" operations conducted by other military regimes from Argentina to Turkey, and the shouts of "Gestapo!" which greeted security forces seem all the more appropriate given the government's crude use of anti-Semitic themes against its opponents. The desperation of the authorities is such that among the ruins in contemporary Poland can be found not only the collapse of the economy but the complete disintegration of official ideology. It is the argument of force—and not the force of argument—which is persuasive in Poland today.

Jaruzelski's stabilization measures also reveal something of the general methods of state power in the present era and the possibilities of opposing them. The relative speed with which the Polish military secured its initial objectives showed the fatal consequences which await a revolutionary movement which is unarmed and demobilized on a practical level, being incapable of organizing and coordinating its own defense because it has ceded power to its so-called "representatives." At the same time, the resistance of workers and students in Gdansk, of miners in Silesia, and the generalized sabotage conducted against military rule are evidence of an equally instructive refusal to submit to authority. This resistance is no more due to the "Polish spirit" than the conflict itself can be said to concern only Poles.

If the struggle which has been taking place in Polish factories, mines and shipyards has yet to find an echo in Eastern Europe and the USSR—where authorities have successfully turned Polish nationalism against itself—the international repercussions of this movement have not ended. Polish workers themselves refer to their go-slow disruptions of production as "Italian strikes," showing an implicitly internationalist recognition of forms of rebellion elsewhere. Others may come to emulate Polish workers and not simply in terms of tactics.

As Polish workers contradict Jaruzelski's announcement of a glorious "return to work," the ideas and experience of their movement have become a force in the world. However much interpreters elsewhere attempt to discredit or manipulate the legacy of the Polish rebellion, its content cannot be entirely repressed and its issues and conflicts remain at the centre of social history everywhere. It is fitting that there is similarity in the views on Poland advanced by leaders East and West: Brezhnev accuses the Polish workers of wanting to "restore capitalism"; Reagan seeks to reduce their movement to the level of a militant Junior Chamber of Commerce, declaring "their cause is ours." In both cases, the anti-authoritarian dimensions of the Polish movement are deliberately censored. Yet, in their actions, in their expression of a desire to assume direct control over the social world that dominates them, the participants in this rebellion challenged capitalism, both corporate and bureaucratic. It was not simply Leninism which was buried by the workers of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk. The assertion by Polish workers of their collective power was also the explicit negation of private enterprise.

The immediate conditions of life in Poland today—material privation and powerlessness—are reproduced in varying degrees throughout the world. As the current crisis of advanced capitalist economies intensifies and is internationalized, austerity and discipline will be the order of the day, and will inaugurate the day of *order*, everywhere. In the face of this, the "Polish experiment" should inspire further experiments—experiments in going beyond the existing framework of things, beyond the domination of things and those who administer their production. A genuine renewal of social possibilities cannot occur within only one country; it requires international perspectives and actions. In the meantime, it is not a question of lighting candles but of setting fire to the structures, routines and authority which imprison contemporary life.

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Anarchism and the world crisis

by John P. Clark

WE are at a point in history at which the need for a new political vision is becoming acutely evident. In the industrialized West, we find increasing dissatisfaction with traditional political options and a loss of faith in formal democracy. There has been a drastic loss of confidence in political parties and non-voting on a massive scale. In the East, we find a growing movement of dissent, which challenges the Marxist orthodoxy, often silently, through the withdrawal of allegiance and cooperation, sometimes dramatically, in periodical revolt. And in both West and East we find in many countries and to varying degrees a cultural opposition which vaguely, yet perhaps prophetically, points to the need for a new unifying vision.

The prevailing world systems no longer offer us a hopeful prospect of resolving the vast social and ecological crises which now confront humanity. These systems, with such values as industrialism, high technology, centralism, urbanization, and the state, have been instrumental in creating the social atomization and ecological imbalance which are at the core of these crises. What is necessary is an alternative vision of society, the future, and indeed reality itself: a vision which departs from the traditional ideologies on all these fundamental questions. This vision is anarchism.

In discussing the anarchist approach to the present world crisis, I will focus on some of the objections which opponents of anarchism have raised to the view that it can be a viable global strategy. In particular, I will deal with the points made by Alan Wertheimer in his essay, "Disrespect for Law and the Case for Anarchy" (in *Anarchism: Nomos XIX*, N.Y.U. Press, 1978.) in which Wertheimer contends that anarchism is unable to successfully deal with four current world social conditions. These are 1) that "the population of the earth is (perhaps) too large, but increasing at a rapid rate with no immediate prospect for a serious reduction;" 2) that "in much of the world, basic human needs are not being satisfied;" 3) that "the world's natural and human resources are not evenly distributed across the globe;" and, finally 4) that "the present level of subsistence is based on a high level of social and economic interdependence among various regions of the world and also within the regions themselves." In addition, Wertheimer contends that anarchism is unable to cope with conflicts between individual self-interest and social needs, particularly as this relates to the question of defense.

In considering the anarchist response to these problems, it is important to understand the meaning of the term "anarchism." What I take here to be anarchism is a tradition of theory and practice which has developed and evolved within an historical movement over the past century and a half. I take this movement to have at present such principles as the rejection of all forms of domination; the acceptance of forms of human interaction based on cooperation, autonomy, and respect for the person; and an ecological view of society, nature, and reality in general.

In practice these principles lead anarchists to propose such policies as the replacement of nation-states by federations of communal and workplace associations; replacement of corporate capitalist and state ownership by self-management of production by the producers; replacement of the patriarchal-authoritarian family by libertarian family and living arrangements; replacement of the megalopolis and centralized population patterns; and replacement of centralized, high technology by more humanly-scaled alternative technologies which are not destructive of the social and natural environments.

Population Problems: Density and Growth

The population question poses several problems for the anarchist position. One of the most basic is the issue of whether anarchistic forms of social organization are even possible in societies with either absolutely large populations or high levels of population density. According to one line of criticism, systems of law are unavoidable in highly populated societies. For this reason, anarchy, which assumes the absence of a legal system, cannot be workable in these societies.

It is important to emphasize that anarchists recognize the necessity for rule-making in all societies. The important consideration is not whether there shall be rules, but rather the level at which the rules are made, the processes used to determine them, and the nature and extent of the rules themselves. Anarchists argue that whenever feasible, voluntary rule-making, through processes like arbitration and consensus, should be used. But since this is often not possible, the next step is to develop systems of rule-making through democratic processes at the communal level (although many decisions will no doubt be left to even smaller groups and to individuals if the community is to maintain its libertarian character). This communal democracy may be interpreted as requiring formal systems of local law which can, insofar as communities are in agreement, be extended in scope through federation.

There is, however, a strong tendency to favour case-by-case consideration of issues by local assemblies and popular judicial bodies, much on the model of some aspects of the Greek polis and certain tribal decision-making processes. There do not seem to be any obvious reasons why such systems of decentralist and federative rule-making could not be developed in highly populated societies.

But even if possible, can this decentralized decision-making be practical in such societies? There is evidence that the relative advantages may be greater in the more complex, highly populated societies. As value and interest conflicts



multiply with population growth and urbanization, the centralized state apparatus becomes increasingly more inept as a means of coping with rapidly proliferating crisis situations.

The typical tactic of the state is to expand bureaucratization and centralized planning which results in further dissociation between the planning mechanism and social reality. Increasingly particularized problems are confronted in an increasingly generalized manner. Decentralized and federative decision-making, on the other hand, is inherently more capable of dealing with complexity since it is itself complex and diversified. Multiplication of problems calls for a corresponding multiplication of information-gathering, discussion, and decision-making.

The question of the anarchist approach to the problem of high levels of population in relation to ecological constraints will be investigated shortly. This is necessary since anarchist strategies would be obviously unrealistic if they demanded a much lower global density of population than that presently existing, or could not cope with the high rate of growth that will be inevitable for some time.

It should be noted first, however, that decentralization of population does not demand an overall low density of population. Many Third World countries, in which population is primarily dispersed in villages, have a higher density of population nationally than many other countries in which the population is concentrated in urban centres. Furthermore, there is anthropological evidence that societies with economic and political systems more loosely organized than those proposed by contemporary anarchists have had rather high densities of population. Decentralist policies increase the level of population that can be maintained within a given area, in view of the decreased ecological stress which results from dispersion of population, industry, waste production, etc.

This does not mean that anarchists look with equanimity at levels of population growth which threaten to rapidly strain the limits of our planet's capacity to support human life, or that they merely hope to increase this capacity through decentralization. So a second, and more important, question arises: can there be anarchist strategies to limit population growth so as to stabilize population at a level most conducive to human well-being and optimal ecological balance? As Wertheimer points out "while we preach birth control, the Indian peasant continues to propagate children in order that he have help in working in the fields and in order that someone will survive to take care of him when he is too old and infirm to take care of himself." Though he may understand the disastrous social consequences of his action, can we expect him to do otherwise than mitigate his own suffering? Consequently, the argument continues, a rational population policy with state powers of enforcement is necessary.

This argument is based on a false dilemma. The apparent alternatives are anarchic reproduction (which is in fact not "anarchic" in the anarchist sense, but rather controlled by the prevailing hierarchical and inequalitarian socioeconomic system), and controlled reproduction (which is subject to the additional control of the coercive apparatus of the state). But these are far from the only alternatives and neither would be advocated by anarchists. They advocate instead that in societies like India the social and economic system be thoroughly transformed in ways which are more compatible with village population distribution and traditional methods of production than are centralist governmental policies. Furthermore, they maintain that state policies aimed at preservation of the existing economic system while instituting compulsory birth control (along with promoting urbanization and high technology, as under the Indira Gandhi regime) will only perpetuate the present level of misery and exploitation, while aggravating the damaging ecological effects of overpopulation.

The anarchist approach to peasant societies in which tenancy or small-holding predominates requires the replacement of these forms by cooperative cultivation of the soil by associations of producers. With such a system the members of the associations are in a position to overcome their previously quite understandable concern for maximizing the labour

supply. They can then provide for their old age and undertake other social welfare measures by the cooperative regulation of their surplus production, assuming that the technology for adequate cooperative production is available (an assumption that will be discussed shortly) and that if the surplus now diverted to native and external ruling classes is reclaimed, then the needs of the producers can better be fulfilled. The essential point is that the anarchist approach to problems of overpopulation implies conscious social reorganization and cannot be equated with "libertarian" inactivity or mere moralistic encouragement.

The Problem of Scarcity

Anarchism has always concerned itself with the problem of scarcity. Much of the appeal of anarchism to the peasants of Spain, the Ukraine, and other countries lay in its vision of greater abundance based on libertarian communalism and production for real needs. Recent anarchist theory, as exemplified by Murray Bookchin's classic *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, has taken the question of scarcity as a central one for political theory. But do anarchists have evidence that their approach of decentralized production and alternative technologies is workable?

According to Colin Ward, the proposals for labour-intensive, decentralized food production made by Kropotkin over a century ago have been shown by experience to be quite practical. As he has observed, "the Japanese experience — the evolution from domestic insufficiency, through self-sufficiency, to an embarrassing 'over-production' — illustrates the technical feasibility of Kropotkin's claims for the enormous productivity of labour-intensive agriculture. The modern horticultural industry in Britain and in the continental countries fully lives up to his expectations. . . ." E.F. Schumacher's Intermediate Technology Group has carried on the tradition of thinkers like Kropotkin and William Morris in developing so-called "appropriate technologies" which will allow developing societies to solve their problems of scarcity and unemployment while avoiding the disastrous consequences of heavy industrialization and urbanization.

In the United States, groups like the Institute for Local Self-Reliance are exploring possibilities through which impoverished local communities can escape from the trap of dependence and economic exploitation by the development of community industrial and agricultural production. David Morris and Karl Hess present a rather detailed picture of some of these possibilities in their book *Neighbourhood Power* which is based in part on their work in the Adams-Morgan neighbourhood in Washington, D.C.

In discussing the anarchist approach to questions like scarcity and the "standard of living," it is important to note that what is being called for is not mere subsistence, but rather a society of abundance. Anarchists argue that the seeming implausibility of achieving such a society through anarchist forms of production results from a failure to question the ideology of material consumption. If abundance must rely on infinitely expanding productivity and exhaustion of nature as a resource, it obviously can never be achieved. But for anarchists, abundance is to come from the development of social needs and from satisfaction of the desire for a creative and joyful existence. In this connection, they find inspiration for their vision in the richness of symbolic imagination, the depth of communal feeling and the joy of immediate experience in many traditional societies.

Anarchists emphasize the inability of mere increases in production to raise the qualitative standard of living once the most basic material needs are provided for. To discuss this subject adequately, one would have to deal at length with such themes as the nature of a society based on the model of human being as consumer, the reduction of human values to commodity values in a consumerist society, and the destruction of the human and natural environments in a society obsessed with commodity production and quantitative growth.

Yet, recognition of these seemingly abstract themes should not lead to a failure to apprehend the practical concern for forms of technological development which combine levels of

production sufficiently high to fulfill basic and higher needs with the requirements for a humanly-scaled, non-bureaucratic, non-hierarchical social system. What anarchists reject is a simplistic approach which isolates problems of production, for instance, from the totality of social relationships, or one which sees only the alternatives of continued development of present directions of technical evolution or the immediate destruction of all that has resulted from this development.

This either/or approach ignores alternative lines of development of technology and also overlooks alternative strategies for abundance such as greater sharing of social products as opposed to individualistic consumption, abolition of wasteful consumption resulting from manipulated needs and desires, and the creation of more social needs (in which the growth of needs themselves leads to abundance rather than scarcity) rather than material consumptions needs. It is incorrect to assume that the existence of a society of abundance corresponds to the existence of large quantities of the kind of consumer goods now produced.

The Problem of Distribution

Anarchist forms of production and "liberatory technology" are capable of fulfilling basic human needs and are compatible with those social forms which lead to the fulfillment of higher ones. But even if an anarchist society could reach an adequate level of production, it can be argued that such a society is incapable of achieving an equitable distribution of goods. It is argued first, that if nation-states are unable to transcend their "narrowness of territoriality," then anarchist communities, with their local basis can only be expected to be even more narrow; secondly, that inequalities between communities in resources or productivity would result in injustices that could not be rectified; and, finally, that anarchist reliance on "spontaneous" redistribution is hopeless in view of the severity of the world crisis.

The argument that anarchism leads to a narrowness based on local communalism relies on an exclusive direction of attention to the anarchist emphasis on community control and decentralization and a lack of acknowledgement of the principles of federalism and mutual aid. From the time of Bakunin and Kropotkin, anarchism has stressed the importance of local, regional, and global federations of communities and worker collectives.

The relationship between local communalism and global communalism is expressed well in the work of Martin Buber who argues that unless the inhumane, bureaucratic, objectifying relationships created by the state, capitalism, and high technology are replaced by personalistic, cooperative relationships arising in the primary communal group, it cannot be hoped that people will have a deep concern for humanity as a whole.

In Buber's view, unless we can see humanity in our neighbours it is impossible to expect us to overcome that "narrowness" which prevents us from acting with a concern for the entire species. But this is not a mere moral dictum; rather, it is a call for communitarian praxis. As Buber states it, "an organic commonwealth—and only such commonwealth can join together to form a shapely and articulated race of men—will never build itself up out of individuals but only out of small and ever smaller communities: a nation is a community to the degree that it is a community of communities."

Anarchists contend that to the extent that redistribution is a necessity, it will be encouraged more by the practice of mutual aid through free federation than by nation-states or by the creation of a world state. The central element of the anarchist case concerns the development of class interests in societies based on centralized bureaucratic forms of organization. The relevant question is whether statist or federalist forms of organization can contribute most to the development of cooperative patterns of thought and action and, to look at the other side of the same issue, whether power does indeed corrupt in proportion to the degree to which it is centralized or concentrated.

Anarchist theory asserts that as long as concentrated political or economic power remains, we can expect it to be used in the interest of those who control that power. For instance, in the United States, a nation with the greatest concentration of wealth and one of the longest traditions of liberal democracy, there appears to be virtually no redistribution taking place between economic strata and only a fraction of 1% of the GNP is devoted to aid to poorer countries.

For evidence of the nature of the alternative proposed by anarchists, we can examine the federations established by the anarchosyndicalists in Spain in 1936. We find that the redistribution which has been largely absent over generations in liberal and social democratic countries took place in a period of a few months in collectivised areas, primarily as a result of the institution of self-managed industry and agriculture. In the short time that the collectives were able to act autonomously, they began to expand this egalitarianism beyond the limits of the individual collectives.

According to Gaston Leval, in areas like Castile and Aragon "the libertarian communist principle was applied not only within each Collective, but between all the Collectives." Leval describes such programs as disaster relief, redistribution of fertilizer and machinery from the wealthier to the poorer collectives, and cooperative seed production for distribution to areas in need. According to Leval, there was an awareness among the collectivists that "having risen above the communalist mentality, the next thing was to overcome the regionalist spirit." The Spanish anarchist experiments of the 1930's provide evidence for the anarchist claim that when human beings develop patterns of life and values based on mutual aid at the level of small groups and local communities, they can go far in the practice of mutual aid at other levels of social organization.

Since the technology for liberation now exists, the major problem for poor societies is the achievement of social transformation. This necessitates their economic and political liberation from exploitation by imperialist powers and native ruling classes and their emancipation from patterns of domi-

nation transmitted through cultural tradition. The function of an anarchist movement in such societies is the creation of a praxis adequate to displace these groups and structures and to institute liberatory forms in their place. Thus, the economic problem is not seen as the absence of enforced redistribution (which is unlikely to be endorsed by the classes and states which benefit from the exploitation), but rather as the destruction of the undesirable patterns of production which result in the maldistribution and of the ideologies which legitimate the process.

Although redistribution, production and distribution in general will not occur "spontaneously" in the sense that they will occur without planning or strategy, it is much more likely that more equitable distribution will occur as a result of the self-conscious cooperative efforts of the exploited to change power relationships, than as a consequence of the agreement of exploiting powers to subject themselves to the control of some higher political authority which is to enforce redistribution.

