Volume 1 Number 7

October/November 1980

North American ANARCHIST

50¢

The Newspaper Dedicated to Direct Action

Poland 1980: Won't get fooled again!

Meet the new boss...

By Joey Stalin

The world has just witnessed the largest workers revolt since the May-June 1968 events in France. Only this time the spectre of intense class war occurred in one of the mythical "workers" states of the Soviet dominated Warsaw Pact. This has made the mass strikes of the Polish workers a development of historical importance to the international workers' movement an event which rivals the 1956 worker-student revolution in Hungary.

This inspiring struggle was sparked by the announcement of sharp increases in meat prices at the beginning of July - an attempt by the bureaucratic ruling class to shift Poland's deep economic crisis onto the backs of the workers. Strikes were immediate in a number of centres resulting in almost immediate wage increases. In some places management's fear of the workers led to wage increases where strikes had not yet occurred.

An example was set for others to follow. Consequently, there was another series of strikes in mid-July. The Eastern city of Lublin in particular was engulfed by a general strike lasting almost two days.

Then, for a short time, the strikes seemed to dissipate without ever having gone beyond economic demands. There were still strikes in progress like those of the sanitation and transit workers in Warsaw, but the state chose to refrain from using open repression so as not to further provoke a situation that had bcome serious enough to prompt Edward Edward Gierek to go to the USSR on a 'working vacation'.

On August 14th the strikes took on a much more radical character as 16,000 Gdansk shipyard workers struck and seized control of the Lenin Shipyards. These same workers had been instrumental in toppling Gierek's predecessor Wladyslaw Gomulka. Poland's rulers now had good reason to be terrified because in a short time the strike action spread beyond the yards until it involved almost 50,000 workers in and around Gdansk. Strikes flared up in other parts of Poland as well.

Critically, the workers' demands soon involved much more than economics. This was a predictable development as Gdansk has been a focal point for activists engaged in developing the movement for free trade unions. The shipyard strike was initiated in response to the firing of Anna Walentonowicz — a free trade union activist — and the re-instatement of *all* workers who had been victimized since the 1970 strikes became a central demand of the strikers.

Melt Lenin!

This was not the only demand which related directly to the bitter memories of 1970. Another one called for the erection of a monument in memory of the workers killed by the state during the 1970 revolt. One worker suggested that the massive statue of Lenin, which dominates the yards, should be melted down to make the memorial much to the amusement of his fellow workers.

Faced with all of this, management cynically tried to divide the workers by offering different settlements to different groups, a move the workers contemptuously dismissed as an example of "capitalist tactics." On August 16 the state retreated offering to accept the workers economic demands, plus the reinstatements and the erection of a memorial. Many strikers were now prepared to return to work. However, due to an appeal by Lech Walesa, this did not happen.

The reason for this was simple. During the occupation strikers elsewhere in Poland had repeatedly called for a continuation of the shipyard strike in solidarity with the ones elsewhere. This was essential for victory. When Walesa reminded his fellow shipyard workers of this they replied with a commitment to stay out. The strikes now took on semi-insurrectionary proportions.

Dual Power

The heightened level of struggle was facilitated by the formation of the Inter-Factory Strike Committee (MKS) in the Lenin Shipyards. It constituted a basis for dual power in Poland. It was composed of elected delegates, initially numbering about 200, who were subject to immediate re-call by the workers. Once again the workers' councils, the characteristic organs of workers' power ever since the Commune of Paris in 1871, have stepped onto the world stage.

One of the first actions of the MKS was to vote by acclamation to become a new all-Poland Trades Union Congress. However, its main pre-occupation was to formulate the growing list of demands being put forward by the workers. Among these now appeared a call for an end to special privileges for party members and the police and the closure of special shops existing exclusively for Poland's privileged elite.

Demanding recognition of its social power the MKS insisted that

See **Workers** Pg. 10

Giereck: "How could the workers do this to me?"

On The Inside

Christie Interview Pg. 3

Theological Ecology Pg. 4

Anarchism and Organization Pg. 6

Company Town Pg. 12

Abbie Hoffman Pg. 13

Turkish Coup Pg. 16

The Role of the Church

By Joey Stalin

On September 21st mass was broadcast over Poland's state radio for the first time in over three decades. This major event took place because the striking Polish workers had included a demand for such broadcasts among those they formulated during their struggle against the state. In light of this it is of great importance to assess the role of the Catholic Church in Poland in relation to the opposition movement and the workers in particular.

It is undeniable that the Church does have a large following within all sections of the population including the workers. However there are reasons to suspect the estimates of the degree of its influence especially as it is gauged in the capitalist media in North America.

Judgements based upon church attendance are a bit deceptive. This is because there are many avowed atheists and agnostics who see attending mass as a safe gesture of opposition to the state. Likewise, the various symbols of Catholicism displayed in the Gdansk shipyards during the occupation stand in contrast to workers denunciations of Cardinal Wyszynski for having appealed for a resumption of work at the height of the strikes. (See accompanying article) They indicated a marked perception that the Church hierarchy constitutes a part of the status quo.

These facts in turn beg the question stated above of the Church's relation to dissident formations. This matter, incidentally, has been a topic of considerable debate in underground publications with the focus being on whether the Church is the most effective organization of resistance.

At present the relationship is a fairly close one. Many of the activists are Catholics. A few are even priests with "leftist" sympathies. Consistent with this there has been a common concern between them over defending the rights of believers.

But at the same time this harmony has not always prevailed. The Church began to make its rivalry with the state explicit in the early 1960's. Earlier, it had considered dissident activity of little concern. This is significant insofar as it indicates how the Church has been willing to perform about-faces in its stands since the early days of Stalinist rule.

Two eye-opening examples of this practice sufficiently reveal the Church's opportunism and, in the process, shed light on its actual role in Polish society. The first occurred in 1957 just after the great revolt of the previous year. Relatively free elections were being held as part of

See **Church** Pg. 10

For Starters

With this issue of the **NAA** we begin our second year of publication. This issue also marks the half-way point in our two year mandate as the first **NAA** production group and seems as good a time as any to reflect on our progress so far. When we first began this project we had great expectations that a regularly published Anarchist newspaper with a clear class struggle orientation, put out by a federation of Anarchist groups, would help to build a stronger more coherent Anarchist movement in North America. Specifically we hoped that the paper would attract individuals and groups towards the ACF. Unfortunately this has not proven, for the most part, to be the case. Instead we seem to be perceived as a general movement paper rather than the publication of a minority tendency — the organizational wing of the Anarchist movement.

Not that there's anything intrinsically wrong with being a general movement paper — it's just not exactly what we had in mind. We saw the **NAA** as an organizing tool, a forum for an Anarchist critique of current events, culture and society. A focus for those Anarchists who saw the need for a voluntary revolutionary organization and were willing to help build one. What we emphatically did *not* want was a newspaper that was simply catapulted into the 'grey mass' to be passively consumed.

A lively and extensive press is of vital importance to a decentralized movement like Anarchism — with it's emphasis on autonomy and local action — to counteract the inevitable tendency towards parochialism. But it is not an end in itself. Anarchism has at times been criticized for being more "a body of literature" than a social movement and the last thing we want is for the ACF to be reglegated to the status of a support group and distribution network for the **NAA**.

On the plus side the **NAA** has contributed greatly to the internal development of the ACF. As a major co-operative project it has taught us much about the strengths and weaknesses of both the ACF and the North American Anarchist movement in general. By regularly commenting on the world we have begun to analyze it and to hone our insights and impressions into a unified critique. The most encouraging manifestation of this process, as far as the ACF is concerned, has been the marked improvement in the sophistication of submissions to the Internal Discussion Bulletin since we initiated the newspaper project.

This has culminated in the perceived need for the ACF to do theoretical work in addition to our practical activity. If the newspaper project sparked nothing else than this resolve it could in many ways be considered a success and well worth the time, money and effort invested in it. But we would like to extend the debate to include all those who agree with the ACF's basic approach to revolutionary organization. We'd like to hear from you. Write to us at:

The North American Anarchist
P.O. Box 2, Station O,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada,
M4B 2B0.

LETTERS

DIFFERENT DRUMMER

Dear People,

I'd like to make a few comments regarding the article in your June/July issue entitled **Different Drummer**. This concerned the violence that occurred in San Francisco when some women attacked the presence of a male guitarist in a lesbian band.

First, shouts like "get the prick off the stage" are just as ugly, demeaning, sexist, and objectifying as when a man makes remarks about some "cunt".

I agree with the women mentioned who saw the attack as an insult to the female musicians, implying that not only were they incapable of making their own decisions, but, more importantly, that they did not have the right to.

One woman was quoted who said that the male musician "defiled" women's space and that it was an "act of violence". She went on with such abstract hyperbole (e.g. "raw wound in the breast of the women's community") which sound like nothing else so much as the nazi ravings about "blood and soil", and other meaningless irrationalisms.

My feeling is that such women are acting out some inner, personal trips by dumping it on wholly inappropriate people. It is counterproductive, divisive, and reactionary to act in that manner towards a class of people (men). I had hoped that we were beyond the stage of justifying "reverse oppression" by anyone.

Finally, I am glad to see that many people are no longer intimidated by such pseudo-militant crap.

In Solidarity
George Peterson
Vancouver, B.C.

ANARCHY IN GREECE

Dear NAA,

In **NAA6** I read with interest the article related to Leonidas Christakis. This article was of particular interest to me because I had gotten to know him personally and came to admire his learning and his humanity. All of the events you described I had, to some extent, lived through since I lived in Greece for four years and was evicted just five months ago.

It was on the strength of what I read that I decided to take the time to say a few words. I look forward to reading about Sofia and Philip Kyritsis in the **NAA** as I also knew them quite well. Being a close friend of all three I am very concerned about their fate behind bars in Greece especially since I myself spent six weeks in Greek prisons.

I also write to you because I thought you might be interested in the life I led while in Greece. I landed in Greece by way of a free, comparatively speaking, trip from Canada. I worked four of the eight days it took the ship to reach Greece. I was penniless. It was from that point that my life took an interesting turn. I managed to obtain a three month "visa" from the "authorities" and ended up staying four years.

My sojourn in Greece coincided with the time Ulrike Meinhof "committed suicide" in the prison "white cells" of Germany. It also coincided with the time Rolf Polli, son of a high ranking judge in Germany, was extradited from Greece having been found to be a member of RAF the Baader-Meinhof Group.

During the course of my stay in Greece I managed to learn a good deal of the language and to appreciate, somewhat, the Greek mentality.

Oddly enough, or not so odd when one reflects, I was expelled at the end of January 1980 almost at the same time as the two policemen were murdered. The same time, that is, of the crackdown on political journalists, anarchists etc., the confiscation of the **Ideodrome** as well as the removal from the market of **Amphi**, the magazine for the liberation of the homosexual desire. This latter magazine is presently the subject of an obscenity charge in the Greek courts.

It was during the two weeks I spent in jail awaiting my expulsion that I came in contact with some of these people, but not too much as the jailer's policy was to keep the Greeks separated from the foreigners. They had been brought in for interrogation. The people from one paper, **Rixi**, were all gathered up and hustled into the cells for questioning in connection with the police killings.

I could tell you a lot more but, for now, I'll content myself with saying that I was indeed pleased to note that a North American publication is reporting on these events.

Yours Truly
Hiscock
Montreal, Quebec

See More Letters Pg. 14

ACF Declaration

We live in a world in which the vast majority of people are manipulated and exploited for the benefit of a privileged few. The main goal of the members of these ruling classes is to increase their personal power and wealth by *any* means necessary. They try to blur the distinction between rich and poor by the use of the myth that wealth is available to all. This irresponsible pursuit of economic and political power has brought about not only poverty and unrewarding lives for the vast majority, but threaten the existence of humanity with ecological disaster and nuclear war.

We are anarchists because we oppose the notion that the political state can be used to either protect or promote social revolution. The state is the graveyard of freedom and equality. It means privilege and domination on the one hand, subordination and poverty on the other.

We are communists because we believe that the wealth produced by society rightly belongs to society and not to the few who own and control the machinery of production and distribution of goods and services which have been produced by generations of working people.

As anarchists we recognize that the problems of hierarchy are not only based in the workplace. The habits of obedience and authority stem also from the daily subordination of women to men, children to adults and race to race. In the final analysis no social revolution can succeed without the simultaneous dismantling of all such hierarchial relationships.

We are opposed to the State and ruling classes which dominate every country today. In their place we propose the free federation of autonomous communities and workers' associations united by free agreement. In the struggle to achieve this society of free producers we advocate direct democracy, direct action and autonomy.

We have formed a federation because it is the organizational structure which best promotes the free coordination of activities among self-governing groups.

We urge all who share these goals to work with us.

Adopted July, 1980,
at the Sixth Conference of the
Anarchist Communist Federation of North America

ACF AFFILIATES

CANADA

TORONTO ACF: POB 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4B 2B0. *Newspaper Co-Production Group.*

TOTALLY ECLIPSED: POB 223, Jordan Station, Ontario, Canada, L0R 1S0. *Newspaper Co-Production Group.*

UNITED STATES

NAMELESS ANARCHIST GROUP: Box K, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, USA.

RASCAL: POB 1516, Morgantown, WV 26505, USA.