The real alternative to the anarchist approach appears to be, not a liberal or social democratic optimism about global democracy, but rather Marxism-Leninism, which has enough awareness of the realities of economic power to realize that such a shift in power relationships will inevitably involve a



process of global class struggle. But although anarchists may agree that the Marxist-Leninist approach can succeed in significantly reducing the extremes of economic inequality, it is judged to be a failure as a praxis of liberation for the following reasons: 1) the Marxist-Leninist view of social revolution, with its strong commitment to statism and centralism, results in a new state-capitalist and bureaucratic-centralist form of class domination perpetuating political and often economic inequality; 2) Marxism-Leninism's uncritical acceptance of high technology leads to continued alienated production and the necessary development of a technocratic class interest and to continued domination of nature and destruction of the ecosphere; and 3) the economic and productivist orientation of Marxism-Leninism blinds it to many important areas of the struggle for human liberation, not the least of which are the cultural, the aesthetic, and the erotic, and weakens its analysis of many forms of domination (including political, racial, sexual, and psychological ones).

The Problem of Transition

Another common argument against the anarchist position is that the transition to an anarchist society would have disastrous results, given the high degree of interdependence in the present world economy and the present level of urbanization. Anarchism is seen as implying cataclysmic change, the immediate destruction of all complex organization, and a regression to communal independence.

But as has already been pointed out, anarchists do not advocate complete communal independence, but rather an organic interdependence beginning with the most basic social units and building, through federation, to humanity as a whole. Neither do anarchists propose that technological change and decentralization be taken as absolute principles to be dogmatically applied no matter what human needs may dictate. They therefore do not advocate that all technology be destroyed while we wait for liberatory alternative forms to be developed and instituted. They propose instead that research

now be done on alternative technology and that people begin to use these liberatory forms to whatever degree possible, even while high technology continues to predominate. For example, while anarchists reject completely conversion to nuclear energy, they do not advocate that other energy sources be eliminated but that they be replaced progressively by solar, wind, methane, geothermal, and other alternatives.

Similarly, anarchists do not advocate decentralization through annihilation or forced relocation of city dwellers. Many anarchists approve of cities of traditional scale and advocate such policies as neighbourhood assemblies, integration of work, play, and living spaces, community gardens and workshops, and similar approaches to transform the urban environment. Yet, anarchists do foresee the scaling down of the inhuman megalopolis to the level of the city and an ongoing process of synthesis of town and country. What is called for as an immediate necessity is not the displacement of huge masses of people but the institution of small-scale direct democracy in the form of neighbourhood and workplace assemblies.

A Note on Self-Defence

It is a fundamental principle of anarchism that if the community is to be defended, this must result from the voluntary action of the people. This leads to the criticism that the anarchist community could not effectively defend itself against the highly organized, compulsory militaries that ordinarily engage in warfare. In fact, it might not defend itself at all since, while each member might wish that the community be defended, they will each, because of self-interest, voluntarily choose that others be the ones to do the defending.

Anarchists firmly believe that "war is the health of the state," and that consequently it always threatens to be crippling, if not fatal, to freedom. To militarize a society in order to fight authoritarianism means an automatic victory for authoritarianism. For this reason anarchists insist on the necessity of limiting military activity to communal self-defence through popular militias and they oppose hierarchical, centrally-directed military forces. In this context, the argument that this approach will lack popular support is not a significant one. Communities do in fact defend themselves when there is a real danger to their freedom. The theoretical objection concerning nonparticipation overlooks the psychological elements of war and the pervasive effects of social pressure. A cohesive community does not have difficulty securing participation in defence, although the anarchist requirement of voluntarism becomes increasingly more difficult to fulfill as the threat to the group increases in magnitude. The crucial question is therefore whether the strategy of popular self-defence can be effective when utilized.

The answer seems to be yes, popular self-defence can be effective. For example, the peasant anarchist Makhnovist movement in the Ukraine developed highly successful methods of guerrilla warfare against overwhelming odds in its battles against several armies from 1918-1921. The military success of the Makhnovists was only ended when their army, by then worn down by its victories against rightist forces, was attacked by its erstwhile "ally," the Bolsheviks. The Spanish collectives also achieved a remarkable degree of mobilization of the population during the period of the people's militias. In fact, support and morale only declined significantly when the militias were militarized in the hands of the state. Recent experiences such as the Indochinese wars and resistance to colonialism and neo-colonialism in many areas of the world (Afghanistan being the most recent instance) have brought into question the ability of powerful nation-states to successfully (or profitably) crush opposition in areas where guerrilla warfare is vigorously supported by local communities.

Conclusions

In his final argument, Wertheimer notes that contrary to what he takes to be the anarchist position, "human suffering cannot always be attributed to states and their legal superstructures." This comment illustrates well one of the most common popular misconceptions about the nature of anarchism, namely, that it can be reduced to mere antistatist or opposition to government. However, in analysing social limitations on human development, anarchists have not restricted their analysis to the effects of the state. Their critique deals with the entire system of domination including not only its statist and bureaucratic aspects, but also such factors as economic exploitation, racial oppression, sexual repression, sexism, heterosexism, ageism, and technological domination.

Anarchists maintain that the roots of the present ecological crisis can be found in the prevailing systems of industrialism and centralist high technology. The anarchist program is both a strategy for human liberation and a plan for avoiding global ecological catastrophe. While this program obviously requires a great deal of further development, even in its present form it appears to be the only political practice which offers a viable synthesis between the values of human self-development and liberation, and those of ecological balance and global survival. As Richard Falk writes, "the anarchist vision . . . of a fusion between a universal confederation and organic societal forms of a communal character lies at the very centre of the only hopeful prospect for the future world order."

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The Democracy Movement in China

"History has finally given us an opportunity to give voice to a song, albeit a cautious one, that has been in our hearts for the past ten years. We cannot wait any longer. To wait is to move backwards, because history has already overtaken us."

Today Magazine, Beijing 1978

BEGINNING in November 1978, a spontaneous popular movement for democracy started to develop in China. While the vision of democracy held by the activists of this Democracy Movement (as it came to be called,) varied from liberal democratic capitalism to workers' self-management, all were united in their opposition to Communist autocracy and in their demands for freedom — of expression, association and movement. Originally tolerated by the Deng Xiaoping regime, still consolidating its power at the time, the Democracy Movement has since been ruthlessly suppressed, its activists imprisoned and its newspapers banned.

Throughout the 1970's there had been periodic unrest and rebellion in China as the remaining anti-authoritarian undercurrents of the Cultural Revolution struggled to break through to the surface. Virtually all of the Democracy Movement activists were former Red Guards, and they no longer harbour any illusions about the authoritarian nature of the Chinese State. As one of the most radical Democracy Movement participants, Wei Jingsheng, wrote in 1978, "we have been tempered by the Cultural Revolution and cannot be that ignorant now."

Strikes and riots broke out in various parts of China near the end of Mao's reign, but it was not until after his death in 1976 that the most significant event, the "Tiananmen Incident," occurred. Labelled a counter-revolutionary display at the time, its later rehabilitation as "a completely revolutionary event" by the new leadership of Deng Xiaoping helped spark the Democracy Movement.

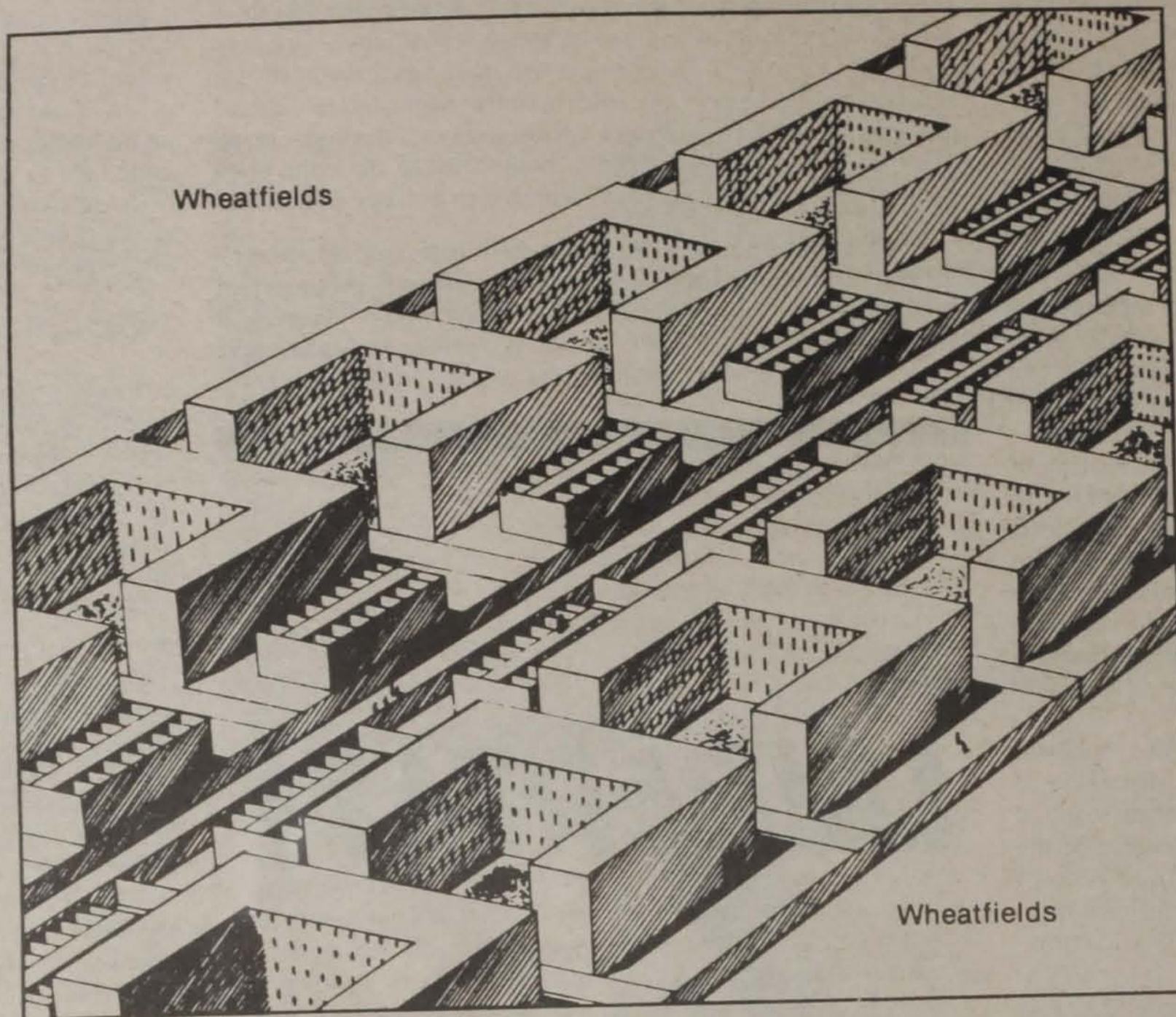
In April of 1976 thousands of people converged on Tiananmen Square in the heart of Beijing to protest the then current leadership and policies of the so-called "Gang of Four" — Jiang Qing, Zhang Chungiao, Yao Wen-yuan and Wang Hongwen — and to demonstrate in favour of the late Zhou Enlai. Police tried to cordon off the square but the crowd broke through the security lines, rushed the Great Hall of the People, overturned and torched official vehicles, sacked a police office and refused to disperse, despite the appeals of Beijing's mayor, Wu De. At night the police attacked, wading into the crowd with clubs and riot sticks, killing from two to four hundred people and arresting just as many. This "Tiananmen Incident" became a symbol of resistance and defiance to the Gang of Four, who had become scapegoats for all the excesses of Mao's regime.

During Deng's struggle for power the Democracy Movement was able to flower. In an effort to further discredit the Gang of Four and to bring himself greater public support, Deng had the previously "counter-revolutionary" Tiananmen Incident declared "revolutionary" in November, 1978. Encouraged by this, people began putting giant wall-posters up on Beijing's Democracy Wall, criticizing the Gang of Four, the lack of freedom of expression, and even the Great Helmsman himself, Mao Zedong. Deng indicated that he generally approved of Democracy Wall, so people took this as a signal that postering and publishing underground journals were legitimate activities. The first unofficial papers of the Democracy Movement appeared, consisting of poetry and rather tame criticisms of the government, the more critical attacks still being saved for the Gang of Four.

Unlike previous Chinese protest movements under Communist rule, the Democracy Movement was spontaneous and working class, made up of people 25 to 35 years old, survivors of the Cultural Revolution and former Red Guards. Many of them had been involved in the Tiananmen incident and had spent time in prison for their political activities. Their first calls for more freedom and democracy were tentative probably because they feared for their own safety, and rightly so. Within months many of them were in jail again.

During the winter of '78 - '79, there were regular mass meetings in Tiananmen Square, demonstrations at government and Party headquarters, and a profusion of wall-posters, poetry and journals throughout Beijing and

Poster and Perish



Quinsheng Prison — Chinese Gulag

many other Chinese cities—Shanghai, Kunming, Canton and others. Large crowds gathered daily to read wall-posters and pick up pamphlets at Democracy Wall. Billboards carrying portraits of Chairman Mao were defaced with posters openly criticizing his regime. A counter-culture, a festival of free expression, emerged, crying for artistic and political freedom and legal safeguards from bureaucratic excesses.

As numerous "study groups" and new journals were formed, attacks on the government and Mao became more radical. People became more critical of Deng, a hero to more naive members of the Democracy Movement for his seeming toleration of it, sensing that his policy of the "Four Modernizations" (the modernization of Chinese industry, agriculture, science and technology to "Western" standards by the end of the century) would strengthen the power and privileges of the bureaucratic class rather than the freedom of the people.

In an essay posted on Democracy Wall in Dec. '78, "The Fifth Modernization—Democracy," Wei Jingsheng described modern Chinese society as a form of "feudal socialism," "fascism under a Marxist-Leninist signboard." Criticizing the Communist Party Bureaucrats who "live like gods and hold dominant power," Wei asked rhetorically, "are not the people justified in seizing power from these overlords?" Unlike other Democracy Movement activists who blamed the Gang of Four for all of China's problems and who remained committed to Marxism-Leninism, Wei argued that Marxism is ultimately totalitarian and that democracy and workers' self-management are the only means for achieving human liberation.

As the Democracy Movement grew, thousands of peasants streamed into Beijing from the countryside to protest "against hunger, against oppression." Many of these "peasants" were also former Red Guards who had been forcefully relocated to rural areas after the Cultural Revolution, and who now wanted to return to the cities. Living conditions on the farms were abysmal.

Contacts were made between these peasants and Democracy Movement activists. In January a protest march of thousands of poor farmers and peasants was led and organized by Fu Yuehua, a prominent member of the recently founded Chinese Human Rights League. Fu herself was unemployed, having been blacklisted in 1974 for publicly exposing her boss for raping her. The protesters attempted to enter Zhongnanhai, the residen-

tial compound for top Communist Party officials, to directly confront Deng but they were held back by military guards. That same night Fu proclaimed the "19 Point Manifesto" of the Human Rights League at a mass rally, which called for the elimination of the secret police, of state ownership of the means of production (in favour of "social ownership"), and of the personality cult surrounding Mao.

Around the same time in Shanghai there were riots and demonstrations against the government involving nearly 5,000 people, mostly unemployed students. The local municipal authorities responded by arresting many Democracy Movement activists and by banning all public demonstrations and any other activity which disturbed "public order."

On January 18 Fu was abducted by the secret police, who refused to acknowledge her arrest until the end of the month. She was later charged for libelling her rapist (the authorities had previously claimed her accusation against him was "ungrounded"), and for organizing the peasant and farmers protest march. At her trial in October, 1979, she replied to the judge's charge that she must have been the leader of the march because she was at the head of it by saying, "If I had been in the back, you would be saying that I controlled it from behind a screen, and if I had been in the middle you would be saying that I was in the mainstream." The judge gave her two years.

Fu's arrest acted as a catalyst for uniting the diverse groups of the Democracy Movement. A joint team of journalists from various underground papers investigated her arrest and a united protest against her incarceration was made at Democracy Wall. Wei Jingsheng published their joint inquiry into Fu's arrest in his *Explorations* journal in March, along with an exposé of the massive Quinsheng No. 1 prison (see illustration) where political dissidents and disgraced party officials are held and often subjected to mental and physical torture. Wei also responded to a recent public speech given by Deng attacking the Democracy Movement, asking what the difference was "between Deng's democracy and Mao's despotism," when both would not tolerate freedom of speech and criticism.

Having consolidated his power within the ruling Communist bureaucracy, Deng felt it was time to crack down on these "reactionaries," especially since some of them were now publicly opposing China's recently commenced war with Vietnam. The official Beijing Daily denounced human rights as a "bourgeois slogan," claiming that "the call for

human rights is linked to calls for a return to capitalism and imperialism." All wall-posters, books or publications "opposed to socialism and to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party" were officially banned.

During a one week period beginning at the end of March, Wei Jingsheng and various members of the Human Rights League were arrested. Although some of them were later released, in October 1979 Wei was sentenced to 15 years in prison and others remained in custody without trial. Wei was convicted of the "counter-revolutionary" crime of "passing on military secrets to a foreigner" the previous February. The so-called "military secrets" were taken from the not so secret *Reference News*, a widely available internal bulletin for Party cadres.

As many as two thousand people were arrested during the Spring of '79 crackdown. Despite this many journals continued publishing, albeit with a much less radical content. What is surprising is the openness, and even naivety, of Democracy Movement activists. Didn't they think that the government might take steps against them? Why didn't they take greater precautions? As one disillusioned activist admitted in May 1979, "almost nobody made any detailed arrangements about how to resist arrest, how to be able to continue to print."

As the wave of repression continued against the Democracy Movement in the summer of 1979, groups of students, peasants, workers and disabled soldiers demonstrated almost daily in Beijing from July to October, protesting bureaucratic injustice. In September, 200 workers on a farm in Quing Hai, having been on strike since February, bodily blocked a rail line in protest. One hundred railway workers in Beijing protested against the Railway Bureau in front of Zhongnanhai. They quarrelled with police and were all arrested and taken to an unknown destination. With the rise of Solidarity in Poland, demands for free trade unions and student unions were made, and in 1980 there were major student strikes at several Chinese universities. As late as February 1981 there were a number of strikes by factory workers in various cities to protest bureaucratic abuses, and the remaining underground journals had organized into a National Federation.

All of this has been accomplished under growing repression. In November 1979, Democracy Wall was closed; in January 1980 Deng revoked the constitutional right to poster, claiming Democracy Movement activists were "anarchists" engaged in "anti-socialist propaganda." A growing number of activists have been arrested and journals forcefully closed down. This spring, in a show of international solidarity with their bureaucratic comrades in Moscow and Warsaw, the Beijing bureaucrats also removed the right to strike from the Chinese constitution.



To keep up on the news from China that you won't find in Time magazine, check out *Undercurrent*, an anarchist magazine published in Hong Kong. Subs are \$6/yr., from 5 Mid-Garage, Holly Road, Happy Valley, Hong Kong. An excellent source book of anti-authoritarian writings from and about China is *China: The Revolution is Dead—Long Live the Revolution*, available from Black Rose Books, 3981 Boul. St.-Laurent, Montreal Que. H2W 1Y5 (\$9.95). For current info on the Democracy Movement, write: Hong Kong Association for Solidarity with the Chinese Democratic Movement, T.T.M., P.O. Box 60071, Hong Kong.

Dare to Dream a Different Future

IT'S summer. Windows are open, and across the hall a man is yelling at his small daughter. Her screams make it hard to concentrate on the subject of nuclear war.

The solstice is already past. On the longest day of the year, at a coalition meeting of peace groups in Vancouver, the process of "democracy" was at work—decisions tabled to an executive, committee members nominated rather than volunteering, a strong chair cutting off discussion. Those who were to have been given time to speak were rushed through late in the evening, with little choice about the procedure.

Probably while this was going on, other people sat in rows on logs washed up along the beaches of Vancouver and watched the sun drop into the ocean. In a backyard, a sculpture of a Trident submarine was being built. 100 miles away, orange paint was brushed onto a tiny dory, waiting for black lettering to christen it with the name of a peace activist.

In the summer of 1982, patterns of thought are constantly interrupted with conflict. Within months or weeks or days, a submarine of cataclysmic proportions will arrive on the northwest coast to take on its first load of missiles at Bangor, Washington, but it will barely ruffle the water beneath the Pacific sunset.

Dreams are invaded at night: A Trident-1 missile can carry eight 100-kiloton bombs, each of which can be independently targeted or made to change course while in transit. The bomb that fell on Hiroshima was about 13 kilotons. The U.S. Navy has already backfitted these missiles into most of its 31 Poseidon subs, which can carry 16 missiles apiece, and waits for the arrival of the Trident sub, which can carry 24. The initiation of the Trident submarine itself prepares the way for Trident-2, the missile that will be capable of destroying not a mere 196 targets, but a more decivilizing 408.

There are even more numbers to convince the reader of the gross magnitude of destruction. The pictures of charred Hiroshima and Nagasaki are the only clues available to our imaginations.

What is significant about Trident beyond the numbers, is its relation to American nuclear strategy. While denying right and left that they would ever build a weapon that could start a nuclear conflict, the Pentagon spent the 1970's quietly developing what amounts to a first-strike weapon. Through both Republican and Democrat administrations, the American government stuck to its guns on the first-strike issue, using words of camouflage like "counterforce" and "deterrence". What they came up with was a strategy that goes something like this:

Trident warheads are "manoeuvrable re-entry vehicles" (MaRV's), which is to say they can be guided by satellite once they've been launched, and land within 150 feet of their target. Most Soviet nuclear weaponry is based on land, in stationary missile silos. The only reason the Americans need such incredible accuracy is to knock out the silos. If the Soviets struck first, the silos would be empty, and the Americans aren't likely to waste time on empty silos. Just to be sure, American missiles would have to fly first.

Pentagon subterfuge is not particularly surprising, considering that the creation of violence is the reason for their existence. What is more insidious is that elected officials in the U.S. and elsewhere also play deaf to the clamour for nuclear disarmament. The bang-bang tendencies of Ronald Reagan and friends have galvanized a peace movement in Europe and more slowly in North America, but it is often forgotten that they would be having less fun if they hadn't inherited a full toy-box from pseudo-liberal Carter and Ford and Nixon, and all their generals. True to form, the liberal governments of West Germany and Canada have carefully evaded any criticism about their roles in nuclear escalation.

It's four minutes to midnight, the days growing shorter again. In the peace community, congratulations are tossed around because 17,000 people took to the street in Seattle, 35,000 in Vancouver, all asking politicians for an end to the arms race.

In a farmyard near the Hood Canal in Washington state, four tiny orange dories lie stacked up next to a yurt, a kind of round, frame tent. They are the goldfish that will swim out to meet the shark, the U.S.S. Ohio.

For months a group of people from all over the Pacific northwest have met in Port Town-

send, Washington to plan the Peace Blockade. In this direct action, a number of small boats will meet the Trident as it arrives in the Hood Canal on its way to Bangor, and as they enter or refuse to leave a 1000-yard limit around the sub, they will break laws of national security and commit civil disobedience. Outside the 1000-yard area, other boats will witness the confrontation and make a legal protest. Since the sub will make at least two appearances on entering and leaving the canal, and possibly four, protest vigils and C.D. actions are expected to take place over about a month.

It is unclear how many boats will take part in the blockade, and its logistics change weekly because of its physical and legal complexity. The U.S. Navy has given several indications that they really see the 12-foot rowboats as a threat to the largest submarine ever built, which will be escorted by 30 coast guard boats. It was partially on the basis of recommendation from naval intelligence at Bangor that a demonstration permit was almost refused to the organizers of the June 12 Peace Arch rally at the U.S./Canada border. Word has leaked out that tents are ready, public parks requisitioned and the national guard on call to deal with blockade participants.

In their latest act of paranoia, the Navy, through the American Department of Transport, has issued a proclamation that the entire Hood Canal be closed during Trident's movement in the area. This law would not only hamper civil disobedience, but effectively prevent legal protest in the water around the base. Because of the latter implications, lawyers from the American National Lawyers Guild are currently seeking an injunction on the grounds that freedom of speech is being denied.

At Peace Blockade meetings, the heavy oar of authority seems far away, and participants speak freely. Decisions are made on a consensus basis. One person facilitates discussion—and this role rotates from meeting to meeting—seeing that every person gets a chance to speak and that issues aren't dropped until conflict is resolved.

Now that the blockade encampment is ready, meetings have moved from Port Townsend to the yurt on the hillside overlooking the canal. The setting is idyllic, a perfect summer camp for children from Vancouver and Seattle. The recreation consists of rowing, practicing with the boats, learning water safety and first aid—all the skills a camper will need to resist the state. The land, food for people staying at the camp and tents were donated by area residents.

In the serenity of a rural sunset, one can contemplate the implications of a maximum penalty of ten years in jail, or a fine of \$10,000. From the vantage of a 12-foot goldfish, the sub seems like an alien impossibility, hard to imagine populated inside with people who probably went to summer camp, too.

Since 650 B.C., there have been 1656 arms races, only 16 of which have not ended in war. The remainder have ended in economic collapse.

U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings

FOR a long time, people in the Peace movement in Canada have had to do much of their organizing under a large handicap—to wit, that our participation in the arms race appeared to be indirect at most. Aside from a small role in NATO, Canada seemed, to many of its citizens, to be far removed from the REAL action. After all, we do not have any nuclear weapons of our own, and the U.S. never stationed any strategic missiles north of the 49th parallel. Our most important campaigns revolved around the nuclear tests which were carried out at Amchitka to the north, and the Trident submarine base located in Bangor Washington, to the south.

But a growing number of Canadians, frightened by Reagan's militaristic actions, and inspired by the huge peace demonstrations in Europe, have come to realize that it will not



Military personnel, along with civilian staff at the base and local support industries make up a substantial portion of the Kitsap County population, and their relations with protesters are not always easy. Not too long ago, a geodesic dome at the Ground Zero Centre for Non-violent Action, just outside the base fence, was torched. Two days later, on a hot, hot Sunday afternoon, a vigil was held by the railway tracks where missile motors are carried into the base. A man who was "just watching" stood with police by the base fence and said he liked what the vigilers were doing, but, you know, last time they had an action that involved climbing over the fence, people went inside and kicked in a lot of windows. A little misinformation can go a long way.

Ground Zero representatives go to a community meeting—no doubt run with Roberts Rules or some equivalent—and face the harangues of local residents. The subject is a peace pagoda being built on their land by Japanese monks. The pagoda exceeds the local height by-laws. These people have children to protect. Through it all the Ground Zero reps smile serenely and listen, and answer questions, just as every Thursday they hand out leaflets to workers entering the Bangor base even though they have been harassed with everything from traffic tickets to charges of violating national security.

In the four years that Ground Zero has been handing out those leaflets, six people have quit their jobs inside the base on grounds of conscience. Other workers have started carrying leaflets into the base to hand out, some in reaction to the attempts to silence protest.

Building peace, through the trust involved in consensus decision-making, by dealing directly with workers who depend on the war industry, seems like a long and arduous process. By the end of this summer, Trident protesters may face several years of court procedure and jail sentences at a time in history when there may be few years left.

At a workshop in the yurt, several people talk about the involvement of their children in their decision to commit civil disobedience. They wrestle with the dilemma: Do they risk jail and missing some of their child's growing up, or do they risk silence when their children may not grow up? They want to dare to dream of a different future.

The U.S. Navy has of course refused to divulge any information about the exact date of the Ohio's arrival. As we go to press, the most recent forecast is for August 8th. Hiroshima was bombed on August 6, 1945 and Nagasaki on August 9.

For information about Trident and about the Peace Blockade, contact one of the following addresses:

Trident Action Group
104 - 1955 W. 4th Ave.
Vancouver, B.C.

Peace Blockade
Box 231
Port Townsend, WA.

Ground Zero Centre for Non-Violent Action
16159 Clear Creek Rd.
N.W. Poulso, WA 98370

First Strike You're Out

do to continue to ignore the increased drift towards nuclear Armageddon. And now, with the advent of the Cruise missile which the U.S. wants to test over Canadian airspace, great numbers of Canadians are beginning to see just how important a role our country plays in the world wide game of nuclear roulette.

By way of background, it is important to keep in mind that there is a great deal of difference between the lofty rhetoric which Prime Minister Trudeau employs on occasion (especially when visiting other countries), and his actions. At the first United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, held in 1978, Trudeau introduced a four-point program to "suffocate" the arms race. This proposal was actually quite enlightened. The second point in particular called for a "ban on flight testing of all new strategic delivery vehicles."

But in February, 1982, the Vancouver *Sun* reported that "The Canadian government is considering allowing the U.S. to test its controversial Cruise missile at Primrose Lake air weapons range near Cold Lake in Northeastern Alberta." Actually, this story was misleading, since the Trudeau government had already agreed to the test in principle, with-


out any public debate whatsoever. As the whole story gradually began to emerge, more and more Canadians became angry over what was going on behind their backs, and the dangerous decisions which the politicians were making.

The most alarming facts about the Cruise missile relate primarily to its capacity to increase nuclear proliferation and to its use as a first-strike weapon. It is an intermediate-range missile, essentially a pilotless airplane, similar to Hitler's dreaded "buzz bomb," the V-1. The standard Cruise missile carries a nuclear warhead that is about 7½ times as destructive as the bomb that obliterated Hiroshima.

Only 20 feet long, the Cruise missile can fly so low that it can go undetected by radar, it's so manoeuvrable that it can fly around a mountain, and so accurate that it can land within 100 feet of its target.

It's also cheap. The Air Launched Cruise Missile, the type that is supposed to be tested over Canada, will cost less than a million dollars each. "Only the smallest countries will be unable to afford it," says Frank Barnaby, Director, Stockholm Peace Research Institute. (In fact, according to U.S. columnist Jack

cont. p. 12



When they kick at your front door
How you gonna come?
With your hands on your head
Or on the trigger of your gun.

The Clash: "Guns of Brixton"

Anderson, "Israel, South Africa, and Taiwan will soon begin joint production of strategic Cruise missiles. . .")

Obviously, nuclear weapons that are both so powerful and yet so small make the prospect of a verifiable nuclear freeze and reduction almost impossible.

Just as unnerving is the potential of the Cruise to be part of a first-strike by the United States. The Pentagon has made it perfectly clear that it will, under certain circumstances, be the first to use nuclear weapons. An official U.S. Army booklet, "Air-Land Battle 86," for example, spells out a first use if the Americans feel that they are losing a conventional battle. According to Lord Zuckermann, scientific advisor to the British military and government for 30 years, any use of "theatre" nuclear weapons, like the Cruise, would make all-out war "virtually inevitable."

To call Reagan and his cronies war-mongers is not to indulge in rhetoric or hyperbole. When the Soviet Union recently told the U.S. that they would never be the first to use nuclear weapons, the U.S. actually denounced this promise as part of a Russian plan to over-run Europe! Not surprisingly, Reagan refused to make a similar statement.

It is undeniable that the Reagan regime is gearing up to try to "win" any kind of war that it fights, from guerrilla skirmishes to an all-out nuclear conflict. Their plans were exposed to the world in the *New York Times* of May 30, 1982, which printed an analysis of a five-year Defense Department (sic!) plan. Some of the highlights include:

- strikes against Cuba, Vietnam, and North Korea "in the event of a long conventional war with the Soviet Union;"
- putting guerrilla teams and saboteurs into Eastern Europe;

- declaring "economic and technical war on the Soviet Union;"
- opening up "new areas of weaponry, particularly in space;"
- using Cruise missiles to attack "areas such as Eastern Europe;"
- numerous other aggressive plans aimed at achieving a "victory" over Russia and its allies.

The Cruise is an integral part of these war plans. Canadian people can choose to not be part of the build-up for the real "war to end all wars." Canada can "refuse the Cruise." Canadians can stop participating in NATO and NORAD. Canadians can reject an alliance with any military bloc. Instead, we support, both militarily and especially politically, the most monstrous war machine ever constructed.

The situation outlined above affects us as Canadians and as human beings. But there is, I believe, a special relevance here for anarchists.

The central concern of anarchists is that of coercion, of domination, of power. Power, be it economic, as in a capitalist state, political, as in the Eastern Bloc—power in whatever form it takes—tends to deny people the chance to run their own lives. Crucial decisions are made by someone else. This is exactly the situation that allows the arms race to continue in general, and the testing of the Cruise missile in particular.

Everyone knows by now that a nuclear war would probably mean the extermination of humanity, just as it is well known that the money spent on arms (over one billion dollars per day!) could eliminate hunger, most diseases, and so on. While it is important not to minimize public support for such wasteful policies (Argentina and Britain are only the most recent examples), it is nevertheless true

that it is the ruling elites in almost every country in the world that are responsible for the continued existence of this extravagant flirtation with death.

So ex-President Galtieri of Argentina starts a war to distract "his" people from the government's fascist domestic policies, Reagan proposes to give the arms makers in the States over a trillion dollars in the next 5 years, and the Russians periodically invade their "allies" to insure that they follow Moscow's line.

It is obvious that only a mass movement in every part of the world has a chance to change this all-too-frequent pattern. And in fact, the phenomenal growth of the peace movement in the last year has the potential to turn out to be such a development. What's more, the issues raised go beyond the immediate nuclear crisis to more basic problems such as power and decision-making, the state as the formal structure of power relations, capitalism as probably the most important driving force behind the arms race, force as a way of settling disputes, nationalism as a regressive movement, the nation-state as a dangerous and obsolete entity, and a host of other questions.

The point is that while an end to the nuclear arms race is "the political task of our age," as Jonathan Schell writes in his powerful new book, *The Fate of the Earth*, libertarians in the peace movement must point the way beyond this goal towards wider and more fundamental tasks. The reality of the situation is ideal for pointing out the role of the state, big business, the alienation of power, and the need for profound social transformation.

Canadians specifically can educate around our ties to the American death machine, our spineless acceptance of the Cruise, and how these decisions were made by a handful of men in power. We can point out the fact that

Litton Industries of Rexdale is profiting by building the guidance system for Cruise, while being handed a subsidy taken from Canadian taxpayers. We can show how the government has seven billion dollars to squander on war, while there is unprecedented unemployment, deteriorating health care, a critical lack of affordable housing, and dozens of other social ills.

We can take direct action against the Cruise, at Cold Lake, Alberta where the missile will be tested, and at the Litton plant in Rexdale, Ontario. Already several anti-Cruise demonstrations have been held in the Cold Lake area, each drawing hundreds of people and they've been supported by thousands of marchers in prairie cities like Edmonton and Winnipeg. In Rexdale thousands demonstrated and dozens were arrested following direct action at the Litton plant. Anti-Cruise activists have also been leafletting the plant to encourage workers there to convert the plant to socially useful production for peaceful purposes.

Now that the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament has ended in failure, Canada will go full speed ahead in its shameless subservience to U.S. corporate and military interests. The only chance to stop it now is if enough people force the government to change its plans, either through direct action, civil disobedience or public demonstrations. Handled correctly, this could be a tremendous opportunity for a revival of anarchist thought and practice.

For more information on the Cruise in Canada, contact: Canadians Against Cruise, 2623 W. 4th Ave., Vancouver, B.C. V6K 3S4; Cruise Missile Conversion Project, 730 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ont. M5S 1R4; or any local chapter of Project Ploughshares.

After the Blast...

by Deb Wilson

"After the blast, you might feel slightly disoriented."—from *11 Steps to Survival*, the Canadian Emergency Planning department manual for civil defence.

THE Vancouver storefront window is causing a stir. Above a radiation-suited figure calmly reading a newspaper near the entrance, giant block letters issue a challenge to the street:

DO YOU KNOW HOW TO PROTECT YOURSELF IN A NUCLEAR WAR?
ARE YOU PREPARED TODAY?

Faces stare in alarm from passing buses. Pedestrians pull long second looks. Most of them appear unprepared.

It's no surprise. Emergency planning for nuclear war is the weak link in the country's nuclear chain, according to the Civil Defence Information Centre located inside. The centre addressed that link in a two week display, intended to publicize information on nuclear issues which are often obscured in tedious official documents. And in the process it drew threats from federal lawyers.

Not that the centre's information was false; much of it was adapted from the government's own publications. Trouble was, some people assumed the source of this impeccable information with its officious presentation was the government. And a lot of them were pretty mad about it.

But most who visited the centre were relieved to find, instead, an expansive practical joke: an exhibition of anti-nuclear information and analysis produced by three Vancouver artists and their support group.

Inside, tucked beneath the staircase and behind the sandbags, the bomb shelter shelves are stocked and ready. There's Sugar Pops and Preparation H, condoms and Cheezies, a "Risk" game and the *Live Longer Cookbook*. Walls hold snapshots and postcards of loved ones and scenery, a dartboard, a constellation map. A small radio spits uninterrupted static.