RESURGENCE: POB 2824, Station A, Champaign, IL 61820, USA. *ACF Financial Group.*

BREAD AND ROSES: 495 Ellis St., No. 1341, San Francisco, CA 94102, USA. *Internal Bulletin Group.*

LIBERTARIAN WORKERS GROUP: POB 692, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10113, USA. *External Correspondence Group.*

NO LIMITS: POB 2605, Madison, WI 53701, USA.

CHICAGO RED AND BLACK: POB 5507, Chicago, IL 60680, USA.

SYNDICALIST ALLIANCE: P.O. Box 92085, Milwaukee, WI. 53202, U.S.A.

AFFILIATION PENDING

SOIL OF LIBERTY: POB 7056, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, MN 55407.

CREATIVE URGE: POB 7565, Liberty Station, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, USA.

MEMBERSHIP PROCEDURES

INDIVIDUALS: All individual members must be affiliated with a federated group. An individual wishing to join the federation must request membership of an affiliated group and it is up to that group to determine whether to associate with a given individual or not. Individual applicants may choose between any of the local groups which will accept her/him. Once in the federation, an individual member may change her/his group affiliation, but must always be affiliated with some group.

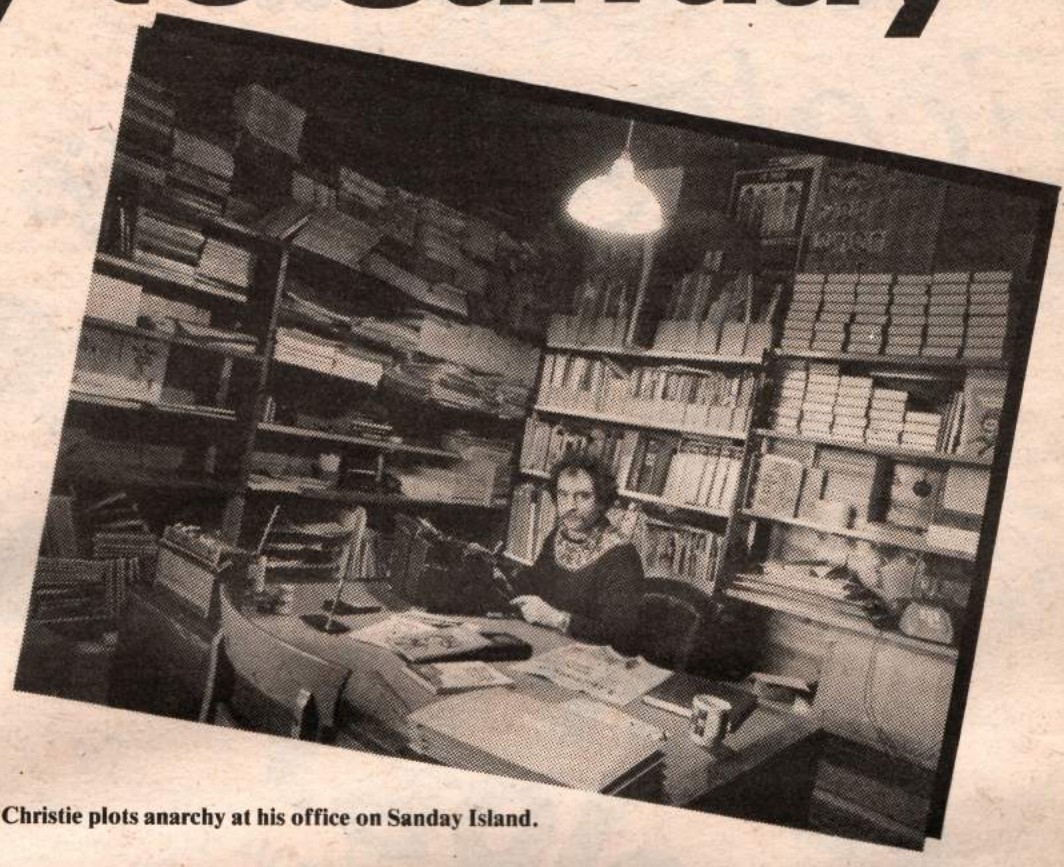
GROUPS: The base unit of the federation is the local group. A local group shall consist of at least three individual anarchist-communists living within one hour's travelling time of each other, but may include additional members living beyond this radius. Local anarchist groups that wish to affiliate, must communicate their desire to federate to all groups presently within the federation. The applicant group will be contacted by the nearest federated group. After the applicant group has been contacted and has been given an understanding of the federation's principles and goals, the group or its representatives must then attend a conference of the federation in order to allow members from the other groups to meet them personally. After this the federated groups shall decide if they wish to associate with the applicant group.

North American
ANARCHIST

is published bi-monthly by the **Anarchist Communist Federation of North Amreica**. The opinions expressed in any one article do not necessarily express the views of the **ACF** or its affiliated groups. The only exceptions are articles which ***explicitly*** state that they represent the opinion of the **ACF** as a whole.

A Journey to Sanday

It was a bit of a surprise to me as an 18 year-old that the British police, with their lip-service to democracy and anti-fascism, should work hand-in-glove with one of the most vicious, overtly fascist police forces in the world.



Stuart Christie plots anarchy at his office on Sanday Island.

The following is an edited transcript of an interview with Stuart Christie, one of the most widely-known of the contemporary British anarchists. Among his many activities within the movement in Britain are his involvement with the anarchist publishing house Cienfuegos Press and his work in the prisoner solidarity organization The Anarchist Black Cross. The interview took place this summer at his home on Sanday which is one of the Orkney Islands off the northern coast of Scotland..

What political activities preceded your involvement with anarchism and what led to your rejection of them?

I came from a background in the industrial Lanarkshire where there had always been a strong anarchist tradition among the miners. They had a close identification with Spain as many Scottish miners from the area had fought in the International Brigades. This was one fact.

The earliest political activity I can remember was my early involvement in anti-Catholicism. I saw the Roman Catholic Church as a mainstay of ignorance; a powerhouse of reaction. So much so that I joined the Junior Orange Lodge at 12 in the belief that they were the only people combatting Catholicism. That relationship only lasted two weeks because I quickly realized that they engendered just as much bigotry and hate.

My initiation was on the second week. It involved placing my hand on a very large, heavy, family bible while the members made suitably obscure gestures or chanted and clapped. I placed my hand on the table. It collapsed and so did I in a fit of uncontrollable laughter. I never went back again.

I then went into the Labour Party. Its youth wing; the Young Socialists. The main political elements in the Glasgow YS were various Trotskyist factions and the more libertarian Solidarity group.

What made you leave it?

I tore up my Labour Party card in 1963 when the then Party Leader, Hugh Gaitskill, spoke in favour of nuclear weapons. I was also disgusted at the tactics employed in the nominations for control of the local Labour Parties. These tactics involved canvassing all of the Protestant members of the local ward committees with the canvassers wearing Glasgow Rangers football scarves and warning of the dangers if the right-wing Catholic reformists managed to win control. **(Ed. Note**: In Glasgow Protestants tend to support Rangers while Catholics support Glasgow Celtic.) In the same period I had been involved in the Committee of One Hundred, direct action, anti-nuclear movement and in the more militant, clandestine Scots Against War.

How did you get involved with anarchists?

During the period I made closer contact with the elderly Glasgow anarchist movement. It was active from the turn of the century up to the early 50's. This was a period of rapid politicalization with a major influx of youth into the movement. There was also a growing revival of repression in Spain reflecting the growth of militancy within a new generation of Spaniards who had the renewed self-confidence necessary to take on Franco's regime.

But the Francoist authorities knew no alternative to the bullet and the torture chambers of the Guardia Civil. Reports in the media and in the international anarchist press of the brutal repression in Spain's Asturias region made me decide to do something about it. All diplomatic channels had been explored and exhausted. The only alternative was to physically get rid of Franco.

How did you proceed?

I volunteered my services to the clandestine international organization, the Iberian Libertarian Council which was the main co-ordinating body of the resistance.

I left Glasgow, made contact in London and went to Paris for final instructions as well as to pick up the explosives. Then I went to Spain where the authorities were waiting for me.

Obviously there was infiltration?

It wasn't obvious at the time. Later it turned out that the police had a wealth of information about my contacts including photos. It was a bit of a surprise to me as an 18 year-old that the British police, with their lip-service to democracy and anti-facism, should work hand in glove with one of the most vicious, overtly fascist police forces in the world.

My self-education was to begin and would last three and a half years; the length of my prison stay.

Could you briefly describe your experience in Spanish prison?

I had many. The self-education was the most important. I learned that things and people are never black and white. The other important thing I learned was to lose my fear of police and prisons.

Since the charge was banditry and terrorism, which carried an automatic death sentence, by garroting, I was held in the condemned cell for three weeks. Everything including bedding was removed during the day and a light was on continuously at night.

As it turned out, at my trial, the prosecutor asked for 20 years for me and 30 for my contact.

At this time there was a large international campaign going for your release?

Yes. In fact, apart from the personal benefits just explained, I probably achieved far more in terms of highlighting the situation for Spanish political prisoners. The public interest in my condition was an embarrassing and constant reminder that the last of the fascist dictators remained in power.

The constant campaign for my release was on since my arrest but it wasn't until the First of May Group (FMG) kidnapped the First Secretary of the Spanish Embassy in London that my release was effected. I was one of the first successes of this now common but usually unsuccessful type of action.

The FMG had done similar actions before such as in the case of Jorge Cunill Vals, an anarchist sentenced to death for banditry and terrorism.

What did you do upon returning to Britain in September 1967?

I went to work for Albert Meltzer in his Londlon bookshop and involved myself in his anarchist publishing endeavour, Coptic Press. I learned offset printing techniques. I had worked as a letter press printer in prison but offset was completely new to me. I was still under constant police surveillance. I was raided every couple of months on suspicion of being in the clandestine FMG. It was carrying out actions throughout Europe and even in the U.S. at the time.

Once the police discovered a large quantity of U.S. dollar bills printed with the signature of the FMG. Instead of one dollar it said one life.

I was charged with counterfeiting. A U.S. Secret Service Agent came from the U.S. embassy in Paris to testify that these were valid forgeries and that similar ones had been found elsewhere in Europe. I was tried at the Old Bailey (Central Criminal Court) before Britain's only Buddhist judge and was found guilty. Despite my defence that they weren't meant as usable currency but were intended for use abroad.

What for?

I later learned they were to be used in a wages robbery at a U.S. Air Force base outside of Madrid. The genuine notes would have been replaced with the propaganda currency.

At the last moment the judge

See **Christie** Pg. 14

'Towards a Citizen's Militia'

Cienfuegos Under Fire

By Lazarus Jones

Barely six months after the conclusion of the Persons Unknown "conspiracy to cause explosions" trial (See **NAA3**) the British Anarchist movement is once again under attack. The newspapers are filled with headlines such as: "Anarchist to publish guide to terror tactics," **Sunday Telegraph**; "Scot's Book Of Do-It-Yourself Guerilla War," **Daily Record**; "Anarchist Press comes under Police Scrutiny" and "Terror Books Uproar." The cause of this "uproar" is a slim booklet published by Cienfuegos Press entitled **Towards A Citizen's Militia** (Anarchist Alternatives to NATO and the Warsaw Pact).

The booklet is divided into three parts. Part one, Principles of armed resistance, deals with the fundamentals of armed struggle. Part two, Organization and conduct of guerilla warfare, deals with the establishment of guerilla groups and tactics such as: surprise attacks, attacks on communication systems, rail networks, power systems, fuel depots and airfields. Part two also contains a section on the tactics used by security forces to hunt down and destroy guerilla groups. Part three, Organization and operation of the civilian resistance movement, details the supportive role of civilians, tactics of a general uprising and the tactics used by State armed forces to suppress uprisings.

In an interview with a British newspaper Stuart Christie, of the Cienfuegos Press, described the reasons for publishing the booklet: "Should the country fall to the enemy within or the enemy outside and the political and economic structure breaks down, the ordinary people should have the ability and the know-how to defend themselves."

Predictably the authorities reacted with fear and hysteria to the booklet's publication. Conservative Member of Parliament Winston Churchill, grandson of the late Sir Winston, was quoted as saying: "If this book is advocating violence and urging people to act against the law of the land then it should be investigated by the Director of Public Prosecutions." A New Scotland Yard spokesman called the booklet "irresponsible" and a Special Branch "source" declared: "This is one of the most dangerous documents I have ever seen. In the wrong hands it could cause security forces a great deal of harm."

Ruling class interest in the booklet is high as Christie reports that orders for copies have been received from the British Ministry of Defense, the CIA, FBI and "book agents acting on orders from Moscow and Peking.

The furor surrounding the appearance of **Towards A Citizen's Militia** led Cienfuegos Press' trade distributor, Scottish & Northern and Southern Distribution, to refuse to distribute the booklet after receiving "legal advice." Similarly Cienfuegos' printer has refused to print any more of Cienfuegos' books because of "adverse publicity." They confided to Stuart Christie that they were quite frankly afraid of the possible consequences they might suffer if they continued to handle material from Cienfuegos.

Despite these obstacles distribution of the booklet has been unimpeded. Of the 10,000 copies printed only 1,000 remain in stock and it appears unlikely, despite the press hysteria, that any charges will be laid against Christie or Cienfuegos Press. As Christie stated in an interview: "A legal action against myself as publisher would only lead to an embarrassing and overt political trial for the government of the day and provide the book with a great deal of publicity."