Walls of the converted gallery around the shelter are lined with six foot high floodlit blueprints, many modelled roughly on *11 Steps to Survival*, the federal government's latest civil defence manual, dated 1969. It outlines with bureaucratic cool the effects of a nuclear blast and radiation sickness, and offers instructions for backyard fallout shelters and makeshift protection. It reads like a Betty Crocker cookbook—with a terrifying twist.

While the manual's first step is "Know the effects of nuclear explosions," the centre's translation confronts the causes. Renamed: "The Big Stick gets around," after a chewing gum commercial, it examines patriarchy; the

relationship between "his power" and nuclear power in sweeping studies of cartoons and political caricature.

Step four: "Know how to take shelter," becomes "Who can afford Step #4: An Easy Bake Oven." It pokes at "the idea of building a bomb shelter in the ping pong room," says artist Laura Hackett: "a suburban non-solution." Promoting them, she continues, extends a military mentality and an acceptance of nuclear war in the affluent nuclear family, while leaving others out in the firestorm.

"And while your emergency information source is supposed to be the radio," adds Dean Mitchell, "they neglect to tell you that your radio announcer might not be radiation proof."

"First aid treatment after the blast," is the seventh step, revised and renamed by Daniel Werger. It is a simple illustration of four methods of suicide.

But the forum, the artists emphasize, is not strictly preoccupied with disarmament—the exclusive concern of many peace groups. The link with feminist, native and environmental issues are cultivated at nightly workshops with local speakers.

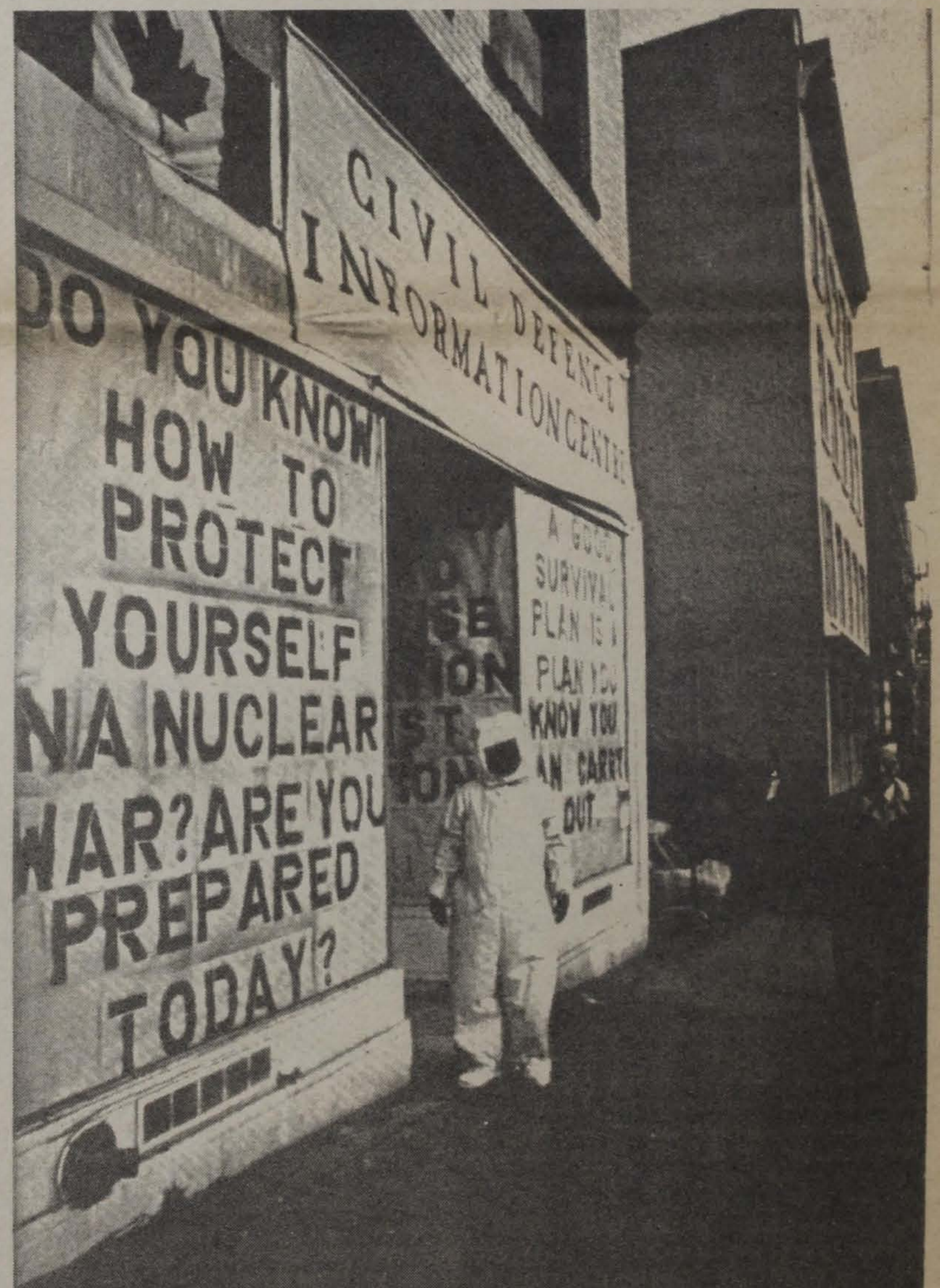
It all started, Hackett explains, when after videotaping outside the Triumph nuclear research station at the University of B.C., they picked up a man walking the isolated road in pouring rain. "He was talking really religiously," she says, and they were surprised to learn he was a computer scientist at Triumph. He offered them a tour.

They went, armed with the video camera. The Christian was leading them through "hot areas," explaining the special gamma and beta radiation sensitive belts the workers must wear, confessing: "Well, basically, they don't know what a safe dosage is," and telling them that death becomes irrelevant when you believe in God.

"So we're out there," says Hackett, "and we're appalled." And while wanting to expose Triumph and the nuclear establishment, "we realized general rhetoric and mainstream processes don't achieve anything." They needed to reach more than the art crowd, and more than the politically converted.

So they plastered city libraries, schools and community centres with official-looking posters promoting the display. "A good survival plan is a plan you know you can carry out," it advised below a small Canadian flag. Bright yellow posters lettered "Future radiation area: no loitering" went up around the city, framing landscapes at parks and beaches. One was pasted in front of the cancer clinic, others on the windows of the army recruiting office.

The centre's press release was equally straight: "Due to the rapidly shifting international situation the civil defence information



centre is opening a special information display. . . Current data forecasts two to three one megaton warheads targeted at the Vancouver-Victoria area." The Vancouver Sun dutifully reproduced the notice without more than a routine rewrite.

When the media picked up the story, the government opened fire. They had received the press release, said a justice department letter, and the Canadian flag displayed on the centre's sign, posters and letterhead implied government approval "in violation of the Trade Marks Act." They threatened legal action.

The centre's lawyers fired off a response: "My clients would suggest that if the Gov-

ernment of Canada is concerned only with the use of the Canadian flag symbol and not with their politics, then it would be more fruitful to investigate the use of the 11 point maple leaf by McDonald's." There was silence on the government side.

Black and white slides of nukes and their victims are playing in continuous counterpoint with colour tourist slides of Vancouver's famous view in the dim light of the centre. "As long as governments continue to convince us that we can wage and survive a nuclear war the risk of war occurring will continue to increase," states their handbill. "The only effective civil defence is that of taking direct action against the government—now."

by Deena Jurwitz

I agree that censorship is a deadly menace. It silences us and destroys our spirit. When enforced, people live in fear of expressing themselves. But violence against women is the ultimate silencer—it destroys women's lives. It makes us afraid, not only of expressing ourselves, but of being ourselves. And when night closes in, it comes like a prison.
—Nikki Craft

What blends into its environment, has terrifically strong survival instincts, and thrives on the elimination of pestilent insects? Answer: the preying mantis. And in Santa Cruz, California, the Preying Mantis Women's Brigade (PMWB) has been gaining momentum and recognition for its street theatre and guerrilla style direct action in combating violence against women in pornography. Their professed goal is "to commit illegal acts of civil disobedience with a media focus aimed at generating public discussion about violence against women."

Preying Mantis began in 1980 as a largely one-woman show, when Nikki Craft, a University of California graduate student, destroyed a cheap copy of "The Incredible Stack O' Wheat Murders." The series of photographs, part of the Special Collections at the University's main library, depicts attractive nude women who appear to have been murdered. What seems like blood gushes from the bodies, and beside each victim is a stack of pancakes. An informational pamphlet accompanying the print explains that "the postures are far less telling of struggle than of surrender, provocation and sensuality. . . . Of course, the epitome of the series' humour resides in all the Hershey's chocolate used" (as blood).

Nikki Craft is no dilettante, no newcomer to the issue. She has been fighting violence against women for years in Texas before coming to California. Nikki has often been motivated by her outrage at public insensitivity; in this case her decision came after reading a news item about the violent death of a woman jogging on Mount Tamalpais in mid-afternoon. Her action was intended to be educational. In a widely distributed leaflet headed with a quote from feminist theorist Robin Morgan: "Violent Pornography is the Theory—Rape is the Practice," she wrote:

The choice of model, her poses and the use of coke bottles, half-eaten bananas, etc. as props make it difficult to view the prints as anything more than violent pornography. No matter what the intent of the artists, the erotic language used to market them destroys any justification for them to remain in the sanctuary of the UCSC library. . . . The inclusion of the pancake mix (purchasers also receive 8 oz. of Hershey's chocolate syrup and enough pancake mix to make one complete Stack O' Wheat, at a cost of \$4.50) is the final insult to all womankind, the implication being that the purchaser can construct his own scene—create his own victim.

A tremendous amount of discussion was generated from the action both within the University community and in Santa Cruz at large. A college provost, arresting officer and some 400 students all recommended Nikki to receive the chancellor's award for the most ethical contribution to the campus community. The chancellor quietly and adamantly rejected her nomination and ended up giving out no award at all. Nikki stated before a public forum on the ethics of her act and University responsibility in owning the prints:

At times, civil disobedience is necessary to ensure the free exchange (of ideas). People who feel a moral urgency about an issue have a responsibility to do all they can to bring what they consider to be matters of life and death to public attention. . . . We need this process to keep people thinking. It keeps us free. This is how personal and political change take place. It saddens me deeply that this campus has been in more turmoil over the symbolic destruction of a three dollar set of prints than over the murder of Diane Steffy last November. Diane Steffy was a student at our university, and she was silenced forever.

Following the "Stack O' Wheats" action, others joined in a series of events, some legal and some extra-legal, deploring violence against women. Preying Mantis organized demonstrations at the 1980 Miss California pageant, where ribbon-wrapped flanks of meat were presented to the judges and thrown on the stage during the live telecast. They renamed the 1981 event the "Myth California" pageant, and poured blood on the Santa Cruz Chamber of Commerce sign that reads "Home of the Miss California Pageant." Blood was also poured on the entryway of the Civic

Pornography: the Ultimate Silencer

Auditorium, where the pageant was held. Members of the PMWB picketed such films as *Dressed to Kill* and *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre*, at which 35 people occupied the theatre, disrupted the film, and succeeded in conducting some dialogue with the audience before the police arrived.

One project drew attention to the use of sexual violence and the degradation of women by recording artists and companies in their promotion. Originally planned as a boycott, the tactics changed to slashing album covers, as members of PMWB became, according to Ann Simonton, "so angered and sickened, so overwhelmed" by the barrage of "displays of women being gagged, tied, chained and whipped. . . aisles of images of romanticized violence." They targeted the Rolling Stones for the billboard of a woman tied and beaten with the words "I'm black and blue by the Rolling Stones and I love it," and Cheap Trick's album *Dream Police* because the group members posed for the cover with a chain saw and guns standing over a mutilated woman mannequin. Also included was the rock group Scorpion, whose record *Virgin Killers* features a picture of a "12-year-old nude posed in a seductive stance with broken glass jabbed into her vagina."

Three-quarters of the women who work with PMWB have common experiences of rape, and some of incest. Ann Simonton's years as a professional model provide her with first-hand knowledge of the objectification and humiliation of women under the socially respectable cloak of the media. She says, "If they told you to change clothes in an open field, you did that; 'bend over,' I bent over. I became a professional victim." After she was raped on the way to a job, Ann started looking at herself and the work in a different light.

For Ann, as for others involved in PMWB, the campaign against Larry Flynt Productions, and particularly *Hustler* magazine, has been a successful means of calling attention to media's power to set standards for socially acceptable violence against women. Pornography may be entertainment to many, they explain, but this entertainment has made sexual terrorism against women the heart of their jokes. Among some of the more sadistic have been a satire of the Dewar's Whiskey Profile:

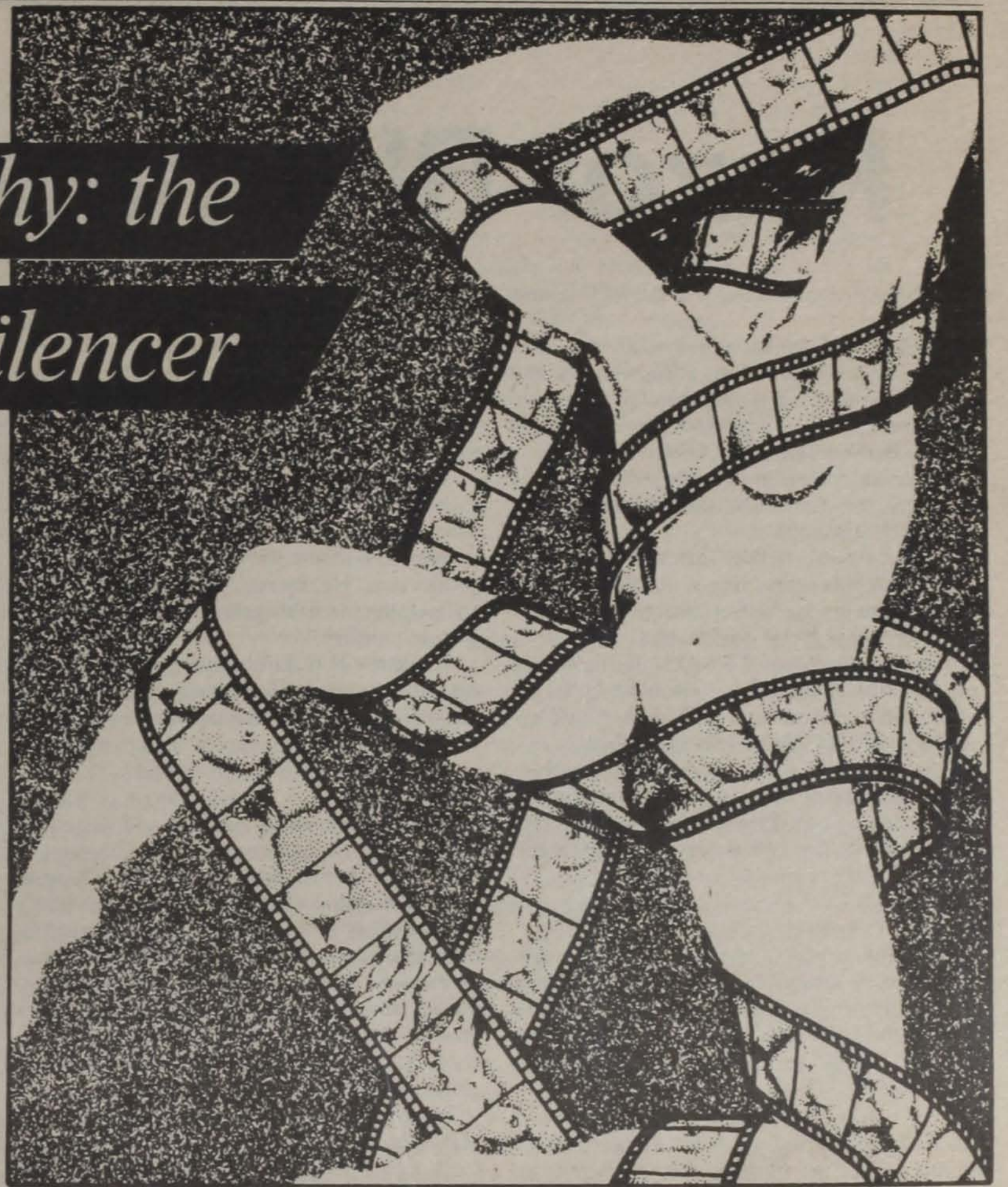
Kenneth Bianchi

Occupation: Hillside Strangler. **Latest Accomplishment:** Cindy Lee Hudspeth, 20. **Quote:** "You gotta treat 'em rough. . . . After knocking off a couple of bimbos, the Hillside Strangler likes to kick back and relax with Doers Lite Label."

Hustler regularly features "harmless" pictures such as the "Dream Lover" (December 1980) in which a woman is beaten, bound and her head dunked in the toilet. The story reads: "Even in sleep, she senses the erotic nature of the humiliation he subjects her to. The Dream Lover forces her to confront the primitive violence long suppressed in civilized men and women."

Over the past year, Preying Mantis has succeeded in persuading over 25 merchants in the Santa Cruz area to discontinue selling *Hustler*. This they have accomplished with a variety of tactics ranging from explaining their position to store owners, pouring ink and slashing magazine covers, to street theatre and direct action at Larry Flynt Productions' offices in Los Angeles.

PMWB is explicitly not committed to violence. They consider slashing magazine and record covers in the same league as burning draft cards, or destroying Selective Service records, and the hammering of missile nose cones in the Plowshares 8 Westinghouse action. Nikki said, "It just doesn't work for women to go around politely asking to have pornographic magazines which feature violence against women removed." And Ann pointed out, "We go to shopkeepers as much as possible, but for example, the owner of one market told us that murder was not as bad as the destruction of property. Such an attitude reflects the historic role women have played



as chattel, with a lower value than other possessions such as cattle or land. In some societies, even today, if a woman is "defiled" she is considered worthless, and can legally be put to death.

None of the members of PMWB believe that destroying a small fraction of the violent pornography marketed will solve the problem of how men think or act, nor change the fact that through it, society has become increasingly desensitized to and condones violence against women. But they do consider their actions to be justifiable retaliation against such a system. Perhaps more importantly, they hope to bring attention to the sexist stereotyping and range of humiliations and brutalizations suggested by the media and actualized in everyday life.

The inevitable discussion of censorship raises a number of issues: the difference between hard-core pornography and soft porn or erotica; the effect of pornography on violence in society; and the correlation between controlling pornography and suppression of all sexual matters—birth control, sex education, and even scientific studies.

Some distinction must be made between pornography and erotica. Hard-core pornography generally refers to material which explicitly represents sexual behaviour involving violence, whether it be the objectification of women, children or men, or the presence of rape, murder or torture. Through those means, pornography is intended to excite or stimulate sexual feelings.

Erotica may be sexually explicit, but it does not degrade or victimize. The fine line between "artistic" erotica and pernicious soft porn has evoked debate in itself, but there can be little confusion with violent pornography. For this reason many feminist groups working on the issue refer to it as hard-core porn" or speak specifically about violence in pornography and the media. Furthermore, hard-core pornography carries an unmistakable message of male domination and female submission (exemplified both by *Hustler's* "Dream Lover" and the "Stack O' Wheat" prints).

A member of Santa Cruz Men Against Rape and of PMWB, Glen Fitch, commented that, "Pornography is frequently excused as a means of dissipating men's violent tendencies. This is ridiculous." Pornography, because of its vicarious nature, leaves the consumer dissatisfied, while at the same time it suggests means of satisfaction. And the extent to which we have become "media junkies" means that we don't generally question the content or amount of violence we are exposed to.

Minimally, studies show that men who view pornography "want to try what they've seen" (*Take Back the Night*), and this is at times imposed on women through threat or simply in the name of sexual liberation (a form of humiliation if the person isn't interested in

being more "liberated"). It is no coincidence that most rapists are acquainted with their victims.

Another study showed that many men have a propensity to rape at one time or another, but are inhibited by social norms or the fear of getting caught. Media overexposure to violence and changing sexual norms have increased the level of socially acceptable violence, and women are often held responsible while also being victimized. Then, too, rapists often go unapprehended because women are intimidated or terrorized.

Back to the question of censorship, and what is to be done. Obviously there is a relationship between controlling pornography and sexual repression. For this reason, banning pornography has come under attack from feminists and liberals. Meanwhile conservatives like the Moral Majority agree with making pornography illegal. To them sex is obscene, and pornography and sex are one and the same.

Combating pornography runs the risk of being simply a campaign against vice. The anti-porn movement succeeds when it clarifies its purpose, as I think PMWB does, as being not opposed to sex or nudity, but to misogyny, degradation, objectification, mutilation, rape and murder for entertainment or sexual stimulation. Private action against the pornography industry both in civil disobedience and legal forms can be effective. Most important, however, is the anti-defamation education, the consciousness raising which results from direct action. Because of the way such discussion can shake our assumptions, it is a worthwhile strategy in and of itself.

The prevalent, if not unanimous, perspective is anarchistic. To the charge that the group is inaccessible (by a journalist in a Santa Cruz paper), Nikki said: "We are a fluid group, our aim is not to build an organization, but to do work." This is reflected in PMWB's national call for women to take up the *Hustler* campaign in their own communities, and destroy the magazine if not removed. Nikki added, only half jokingly, "As soon as this group becomes institutionalized, or loses its sense of humour, I'm going to start the 'Black Widow Banshee Brigade.'" She went on to explain that, given the illegal aspect of their work, it would be "naive" to include everyone.

Nevertheless, those who, like Ann Simonton, are moved to become involved can find their place with little trouble. And that little band has articulately and creatively succeeded in elevating the issue to wide public discussion in Santa Cruz.

Contact: Preying Mantis Women's Brigade
University of California
College V; Box 683
Santa Cruz, CA 95064

Reprinted from WIN magazine, 326 Livingston St., Brooklyn, NY 11217.

Razor Rhythms Cut Boredom

WHAT does Anarchy in the U.S. sound like?

It's bass and drums, immense anvils crashing inside your head; lead guitars so fast and ragged, rusty razors slicing through the rhythmic din and the vocals seething anger and horror barked with primal conviction.

"They say things are gonna get better/All I can say is they fuckin' better!" threaten Black Flag in 'Depression'.

Or more poetic, is the Germs' 'Manimal'; "I came into this world like a puzzled panther/Waiting to be caged/But something stood in the way/I was never quite tamed."

And the directness of T.S.O.L. (True Sounds Of Liberty): "Abolish government... forget about God... America! land of the free/Free to the power of the people in uniform."

The sound of Anarchy, or at least urban youth rebellion, has hit American popular music. It's on our doorstep like a paper bag full of shit on fire. What are we going to do?

* * * * *

"I swear to god," says Kenny, a Los Angeles punk rocker interviewed in the movie *The Decline of western civilization*. "I hate cops to the max!" And Kenny's hatred of the L.A.P.D. is only contradicted by his swastika laden t-shirt.

It's an old cross that punk rock has had to bear in the fight for legitimacy as the protest/rebel music of the Eighties. While few would deny that it is rebellious and confrontational it clearly lacks the political correctness and symbolic coherence that has been required of 'orthodox' post-Sixties radicalism.

The Decline... Penelope Spheeris' full length documentary of the early days of hardcore southern California punk music scene, will leave Leftists in a welter of paradoxes and loose ends because it presents an unexpected rebellion, dissent by a new generation for better or worse, unfettered by the intellectual baggage of the past twenty years.

Surprised by a burning bag of shit on our doorstep we can respond by stomping it out, dismissal via withering critique, or by ignoring the new phenomenon at our own peril. Either way the point is missed.

When Spheeris' film was made in 1979-80 the musical groups, Black Flag, X, Circle Jerks, Fear, etc., were performing to enclaves of 50-200 hardcore fans. Now, they are filling concert halls all over North America and the world.

The Los Angeles, H.B. (Hermosa/Huntington Beach) scene with its frenetic music, thrash dancing and violent anti-authoritarian components has been exported across the States, particularly to unlikely centres in the midwest heartland and Washington, D.C., itself. Major magazines have featured the new development, expressing disbelief and the hysteria of Parents of Punkers (POP), an anti-punk organization. On television The Tomorrow

Show and Donohue have both sensationalized the most lurid aspects of the cops/punks/parents confrontations.

Spheeris' film, for what it's worth, is not sensationalized. If anything she has understated the intensity of the scene with a leavening of humour and pop sociology.

At one point, after an hour of thrashing, fighting, and anti-social, anti-establishment documentary, she interviews two aging club owners who assure the viewers that the beach-punks are, "Really nice kids. They just have to be doing something different... In our day we ate goldfish."

While the H.B. kids may be strong, tanned and healthy their brains have definitely been damaged far beyond the point of eating goldfish. They no longer function in the predictable way they were programmed.

The Decline... should be of particular interest to anarchists because it brings into focus a set of contemporary psychological conditions that the post-Sixties "Me Generation" was supposed to have conveniently transcended. The words: nausea, depression, desperation, boredom and violence recur as themes and concepts throughout the film and music. However generalized these conditions may actually be in society the hardcore music scene is the first to deal with them as youth culture and as such give them social meaning.

The fans may lack a social understanding of their actions but the bands provide a soundtrack that is explicitly anti-authoritarian and consciously provocative.

From the opening shots of kids thrashing to "Nausea" by X, the film exudes the profound disillusionment of perhaps the most privileged/materially secure youth in the world. Even the thought of rebellion or dissent should have been scrubbed from their consciousness long ago. Yet, these kids exhibit the most extreme loathing of the system and the vacuous creature comforts it offers its loyal accomplices. Out of Orange County, the bastion of the new Conservatism in the U.S., comes Black Flag and the Germs.

The kids of *The Decline*... have been led to believe they are living in Paradise. "But," as Brendan Mullen, one of the early promoters of the L.A. scene, explains, with a diffident backhand toward the smoggy panorama of Los Angeles, "They discovered the air in Utopia is poisoned." As for the rest, he says, "It's a joke."

The hardcore music of *The Decline*... comes out of this sense of betrayal and a consequent anger and a kind of collective depression, which results from the apparent impossibility of changing the way things are. Black Flag sings "Revenge": "Promises you made never became fact/We're gonna get revenge... Revenge! I'll watch you bleed... I won't cry if you die... You won't know what hit you/We're tired of being screwed/Revenge!" And, "Depression's got a hold of me/Depression I gotta break free... Every-

body just stay away/I'm gonna boil over inside today."

The obvious danger in unrestrained hostility is that the resolution to such emotional intensity is not necessarily progressive. While the most effective bands on the L.A. scene are generally conscious anti-authoritarians, and this is no small blessing, the frustrated psychological state they reflect in their fans can just as easily be the raw material of organized fascism as any indication of a more progressive trend in contemporary youth culture.

The age of the hardcore punks, roughly 14-22, effectively isolates them from the social and political experiences of the Sixties. They have no activist background whatsoever. Unfortunately, to the politically unsophisticated fascism can appear as a radical solution to a desperate situation. The music may scream and promote "anarchy" in both its chaotic and anti-government guises but conscious anarchists, by abandoning their social activism and the necessity of articulating aggressive revolutionary alternatives, can leave the field open to reactionary ideologies or general barbarism.

Unlike the punk rock experience of the Seventies in Britain which was, and still is, primarily of working class origins the L.A. scene, documented in *The Decline*..., is overwhelmingly affluent middle class. While English punks deal more with economic and political conditions, the L.A. scene tends to concentrate on the psychological effects of living in the "modern world".

As Exene of X points out in the movie, "There's worse ways of being desperate than being poor." In their music the band describes the psychic numbness of trying to survive in an air-conditioned nightmare: "Our whole fuckin' life is a wreck/ We're desperate... get used to it/Coca-cola and a Motorola kitchen/Naughahyde and a tie-die t-shirt/We're desperate."

A disproportionate number of the L.A. hardcore are the children of the hippies coming of age. They emphatically reject the boring counter-culture value system, regarding the hippies and their "laid back" co-opted legacy with abhorrence. Even the mega-efforts of corporate rock'n'roll to exhibit a sense of commitment, such as the giant MUSE (Musicians United for Safe Energy), are viewed as non-participatory cattleshows, where the over-stuffed icons of the Sixties give at the office.

In a letter read in *The Decline*... by the editor of the punk magazine SLASH, one punk ridicules the anti-nuke movement closing with a sarcastic aside, "... As for the animals becoming extinct, they obviously don't have what it takes to survive. Don't get me wrong, I love nature, but I've had enough of it".

The same can be said of the Sixties generation who still think of themselves as a counter-culture. In the face of a multi-faceted

attack on life the question of actual survival is on the agenda and the hardcore punks are saying the Sixties, distilled through the Seventies, values of cohabitation and avoidance of confrontation with the State and its unformed representatives are over.

Individual or small group sabotage and violence is on the agenda for the punks. A fact which explains the fascination of punks towards the images, slogans and symbols of the urban guerrilla Red Brigades and a morbid identification with the seeming randomness of violent assassins and psycho-killers. Anything to break the mold of everyday boredom. Ostensibly, delinquent behaviour is revered and constantly justified in social terms as the only route of resistance that represents a break with established values.

The Decline..., like recent publicity on the L.A. scene, tends to highlight the violence erupting on the West Coast. Confrontations between kids and cops trying to exercise their control over concerts and gatherings have resulted in a number of riots. Internally there are on some occasions horrible fights and even group beatings in the pressure cookers of clubs and halls. Their actions and their thrash dancing seem to say: If there can't be change, and there is no indication from what direction one might come, then let's turn our lives, our territory, into a social war zone and reflect the psychological terror we are bombarded with daily.

Out of desperation and boredom has come a tendency toward self-immolation in the overpowering search for intensity or relief. Darby Crash, singer of the Germs, died of a self-administered overdose of heroin after a gig, saying simply, "We can't get any better than that."

Most of the fans have an apocalyptic view of the end of the world. They would not shy away from the nuclear holocaust. Anything to end the numbness and create an absolute break with the horror they sense around them. *The Decline*... ends with a belligerent Fear intoning: "Let's Have A War..."

One can view Penelope Spheeris' film as another voyeuristic window on yet another bizarre subculture or one can foresee in it and the culture it documents the real Decline Of Western Civilization... Hell has finally come to our house.

Hardcore records from the West Coast worth checking out: Compilation Albums: Let Them Eat Jelly Beans! (Alternative Tentacles/Faulty); The Decline of western civilization Soundtrack (Slash); and Rat Music for Rat People (Go!).

Black Flag: Damaged (SST) and any of their EPs: X: Los Angeles (Slash); Adolescents (Frontier); album: T.S.O.L.: 1st EP; Circle Jerks: Group Sex; Wild In The Streets; Dead Kennedys: Fresh Fruit For Rotting Vegetables; In God We Trust (Alternative Tentacles); D.O.A.: Hardcore '81; Something Better Change; Subhumans: Incorrect Thoughts.

Film Exposes Violence Against Women

Review by Joni Miller

THE National Film Board production *Not a Love Story* has been stirring up controversy lately—even to the extent of being banned by the censorship board in Ontario. It is available without charge from any National Film Board outlet, and has been shown to very diverse groups of people. What's important about this film is that it has become popular. Suddenly, pornography is an issue. For many people, seeing the film constitutes their first serious look at pornography, and the reactions are varied.

Pornography has become a multi-billion dollar industry. In North America, there are four times as many porn shops as McDonald's. Some of these places pull in up to \$10,000 a day. Playboy outsells Time. Porno video cassettes outsell "straight" cassettes 3-1. Many hotels now have room service that includes porno video cassettes.

Not a Love Story did not have a profound effect on me, and I didn't lose any sleep over it, but let me explain. I've spent the last three years working at Vancouver Rape Relief and educating myself about the various forms of violence against women. I've seen pictures of vaginas being burnt with cigars and pictures of prepubescent girls sandwiched between business men wearing suits and carrying guns. I've worked with video images of a woman hung on a spit over a fire, of women being punched in the head, women shackled, women degraded, women raped. It's been a while now since I learned about snuff films featuring unsuspecting women actually cut up and killed for the pleasure of the viewing public. I am quite convinced that there is a link between the melding of sex and violence in pornography and the thousands of women who are raped and tortured every year. One woman reported an attack that was chillingly similar to a rape performed in a TV movie that had played the previous week. Even sadistic ideas come from somewhere. My emotional reaction to pornographic images is still horror and outrage, but I'm no longer surprised. That's

one of the dangers about pornography: you get used to it.

Not a Love Story is a serious attempt to take the viewer inside the pornography industry. Bonnie Sher Klein, the producer, has tracked the story down from many angles. She interviews both feminists, men working to counteract sexism and the women and men directly involved with the industry. What is refreshing is that she doesn't attempt to pretend neutrality. Klein clearly believes that pornography is dangerous to women.

One of the first people we meet is Linda Lee Tracey, an "exotic dancer." She is talking about a Women Against Pornography demonstration she once joined. When she told the other women she was a stripper, they treated her like a poor lost soul. Linda doesn't think of herself as a woman abused, and she tells us that she likes her job. Where else can she get this much appreciation and decent pay as well? She is, however, beginning to have some questions about the business she is involved in, and she agrees to accompany Klein in the making of the movie.

Together they move on to the studio of one

of the few women photographers in the porno industry, Suze Randall. We see her busily snapping pictures of a threesome—two women and one man. The man is dressed in pirate gear. Suze is giving verbal directions about where to put the penis, where to place the tongue and how to turn the pussy a bit more into the light. The whole scene is about as erotic as a game of parcheesi. "It's all a fantasy," Suze says. This statement is echoed frequently by the sellers and dealers of this lucrative business. They assure us that these "fantasy" pictures will not affect our home lives.

One of the most revealing sections is the interview with David S. Wells, a publisher of three Canadian skin magazines. He tells us that because of women's liberation, men feel emasculated. Men don't really want to be equal at all—they want control. Very seriously, he informs Bonnie Klein that the ultimate turn-on for a man is to have a woman on her knees performing fellatio. "We are not anti-woman," he says, "we just cater to that market."

cont. p. 15

cont. from p. 3 **Comrade A**

As for jargon, I guess you're referring to the phrase "defending their rights." In this script, that means getting ordinary members to read their contract, demystify it, keep an eye out for violations and press grievances. Those are concrete things that ordinary people can do, here and now, to enlarge their breathing space. If they learn to do it on their own, or collectively, without the aid of experts or leaders, then that's a big step forward in the process we are seeking.

Open Road: What actually happened in an anti-authoritarian way?

Comrade A: Okay, the first thing that happened was that one of the former Marginaloids, who had spent eight hours a day for many years as an underpaid clerical worker, wrote up a letter complaining about the low pay and suggesting people get together at a hall across the street to discuss what to do. She circulated the letter around the plant in hopes of getting at least one co-signer from each of the six major departments. Within a day, about 50 people had signed the letter. At this point, the official union stepped in and hired the hall and gave the meeting its tacit approval—a slick move.

About a quarter of the lower paid showed up—a very respectable figure considering there had never really been a grass roots-initiated meeting of that scope before. Lots of things were set in motion; research on contract demands, contacts with lower paid in other unions; a series of workshops on contract clauses; a regular series of leaflets to inform members of developments in the campaign. A group of committees was set up to make sure these jobs got done on the spot; this network was anointed by the leadership as an official committee of the union. This caused some identity problems: was the committee a ginger group aiming to influence the course of the union, or was it an official expression of union policy and goals? Whichever, it did make it easier to use union resources (Xerox, phones etc.).

Actually, I'm exaggerating a bit, or maybe it's more than a bit. Things would probably have subsided if a concerted effort hadn't been made to keep it going. The large-scale meetings tapered off, and the official committee dwindled to a handful. But meanwhile the new activists started meeting informally in the lunchroom—each day with a handful of people from a different department. This was a tremendous step forward—even though they had similar problems, they had never really gotten together before because of the artificial barriers created by the way the company is organized. In fact, a worker in any department was apt to feel more loyalty to the supervisor than to workers doing similar jobs in other departments; at least the supervisor was a real, flesh-and-blood person who could sometimes help out in an emergency—you know, if you want to come in late one day, or need to get off early.