In a letter to the **New Statesman** Christie defended the booklet by saying: "It is a serious contribution to the discussion of alternatives to Doomsday and the possibility of a right-wing coup. Perhaps the scenario of the latter struck a bit too close to home for some of (the books critics)." He also added, in the same letter: "I would remind readers that the prejudices of the 'law and order' lobby in Parliament do not as yet have the force of law and they should follow their consciences as to what they read and say — it's a 'right' we may not have for much longer."

Towards A Citizen's Militia can be ordered from Cienfuegos Press, Over-the-Water, Sanday, Orkney Islands, Scotland. It sells for £1.25 plus postage and handling.

Theological Ecology

Lessons of the 70s/80s Strategies for the

An open letter to the ecology movement

has to begin its quest for ... the factory but also ... Bookchin.

Ecology maven Murray Bookchin.

Open Road, Summer 1980

By Frank Stevens

And what brought an end to (the slaughter of witches)? That which brought an end to all magic, whether the holy rites of "our" religion or the blasphemous witchcraft of "their" religion. Science, making use of the natural laws of the Universe, and doing so in a demonstrably workable fashion, became the approved method of forcing man's desires upon the world.

—Dr. Isaac Asimov, 1975.

Well, not exactly. Dr. Asimov is a famous and very well-paid science writer. He could hardly be expected to notice that "science" does not exist apart from class society (like everything else). It has become painfully obvious in the last two decades that advanced capitalist "science" has proceeded in brazen ignorance and, in some cases, reckless disregard of "the natural laws of the Universe" and, consequently, has proven "demonstrably" unworkable if not hazardous.

Some of these failures, particularly the hazardous ones, have generated sizable opposition from many kinds of people, operating from many kinds of motives. As a kind of convenient shorthand, we lump all these people together as "the ecology movement."

But, in fact, most of these people don't really see themselves as part of a social movement. And they are probably right about that. Does "ecology" as an abstract conception mean anything more than any other abstract conception?

Does it really make sense to speak of "a movement" that includes: politicians on the make? companies out to make a profit cleaning up other companies' pollution? wealthy suburbanites trying to keep their neighborhoods small and exclusive? hunters and fishermen? working class victims of occupational and neighbourhood pollution?

This list could go on a long time. But what concerns me here is that seldom have I run across a serious attempt to examine ecological questions from an anarchist viewpoint. Still worse, it would appear that the most popular approach to these questions among anarchists is what I choose to call "theological ecology". Theological ecology is the view that regards the fundamental evil of capitalist society as "the forcing of man's desires on the world". All the forms of domination of human by human stem, in this outlook, from the domination of nature by humans. Anarchy, that is human freedom, cannot exist unless we give up attempting to control and dominate nature for our own ends.

In the ordinary course of things, I would be as inclined as not to dismiss theological ecology as just as nonsensical as any other theology. But when one picks up an issue of the **Open Road** (a widely-read anarchist newspaper published in Vancouver) and reads in Issue number 11 **An Open Letter to the Ecology Movement** by Murray Bookchin (a famous, widely-read anarchist) which simply reeks of theological ecology . . . well, it can't simply be dismissed. It is time, I believe, to take a critical look at just exactly what we are being asked to accept as "the anarchist view" of ecology.

(To be fair about it, Mr. Bookchin's article does not attempt to set forth the ideas of theological ecology in a systematic way. But the fragments that I have chosen to respond to are, I think, an accurate reflection of his views.)

Mr. Bookchin condemns the present order as "an inherently diseased anti-ecological society, a society riddled by an unbridled need for control, domination and exploitation of humanity and nature . . ."

At first glance, this is semantic noise. Since "unbridled" means without a bridle, Mr. Bookchin is just calling for us to control our desire to control or dominate our desire to dominate.

But at a more profound level, isn't Mr. Bookchin suggesting that the very existence of intelligence is suspect? All living organisms try to control their environment, but intelligent organisms are dramatically more successful at it.

For most people, it is the failure of advanced capitalist society to successfully control nature that provokes a critical view of that society. The capitalist that pollutes the air to make steel has not dominated nature; he has dominated certain elements at the cost of poisoning the air that we have to breathe.

Theological ecology is the view that regards the fundamental evil of capitalist society as "the forcing of man's desires on the world."

But for Mr. Bookchin, it would seem that the desire to make steel or to engage in any other purposeful activity is what is at fault. Insofar as a good working definition of intelligence is the act of imposing purpose on what otherwise has none, it would seem Mr. Bookchin is attacking the very existence of intelligence.

Further, in a social sense, is it not the desire to capture control over our own lives that lies at the root of anarchist politics? The passivity that Mr. Bookchin prescribes for our relations with the natural environment is precisely what characterizes far too much of our social existence. If a handful of people rule this planet, isn't it because the rest of us sit back and accept it because "that's the way things are"?

Mr. Bookchin looks forward to "a new ecological society" that "will yield not only a new harmony between human and human but between humanity and nature."

Really? Why is it, do you suppose, that whenever given the opportunity to choose, people flee from living in harmony with nature like they would the plague?

The plague is one good answer, for that is nature too. Mr. Bookchin talks about nature like a Walt Disney cartoon, but the reality is not so pleasant.

Suppose an accused man was brought before us to stand trial. This man is accused of killing or planning to kill every living creature and every creature that has ever lived, not just on our planet but throughout the universe. Those he has not killed outright, he has condemned to pain and suffering. If they survive his clever diseases and overwhelming disasters, his victims finally fall to progressive degeneration of their bodily organs and tissues. What punishment could we imagine for one guilty of such crimes?

But this is what nature is. Without malice or purpose, it is in harmony with nature that we are born in pain, suffer through brief lives, grow old and die.

It was not nature that built the campfire, chipped the ax, sowed the grain, built the town. It was not nature that eased the pain of childbirth, that rolled back the deadly germs, that delayed the collapse of old age. Nature has written no books and composed no symphonies.

Of course, there is much human misery that cannot be blamed on nature. (For example, nature fights no wars.) Still, given a choice, humanity's efforts to dominate nature seem to offer the chance of a more enjoyable and longer life. Living "in harmony with nature" means no life at all or, at best, a short and painful existence followed by a merciful extinction.

And this is as good a place as any to wonder just how it happened that "harmony" became part of the anarchist project. Anarchist society means that everyone gets the chance to take part in social decisions . . . not that there suddenly ceases to be any need to make decisions at all. That the forms of struggle and the content of the controversies will be different in an classless society than they are in a class society is not to be doubted. But that there will be no struggles and controversies at all??? Anarchism is for people, it seems to me, not angels.

"Ecology, in my view, has always meant social ecology: the conviction that the very concept of dominating nature stems from the domination of human by human."

I don't know if this is true or not, and neither does Mr. Bookchin in all probability. Certainly he produces no arguments to prove this assertion.

But the logic leads to a curious conclusion: if we stop dominating each other and set up an anarchist society, then we will give up trying to dominate nature at the same time. Somehow, I doubt it!

It's interesting to note, by the way, that Mr. Bookchin says that people got the idea of dominating nature from dominating each other . . . Whereas most theological ecologists (not being anarchists) say that the domination of nature came first. Since anarchism is "humanity-centered", Mr. Bookchin understandably gives precedence to humans dominating humans as the cause of humans dominating nature.

Mr. Bookchin says that the quest for freedom must begin " . . . not only in the material conditions of life but also the spiritual ones."

The only problem is that here as elsewhere, Mr. Bookchin is carefully vague about just what it is he's talking about. In this example, he goes on to talk about the nuclear family . . . which is a social relationship, not a "spiritual condition". What are the "spiritual conditions of life", anyway?

Mr. Bookchin says that as long as humanity is organized into a system of elites, "the project of dominating nature will continue to exist and inevitably lead our planet to ecological extinction."

What Mr. Bookchin overlooks in this pretty rhetoric is that extinction is just as much a part of his beloved "nature" as anything else. Even if the human race did not exist, this planet will become ecologically extinct in four or five billion years when our sun has exhausted its hydrogen and begins burning helium. At that far distant time, the sun will expand to many times its present size, and although its surface temperature will be cooler than

it is now, the heat from its larger surface area will certainly char if not vaporize the earth.

But what worries Mr. Bookchin is not simply extinction, but rather the idea that we simply can't successfully dominate nature. He seems to feel that the only alternatives are (1) dominate nature by destroying the planet; or (2) submit to nature and whatever it offers. The third alternative, that it is possible to harness the forces of nature and make them serve our own desires without killing off everything in the process, is not even considered by Mr. Bookchin. He is like the capitalist who views all working people as hopeless fuckups, incapable by their very nature of social responsibility. The ruling class tells the working class that it is too stupid to run things; Mr. Bookchin tells the human race that it is too stupid to make nature serve us.

Mr. Bookchin criticizes what he calls "environmentalism", which he says "reflects an 'instrumentalist' or technical sensibility in which nature is viewed merely as a passive habitat, an agglomeration of external objects and forces, that must be made more 'serviceable' for human use, irrespective of what these uses may be."

But what else could one reasonably expect? Mr. Bookchin is not so spiritual that he does not eat, but when he gives in to this aspect of nature, does he not deprive another animal of food?

Humans disagree on how to use nature, but all of us do it constantly. Given the opportunity to shape nature nearer to our heart's desire, who turns their back and strives for ecological sainthood?

Oh yes, there are such people. There've always been people who preferred suffering in this life so as to curry favor with the gods and be rewarded in one or another form of afterlife. But that old con has lost its savor in recent decades. More and more, people are beginning to demand heaven on earth. Freedom *and* abundance, equality *and* luxury, autonomy *and* pleasure are what we want.

And ultimately, it may now be said, we will go after our oldest enemy, death itself. Those like Mr. Bookchin who prefer harmony with nature to technical sensibility will, of course, have the freedom to die. But I do not think it will be a freedom they will choose to exercise.

Mr. Bookchin speaks of "the underlying notions of the present society, notably that man must dominate nature."

Mr. Bookchin here accepts one of the more clever capitalist myths. To be precise about it, the real notion is that "some men must dominate nature", and we all know who they are.

The domination of nature that characterizes the present social era is domination for the purpose of enriching the lives of a small minority of the human race. If the rest of us benefit, that's just an accident; and if we don't, that's our tough luck.

In either event, we have little to say about it (except during revolutionary periods). Most of us don't dominate anything.

But, just supposing, if we did have a classless society with the opportunity to dominate nature for the purpose of enriching the lives of all of humanity, would we do it? The answer is obvious.

Mr. Bookchin speaks of "our grotesque imbalance with nature".

What is "balance"? The cockroach has been around for some 300,000,000 years and shows every sign of hanging around forever . . . and it doesn't threaten the ecosphere. But however much such an existence may commend itself to Mr. Bookchin, the life of a cockroach holds little appeal for me.

Yet, ugliness, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. Perhaps Mr. Bookchin's aesthetics are such as delight in the spread of cancer cells or the eruption of volcanos, while recoiling in horror from the sterile operating room and the polluting rescue plane.

Mr. Bookchin says "admittedly (solar power satellites, space colonies, giant windmills, etc.) are less dangerous to the physical health of human beings than power derived from nuclear and fossil fuels . . ."

But that isn't enough, according to Mr. Bookchin, because it isn't the revolution; it isn't the creation of an egalitarian society. If the ruling classes respond to popular pressures and their own self-interests by phasing out the more dangerous forms of energy production, that is to be deplored because it leaves social relationships unaltered.

Humans disagree on how to use nature, but all of us do it constantly. Given the opportunity to shape nature nearer our heart's desire, who turns their back and strives for ecological sainthood?

However, I must disagree. You see, if the ruling classes have concluded that dead workers produce no profits, I can only applaud such a generous sentiment: dead workers also make no revolutions.

Further, Mr. Bookchin at least hints at the idea that unless people are severely harmed by ecological blunders, they won't perceive the need to destroy hierarchical social relationships. But millions of people have perceived that need during periods of history when no one had ever heard of ecology. I don't think that the possibility of people living in the reasonable expectation of not being suddenly wiped out by poisonous or radioactive substances will make people conclude that hierarchy is OK after all.

Mr. Bookchin recommends "the need to understand the meaning of the affinity group structure as a lasting, family-type form."

Well, wouldn't you know that just when people are finally breaking loose from one form of permanent, compulsory association (the family), some ass will suggest imposing another form. Isn't that what the phrase "a lasting, family-type form" really means?

I can see it now. Joining an affinity group will be just like marriage. There will be a stupid ritual performed to mark these sacred ties, presided over by a nature priest. Someone will get up and make a pompous speech about how "the affinity group is the foundation of anarchist society". Everyone involved will make a lot of silly promises they can't possible hope to carry out. Afterwards, the neighbors may have to get up a committee to go over to their house and stop the fighting. There'll even be divorce — a ritual explusion of the nonconformist member.

I've said previously that I have no ready answers to the problems of forming new kinds of relations between people. But I will not settle for the same old shit in a shiny new container. To me, the principle of free association means exactly that: people joining together when they wish, staying as long as they like, and departing when they please. Ceremony is superfluous and pledges of permanence are just lies, well-meaning perhaps, but lies nonetheless.