So the coffee klatches helped build up a feeling of solidarity across the plant. When the people in one department rebelled against a supervisor who was arbitrarily scheduling his staff's holidays in violation of the contract, this was mentioned at coffee; workers in other departments realized the same thing was going on with them. They brought the word back to their co-workers and in short order the entire plant was adhering to the contract. The people who originally spotted the violation and refused to accept the arbitrary postings (they got a shop steward to back them up) felt pride in improving everyone else's working conditions, and everyone else was reminded about the value of reading the contract themselves. That was something they could do concretely to aid themselves.

Contrary to some myths with wide circulation, the big complaint at coffee was not how boring that clerical work is. In fact, many of the people expressed pride in the jobs they did; they understood how their work fit into the overall system that made the plant operate and they knew they were essential to that system. Their gripes related more to arbitrariness on the part of the boss; it offended their sense of justice, as well as their own self-interest, when, for instance, promotions were handed out on the basis of favoritism, rather than seniority as stated in the contract.

The absolute necessity of information exchange was really brought home at such times. Up to then, grievances settled in one part of the building were hardly ever circulated elsewhere. With an ossified leadership, there was hardly any group process happening. It became obvious that more media was needed: a leaflet campaign was launched explaining various contract clauses and how they could be applied in each department. Victories in grievances were also publicized.

Open Road: Are you saying that people spontaneously adopted mutual aid practices to solve their problems?

Comrade A: I think it has to be somewhat of an article of faith that people, if they are given half a chance, will choose the path of autonomy, direct action and self-help. If we didn't believe that, we might as well jump on the vanguardists' bandwagon; at least they know how to get people fed and improve health care (compared to the authoritarians of the right, anyway).

But that doesn't mean that mutual aid happens very easily—there's been too much authoritarian conditioning towards passivity and individualism for that. Sometimes it does happen, like at a critical moment in the campaign by the lower-paid, when one of the activists was sprung by her co-workers to attend to the crisis, they covered for her on the job, for a couple of days, in effect appointing her as their agent, and no one was the wiser—an entirely spontaneous initiative by a group of supposedly non-political people.

Other times, though, it took some fore-thought to bring about similar results. When a group of workers grew tired of taking personal abuse from a supervisor, they first tried hassling her as individuals, but all they got was more hassles back. Their next thought was to appeal to "the union" for help. It took some convincing, but they finally accepted that *they*—and not some official or expert—were the union, and they had the power as a group to make some changes. So they drew up a petition outlining the complaints and began circulating it around the department. Everybody signed—the first time that they had ever actually participated jointly in a common project. Higher management got wind of the insurgency and immediately clamped down on the abusive supervisor before it got out of hand. The petition never even had to be made public. Another lesson in collective power, and another small step in building rank-and-file self-confidence.

Open Road: You mentioned that some orthodox leftists were members of the union. Did they advance or retard this process?

Comrade A: It was a mixed blessing. There was some overlap in that they had identified some of the same issues, and their overall diagnosis was similar: not enough rank-and-file involvement. However, they tended to be more "political," and wanted to carry on the battle at what you might call the parliamentary level. That is, raising issues aimed at discrediting the established leadership, actively contesting elections, drawing up slates of progressive candidates, that sort of thing.

This tended to slow down the important work at the base because it split the membership into "left" and "right"—and the right was in the clear majority among the membership. I won't bother to define those terms (except to say that both right and left encompassed social democrats and liberals) because they were never really defined in the union. They were simply labels that tended to distract people from real problems confronting them. The membership rallied to the leadership when it appeared to be under siege by a radical faction, so it became obvious that if you're going to do parliamentary politics under those conditions, you have to break through the left-right thing and find issues that will unite the whole membership. That's a task for the next stage.

Another difference with the orthodox element was that they tended to look at the new activists as "developing leadership" whose goal in life should be election to the executive where they would form a new progressive majority that would do all sorts of good things for the rest of the members. It's a funny thing, but the established leadership saw them much the same way: a hard-working group that, once they got rid of their rebelliousness, could be trusted to take over the reins of power.

The anti-authoritarian way of looking at them was more in the style of shopfloor militants—a network of rank-and-filers who guarded the contract while on the job. There was no upward path for them, they weren't being groomed for a higher calling; their militancy would resonate horizontally, encouraging their co-workers along the same lines.

I realize these are generalizations. Parliamentary politics is a tactical thing; sometimes it makes sense to put energy into it if there is some immediate payoff, but mostly it's a distraction from the main job: building militancy at the base.

Open Road: Listen, don't keep us in suspense any longer... did the lower paid get their increase?

Comrade A: It would be nice to report a happy ending to that particular story. I'm afraid the most they can claim at this point is a moral victory (a depressingly familiar outcome). The campaign created a lot of noise and motion within the membership, and the leadership was obliged to pay lip service to the demand—in fact, during elections in the middle of the campaign, every candidate included this as a plank. But when push came to shove, the bargaining committee—made up almost entirely of higher paid members—settled for a token "adjustment" for the lower paid. And that adjustment—amounting to about \$20 per week—was obtained by the lower paid themselves when they threatened to walk off the job if the company didn't improve the offer. The bargaining committee freaked out at the prospect of a wildcat—after all, the membership is not supposed to have a role in the bargaining process; that should be left to the experts on both sides of the table. The leadership threatened to sacrifice the wildcat to the tender mercies of the company; that finished off the talk of walking out. Still, a few members got the message: they got results when they threatened direct action.

Even with the totally inadequate adjustment, the contract passed overwhelmingly, including among the lower paid. The leadership marshalled its clout and credibility to convince the membership that the alternative was the street, and the opposition was still too feeble to convincingly present the alternative—that creative, and less costly, options, such as work-to-rule and extended coffee breaks, could pay off. Clearly, the leadership saw its role as putting a brake on rank-and-file militancy; it even tried to stigmatize the opposition as Reds.

Open Road: So where does that leave it? We're running out of tape.

Comrade A: I'm running out of steam myself, so I'll just summarize.

Naturally, there was a lot of disappointment with the result of the lower-paid campaign. Objectively, it was successful in mobilizing large numbers of people. Despite frequent comments from the activists that their co-workers were an inert lump, you only have to look at other people's experiences to see how far they had come. I think it was Saul Alinsky, the professional agitator, who pointed out that a powerful and efficient community organization very rarely has more than five per cent of its membership in active participation. Even the most together unions hardly ever approach that figure.

Anyway, the long-term goal wasn't merely to win more money for one group of workers—it was to bring a new spirit of activism into the entire rank-and-file. As I mentioned before, the most useful channel for that was vigorous enforcement of the contract—something that any individual can do. That in turn required a network of activists around the plant who can keep information flowing and encourage their co-workers to handle their own grievances.

Shop stewards are ideally situated to accomplish this. As agents of the union, they are protected from harassment by the company; as rank-and-filers, they are responsive and responsible to their co-workers. If they don't represent them faithfully, they lose their credibility, and then their co-workers will turn elsewhere for help. In that way, they are far more democratic than elected representatives who are too often installed in office through "politics" (in the bad sense), and are very difficult to dislodge.

So where does it go from here? Probably lurching along as it has been, making lots of mistakes, being disappointed, but ever so slowly enlarging the zone of freedom in everyday life. That's the theory, anyway.

from p. 14—**Not A Love Story**

As the camera takes us through peep shows and live sex shows, where one couple has missionary position intercourse on stage 12 times a day, and sado-masochistic video, I have to remind myself that for some women, this is a day to day reality. Any woman who has been in the work force has been pawed and stared at and propositioned. What's different here is that the abuse *is* the job.

When the women themselves speak, we get a glimpse behind the fantasy. A woman sits all day in a glass booth. The male customers put their dollars in a slot, the steel curtain rises, and she purrs sexual encouragement through a telephone. The idea is to get the men to ejaculate all over the glass. "Of course I hate it," she says. The camera draws our eye to her nakedness, but it is the incredible sadness in her eyes that tells her story.

As the film progresses, Linda Lee begins to express some doubts about her work. In one of my favourite scenes, she is standing on a soap box outside "Peepland" speaking in a stream of word poetry, berating the men who go inside. Quickly, a crowd of men surround her. They are insisting that she has no right to be down on the women who do this. "Nobody makes them do it," says one man. Linda tells them "hey, I'm one of these women," and the contradiction is becoming clear.

The pictures are horrifying in places. We see women tied up, breasts bulging through the ropes. A woman is forced to fellate a gun. As her captor moves the gun in and out of her mouth, we are aware that at any moment, the back of her head may be blown out. However, the camera invariably pulls away before the horror becomes too deep—before the nausea gathers in the pit of your stomach, before you start to scream. The part of the movie that hit me the hardest is not the sado-masochism, but Robin Morgan with her husband Kenneth Pitchford in their living room. She is talking about her life as a feminist activist, but she could just as easily be talking about mine. She says, "to be female and conscious in this society is to live in a constant state of rage."

I don't remember when I first learned about Playboy magazine, and I don't remember when skin magazines crept into the corner stores, but they are everywhere now. It is almost impossible to stop somewhere for the evening news without being confronted by a glossy colour row of breasts, legs and other dissected parts of women. When I was a teenager, the thing to do to prove you weren't "uptight" was to tolerate pornography. The popular sex manual "The Joy of Sex" even contains a section on bondage. It tells you how to tie up your partner (you need a four poster bed) and suggests black lace and a hint of cruelty as a

real turn-on. All in fun, of course.

Increasingly, women are rejecting the glossy male defined images of our bodies, and starting to fight back. Some have taken to spilling ink or blood on stacks of magazines, or defacing the covers with stickers that read "This exploits and degrades women." In a small town in Ontario, when the only available store carried a rack of Playboy and its imitators, one woman conducted a daily campaign. She stood and stared at anyone who came to read the offensive materials, until the owner finally moved them.

In other towns and cities, women have conducted street demonstrations against pornography. Photographing patrons coming in and out of pornography outlets can also be an effective discouragement. Other women are appealing to their local city councils to shut down video cassette outlets, on the grounds that their shows are dangerous to women. For those not patient enough for the legal processes, a little drop of super glue in a key hole can effectively close down an offensive store.

For further study: Female Sexual Slavery, by Kathleen Berry and Take Back the Night, Women look at Pornography. A slide tape show on pornography is available through Women in Focus, 45 Kingsway, Vancouver, B.C.

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Theses on the Situationist International Anthology

by Bob Graham

1
The Situationist International was an international association of individuals equal in all aspects of its democratic management because all those who were *unequal* were excluded. This is called "egalitarianism."

2
Very much the new *gauchiste* kid on the block with an ideological chip on its shoulder, from 1957 to 1971 the S.I. published some of the most original and radical critiques of modern society, always irreverent and disdainful of ideologues of any persuasion (anarchists included).

3
The situationists wrote of the "Return of the Repressed." What we get is the "Return of the Early Marx," complete with "alienation," "reification," "fetishism" and a messianic proletariat. If you have trouble wading through the rhetoric, follow the S.I.'s own advice: "chuck it in the gutter."

4
Marx saw the world transformed into a giant factory. The situationist saw it transformed into a giant playground—a world without "dead time." Their slogan was "work no, pleasure yes."

5
For the situationists revolution meant the complete transformation of everyday life, the abolition of alienated labour and the creation of free space and free time—of your own situation.

6
Modern capitalism is impoverished precisely because it has created the preconditions for material abundance while only providing an



abundance of boredom and a denial of possibilities. When the reality of desire conflicts with the appearance of needs manufactured by the spectacle of commodity culture, revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary movements will emerge.

7
The task for situationists was then not to support a revolutionary movement which did not yet exist but to create it by revealing the contradiction between people's desires and their perceived needs. This could be done by "detourning" something—slightly altering the composition of a comic, for instance, in order

to completely distort its intended meaning and provoke the reader into thought.

8
Workers' self-management was to be the means and the end of the revolution. All decisions would be made by the workers themselves in general assemblies. Delegates would be recallable and all revolutionary councils were to consist of at least 7/8 workers. With this surprisingly traditional conception of revolutionary organization the situationists effectively excluded most women, students, old people, assorted lumpens and all other non-workers from any real control over their lives.

9
The situationist seemed to think that the workers would take over existing technology and use it creatively, despite that technology having been designed for and by a hierarchical and authoritarian industrial system. And although they acknowledged that some industries should be scrapped after the revolution (eg. armaments), it was because of *what* they produced, not *how* they produced it.

10
The closest the situationists came to seeing their ideas implemented was in France, 1968, in an insurrection which they alone had foreseen and predicted. Yet the May movement was defeated. That is was not "crushed" militarily merely shows how easily it was recuperated, not how weak the bourgeoisie was, as the situationists thought at the time.

11
The situationists' best writings were their analyses of contemporary events, like "The Decline and Fall of the Spectacle-Commodity Economy" on the Watts riots, and "Two Local Wars" on Vietnam and Israel. But they did tend to regard any spontaneous rebellion as a further indication of the coming millenium—an approach unintentionally parodied by John Zerzan.

12
Despite their faults, the situationists were still the most interesting radical group of the sixties, and Ken Knabb has put together a good anthology of their articles. My only criticism is that there are a few too many tirades included against various "politically incorrect" people whom most of us have never heard of and couldn't care less about. As the situationists wrote, "boredom is counter-revolutionary."

The S.I. Anthology is available for \$10 from: Bureau of Public Secrets, P.O. Box 1044, Berkeley, CA 94701.

A Chomsky Primer

Radical Priorities, by Noam Chomsky. Black Rose Books, \$9.95.

Radical Priorities, a collection of some of Noam Chomsky's political writings, is best seen as a Chomsky primer. Chomsky covers some familiar ground and much of the book reads like a summary of his larger works, the 2 volume *Political Economy of Human Rights* for example. Most of the selections (compiled by Carlos Otero) are very brief, with a few lengthier pieces on such topics as Carter's phoney human rights campaign and anarcho-syndicalism. Although many of the selections have appeared elsewhere, the original sources are so diverse and scattered that having the articles collected together here for the first time is both convenient and welcome.

Throughout his writings, here and elsewhere, Chomsky relentlessly exposes and condemns the hypocrisy of American foreign policy. Debunking the myth that the U.S. is the great defender of freedom and human rights, he shows that in reality the U.S., either directly or through its client states, consistently opposes, resists and represses human liberation movements at home and abroad, whether they're the Black Panthers or the Vietnamese National Liberation Front. Chomsky argues convincingly that U.S. foreign policy has never been designed to safeguard democracy, but to protect and further U.S. economic and strategic interests. This is accomplished through a variety of methods, from outright military intervention, as in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, to CIA subterfuge, as in Chile, Iran and Guatemala.

What is really amazing, and it's something Chomsky keeps coming back to, is how successful the U.S. has been in portraying itself as a progressive and democratic force in international politics, despite its massive continuing support for neo-fascist military dictatorships worldwide. This public relations "coup" for the propaganda agencies of the U.S. government would not succeed, as Chomsky shows, without the aid and support of the so-called "free press" and the American intelligentsia. All play an equally important role in

manufacturing a bogus, benign image of the U.S., and in "engineering" the consent of the American people to the repressive policies of the U.S. government. That this consent is largely engineered peacefully with a semblance of democracy also helps to reinforce the image of the U.S. as a champion of liberty.

Chomsky believes the reasons for the subservience of the American intelligentsia and press to the American state are simple. Firstly, the main employers of intellectuals are government institutions—universities, the civil service, etc.—and private corporations. Subservience to the state and private capital is then in intellectuals' self-interest. Secondly, the American press is almost wholly owned by large corporations dependent on U.S. foreign intervention to secure markets and resources. Consequently, the press in the U.S. defends the interests of both its owners and their benefactor, the U.S. government, by manipulating public opinion and by distorting the news. Much of *Radical Priorities* documents and clearly exposes this collusion between the American press, intelligentsia and state.

Chomsky is at his best as a political critic. As a political theorist he is not very original, advocating a fairly traditional libertarian socialism. And despite what Otero says in his introduction, Chomsky's description of himself as a "derivative fellow traveller" of anarchism is just. Chomsky is equally at home with anarcho-syndicalism, council communism and libertarian marxism. Judging from some of the remarks he makes in *Radical Priorities*, Chomsky is not very sympathetic to the anarcho-communism of people like Kropotkin, Malatesta and Bookchin, people who in my opinion have a much more profound conception of human liberation than anarcho-syndicalist and marxist thinkers. Chomsky much too uncritically accepts the marxian notion that people are primarily producers and therefore that the working-class is the revolutionary class, and his view

of the liberatory nature of modern technology strikes me as naive and overly optimistic.

Chomsky's major contribution to anarchist theory is his view of human nature, developed through his linguistic research. Chomsky has shown that people are innately creative and self-regulating beings and that any artificial restraints imposed on them (like government) are harmful and unnecessary. What he doesn't seem to realize is that this view of human nature is very different from, and perhaps incompatible with, the productivist view of human nature held by marxists and syndicalists.

Books Received

The Ecology of Freedom, by Murray Bookchin. Bookchin's long-awaited full length theoretical work on social ecology and the rise and fall of hierarchy and domination. From Cheshire Books, 514 Bryant St., Palo Alto, CA 94301 (\$9.95).

The Anarchists of Casas Viejas, by Jerome Mintz. A history of those who struggled and were defeated in a classic example of anarchist rural rebellion. From University of Chicago Press, Dept. FGC, 5801 South Ellis Ave., Chicago, IL 60637 (\$20.00 hb).

Eros and Irony: A Prelude to Philosophical Anarchism, by David Hall. Study of culture and philosophy's role within it. From State University of N.Y. Press, State University Plaza, Albany, NY 12246 (\$24.50 hb).

The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel, edited and translated by Lowry and Gunter. The first English translation of the legendary anarcho-feminist's writings. From University of Alabama Press (\$8.95 hb).

We Want to Riot, Not to Work: The 1981 Brixton Uprisings. First-hand accounts of the Brixton riots plus an analysis and critique. From RNTWC c/o Freedom, 84b Whitechapel High St., London E1 England (\$2.00).

The Ego and Its Own, by Max Stirner. A reprint of the anarchist classic, with a corrected translation and a new forward by S.E. Parker. From Box R, c/o Freedom, London (\$10.00).

Survival Tactics In the Nuclear Age. Pamphlet on the nuclear menace and how to survive it. From NEAC, Box 373, Burlington, VT 05401 (50c).

The Place of the Individual in Society, by Emma Goldman. A reprint of Goldman's defence of individual liberty. From Free Forum Books, Deer Park #12, W. Willington, VT 06279 (\$1.50).

Anarchy In Action, by Colin Ward. A welcome reprint of Ward's gently persuasive and still relevant treatment of anarchism, the fruit of Ward's ten year editorship of *Anarchy*, perhaps the best anarchist magazine of the sixties. From Freedom Press (\$3.50).

The following titles are available from Cienfuegos Press. In Europe: Cienfuegos Press. Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, Scotland KW17 2B1; in North America: Soil of Liberty, P.O. Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, MN 55407.

The German Guerrilla: Terror, Reaction, and Resistance. A collection of interviews with West German guerrillas Hans Joachim Klein and the "Moabit Gang of 4," plus some RAF documents (\$3.00).

To the Honourable Miss S. and Other Stories, by Ret Marut, aka Bruno Traven. A collection of short stories written by Traven during his individualist anarchist period (\$8.00).

Milly Witkop-Rocker, by Rudolf Rocker. Reprint of Rocker's elegy for his lifelong companion and anarchist comrade.

Towards A Citizens' Intelligence Agency. Tips on how to investigate the investigators, fascists and other threats to public safety.

The Anarchist Critic

by George Woodcock

WHEN it was suggested that I write an article on anarchist criticism, my immediate reaction was to remark that there isn't really any such thing as an anarchist criticism, in the way that there is a corpus of Marxist criticism, though there are critics who are anarchists and whose anarchism inevitably influences the way they write about literature and the other arts.

There could only be an anarchist criticism if there were an anarchist orthodoxy, a body of dogma which we all accepted, and which could serve as the basis for establishing critical rules. This is what happens among the Marxists.

But Anarchism has always by its nature been resistant to what George Orwell used to call "the smelly little orthodoxies". It is a way of thinking that rests upon a radical criticism of existing society and a rejection of authority as much as in the artistic as in the political realm. This has always meant that whatever blueprints anarchists may have made for the future have always been tentative. How, we have always asked, can we plan for a future where we hope people will be freer than they are today? We have never created utopias. We have never carpentered party platforms. At most we have said, This is the kind of society at which we should aim, and this is the way it could work, and we have called on people to try for themselves. But we have never closed off the possibility of alternatives, and this flexibility, which puzzles people used to rigid political ways of thinking, is what allows anarchists to offer highly practical provisional or piecemeal proposals at any stage—as Paul Goodman did in the field of education and Colin Ward in town planning—and in that way to keep anarchist practice alive even within a non-anarchist society. It is also what has kept anarchism alive as an idea for so many generations; it can always respond in new ways to different circumstances without having to wriggle its way out of a rubble of plans and projects whose relevancy is ended. Politicians are like generals who repeatedly fight the last war; their programmes are always outdated by the time they are applied.

Very much the same applies in the field of criticism and the arts. Because the anarchist critic has no set of dogmas or rules relating to writing or painting, he is able to respond directly, and the artist who happens to be an anarchist, because he has no partisan duty laid upon him, is able to express his vision according to the nature of his own mind by following the exhortation of Peter Arshinov, Nestor Makhno's comrade, to "look into the depths of your own being, seek out the truth and realize it yourself; you will find it nowhere else."

The well-known anarchists who became critics did not proceed by saying: How does this work fit in with or serve anarchist pro-

paganda? They looked at the work with a clear and open eye, and only at the end, when they had considered it in its own rights, did they relate their critical insight to their anarchist ideas.

Peter Kropotkin wrote a fine book of criticism, *Russian Literature: Ideals and Realities*, in which he showed how, under the tyranny of the Tsars, when open political discussion was suppressed, literature became a vehicle of social criticism and of rebellion. Inevitably, Kropotkin's insight was irradiated by his anarchist attitude, but at no point did he attempt to make partisan propaganda out of his survey of Russian writing, and thus what he had to say became all the more impressive, for the evidence of the works he quoted and summarized showed how intimately the urge to create depended on the liberty of expression, and how, in its turn, the assertion of the liberty of expression became an act of subversion, of rebellion.

When Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was moved by the works of his painter friend Gustave Courbet to write his never translated book on art, *Du principe de l'Art et sa destination sociale*, he was not concerned to make anarchist propaganda or to fit his view of art into an existing theoretical structure. He was enquiring and speculating freely on the relationship between art and society, and, as his very title suggests, he concluded that a "Social destination" was something inherent in art, not something to be imposed on it for political reasons. In other words, he reached a conclusion appropriate to the anarchist outlook: that art is autonomous, but at the same time—because it communicates between artist and audience—is a social activity and therefore has its part to play in the transformation of society.

In a similar way Herbert Read, who was a critic of literature and painting as well as an anarchist theoretician, proceeded from a direct observation of works of art through a consideration of the autonomy of the artistic process, to a view of the relationship between the arts and anarchism. Two complementary conclusions emerge from such a development. The first, expressed in Read's book *Poetry and Anarchism*, is essentially that anarchism provides the ideological framework within which the creative urge can best be fostered and understood. *Education through Art*, and Read's shorter work *The Education of Free Men*, neatly tips the equation by arguing that in the formative years an education through the senses is more important than an education through the intellect, which can come later, and that the arts are the best way of achieving an education through the senses. Those who are trained in this way will more fully realize their inner selves and become naturally free people, and this process in its turn will lead towards the evolution of a free society. In other words, the practice and understanding of art are revolutionary activities and form one of the

paths toward achieving anarchist aims.

In all these cases the anarchist idea is seen as emerging from the experience and study of art and literature, not as imposed upon it, which happens in Marxist contexts when critics approach works of art with theoretical prejudices developed from reading the sacred texts of Marx and Engels and their commentators. There are, fortunately, no canonical books for anarchists. Every anarchist thinker (which means every anarchist) begins anew, offers his own personal contribution, and invites his readers to do the same. And that is why there are anarchist critics, but no anarchist criticism.

Yet one can perhaps sketch out a general area of opinion which anarchist critics are likely to share. To begin with, they are concerned with social transformation—otherwise they would not be anarchists. But they also recognize the importance, even to social transformation, of the free individual insight, so that they never subordinate themselves to party dogma. George Orwell, who in his later years became very close to the anarchists, maintained that in our age writing could not avoid being in some way political, but that the writer should never become the servant of a political cause. "He should never turn back from a train of thought because it may lead to a heresy, and he should not mind very much if his unorthodoxy is smelt out, as it probably will be."



Orwell, of course, was both a critic and a novelist, and in both roles he was a fearlessly honest social commentator. But he recognized that without some kind of aesthetic impulse, a love of the world of appearance and a passion for form, the most sincere and passionate convictions could not produce a good artist. And there is one passage in a late essay called "Why I Write?", which, while it is Orwell's justification for his own way of writing, also seems to me to offer an excellent beginning point for a view of literature within the social-individualistic equilibrium which is so basic to anarchist thinking.

What I have most wanted to do throughout the past ten years is to make political writing into an art. My starting point is always a feeling of partisanship, a sense of injustice. When I sit down to write a book, I do not say to myself, "I am going to produce a work of art." I write it because there is some lie that I want to expose, some fact to which I want to draw attention, and my initial concern is to get a hearing. But I

could not do the work of writing a book, or even a long magazine article, if it were not also an aesthetic experience. Anyone who cares to examine my work will see that even when it is downright propaganda it contains much that a full-time politician would consider irrelevant. I am not able, and I do not want, completely to abandon the world-view that I acquired in childhood. So long as I remain alive and well I shall continue to feel strongly about prose style, to love the surface of the earth, and to take pleasure in solid objects and scraps of useless information. It is no use trying to suppress that side of myself. The job is to reconcile my ingrained likes and dislikes with the essentially public, non-individual activities that this age forces on all of us.

What emerges out of Orwell's statement, and out of the practice of libertarian critics like Read or, earlier, Kropotkin and Proudhon, is a sense of the multi-faceted attitude that seems implicit in an anarchist approach to the arts. The anarchist critic, it is obvious, can never be a mere formalist, yet he can never ignore the fact that form is what differentiates art from non-art. He has always to keep his antennae active and seek to perceive the arts within a wider ambience of experience.

Once, years ago, I tried to work out in my mind what a critic should be doing in a society like Canada's in the late 1950's. It strikes me that what I said then might easily be applied—using a wide, lens—to anarchist criticism in general.

The Canadian (anarchist) critic will have a wider task than mere textual analysis; he will have to be something of a mythologist, besides having a developed consciousness of formal values and an imagination that is both creative and receptive. He will be concerned with the peculiar nature of local experience, what makes the temper of our life—despite so many superficial resemblances—essentially different from the American or the British, and how this regional pattern of living and thinking and reacting affects the work of Canadian writers. But he will also be aware of trends in other countries, and will have to consider in what relation life and literature here stand to the world continuum. He will have to delve into the past for the unifying threads and probe into the future for the sense of direction. But he will also not lose sight of the fact that, within the culture, each writer is inalienably an individual, with his own psychology and his own reaction to experience. This experience, which includes language and the whole complex of natural and social and cultural influences to which it is subjected, will mark the writer off as a Canadian—or an Englishman or a Russian—but the spark that gives the life to his work will be that of the unique personal intelligence dealing with those problems of thought and morality which are universal. (excerpt from *Odyssey Ever Returning*)

It seems to me that an anarchist critic anywhere needs the same range of perceptions as I suggested in the past were essential for a Canadian critic. In other words, no matter what his or her nationality, he or she should see the local and the universal in the same work, "A World in a grain of sand, And a Heaven in a wild flower," as Blake said, which means looking at the work of art with a fresh and innocent eye and a sense of all its possible dimensions.

Bonfires for the Bourgeoisie

Louise Michel, by Edith Thomas.
Black Rose Books, \$9.95.

One of the lesser known anarchists of the nineteenth century was Louise Michel, feminist, romantic and radical agitator. While her passionate views were admired and respected by some she was feared and hated by many.

Louise was highly committed to the cause of social revolution. On trial before the War Council of France for her participation as soldier and ambulance nurse during the Paris Commune of 1870, she vigorously and defiantly defended her actions within the Commune. On her voyage to New Caledonia, where she was sent into exile, she gradually came to anarchism while discussing the failures of the Commune with her fellow Communards.

Ever active, Louise supported the natives of New Caledonia when they revolted against their French 'masters,' teaching them how to cut telegraph wires and by sending documents to Paris revealing atrocities being committed against the natives.

On her return to France, eight years later, she was welcomed enthusiastically, and from then onward spent her life lecturing and agitating for revolution, believing that personal conscience was the guide to action. So much

did Louise believe this that she vigorously defended a man who made an attempt to assassinate her feeling that he had acted on his convictions.

Fortunately Edith Thomas has a very informal style of writing which makes for easy reading. The author thoroughly researched her subject compiling information from both the writings of Louise Michel and from the historical archives of the police and the ministry of war. Much of Louise Michel's poetry is included in this book, although untranslated, and a lot is missed through this.

On the negative side, when the author is unable to document a part of Louise's life she seems to take some liberty at creating the scene which most portrays her own bias. The most blatant example being that of Louise Michel's relationship with fellow Communist Theophile Ferré in which the author portrays Louise as a childish and 'romantic' sentimentalist. Whereas the author's documentation is notable in other respects there seems to be considerable speculation as to Louise Michel's personal nature.

Though finding the author's conceptions of Louise Michel irritating at times, the biography is an important work in that it presents us with the life, energy and commitment of a woman who had the courage to act on her convictions.

Taylor-Made Lifestyles

Closing the Iron Cage, by Ed Andrew.
Black Rose Books, \$9.95

Subtitled "The scientific management of work and leisure," the book details how the desire of early 20th Century capitalism to squeeze the worker to produce more has led to the growth of a massive managerial class whose pursuit of even more efficiency has created the prospect of an industrial authoritarianism which is now attempting to transcend the boundaries of the workplace and to reach and manipulate the worker in the realm of non-work, or leisure.

Much emphasis is placed on Frederick Winslow Taylor, the creator of the now infamous time motion studies of the early 1900's. Due to his own, well documented, pathology, Taylor came to believe that everything must serve a purpose, that every motion was to be measured, regulated and maximized. Not only on the shop floor, where it originally received its greatest attention, but in every aspect of one's life. Taylor tried to obscure distinctions between work and leisure time thus increas-

ing the sphere of control of time managers and technocrats.

Scientific management has succeeded in turning work into labour and leisure into recreation. Andrew's book shows how the transformation of leisure into 'wholesome recreation' would complete the subordination of individual ends to the requirements of the "productive collectivity." Although not cited, a good example of this would be the modern Japanese experiment where the company becomes 'family' and is all pervasive.

As a way out of our Taylorized life-styles Andrews presents its antithesis, syndicalism, showing that syndicalism is the conceptual opposite and the historical antagonist of scientific management. The liberation of leisure requires the emancipation of the worker from Taylorized production. The transformation must be made from leisure time as something to be 'filled rather than killed' to that of leisure which (in capitalist eyes) may be "utterly unwholesome, degenerate, criminal or revolutionary."

Roadside Notes

Remembering Carl

Dear Open Road.

On behalf of myself and the ANARCHIST BLACK DRAGON COLLECTIVE, I wish to express our thanks for the wonderful article you recently did on our Brother, Carl Harp. It is one of the best we've read and we are quite happy to see that the spirit of Carl continues in the hearts and actions of many.

The only point we'd like to clarify—and a small point it is—is that, when Carl and the others took the hostages on May 9, 1979, they were simply armed with knives. The bullhorn was supplied later, along with handcuffs, by the Administration and delivered by Sergeant Hartford. The actual delivery was made by tying these items to some telephone cords and then pulling the cords through a second-story window.

Getting personal for a moment, I've received several letters of solidarity and such for my actions in setting up the police to call me to the Inquest into Carl's death. While I thank those who sent them to me, I'd like to take this time to say that the action taken was a necessary action under the circumstances of the case and that any Anarchist truly interested in opposing the State could—and probably will—take similar action in similar circumstances. In addition, although my action received the greatest amount of publicity, I couldn't have pulled it off without the help, both voluntary and unconscious, of many other people. These people are heroes in this action and will understand why I do not mention their names here. In the true sense of heroism, they did what they could without asking for recognition of any sort.

Carl understood and felt the struggle more intensely than some others do. Because of this, he was unable to simply sit back and allow injustice to continue if he was able to do anything to correct the matter. He continued the fight for years without a single break for R&R, and the only thing that could stop his body was death. Nothing can stop his Spirit.

Right now those of us who had the great pleasure and honor to know him personally

and to work closely with him are attempting to set up a CARL HARP MEMORIAL LIBRARY. Any books, pamphlets, tapes, or supplies toward this effort will be greatly appreciated and will help to spread the word. Donations for this project can either be sent to me here or to his wife, Susan Waymire.

One last word. The greatest tribute that can be made to Carl is to live as Anarchists, doing what we can in the struggle for complete freedom and personal sovereignty. We must continue our fight, knowing our strengths and weaknesses, and applying ourselves wholeheartedly to the effort. We will win, but only after great struggle, first within ourselves and then with others. This is the way Carl lived and is one of the sources of his strength.

NEITHER GOD NOR MASTER.

John. H. Bosch

Violence is Stupid.

Dear everyone:

Violence against the state is stupid. You want me to say it again? O.K. Violence against the state is STUPID.

I don't count anti-property "violence" as violence. I'm talking about trying to fight cops or to kill heads of state or military officers.

I noted a phrase in Peter Francis' "Tu-Wat" article: an attempt on Al Haig's life "unfortunately failed due to a slight miscalculation."

I hate Haig's guts. But it simply doesn't make sense to off these kinds of people in such random, sporadic ways. There are millions of capitalists and for every one you kill ten more will be ready to take his place. As for fighting cops, you tell me whether anarchists have enough firepower to be really successful taking on the death squads of any nation.

Moreover, whether or not some people want to struggle non-violently the violence of some folks brings down the state's violence on everyone, non-violent as well as violent. The violence advocates may see this as great. "Welcome to the real world," they'd say. I think it is rather moronic, nihilistic, unfair and pointless to provoke the state to vio-

lence. It is sheer self-destruction for anarchists everywhere.

The state has too much experience dealing out violence for anarchists ever to make a dent in the state's armor. Non-violence is our only alternative. It is mysterious and difficult to use for many people now, but if we work at it and develop it, non-violence can become stronger, much stronger than our feeble clubs, rocks and badly made bombs.

Please, violent folks, grow up! Don't bring my struggle down with your macho street-fighting bullshit!

No leaders/no followers

Roger Felix

United Skates of America

NEACtionaries

Dear Open Road.

I'm writing in response to the article "Anarchists Unfurl the Black and Green" in the Spring/Summer 81 *Open Road*. As a working-class anarchist I'm particularly angered by the NEAC organizer's remarks, aimed at disempowering my class. To quote:

"It's our belief that the labour movement has long exhausted its potential as a revolutionary force, that the working class as a class has so assimilated itself into the regimes of consumer society that it has become an actively counter-revolutionary force.

Instead we look to the rapidly growing community movements for models of organization, direct action and aid (despite their frequently reformist leanings)..."

What sort of conclusions can be drawn from these statements?

- (1) That because an oppressed class hasn't yet organized and overcome its oppression, it's therefore appropriate for bourgeois activists to blame them for their oppression and label them counter-revolutionary. However, the working class has not consciously aspired to being assimilated by the consumer society. The pervasive nature of the many forces that keep in check the political, economic, and social potential of the working class is well known and well documented.
- (2) To insist that the community is the locus of systemic change, while inferring work place organizing is archaic, is to repudiate the primary context for changing the

major part of working class life. This is contemptible for anyone claiming affinity for anarchist thought and action.

I speak bitterly of the condescension of this revolutionary vanguard that supposes it can reorganize society independently of the working class. This perpetuates the notion of a managerial class, one that ignores the implications of its statements and the consequences of its actions.

In order to build community based movements, minority and oppressed groups must empower themselves and they should receive the respect they deserve. A basic criticism of left parties, anarchists, ecology, anti-war, anti-imperialist, anti-sexist groups and community activists is their inability to maintain affinity with the working class. The problem is not one of working class intractability (indeed this is to our credit), the problem is within the vanguard parties and groups. Their upper- and middle-class roots, along with the dominant consciousness in our society which obscures issues of class, is so ingrained as to inhibit a mutual struggle with working people. Expertise, systematically denied the working class, whether in the board room, college classroom, town hall, organizing meetings, and at the work place, can serve to mystify the working class unless these skills are actively shared.