Let me take this a step further. When people join together for a narrow purpose, that purpose itself will generate an appropriate structure. But the relationships of people who are involved with each other in deeper ways are so complex and so subject to constant changes that to impose any structure is probably not only beyond us now but may always be beyond us. Many people may choose a quasi-family-type structure, but many others will choose no structure at all. I think the latter choice is a more realistic one; but, at a minimum, it is contrary to anarchist politics to impose a structure on people's relationships. On the other hand, theologians are ever-ready to tell us how we have to live.

Mr. Bookchin says that anarchist politics are incomprehensible "to millions of people who live as soloists in discotheques and singles bars."

Is there anything as satisfying as a fully-developed contempt for people who choose to live differently from the way that you know is the only correct way? Think how you feel, looking down on those idiots from your commanding position at the heights of spiritual/political consciousness. Yes, it does feel fine . . . even if the air is a little thin and the wind a little chilly and those scum down there don't appreciate your concern for their spiritual backwardness. Guess it's time to go down and knock a few heads together . . .

Personally, all I can say to this is that it's too bad the prophetic tradition didn't die out with the Hebrew tribes. In some ways, the prophet-motive is even worse than the profit motive.

Mr. Bookchin lauds "the ideals of a new world in which masses become individuals and natural resources become nature, both to be respected for their uniqueness and spirituality."

Of course, masses are becoming individuals now . . . just not the kind of individuals Mr. Bookchin approves of ("soloists in discos and singles bars").

But that's a trivial objection. Let's go to the root of this "uniqueness and spirituality". Do we conduct a ceremony of prayer before we eat each unique plant and animal . . . or do we stop eating? Shall every solar satellite contain a built-in altar? Must the hypodermic needle containing the life-saving drug be blessed before it can be used? Must every launching of the space shuttle be accompanied by a reading of Genesis 1:1?

What is all this except just another attempt to mystify human

See **Ecology** Pg. 15

Anarcho-Technology

Sociobiology — a Newer Synthesis

Sociobiology is a dirty word to most leftists, including most anarchists. Yet, one wonders, is the basic idea of sociobiology, that many of the basic facets of our behaviour are genetically influenced if not determined, such a "reactionary" idea? Left wing critics of sociobiology tend to concentrate their fire on the Desmond Morris (The Naked Ape), Robert Ardrey (The Territorial Imperative, African Genesis, The Social Contract, etc.) brand of what can best be described as popular fiction. Very few left wing critics show even the slightest indication of familiarity with the scientific literature on the subject. At best there is an occasional hint that a very few have *skimmed* through E.O. Wilson's **Sociobiology: The New Synthesis.** Beyond this—nothing!!

It is not surprising that Marxists should be against the idea of genetic factors in human behaviour. The history of Marxist views of science, from the theory of relativity, to molecular biology, to cybernetics to continental drift is replete with instances of where the sacred urge to preserve the dogma of "dialectics" has overridden any small voice of facts. In their brief life the Marxist countries have shown a proportionally greater hostility to an independent science than the Roman Catholic Church ever did in the heydey of the inquisition. Sociobiology challenges the Marxist dogma of historical relativism and of economic determinism. It is thus calculated to make any orthodox Marxist uneasy. Furthermore, by hypothesizing that certain human drives are innate, it throws doubt on the Marxist project of "managing and manipulating" the masses into the promised land via the instrument of party dictatorship. The challenge to their divine right of management is an even more serious one to present any would be technobureaucrats than the challenge to their dogma.

Perhaps it is the immaturity of the 'new anarchism' that brings so many anarchists to tail after the Marxist dog in this and many other matters. Being less than 2 decades old, the new anarchism could not be expected to have formulated an adequate theoretical challenge to the antique litany of Marxism. Yet, doesn't the literature of classical anarchism contain enough references to a genetic basis of anarchist ethics to make present day anarchists a little more open minded on the matter of sociobiology? Peter Kropotkin's book **Mutual Aid** is a brilliant foreshadowing of many of the ideas present in the modern theory of reciprocal altruism. It was brought out in argument to Thomas Huxley and his postulate of a war of all against all in his **Struggle for Existence Manifesto.** Modern sociobiology, with its investigation and speculation on this subject, is discovering a firm empirical basis for the part of anarchist theory for which we have always been reviled as "utopian dreamers in the innate goodness of man."

In more modern times Alex Comfort, whose major contribution to anarchist literature was his book **Authority and Delinquency,** and who is probably most famous to the general public for **The Joy of Sex,** wrote his **Nature and Human Nature** in 1966, far earlier than the present fashion of sociobiology. Noam Chomsky, the author of many historical studies on both anarchism and the techniques of American imperialism, and also incidently, perhaps the most widely respected expert in the field of linguistics (due to his theories regarding the genetic basis of language), puts the question of the dependence of liberation on a genetic basis for human nature in this way:

"A vision of a future social order is in turn based on a concept of human nature. If in fact man is an indefinitely malleable, completely plastic, being with no innate structures of mind and no intrinsic needs of a social or cultural character, then he is a fit subject for the "shaping of behaviour" by the state authority, the corporate manager, the technocrat or the central committee. Those with some confidence in the human species will hope that this is not so and will try to determine the intrinsic human characteristics that provide the framework for intellectural development, the growth of moral consciousness, cultural achievement and participation in a free community." (see the essay 'Langauge and Freedom' in **For Reasons of State**).

Let's have that confidence in the human species! Besides the stultifying effect of over a century of dogma, besides the managerial self interest of so many pseudo radicals, there is yet another motive underneath the dislike of sociobiology among leftists. This is simple fear, fear that science will discover facts that will prove the bases of left wing theories to be wrong. But will it? There is, for instance, strong statistical evidence that genes that predispose a segment of the population to either homosexuality or bisexuality have a very definite beneficial effect on the 'inclusive fitness' of the group to which such individuals belong. What does this say to the anti-gay prejudices of both the Marxist-Leninists and our own conservative ideologues?

Suppose that further research were to demonstrate firm empirical evidence for a certain set of behavioural tendencies to appear more often in females than in males or vice versa. Does this justify differential treatment of the sexes? Certainly not if one realizes that such behavioural traits exist, almost certainly, in highly overlapping normal curves and that one still has to judge individuals rather than sexes. To be even more extreme, let us assume that there was evidence that these behavioural tendencies overlapped only slightly. Would that be justification for sexual inequality? Certainly not again, for "difference" is not "inequality". Classical anarchists such as Emma Goldman could be firm believers that women and men were basically different (see 'The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation' in any collection of Goldman's essays) while still being even firmer believers in sexual equality. Many so-called radical feminists have based their theories on a biological determinism much stricter than that so far elucidated by sociobiology, even if their theory is quite often based on utter myths such as the ancient matriarchy. The point, however, is not the merits of radical

See **Sociobiology** Pg. 11

Anarchist Feminist Notes

Labour Camp for Soviet Feminist

Soviet feminist Tatyana Velikanova (who was erroneously identified as "Titiana Mamonova" in **NAA6)** has been sentenced to four years in a labour camp plus five years of internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The charge arose out of her involvement with the underground journal **Women and Russia** which the KGB criticized as being an "ideological and tendentious magazine." Her conviction was greeted by shouts of "not enough, not enough," from the courtroom audience of hand-picked Communist Party hyenas. As the official Soviet newsagency Tass put it: "Muscovites of different ages and professions who packed the session hall met the court's ruling with approval.

Velikanova originally became a dissident when her husband, Konstantin Babitsky, was arrested for protesting the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and sentenced to a term in jail and internal exile. As she was being led from the courtroom Velikanova turned and said, "the farce is over."

The Playboy Philosophy

For some people in the radical movement, money speaks louder than either actions or words. This seems to be the reason why **The Progressive** decided to accept a "Hugh M. Hefner First Amendment Award" and $3000 from the Playboy Foundation. In return for this honor, **The Progressive** heralded the Playboy Foundation as an important defender of civil liberties and "feminist causes." Apparently **The Progressive** needed to respond to criticism from Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW). WAVAW had urged **The Progressive** and other Playboy award winners to boycott the awards, to protest the sexual exploitation of women by the Playboy corporation.

This is not the first time the Playboy corporation has contributed money to civil libertarian and feminist groups. Ever since the Playboy gambling and pornography corporation began to draw criticism from the growing feminist movement in the 60's, it began to channel funds into various radical causes. The effect of this policy of "sexist liberalism" has been to divert feminist criticism away from Playboy, and the pornography business in general. At the same time Playboy Foundation funds have bolstered up the more conservative wings of non-feminist protest movements, like the anti-nuclear movement and the movement for drug legalization.

Playboy has its own reasons for supporting "civil liberties", which have little to do with promoting social change. The fewer legal restrictions on publishing, the more secure are Playboy's profits. As anarchists, we can not support state censorship as a means of stopping pornography. The regulation of pornography and prostitution by the state does little more than drive it underground where it becomes a source of graft and corruption for the police. Pornography can only be eliminated by a feminist revolution in social attitudes, along with greater economic opportunities for women. In the meantime, it is a mistake for radicals to help Playboy maintain a public image as a defender of individual freedom. All pornography promotes the belief that women are little more than sexual objects to be consumed like any other commodity. It is a denial of women's individuality and autonomy as human beings. It's time for radicals to take the advice of WAVAW and tell the Playboy Foundation to buy political support elsewhere.

Tampon Dangers and Alternatives

There has been a lot of concern lately regarding rumours that tampons are contaminated with asbestos. Since tampons have no 'active' ingredients and are not classified as drugs or medical devices, manufacturers are under no legal obligation to reveal their contents to the consumer. However we do know that such things as deodorants, bleaches and lubricants are used in making tampons. These facts combined with the expense of tampons could warrant a serious consideration of alternatives to tampon use. Kathleen McDonnell of **Healthsharing** magazine has discussed this problem and recommended a few choices.

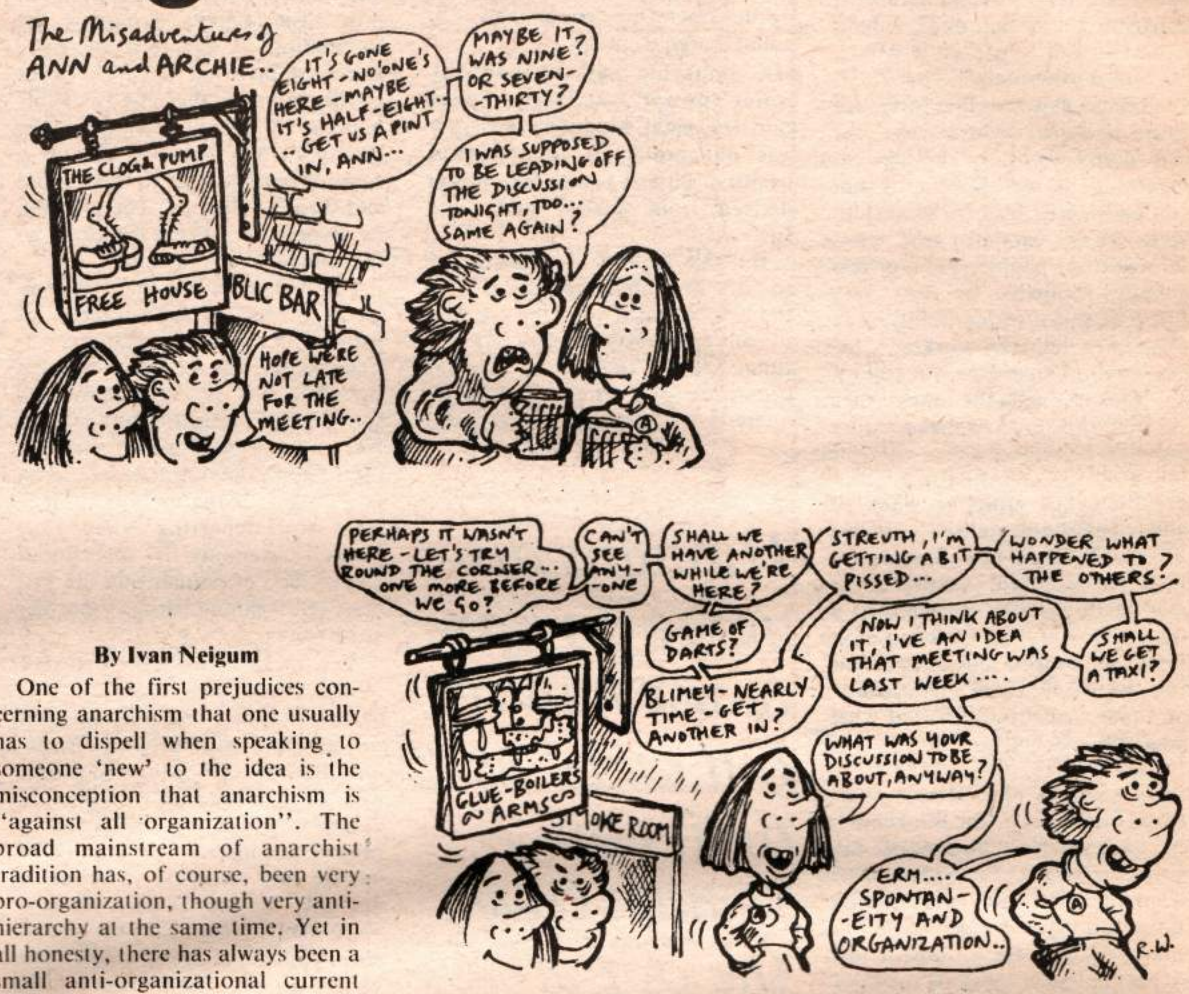
The first obvious alternative is the sanitary napkin. However the tampon was such a convenient option that what we are really looking for are intra-vaginal devices.

Menstrual Sponge: you can purchase an unbleached sea sponge, cut it to the size appropriate to your menstrual flow and insert it. The sponge can be washed and/or boiled with a little vinegar to copy the natural PH balance of the vagina. When it is full wring it out and reinsert. After your period wash it out as stated above and let it dry in open air. Store in a clean cloth bag until needed again.

Diaphragm: not only does this handy device keep sperm out but it also keeps menstrual flow in. On heavy days a sanitary napkin might be worn for extra protection.

There is no doubt that these two alternative methods of catching the menstrual flow are messier than tampons. However, women, who are taught from an early age to be repelled by menstrual blood, need feel no repulsion for 'being in touch with their menses.' Besides these devices are safe, inexpensive and very portable.

Anarchism and Organization



By Ivan Neigum

One of the first prejudices concerning anarchism that one usually has to dispell when speaking to someone 'new' to the idea is the misconception that anarchism is "against all organization". The broad mainstream of anarchist tradition has, of course, been very pro-organization, though very anti-hierarchy at the same time. Yet in all honesty, there has always been a small anti-organizational current within the individualist wing of traditional anarchism. The 'new anarchism', which dates from the 1960s, has also often been quite anti-organizational.

Yet this attitude, like the tendency to borrow from the antique abstractions of Marx, is nothing more than a symptom of the immaturity of the new anarchism. I hope to show that it is not a useful strategy for the 1980s and beyond. Furthermore, I hope that I may be able to point out its roots, how it has evolved from the cultural chains that still bind the 'anti-organizationalists' and how true anarchism goes beyond it.

To begin with definitions, there are really two forms of the anti-organizational prejudice. The first, and most extreme, often masquerades behind a thicket of ultra-radical verbiage so dense as to be practically impenetrable. These are the situationists, many (though not all) left communists, and just plain wierd (see **Fifth Estate**). To these people all organizations that go beyond spouting out "critiques of Capital" are automatically sellouts. Perhaps any groups numbering more than five people are also evil by that very fact? What these people have done is to take a reasonable observation — the fact that oppositional organizations often end up supporting the very system they oppose — and draw an unreasonable conclusion — that one cannot build large organizations that won't do this.

The reason for this failure of logic is often pure laziness and lack of intellectual courage. It is far easier to sit and spin abstractions — you often don't even have to read anything more than the sacred texts — than it is to do the actual empirical investigations of 'how' oppositional organizations fail. Only a thorough empirical investigation would point out ways of avoiding this failure. The sterility of this type of anti-organizational attitude is obvious. "By demanding everything or nothing it gets — nothing!

A more sophisticated form of the same idea is that it is all right to form various 'non-sectarian' organizations but it is somewhat 'vanguardist' to form specifically anarchist organizations beyond the level of the affinity group. Historically this argument has usually surfaced in anarchist influenced mass organizations such as the early CGT or the CNT when an anti-anarchist group (either Reformist or Marxist) was looking for a propaganda weapon. The specifically anarchist organization was typed as "exercising a dictatorship" within the mass organization, of capturing the organization. Of course this argument was advanced by those who wanted to capture the unions themselves but were prevented from doing so by the anarchist groups.

Mass organizations

Yet there is a difference between then and now. Most of the groups which these 'non-sectarians' glorify are far from being mass organizations. The vast majority of them are marginal 'alternatives', often sponsored by government money, which have little or no effect on the vast majority of people. Their real effects are at best reformist in the worst sense, acting as a band-aid and reinforcing the dominant class' system. In light of this, it is rather bizarre that this type of anti-organizationalist often borrows arguments from the more extreme version as ammunition against those who believe in both specific anarchist groups and in working within real mass organizations. If any type of action deserves the characterization laid out by the pure Spontaneists it is these phoney 'alternatives'.

What is the real root of this attitude? It grows in an atmosphere dominated by a subordinate part of the ruling class — the liberal techno bureaucracy. This class, ensconsed in social welfare departments, in government sponsored 'rights' groups, in bureaucratized oppositional organizations, has a certain set of concerns. This class unfortunately dominates the so-called non-sectarian left in this part of the world. Its concerns become the dominant concerns within that left. These concerns, often embodied in the 'fads' that sweep through the North American left, are the only ones that have an air of legitimacy. Because a person has been unable to see the class basis of much of the left, that person often feels uncomfortable in groups not defined by whatever fad is fashionable among the liberal technobureaucracy.

Only those groups with fashionable goals seem significant. It is the apparent amateurism of the anarchist groups and their lack of ruling class sponsored legitimacy that bothers many people. The fact that the liberal technobureaucracy often grants substantial amounts of "seed money" to 'alternatives' near and dear to its collective heart adds to the aura of 'significance" surrounding these projects. Whether they in fact can attract large numbers of the public or whether they have significant membership participation is totally irrelevant to this aura. In real life the vast majority of 'alternative projects' have neither advantage over the 'non-official' anarchist groups. The fact that some people prefer them shows how dominated these people are by the loyal opposition within the ruling class.

Anti-ruling class

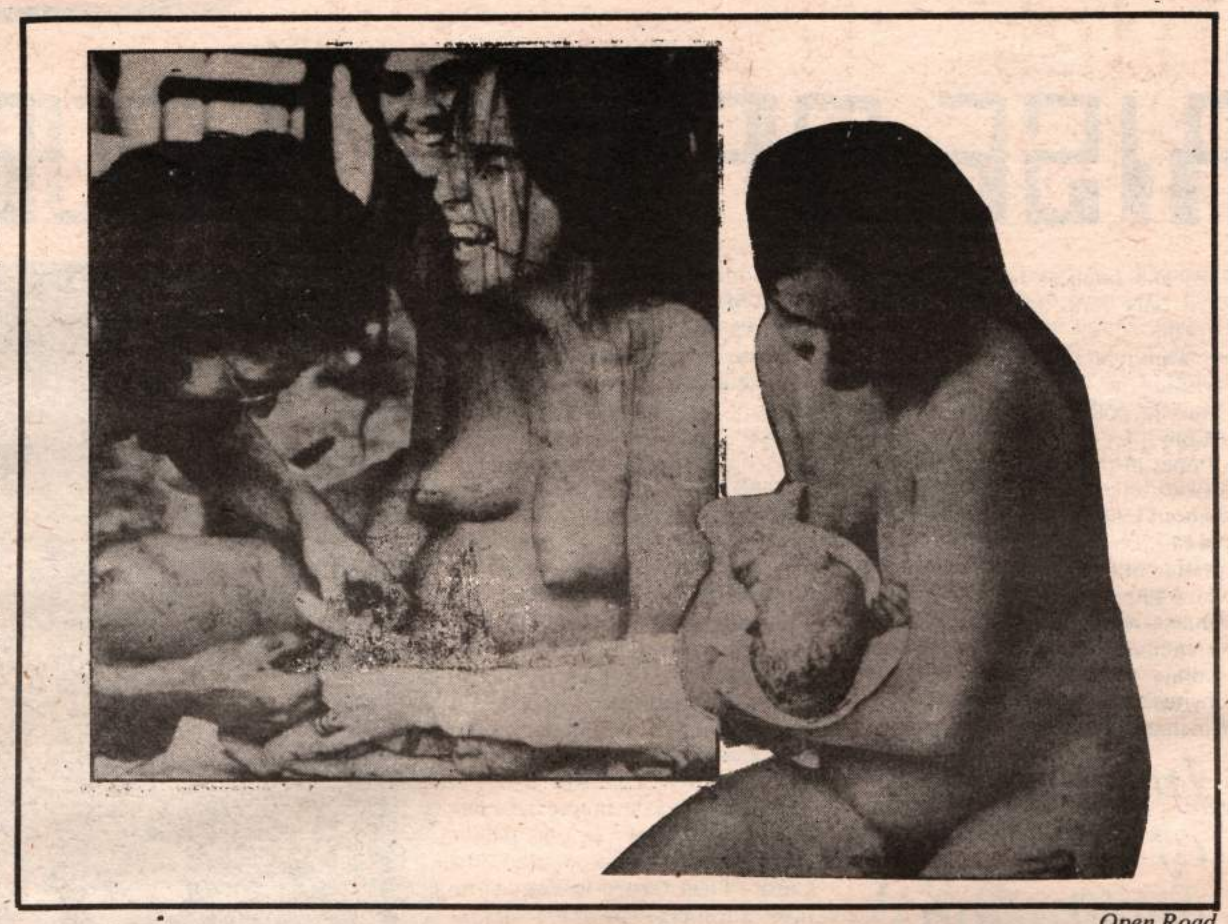
So what would be a 'true' anarchist position on organization? The answer is the obvious common sense one. Anarchists should participate as much as possible in all significant anti-ruling class struggles. Yet this is not enough. To ensure that anarchists don't end up as mere reformists there has to be reference point outside of these 'bread and butter' struggles — the specifically anarchist groups. Their sole purpose is to make the struggle within the mass organizations more effective. They are not revolutionary organizations in themselves.

This is the traditional anarchist position, and it is still valid. The other positions mentioned above — reformism/'alternatives' and spontaneitism/revolutionary purity — have always been present within 'the family' but have, and will continue to be, rejected by the vast majority of anarchists. The one accomplishes the unimportant and ignores the important. The other accomplished nothing and dreams of the important. Let's accomplish the important.

Liberated childbirth

By Mi Mi Rivera

Just as the baby's head reached full crown, Nancy called to me to come quick and see. It was a first in her experience: the baby, completely on its own, was rotating its head a full ninety degrees from posterior to anterior position. No sooner had the head completed rotating than it began to slip out toward Nancy's hands, which gently and firmly restrained it from bursting through and tearing Karen. Nancy maintained constant communication with Karen, reminding her how to breathe and explaining everything that was happening. At the very moment that the head slipped through and out, Karen shouted, 'Go back in!' Everyone laughed.



Open Road

Karen just had a home birth and felt so at ease that she was able to joke about it. Karen, like many women of today, decided to have her child at home. Her first child had been born in a hospital, resulting in some unpleasant experiences. Karen was given a "routine" episiotomy that completely severed her anal sphincter. She bled so much from this that she had to be given a blood transfusion. As if to add insult to injury, Karen wasn't allowed to see her child until twenty hours after the birth. At the hospital Karen and her husband felt helpless during the entire birth. They both felt the best part of the hospital birth was leaving the hospital.

Many women are experiencing dissatisfaction with hospital births. In the past this dissatisfaction had never been voiced. It was always understood that the doctor knew what was best. This began to change when the feminist movement emerged in the 1960's. The feminists encouraged women to maintain control over their own bodies. Home births, attended by women midwives, were proposed as a way of women taking back control of childbirth from the male-dominated hospital establishment. As home birth advocate, Suzanne Arms puts it, "There is no doubt that the history of childbirth can be viewed as a gradual attempt by man to extricate the process of birth from woman and call it his own."

To most Americans, the idea that childbirth has been moved from home to hospital because of the desire of men to control women, will seem hard to believe. Surely, the hospital with its sterile delivery room, advanced technology, and highly trained staff, is simply the safest place to give birth. The fact that, according to Suzanne Arms, only 3% of today's obstetricians are women might only prove that obstetrics is just one of many professions that have previously discriminated against women. Unfortunately, however, the claim that hospital births are safest is a myth. When the infant mortality statistics of the United States are compared to countries where home births are common, the United States ranks in 12th place. This fact would suggest that safety is not the main reason why less than one percent of births in the United States are home-births attended by midwives. Instead it is that in the hospital child birth can be controlled for the convenience of the doctor.

A way that doctors control child birth is through the use of drugs. Drugs are given to speed-up or slow-down labor since doctors, unlike midwives, can't afford to wait around for nature to take its course. The drawback to inducing labor is that drug-induced contractions are sometimes so strong that the pressure on the child's head can cause the disallignment of the partial bones, leading to brain damage. Sometimes, of course, inducing labor may be necessary, but in most cases this isn't so. Adrienne Rich states that, "If labor in the United States were induced only in cases of medical necessity, only about 3 percent of births would be induced. In fact, at least one in five births are drug-induced or drug-stimulated, for the physician's convenience and with no physiological justification whatever."

Doctor's convenience

The hospital delivery room itself, designed for the convenience of the doctor and according to standard hospital requirements, can be a health hazard. To begin with, the mother is required to deliver strapped on her back with knees drawn up and spread apart by stirrups. This position may make it easier for the doctor but requires the woman to deliver her baby against the force of gravity since the canal now curves upward. This ingenious tactic can be used to justify a whole number of questionable practices, like giving drugs to make contractions stronger, using forceps to pull on the baby's head, or episiotomies to prevent jagged tearing of the mother's perineal tissue, which has become stretched tight and inflexible to either side. A much better position for delivery would be to have the mother sit, squat, or lie on one side. But perhaps the most dangerous aspect of the hospital is its higher risk of infection. The hospital delivery rooms are being used for several deliveries each day, with at least three shifts of nurses, orderlies and innumerable doctors. New borns are exposed to hospital-bred bacteria and staph infections that are highly resistant to antibiotics. If infection were to be avoided, the home would be the safest place for childbirth. A mother is immune to the germs in her own house and so is her baby. As Fredelle Maynard points out, "Bacteriologically, home is the safest place to deliver."