Denial of our experience is the logical response to the denial of the class struggle by the dominant ideology. For the working class to work in groups such as NEAC we must hide our background, our struggle—which means self-negation.

I myself fought the concept of class struggle in order to avoid identifying with an oppressed group and the pain of self-hate. To be accepted in groups, I have negated and apologized for my class background. This denial served to undermine my effectiveness. I learned that it's thought inappropriate to bring up issues of class dynamics as it provokes the guilt and anger of most non-working class members.

Many of the working class are recognizing similar experiences; we are finding our strengths and connecting with our peers. We will not deny ourselves anymore.

Until NEAC changes its perceptions of the working class, the movement they envision will remain forever marginal.

In Solidarity,
Lewis E. Ward

News from Nowhere

Left Bank Books is sponsoring a "Books for Prisoners" project. Different books are sent to prisoners free by Left Bank, and special order books are offered at cost price. Prisoners, and anyone on the outside who would like to donate books or money, can write: **Books For Prisoners, Box A, 92 Pike St., Seattle, WA 98101.**

A group of anarchists is planning to reprint Carl Harp's prison diary, **Love and Rage**, along with the pamphlet, "I wanna be free," some unpublished material and an account of his killing. The book will be linked to ongoing prison struggles. If you have any material, ideas or especially money, please send it to: **Carl Harp Printing Appeal, c/o 121 Books, 121 Raiton Rd., London SE 26, England.**

Cienfuegos Press needs financial support of \$40,000 to continue publishing. To raise money, Stuart Christie and Brenda Earl must sell their home in the Orkneys, and Cienfuegos must give up its current office and warehouse space. Redeemable Cienfuegos' shares are also being offered at \$60.00 to raise additional funds, and donations are always appreciated. For more information write: **Cienfuegos Press Ltd., Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, Scotland, KW17 2BI; or Cienfuegos Distribution, 3512 12th Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55407.**

Poster on Poland, **Under the Polish Volcano/It's Us They're Shooting In Warsaw**, available for donation from: **David Wire, 27B, All Saints Rd., London W11, England.**

A prison support group in England would like to correspond with imprisoned socialists "who feel cut off and abandoned by the left." Prisoners can write **Lyn Hunt, 41 Briarfield Dr., Leicester, England.**

The HAPOTOC collective wishes to inform its many supporters that it is ceasing publication. One of HAPOTOC's key members, Aus Greidanus, died and the remaining members no longer feel able to continue the HAPOTOC newsletter, which has been a strong voice in the anti-prison movement for years. They thank all their friends and ask people to continue the struggle.

Women's writings, lyrics and poetry are needed for an anthology on nuclear holocaust being put together by a group of politically active women using words to inspire change and resistance. Send material to: **R. Azen, Flat 3, 29 Honywell Rd., London SW11 England.**

The library of the **International Center of Research on Anarchism (CIRA)** has reopened after two years of closure. The CIRA library has 15,000 books and pamphlets in 27 languages, as well as many anarchist periodicals. It can respond to any request for bibliographical information and lend books by mail. CIRA's address is: **CIRA, rue des Cedres 14, P.O. Box 51, CH-1211 Geneva 13, Switzerland.**

Reichians and anarchists interested in joining or forming a study group in the New York area are asked to write **Robert Miles, 3169 Colorado Rd., Camden, N.J. 08104.**

The **De Vrije** anarchist magazine in Holland is looking for articles "about the anarchist movement in your neighbourhood, place, city and country." If you send your article in before the end of July it can be translated in time for the summer edition. Write: **De Vrije, postbus 486, 2000 A1 Haarlem, Holland.** (p.s. send us a copy too!)

To combat the growing right-wing offensive in the U.S., the **National Organizing Committee Opposed to a Police State (NO-COPS)** is organizing a national coalition. The coalition will expose political police programs, like **Cointelpro**, used to suppress liberation movements in the 1960's, and will also work to prevent similar programs from being implemented again. Write to them at: **NOCOPS, P.O. Box 613, Geneva, N.Y. 14456.**

The Madrid section of the CNT is attempting to set up an anarchist free school for working-class children as an alternative to the bourgeois capitalist school system. Their main problem now is raising money for this project. Write them at: **CNT/AIT, Sindicato de Oficios de Madrid, c/o Magdalena 6, 2-, Madrid 12, Spain.**

The **War Resisters League** is sponsoring an organizers' training program, Aug. 15-22, 1982 in Durham, North Carolina. For information and applications, contact **War Resisters League/SE, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701.**

The **A Gallery Group** in Athens is creating an anti-authoritarian multi-media centre. They're now gathering as much agitprop material as possible. They're asking people to send them any posters, magazines, books, pamphlets and art work on anarchism, anti-militarism, ecology, feminism, alternative lifestyles, pacifism, and other anti-authoritarian movements. Their address is: **A Gallery, P.O. Box 1937, Thission-Athens, Greece.**

The **Libertarian Solidarity Committee** in Portugal would like to contact other groups and journals fighting government repression. Write them at: **Comite de Solidariedade Libertaria, Apartado 260, 2403 Leiria, Portugal.**

Anarchism In America, a feature length documentary exploring the history and contemporary manifestations of anarchism in the U.S., is now available from **Pacific Street Films, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, N.J. 07417**, producers of the **Free Voice of Labor: The Jewish Anarchists**, and **Inciting to Riot**, a film about the "rise and fall" of a radical anarchist group at a major American university.

Periodicals received and forthcoming

Alaska: Anarchy and Solidarity—Box 748, Douglas, Alaska. A correspondence network paper for Alaskan anarchists. By donation.

Social Anarchism—2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, Maryland 21218. New issue includes articles on contemporary Spanish anarchism, building a revolutionary transfer culture, plus poems and book reviews. (\$2.00 per copy).

Heart—P.O. Box 67, Station H, Toronto, Ont. M4C 5H7. "The central organ of the Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho-Marxist)." Free.

The Lesbian Insider Inciter—P.O. Box 7038, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, MN 55407. The newspaper by and for lesbians and womyn in prison.

Four Arrows—P.O. Box 3233, York, Pa. 17402. Focuses on repression of native American people in Guatemala. A four part history of their struggle is available from Four Arrows for \$6.00.

Civil Disobedience—c/o Librairie Alternative, 2033 Boul. St-Laurent, Montreal, Que. Paper of anarcho-pacifist "Groupe Thoreau", dedicated to practicing "integral pacifism" in daily life. Subs: \$5.00/six issues. Also interested in creating an anarcho-pacifist network.

Jail News—P.O. Box 215, Glebe N.S.W. 2037 Australia. Prisoners' rights action group newspaper. Subs: 1 year, \$8.00.

Social Ecology Journal—211 E. 10th St., New York, N.Y. 10003. New quarterly publication focussing on all aspects of social ecology—philosophical, political, cultural and practical. One year/\$10.00. Submissions welcome.

To Apeiron—c/o R.Y. Breton, C.P. 95, Station Place D'Armes, Montreal, Que. H2Y 3E9. Journal of the pagan anarchists for people "who can't find themselves in orthodox anarchist organizations." \$5.00/six issues.

Blackmail—Box 13165, Christchurch, 1, New Zealand. New anarchist spasmodical. By donation.

925—P.O. Box 2430V, G.P.O., Melbourne, 300/Australia. Anti-authoritarian workers' poetry magazine. 50c per copy.

Dear Open Readers.

Murray Bookchin has long been a source of inspiration to eco-socialists in Britain, but some of the interview you carried (Issue 13) astounded me. Which European Governments are 'socialist and Marxist at least in origin'? Britain under Thatcher? Germany? Spain? OK, maybe a few 'social democratic' parties have come to power, but these are far from socialist and none are Marxist. Maybe it's just a problem of terminology but there are huge differences between state/centralized socialism (which it is true lurks, somewhat hopelessly in the wings of European politics) and the sort of decentralized syndicalism which many grass roots socialists and trade unionists in the UK and elsewhere dream of. Bookchin seems to have no awareness of the way in which those people active in industry in the UK have built links with those engaged in political struggles in the community. The current recession and the attack from the right have strengthened the links—workers and local people are fighting together against the cuts-out of common interest. After all workers are consumers too—not some wierd separate species.

If your readers want to get some idea of what has been happening in the UK, maybe they should look at the new book which Hilary Wainwright and I have just written on The Lucas Plan—the campaign mounted by shop stewards at Lucas Aerospace for the right to work on socially useful products as an alternative to unemployment. *The Lucas Plan: a new trade unionism in the making*, documents the way in which the workers at Lucas built links with local community groups, environmentalists, other workers, to challenge the nature of production in their factories throughout the UK. It will be published in the UK by Alison & Busby this summer. I hope Murray Bookchin reads it! Congratulations on keeping *Open Road* alive. Yours fraternally, Dave Elliott

Dear Open Road,

The anti-syndicalism shared by Murray Bookchin and the NEAC is a self-defeating obstacle to their anarcho-communalism. There are two reasons for this. First, anti-syndicalism can only succeed in condemning the anarchist movement to social marginalism. Second, it ignores the vital connection between the communal movement and the workers' movement.

If Bookchin and the NEAC are sincere about wanting working people in the communalist movement, then they will have to deal with labor issues. Instead of this, however, Bookchin and the NEAC say to the workers, "We want workers to join with us, but only as long as they don't talk about the labor movement." That's like saying, "We want women to join us, but only if they don't talk about feminism," or "We want black people to join with us, but only if they don't talk about racism." Obviously few women or blacks would join a movement that ignored their needs. Why should we expect workers to be any different?

By isolating themselves from the workers' movement the anarcho-communalists would lose more than potential numbers. Past experience reveals that anarchism is a combination of two revolutionary traditions, the struggle for the freedom of the "commune" or community from central political power, and the struggle of the laboring classes against economic privilege. Proudhon, Bakunin, and Landauer were active in both the workers' movement and the communalist movement. Toward the end of his life Kropotkin lamented his earlier under-estimation of the importance of syndicalism (see Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia*). The revolts of 1848 and the Paris Commune were at the same time struggles for communal liberties and worker self-management. The anarchist "revival" in 1880s France was due to a labor movement built on communal foundations, the Labor Exchanges (Bourses de Travail). The Spanish CNT in the 1930's was a labor movement with communalist goals, its members were strong supporters of co-operatives, alternative schools, etc. During the Spanish Revolution the anarcho-syndicalists of the CNT played a major role in the municipalist or "communalist" movement that swept through the smaller Spanish cities and towns. Clearly the two movements need each other and an anarchistic revolution needs them both.

I am not suggesting that anarcho-communalists should give uncritical support to trade unions. Just as there are reformist and collaborationist elements in the communalist movement, so there are in the labor movement. The AFL-CIO and its spinoffs are

by-and-large, government-supported company unions. The task for anarchists is to build alternatives, whether it be the IWW, worker assemblies, or an American version of "Solidarity." The important thing is that these alternatives be worker-run instead of run by professional union leaders, that they be direct actionist instead of relying on employer-government channels, and that they aim for self-management instead of welfare statism.

Neither am I suggesting that the labor movement should be every anarchist's main arena. Murray Bookchin is undoubtedly better at raising community and ecological issues than he would be agitating among workers. (Notice how the one method he mentioned for agitating among workers, passing out leaflets at the factory gates, is widely regarded by anarcho-syndicalists as the least effective?) Yet what do comrades of the NEAC do when problems of hierarchy and domination arise on their jobs? Do they kiss the boss's ass and forget about their anarchism from 8 to 5? Or do they run to AFL-CIO bureaucrats to solve their problems? A better solution would be that anarcho-communalists work with anarcho-syndicalists while in the workplace, and anarcho-syndicalists work with anarcho-communalists in their community. Fraternally, Jeff Stein Champaign, Illinois

To the Collective of *Open Road*,

The arrival of a new issue was most welcome. The contents covering international events is very well done. The interesting interview with Murray Bookchin shows how deeply he changed from his once held views in a "Liberatory Technology"—that I criticized in the "Match". Your response to the friendly criticism of the "Black & Green" shows what a healthful change is beginning to take place in the anarchist press towards the long-held belief in the trade unions and anarcho-syndicalism. Renewing its policy in the editorial "On the Road" of being a journal always ready to give expression to a "broad spectrum of non-authoritarian ideologies and practices", which is the very policy that inspired me to become a sustaining subscriber from its very first issue. In order to encourage its more regular appearance, I am herewith doubling the sustaining subscription to \$100.00. Best wishes for good health and spirits. Marcus Graham

Up from the Ashes

Though a few of its lifeforms linger on here and there in tidepools left by the receding waters of history, LENINISM IS DEAD. This is not the place to perform the autopsy. This has and is being performed elsewhere. Suffice to say that growing numbers of people are coming to recognize that Leninism represents the latest (and possible the last) form of bourgeois ideology, and is a bitter enemy of human liberation. We, who were once members of a Marxist Leninist group which emerged out of the sixties, have come to this conclusion through long and bitter struggle.

And we are certainly not alone. Gradually, by degrees, an anti-authoritarian movement of the left is taking shape, many of its members refugees from a variety of Maoist, Trotskyist, and other neo Leninist sects. Broadly speaking, three distinct groups have emerged: the anarchists (themselves divided into anarcho-communist and syndicalist factions), the socialist feminists (grouped, for instance, around the SOLIDARITY network, formed from the debris of the New American Movement), and a host of independent, revolutionary minded activists in the women's, antiwar, antinuke, and ecology movements. To this could be added various council communists, and others. This movement is extremely fractionalized. Dialogue between these groups is spotty at best. Cells and pockets of activity dot the continent like so many yeast cells.

It is time to move "beyond the fragments." But the question remains: is this to be achieved by synthesizing the 'worst of both worlds,' by fusing, in the manner of Sheila Rowbotham, the philistine of the Old Left onto the social worker mentality of the New? Or is it to be achieved by developing a thoroughly revolutionary libertarian alternative? We are at the crossroads of history. Never have the threats and possibilities for humanity been so painfully counterposed. The alternatives are an immense leap forward or a cataclysmic leap back. However weak and fractionalized we are, we represent the new and vibrant shoots of the political and social future. And it has

been left to us to develop the unprecedented theoretical and practical solutions that such times demand. We have antecedents, but responsibility for reshaping the theoretical legacy of the past, and developing a new synthesis, lies with us.

Specifically, we feel there is a need for a journal (theoretical, to be sure, but decidedly not academic) to facilitate the process of identifying the cardinal issues that confront and divide us, and to promote principled struggle with the aim of achieving political unity, and the formation of a non-authoritarian, revolutionary political organization at the earliest possible date. Such a journal should be open to all who share this dream, regardless of their organizational affiliation. A journal with this specific goal would complement, not detract from, the work of the many other journals already in existence. We want to know what you think. We want to receive a written reply from everyone who receives this letter, telling us, positively or negatively, whether such an endeavour is desirable, possible, necessary, or out to lunch. WRITE TO US AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND SHOW THIS LETTER TO OTHERS. On to the future!

Ronald Hayley, Joseph Moore P.O. Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ontario CANADA M5W 1P2

The Big None

Dear Open Road:

Just got the spring 82 paper and you can cry for bucks—sorry I don't have any—and thanks for the paper. I'm doing time right now, but promise ya a "cut" when I hit the "big one." Until then I'll understand if ya cut me off. Thanks again Brad Deesinger

Snobarchos

To the editors of *Open Road*:

I notice that you advertise the proposed Anarchos Institute being established in Montreal. I even received a personal invitation to join this affair from its founder, Dimitri Rousopoulos and my impression of the business was that it was not a very anarchist-like idea at all. The intent of this institute is to bring together anarchist intellectuals in North America (ethnographically defined as the U.S., and Canada—especially Montreal). Rousopoulos invited those he considers to be anarchist intellectuals to join in his enterprise. Farmers, carpenters, house painters, ditch diggers and other ordinary mortals need not apply. Here we have the advocacy of the old Leninist notion of the intellectual vanguard. It is proposed to create an exclusive club of snobs who can congregate in that cultural heaven, Montreal, and while sitting around their cigars and brandy can discuss the elegant problems of the intelligentsia in statist society. ... after paying a \$50 fee. In addition, Rousopoulos has apparently set himself up as the pontiff of this "institute"; it is up to him decide whether or not you are sufficient calibre intellectual to be accepted for membership and it is he who decided on the \$50 fee. All those anarchists unfortunate enough not to be intellectuals and not to have \$50 for such folderol should flood Rousopoulos with requests to join his elegant club.

Best wishes, Harold Barclay Dept. of Anthropology University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada

... sorry to intrude, I don't wanna interrupt our reading or anything, but, ah... you see it's like, umm t, the paper., well, cos s e costs quite a bit of, uh, money to put out, capital, that is, and, uh, we need... well e we want ~~xxxx~~ to, actually we dpe depend ~~ix~~ on readers like you to send us some, ah, you know... dough. So look, if it's t like... too much, umm, trouble or anything... , if you're not too busy or anything and could possibly spare some, you know... it would really... so, well, get up off your ass and get your wallet, eh, I mean all these wrods cost a bundle ya know and we gotta get your help or the world anarchist conspiracy won't be able to get ours any more. . ya know, we can't do it all on our own. Like we need help, you know, CASH, (or cheques or money orders or anythink else negotiable by our friend neighbourhood cred it union). Each and everyone of these words costs MONEY, bucks, bread... so do you think you8we got some responsibiligy in this tum tee tun tee tum, today's the day the anarchists have x their picnic...No!! no picnics without money. bucks. no words either, no newspaper, no thought-provoking articles, no inspiring debates, no gut-wrenching photographs, no rolling on the floor with-laughter cartoons. Not if you don't send us money. do it for your health, do it for your kids, do it for Bakunin! Do it for any fuckin on you

Shut up already. Here's two hours pay:
Okay, okay, here's more:
Please stop—make me a sustainer:
 Name: _____
 Address: _____
Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C.,
Canada V6R 4G5

... we air ... but up. No ... keep on naggin ... and you'll st ... your dreams and while ... sitting quietly in the ... at all at once this voice will ... our head: "Guilt! Guilt! I didn' ... send the Open Road money and now... NOW... (and ... armchair non-activist is suddenly stricken with ... lightning) O...Once upon a time there was an an ... this newspaper which was TERRIFIC until they ran ... out of money. So do it. cough up eh. Eh? right!!

7
Whatever doesn't kill power
is killed by it.



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