The medical establishment sees home births as more of a threat to the powers of doctors than to the safety of mothers or children. It has promoted legal restrictions and other obstacles to women desiring home births. Midwives may only practice legally in twenty states. A variety of restrictions are placed upon them; some states require close supervision by doctors. In only four states—Alaska, Arkansas, Hawaii, and Oklahoma—are lay midwives fully licensed and thus protected from charges of practicing "medicine without a license." Medical insurance seldom pays for home births attended by anyone but a doctor. In at least one instance, The Maternity Center Association in New York, midwives were refused Medicaid reimbursement for care of needy mothers due to political pressure from organized obstetricians.

Perhaps the most frightening of the attacks of the hospital establishment against midwives and home births was the 1978 arrest of Marianne Doshi, a midwife, on charges of murder. Doshi had delivered a baby in Los Osos, California who had developed a rare complication, a knot in the umbilical cord. The child was born without a pulse and failed to respond to Doshi's efforts at resuscitation. The child was rushed to a hospital where it died five days later. Although the parents felt that the midwife was not responsible for the death, Doshi was charged with murder by the state of California. Fortunately the judge at her trial dismissed the charges, but it does show the length to which the hospital establishment is prepared to go to stop the new trend towards home births.

Immaculate deception

These obstacles have not managed to discourage women from having home births. A woman who decides on a home birth isn't necessarily a feminist. There are advantages which are offered besides self-assertion. One major advantage is that the family can remain together throughout the birth. Older children are less likely to feel threatened by new babies. Freedle Maynard says that "parents report that babies are more easily integrated into family life when their coming has been a happy, normal experience ar home." Fathers who help out at home births can also become more nuturing towards their children. But, more importantly, the mother and her child remain together right after the birth. Suzanne Arms in her book, **Immaculate Deception**, has cited several studies which suggest that the first few hours after birth are crucial to developing a lasting bon-between mother and child. The acts of touching, smelling, hearing, and nursing her newborn, help the mother to accept the child as her own. Some studies have even gone so far as to suggest that battered children can result from an early separation of mother and child.

Also, there are advantages to the mother herself. At a home birth a midwife stays with the mother throughout labor and delivery. The mother is comforted and made to feel secure. She is not rushed to accomodate a doctor's schedule but can give birth at her own time. The midwife is not tempted by expensive hardware or drugs, since these aren't available. In familiar surroundings, the mother cannot be intimidated by the authority of the hospital staff. Nor is there that mad rush to the hospital when labor begins.

Healthy children, safe deliveries, and the control of women over their bodies, are all major factors in the return of home births. Hospitals and doctors are important for complicated births, but most births can be taken care of in the home. As many home birth advocates point out, "Having a baby doesn't mean being sick, and the medical profession needs to recognize this."

This recognition will not necessarily come about by getting more women in the medical professions, as important as this may be. Rather women themselves must reclaim child birth from the obstetrical profession. Women must become more aware of their own bodies and not be scared to handle a home delivery. As Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English point out in their pamphlet, **Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers**, "Our goal today should never be to open up the exclusive medical profession to women, but to open up medicine to all women."

The world totters on the brink of nuclear war as Iraq and Iran pound each others oil facilities and choke off the West's supply of precious petroleum. Encountering unexpectedly stiff resistance Iraq is manoevering ever more desperately to achieve a knockout blow. Standing on the sidelines the superpowers watch in frustration as the conflict escalates. Jimmy Carter is laying the groundwork for a possible U.S. intervention. If it happens—head for the hills!

Mixed

THE RISE OF THE TELEVISIO

By Lazarus Jones

The man at home at his own fireside after a busy day at the office, desk or factory bench, or the woman marooned by her children in a multi-story block of flats, primarily does not want to be educated. They want to be entertained—and what is wrong with that? (Cheers)
Lord Denham,
debate in the House of Lords,
The Times, May 20, 1971.

This medium is bound to deceive. Even if you put the truth into it, it comes out a deception.
Malcolm Muggeridge,
The New Priesthood

Several years back, during the summer of 1978, I was holidaying in Britain and chanced to meet an Anarchist soapboxer at Hyde Park Corner. He made the observation, almost as an aside, that as recently as the early Fifties the park would regularly be crowded with workers listening to the speakers and discussing the issues of the day among themselves. Nowadays, he complained, they just sit at home watching TV and Speaker's Corner had become a carnival sideshow, just one more stop on the tourist trek.

Television has profoundly affected our world. A Brooklyn sociologist, Clara T. Appell, found that because of television 60 per cent of American families had changed their sleep patterns, 55 per cent had changed their eating schedules and 78 per cent used TV as an 'electronic babysitter.' A British survey found that the introduction of TV had led to a drastic reduction in the number of recreational excursions outside the home. A follow up survey several years later revealed that there had been some recovery. But, when this data was broken down into frequent and infrequent excursions, it was found that only the infrequent excursions had come close to the pre-television figures. One of the more insidious effects of TV is that it cuts away at activities that are central to our social existence, like the weekly trip to Hyde Park Corner, rather than activities which are peripheral.

Television has become such an integral part of our daily lives that we sometimes forget how brief its history really is. In 1955 there were only five million TV sets in the world. Today, in the United States alone, there are more than 121 million sets and between 98 and 99 per cent of North American homes have at least one television. On any given night 80 million people will be watching television. Thirty million of those people will be watching the same program and in the case of "special" events, like the All-American spectacle—the Super Bowl, in excess of 100 million individuals will be tuned into one show.

In 1960 the average household set was in operation for over six hours per day. By 1970 this figure had risen to over seven hours per day. And these are *averages* which means at least half those TV sets are watched even longer. What we are talking about is *time* and how it is used. For the vast majority of individuals leisure time means TV time. Hours upon hours spent gazing at a flickering screen whose message is essentially one of power and obedience. In the space of one generation TV has given the State a means of social control the potential and implications of which we are only now beginning to fully grasp.

Through the medium of television the State has acquired a moral, political and social hegemony that makes the power of the Popes in the Middle Ages seem almost trivial by comparison. As Rose Goldsen noted in **The Show And Tell Machine**, "the United States of America enjoys the dubious distinction of having allowed the television business to score a first in human history: the first undertaking in mass behaviour modification by coast-to-coast and intercontinental electronic hookup."

In the space of one generation TV has given the State a means of social control the potential and implications of which we are only now beginning to grasp.

The Nature Of The Beast

The nature of this "behaviour modification" is related but definitely not limited to the content of the medium. We would hardly find it surprising that North American television is overwhelmingly favourable to authoritarian capitalist values. Nor would we be unduly shocked by the fact that Proctor and Gamble, the largest single purchaser of TV advertising time, would find it necessary to ensure that this situation remains unchanged by issuing an "editorial policy" that reads, in part: "There will be no material that may give offense, either directly or by inference, to any commercial organization of any sort...There will be no material on any of our programs which could in any way further the concept of business as cold, ruthless, and lacking all sentimental or spiritual motivation."

No, the problem goes much deeper than these superficial manifestations of capitalist bias. As George Comstock hinted in his book **Television in America**: "Typically, television is consumed as a medium and the decision to view ordinarily takes precedence over the selection of what to view. Television is television first, programs second." Or, as Marshall McLuhan, the flawed guru of the electronic age, put it, "the medium is the message." What McLuhan failed to take fully into account in his ecstatic celebrations of the possibilities of the electronic age was that the "global village" produced by TV technology would inevitably be structured along rigidly hierarchal lines.

Television is inherently anti-democratic regardless of its content. It creates social conditions conducive to the emergence of autocracy by fragmenting and atomizing society and at the same time blurs perception of the incipient electronic dictatorship. By its very nature television involves the few speaking to the many. Walter Cronkite telling his 40 million viewers "And that's the way it is" or President Carter speaking personally and *individually* to 200 million Americans. Demagogues like Cuba's Fidel Castro were quick to take advantage of TV's unique power. Shortly after the Cuban Revolution Castro developed the habit of going on Cuban television and literally talking for hours on Cuba's problems and what *he* was doing about them. These speeches were never shorter than four hours and on at least one occasion he spoke for six hours and fifteen minutes. A joke making the rounds in Havana at the time was that the only evenings that the electricity supply could be counted on was when Castro was scheduled to deliver another of his TV harangues.

Television's ability to reach millions of people with one message and it's unique and compelling combination of sight, sound and motion has proved to be extremely seductive for even the libertarian left. Demonstrations and actions are planned to maximize the amount of TV exposure. The phrase, "It's not real if it isn't on television," and the psychology that goes with that statement permeate the movement. Television's failings are attributed to it's content and the fact that it is controlled by the ruling class rather than to any authoritarian bias in the technology. But, as the anti-nuke movement has graphically shown, there is no such thing as a "neutral" technology. Television is not merely a window through which any reality may pass. There are certain things that television cannot show and others it can only distort.

As a communications medium television has negative social effects that are inseparable from it's basic form. Television, all prattling about "electronic democracy" aside, militates against a self-managed society. In a very real sense television is incapable of reform and to speak of a "people's" television makes as little sense as a "people's" nuclear power.

The TV image

When you watch TV you are, in a sense, not really looking at pictures, you are looking at light. To be more exact you are looking at 300,000 tiny phospherescent dots which switch on 30 times per second. This light is projected into your eyes by cathode-ray guns powered by 25,000 volts in the case of colour and 15,000 volts in black-and-white. The pictures that form in your head are the result of your brain's ability to gather in all the lit dots, collect the image on your retina in sequence, and form the

picture. This non-stop reconstruction of images out of dots is what led McLuhan to call television "participatory." A more accurate description would have been "overpowering." As Gerry Mander stated in **Four Arguments For The Elimination Of Television**: "watching television is participatory only in the way the assembly line or a hypnotists blinking flashlight is. Eventually, the conscious mind gives up noting the process and merges with the experience. The body vibrates with the beat and the mind gives itself over, opening up to whatever imagery is offered."

In effect the machine is dominant and you are passive. Studies have shown that during television viewing, no matter what the content, brainwave activity enters a charactistic pattern. Alpha and Delta patterns become dominant and as A.R. Luria commented in **The Psychophysiology of the Frontal Lobes:** "No organized thought is possible in these phasic states and selective associations are replaced by non-selective association, deprived of their purposeful character." Herbert Krugerman, a specialist in brainwave research, also noted: "Television is a communication medium that effortlessly transmits huge quantities of information *not thought about at the time of exposure."* (Emphasis added)

The information goes in, but we don't react to it. It goes right into our memory pool and perhaps we react to it later but we don't know what we're reacting to. When you watch television you are training yourself not to react, for what could be more absurd than reacting to light patterns, and so later on you do things without knowing why you're doing them or where they came from.

Television And Real Life

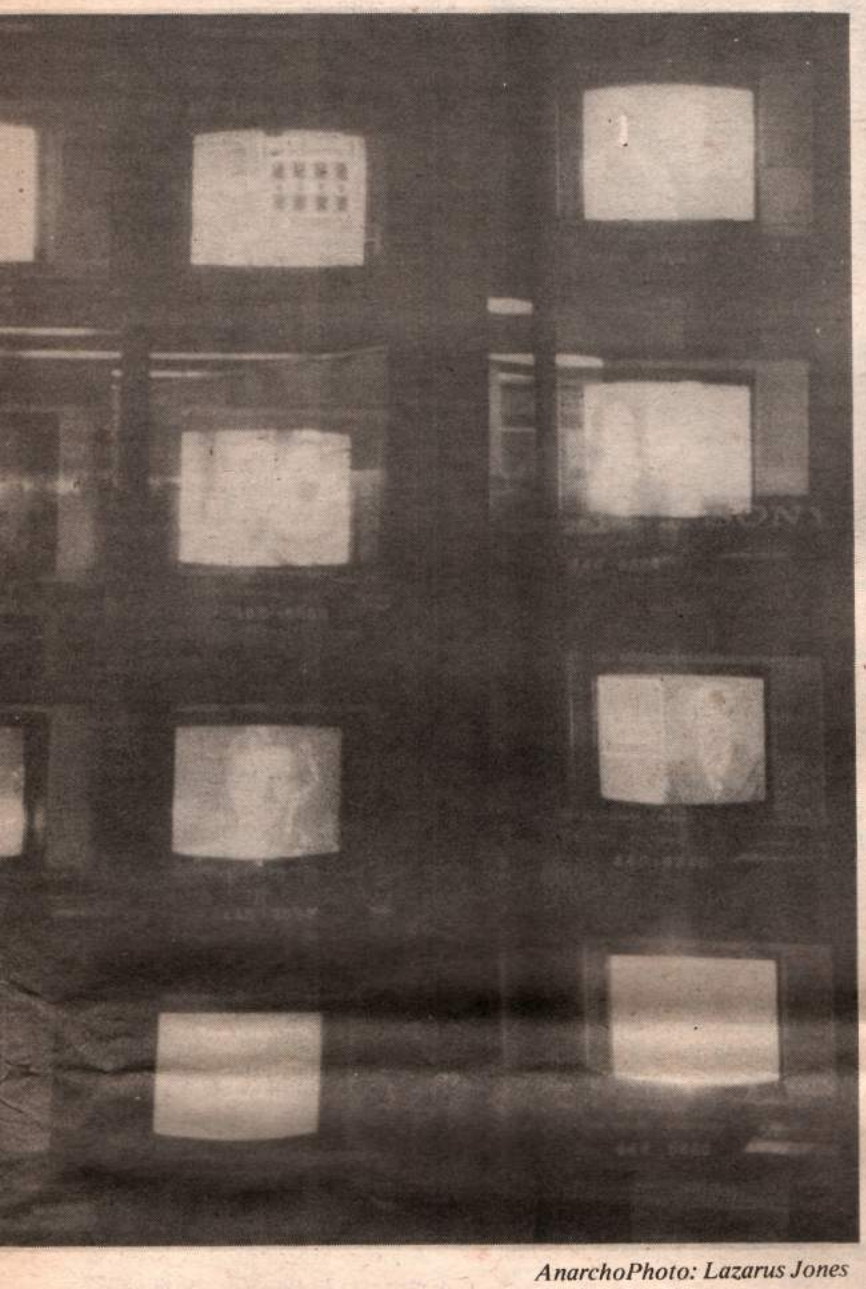
Bob Keesham, the actor who portrays Captain Kangaroo, was invited to speak at the 1974 Communications Seminar at San Francisco State College. His comments were unusually perceptive:

"When you are spending time in front of the television you are not doing other things. The young child of three or four years old is in the stage of the greatest emotional development that human beings undergo. And we only develop when we experience things, real-life things: a conversation with Mother, touching Father, going places, doing things, relating to others. This kind of experience is critical to a young child, and when the child spends thirty-five hours per week in front of the TV set, it is impossible to have the full range of real-life experience that a young child must have. Even if we had an overabundance of good television programs, it wouldn't solve the problem."

The experiences that TV *can* convey are severely limited. The picture quality is very poor compared to still photographs or even movies. Compared to real-life it is but a sickly reflection. As a result much of television consists of close-ups of faces and backgrounds are kept as stark and uncluttered as possible. The sound is tinny and forever ac-

-Media

NARIAT



AnarchoPhoto: Lazarus Jones

companied by the high-pitched whistle caused by the interaction of the audio and visual electron fields. And, of course, TV is completely devoid of any sensuous aspect such as touch, smell or taste.

Subject matter that "works" on television is also limited resulting in a dizzying array of visual gimmicks to obscure the profound boredom of the television experience. Cuts, zooms, superimpositions, split-screens and voice-overs, at the frantic pace of up to 10 to 15 per minute, are used to keep our attention from wandering. These techniques, however, are not always 100 per cent successful.

In the early Sixties an advertising researcher named Charles Allen placed time-lapse movies cameras in 100 American living rooms and recorded viewer habits. He found that for about a fifth of the time, the set played to an empty room. For another fifth of the time, whoever was in the room was not looking at the set. But, for the other three-fifths of the time, the eyes were glued to the tube.

In informal conversation people's perceptions of the television experience are sometimes more accurately reflected than in polls and studies. How many of these terms sound familiar?: "I feel hypnotized when I watch TV;" "Television sucks my energy;" "I feel like it's brainwashing me;" "I feel like a vegetable when I'm stuck there at the tube;" "Television spaces me out;" "Television is turning my mind to mush;" "My kids look like zombies when they're watching TV;" and "Television is colonizing my brain." In many ways

Television is not merely a window through which any reality may pass. There are certain things that television cannot show and others which it can only distort.

television watching is like an addiction and it's numbing, disorienting effects are felt regardless of content.

Television's Inherent Biases

It is an old observation that access to human feelings is through human imaginations—myth and story, drama and art, music and poetry, play and games—all touch imaginations and form imaginations. Today television is the central fact in nearly all these activities. The average person spends more time watching television than any average person in all of previous history ever spent reading books, going to theatre, viewing art, telling stories or just plain playing. And unlike the multi-faceted potentialities of these activities television is a specific communication medium with specific effects, biases and limitations.

Jerry Mander, a former advertising executive who has devoted many years of study to television and its effects, compiled a list of TV's inherent biases and limitations:

(1) War is better television than peace. It is filled with highlighted moments, contains action and resolution, and delivers a powerful emotion: fear. Peace is amorphous and broad. The emotions connected with it are subtle, personal and internal. These are far more difficult to televise.

(2) Violence is better TV than non-violence.

(3) When there is a choice between objective events (incidents, data) and subjective information (perspectives, thoughts, feelings), the objective event will be chosen. It is more likely to take visual form.

(4) Cars (and most commodities) are more visible on television, and come across with less information loss, than any living thing, aside from human faces. Cars, like most urban forms, offer a clean, straight, uncomplicated message. They communicate their essence more efficiently than plants do. We are bound to have more images of cars and urban forms on television than natural environments and creatures.

(5) Religions with charismatic leaders such as Billy Graham, Jesus Christ, Reverend Moon, Maharisi or L. Ron Hubbard are far simpler to handle on television than leaderless or nature-based religions like Zen Buddhism, Christian Science, American Indians, or druidism, or, for that matter, atheism. Single, all-powerful gods, or individual god-like figures are simpler to describe because they have highly defined characteristics. Nature-based religions are dependent upon a gestalt of human feeling and perceptual exchanges with the planet. To be presented on television, they would need to be too simplified to retain meaning.

(6) Political movements with single charismatic leaders are also more suitable and efficient for television. When a movement has no leader or focus, television needs to create one. Mao is simpler to transmit than Chinese communism. Chavez is better television than farm workers. Steinem is better than women. Hitler is easier to convey than fascism.

(7) The one is easier than the many. The personality or the symbol is easier than the philosophy. The philosophy requires depth, time, development, and in some cases, sensory information. This remains true unless the many are made into copies of each other. Then, the one is the same as the many.

(8) For the same reasons, hierarchy is easier to report upon than democracy or collectivity. The former is focused and has a specific form: leaders and followers. Only the leaders need to be interviewed. Democratic or collective forms involve flow processes with power constantly shifting. Television reporters don't have time to interview everyone.

(9) Competition is inherently more televisable than co-operation as it involves drama, winning, wanting and loss. Co-operation offers no conflict and becomes boring.

(10) Materialism, acquisitiveness and ambition, all highly focused attitudes, work better than spirituality, non-seeking, openness and yielding. The medium cannot deal with ambiguity, subtlety and diversity.

(11) The bizarre always get more attention on television than the usual.

It's the most curious thing; when I watch television I'm bored and yet fixated at the same time. I hate what I'm watching and I feel deeply disinterested but I keep watching anyway.

(12) Death is easier than life. It is specific, focused, highlighted, fixed, resolved and has meaning aside from context. Life, on the other hand is fluid, ambiguous, process oriented, complex, multi-leveled, sensory, intuitive. Cutting down redwood trees is better television than trying to convey their aura and power. Body counts of dead Vietnamese work better on television than appreciations of Vietnamese life or the complexities of the Vietnamese political struggle.

The Inevitability of Kojack, Welby and Dillon

It should be clear from the above listing that the medium's limitations, to a very great extent, define its content. In the United States, where television's chief function is the attraction of human attention for the purpose of selling commodities, we see TV in its purest, most developed form. Cops, cowboys and doctors of almost god-like skill abound. These formats "work." They feature violence, conflict and resolution, charismatic characters, hierarchical relationships, competition and death. And throughout this nightly deluge of what George Gerbner called "an organic pattern of explanatory violence" we see the State as the protector of helpless victims. Not as a result of some Machiavellian intrigue but as the result of a logical outcome of natural selection. Anything else would be boring and wouldn't attract the consumer. As Todd Gitlin said in **Sixteen Notes on Television**: "The commercial is the purpose, the essence; the program is the package."

Even in Russia, where the medium sells ideology rather than commodities, the influence of the American archetypal pattern is felt. As a respite from such classic Soviet TV fare as: **They Met Lenin; Leninism—The Flag of our Epoch; Lenin and the Party** and that all-time favourite, **We Are Reporting To Ilich,** George Comstock reports that there are "game shows that emulate the western system at its most trivial." In Israel the story was the same. Originally television was introduced solely as an educational medium. The public, however, demanded entertainment and slowly but inexorably entertainment came to dominate.

It cannot be stressed enough that television is an inherently *boring* medium. One person described the situation this way: "It's the most curious thing; when I watch television I'm bored and yet fixated at the same time. I hate what I'm watching and I feel deeply disinterested but I keep watching anyway."

The fact that most television watching occurs in the home environment where it is free "entertainment" partly explains this fixation. The apparent biological fascination explains more. But, perhaps the greatest attraction of TV is that it "kills time." Some of the few places where people will actually pay to watch TV are bus stations, train stations and airports, where there is absolutely nothing else to do but wait. As a "time killer" TV is of value to both State and the individual. For the State it serves as a potent depressant of social hostility. For the individual it provides an "escape" of sorts from the horror of everyday life. Will either of its functions be necessary in a libertarian society?

Malcolm Muggeridge once said of television: "Of all the inventions of our time it is likely to prove the most destructive. Whereas nuclear power can only reduce us and our world to a cinder, the camera grinds us down to a spiritual dust so fine that a puff of wind scatters it, leaving nothing behind." Television can give the illusion of community while simultaneously destroying its reality. Every night 80 million people sitting separately in darkened rooms are engaged in exactly the same activity, at the same time: watching television. We sit in isolation booths, unable to exchange any responses about what we are all going through together. Everybody is doing the same thing at the same time—but, we are all doing it alone.

Television, by its very nature, is an atomizing medium. A quality which recommends it highly to State power everywhere. It encourages passivity and the uncritical assimilation of information. Such attributes make it a perfect tool for social control and militate against its use as a liberatory medium. Someone once said, "The Revolution will not be televised!" I would only add that neither should the resulting society.

Workers' fight "Workers" State

the Prime Minister, Edward Babiuch, come to them for direct talks. Implicit in this request was the knowledge that had he agreed it would have been a public admission that the state controlled unions were not the genuine representative of the workers. Simultaneously, it would establish the legitimacy of the workers' main demand, namely, trade unions free of the state's control. So Babiuch stayed away.

Then on August 18 Gierek appeared on national television. He made numerous concilliatory gestures but these were mixed with statements like, "We will not tolerate strikes." On the next day Anna Walentonowicz was quoted as saying, "He acts as if he were talking to children." This seemed to sum up how pathetically ineffective his speech would prove to be.

It was followed by even greater polarization. Krackow's steel works were idled. Bus drivers along with the workers at two shipyards, all in Szczecin, were on strike.

Accusations flew. The state made more charges about how the MKS didn't represent the workers. On the other side the workers were widely quoted as having accused the state of behaving like a capitalist in its attempts to sow division in the strike movement.

Outside of Poland the events drew international attention. The capitalist press gloried in seeing such a profound challenge to a pro-Soviet state and heaped hypocritical admiration on the workers for their courage and wisdom. But its support had limits. After all, workers here might follow their example.

Within Poland the state was now opting for more repression. Fifteen members of the KOR (Social Self-Defense Committee) were arrested. KOR was actively supporting the struggle for free trade unions, a cause which it had long championed. Composed of reformist intellectuals it had been a primary source of information for the Western press since the first strikes in July. Obviously, the state felt there was an urgent need to try to silence it.

Repression came down elsewhere too. Some 600 workers were arrested in Southern Poland in a crude attempt to forestall strike activity there. Compared to the Northern Coast the South was very quiet.

The reactionary Polish Roman Catholic Church went public on the strikers for the first time on August 22. Cardinal Wyszynski put on a display of traditional conservatism by pleading for "wisdom and prudence" while also emphasizing that prolonged work stoppages "were not for the good of society."ç

Gierek on the Run

Premier Gierek was reportedly still in shock after the workers refusal to heed his patriotic appeal for the nation to resume work. What he was terming ". . . anarchistic and anti-socialist groups that attempt to make political use of the work stoppages," were making his hold on power less certain with each new day.

Gierek spoke to the nation again on August 24. This time he had to announce the removal from office of his close confident, Prime Minister Babiuch, along with almost half of the other Politbureau members. Among their replacements were noted adversaries of his demoted in the purges last winter. (See NAA 4, pg. 10)

Displaying his weakness he offered more concessions to the workers. Union elections would henceforth be democratised with secret ballot votes and no restrictions on the candidates. This was a major retreat but Gierek still wasn't agreeing to free trade unions. He didn't give way on censorship and the release of political prisoners either.

Gdansk workers snap up copies of their daily newspaper 'Solidarity' during the recent occupation of the Lenin shipyards.

The still unimpressed strikers movement continued to grow in spite of him. The growth of MKS reflected this as the number of delegates from striking factories in many parts of Poland had by now swelled to almost 800.

The workers then won a small but significant victory. Telephone and Telex lines into Gdansk which had been cut earlier in the strike were restored without conditions. These lines enabled the Gdansk MKS to better co-ordinate their activities with strike committees in Szczecin and Elbag. It is noteworthy that the MKS had made the demand for their re-connection a pre-requisite for direct negotiations with the same government which had earlier refused to recognize it. Once again Cardinal Wyszynski spoke out for restraint. This time he stated, "The better we work, the more justified are our rights and then we can formulate our demands." A statement credited to a 22 year-old worker shortly afterwards provided a fitting reply. He reportedly said, "The government had to call on the Cardinal to try to calm things down, but the Cardinal won't get us back to work."

Still more strikes began. These included stoppages in Silesia — Gierek's political power base. At this point there were now 300,000 workers striking.

The MKS then issued an appeal for temporary restraint to allow food to be gathered but the strikes did not let up. Walesa was advising the workers, "It's not good to have Poland terrorized. The people must have food." He also made statements to the effect that the workers could now give the government some time to act but if they didn't respond quickly the strikes should spread. The strikers, incidentally, by now had been promised wages for their time-off on strike.

With August drawing to a close 20,000 Silesian copper miners struck and their counterparts in the coal mines were becoming restless. The state cracked. On August 30, it agreed to free trade unions and the right to strike as long as the Party's leading role in society and Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact were respected. Knowing these two stipulations were needed to keep the USSR's tanks from pouring in the workers accepted.

There were other important provisions. The most dangerous was the stipulation that the free trade unions stay out of "politics". In another, amnesty was promised to those arrested during the strikes. Among the many economic gains were 3 years of maternity leave for women and a reduction of the retirement age.

Consciousness Lacking

Upon their return to work the Gdansk workers sang 'God save Poland', an act which showed the more backward aspects of the revolt. These being nationalism (albeit from people who live in an oppressed country) and religion. Obviously, the workers' political consciousness till lags well behind the implications of their actions.

Many thought the battle was over. That was until after a mining accident on September 1 in the Silesian coal fields killed 8 workers. In response Southern Poland erupted. Within hours 32 new strikes, including 19 in various mines employing 200,000 miners, broke out.

The demands won at Gdansk were put forward along with ones for the correction of unsafe working conditions and an end to compulsory work on Saturdays and round-the-clock shifts. Gierek's resignation was also demanded. All the demands, except the call for Gierek's head, were quickly met and work resumed.

Scattered strikes persisted indicating how little trust the workers had in the government's word. Likewise at Gdansk, the feeling had been widespread that since the government couldn't be trusted the free trade unions were essential to instituting the agreements generally. Subsequently, workers all over Poland started enthusiastically seeking membership in them.

But the government was still on the defensive as the price controls announced in early September showed. And packages coming from the USSR and the other "fraternal" states indicated that defensiveness prevailed even outside Poland.

Kania

This fraternal aid was padded further by new loans from the International Banks all at the very time that comrade Gierek became suddenly ill. Sick with the symptoms of mass strikes and a sordid scandal involving his speechwriter Gierek saw Stanislaw Kania become Premier. Called a "moderate" the new man is the former head of the secret police.

Again, the party's purges evoked indifference from the workers. By contrast the Kremlin was more enthusiastic. Brezhnev heartily congratulated Kania and accordingly came up with yet another aid package.

Kania responded in kind. While pledging to honour the strike settlements he emphasized his desire to strengthen relations to the USSR. He again reminded his people that the new free trade unions were to keep clear of "politics".

Soon after there were new reports of strikes involving workers angered at management harrassment of those showing interest in the new unions. Elsewhere, Jack Kuron of KOR and other "anti-socialist elements" were increasingly being attacked in the official media.

Overwhelming Crisis

From the persepctive of the bureaucrats such a process of trying to erode the workers' gains is the only option available. The country's economic crisis is awesome. The debt to Western Banks is $20 billion while the workers' gains will cost another $3 billion. To this can be added the cost of the strikes and debts to the USSR. Poland is bankrupt.

The political crisis is just as severe. For the rulers in Warsaw and Moscow the dangerous implications rival the Czech Prague Spring. The formation of unions not controlled by the state, the right to strike, eased censorship, the concessions to the church and the Polish state's weakness all add up to a potential centre for subversion within the Soviet domain. Even more foreboding are the ideological implications of a workers' revolt against a "workers' state".

Objectively, what's ahead in the next little while is an open question. Continued tension is inevitable but the response of the workers to state attacks is uncertain. But, given the danger to the East, it's likely they will act with discretion.

This is particularly true since Poland would face the Soviet tanks alone. No help would come from the West. The West's priorities are obviously stability in the region and the protection of Western capital's interests. This will apply even more if Poland's workers embark upon a clearly revolutionary course. One must recognize that at present, the West's allies in Poland are the right-wing nationalist tendencies and the Catholic Church.

By contrast, the genuine allies of the Polish workers are their class counterparts internationally. Like all workers they are oppressed by the East-West struggle for global expansion. Similarly, as workers in the West are suffering the effects of a system racked by crisis, workers in the East are the victims of the related crisis in their societies. The workers in both camps also share a mutual interest in casting off their respective oppressors duly aided by a spirit of internationalism.

With Poland in a temporary state of relative class peace certain priorities can be seen within this context. Foremost among these is the active defense of the gains of the Polish workers. The longer these last, the more they will be built upon, and the greater will be the prospects for similar struggles developing elsewhere in Eastern Europe. The fact that millions of workers in the Soviet block have been given an impressive example of militant class struggle to learn from encourages this view. And no one recognizes this more than the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party.

Another urgent priority is for us as workers in the West to intensify the struggle here. In doing so we will dispell whatever remaining illusions the Polish workers have about how good life is in the West while exemplifying the similarities of our struggles.

Active solidarity with the Polish workers is an integral part of the ongoing struggle against authoritarian socialism. But to do this effectively it is essential for us to develop a deep theoretical understanding of the social system they are confronting. In effect we have to synthesize a libertarian understanding of Eastern Europe with consistent revolutionary practice. This historic struggle of the Polish demands nothing less.

Church

Continued from Pg. 1

the changes typical of that period of "liberalization". During the election the Church took a position in favour of the candidates who supported the then party boss Wladyslaw Gomulka.

Almost twenty years later the Church came out in support of the huge food price increases announced by the government in late June of 1976. These increases sparked an explosive two day wave of strikes, demonstrations and riots which forced an end to the new prices. Repression followed. In response the same church which had endorsed this economic attack on the working class decided to speak up in the workers' defense by advocating an amnesty for those persecuted.

This provides a context for the present. Having benefited substantially from the mass strikes the Church can be expected to give support to efforts to preserve the *present* gains of the workers. But there is little likelihood of any support for more demands unless new unrest can be used to further enhance its own power; an unlikely possibility given the dynamics of mass working class struggle. If instead, the next revolt runs counter to the Church's interests in any way it will gladly serve as a reactionary pillar of the present order.

In short, the Church will support whichever side in the class war that will benefit it the most at any given time. This one fact exposes the real role of the Catholic Church in Poland. Namely, as one of a power structure determined to extend its domination over Polish society as much as possible. In response, the role of the working class is to recognize the Church as an oppressive institution which, just like the Polish state, must be smashed.

Muncy Sisters locked down

Dear People:

I am writing to alert you to the current situation at the Correctional Institution for Women in Muncy, Pennsylvania. Basically what has happened is two women escaped and in the process a matron was assaulted. This of course has resulted in the prison staff waging all out war on the inmates, despite the fact that they have been brutalizing the women all along. They are now using the incident as an excuse for further harrassment and isolation of some of the sisters under the pretext of investigation and security, while at the same time trying to incite the sisters to actions which can be used against them. The State Stormtroopers are waiting in the wings for just such an opportunity and the situation is extremely volatile.

The sisters are urgently asking for support, they cannot receive mail from anyone in other Kamps, but need to hear from those of us outside. Any of the sisters who signed their name to the following letter can be contacted at: P.O. Box 180, Muncy, PA 17756, USA.

Letters of Protest should be addressed to:

State Rep. John White, Jr.
Box 167,
Harrisburg, PA 17120.

Gov. 5. Thornburg
Office of the Governor,
Harrisburg, PA 17120.

Superintendent Hewitt
P.O. Box 180,
Muncy, PA 17756.

Terri Roth
Black Stone Bldg.,
Penn. Legal Services Center,
Harrisburg, PA 17101.

Mr. Thomas Harvey
American Civil Liberties Union,
Sixty Floor, 260 South 15th St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19102.

Dear Mr. Harvey:

Several incidents have happened here at Muncy that need to be brought to your attention. Last night (August 27) a matron in the Newman housing unit was assaulted and two women escaped. At least we know two women escaped, the extent of the alleged assault is questionable. The local radio station says she was treated at Muncy Valley Hospital and released. Needless to say the prison was quickly secured. I counted 7 State Highway Patrol cars in the grounds within a half hour of the incident. They didn't leave for approximately 5 hours. Men with shotguns walked in front of the Newman housing unit and a helicopter flew over the grounds and surrounding fields. All housing units were locked at 9:30 p.m. This morning there was panic among the Correctional Staff. The matron assigned to the cottages (housing units) for the most part refused to work. Although we prisoners were unlocked at 6:30 a.m. and some released from the units at 7:30 a.m. for breakfast. Those of us who tried to go to breakfast after that time found we could not get out of the unit. The 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. shift matrons locked themselves in their offices and refused to open the outside door, give medication or answer the phone. Although the staff with ranks (Sgt., Lt.'s etc.) were sent to the units to perform the duties that the matrons refused to do in the unit.

We were without a working matron from 7:50 a.m. until 9:00 a.m. We had no access to any phone or anyway to get out of the building (unless we busted windows and screens) if an incident had occurred where it would be necessary for us to summon help. The only matron who performed her duties was the one assigned to Waef Housing Unit. There are 5 other housing units who had matrons refusing to work. They were presuaded to return to work at 10:00 a.m.

Here is another classic example as to how prisons when confronted with an incident add fuel to the fire. The non-working matron in McCauley actually encouraged women to "bust out" of the unit. None did, but it could have easily happened. This is the same matron who created several incidents in McCauley which have resulted in punishment to prisoners and stated a physical threat of "socking a woman in the mouth" on more than one occasion. This matron's name is Jane Hester.

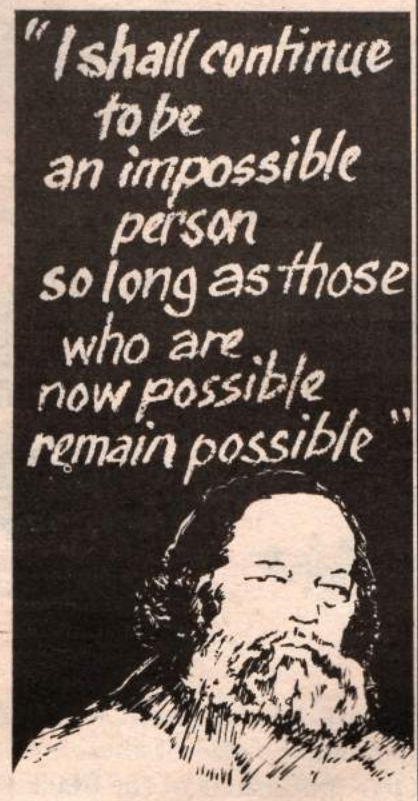
The matron who was allegedly assaulted told a woman in McCauley who was waiting to get her medication that she had a number, take it and wait! I witnessed this myself.

I hate reporting rumours but it is being said that the purpose of the matrons not working was in protest of the alleged assault. Sometimes one wonders where these idiots think they are working, and what they represent and promote every working day. They represent an antiquated system and a form of oppression that rivals the Nazi regime.

So far the reprisals have been few — mainly we must deal with verbal hostility, but two women (Cynthia Scott and Flo Reed) have been sent to Clinton (our isolation unit) under the pretext of an investigation. They gathered up the escaped women's belongings so they would not be stolen and this is considered some kind of threat.

Another matter which I'd like to bring to your attention — on August 20th and 25th we were told sick call was cancelled. It seems no doctor showed up for the normal doctor's hours. This again shows the lack of back-up in vital areas. We are constantly put in jeopardy by the inefficient, ineffectual administration of the Pennsylvania Dept. of Corrections.

The undersigned women are very concerned about what happens here at Muncy. June Boyd 5577, Sis. Dorothy Finley, Doris Stromon, Susan R. Vasconcellas 5835, Jane Barilik Gansky 5849, Constance Dussinger 5261.



Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876)

Sociobiology

Continued from Pg. 5

feminist theory. The point is that one can be both a believer in genetic differences between males and females and an uncompromising opponent of patriarchy.

One could go on and on into subjects remote from the 'sexual' questions discussed above. In all cases, however, we should have the courage to submit our theories to the test of facts **and** give them up if they don't pass muster. To the best of my knowledge, however, there is nothing in the facts so far discovered by sociobiology that contradicts a libertarian world view. There *is* much that confirms it. There is even more that enriches traditional anarchist views of human nature and presents useful food for speculation on the nature of an anarchist society. The truth is not necessarily the enemy of the good.

The author of this article is preparing a much longer work on the same subject. He would appreciate any feedback from readers interested in the same question, preferably *constructive* feedback. Any typical leftist rhetoric and namecalling will be promptly consigned to the bottom of a cat box. Any *sincere attempts at argument will however be answered, whether* they are pro or con the views presented above. Contact **Flashpoint**, Box 7702, Saskatoon, Sask.

Transnational transfers can be costly

When the prisoner exchange treaty between Canada and the U.S. was signed it looked like a step forward. Prisoners would be able to do their time nearer family and friends and the response from prisoners was enthusiastic. Once the system was in place however disillusionment soon set in. Some prisoners found that conditions in Canadian prisons were even harsher than the U.S. jails they came from. And one prisoner, John Clifford, has discovered that the trip across the border from a Texas penitentiary to Kent maximum-security prison near Vancouver may end up adding 40 years to his sentence.

Clifford was originally given an indeterminate sentence of from five to 45 years for armed robbery. Shortly after sentencing Clifford applied for transfer to Canada, which was granted. Once over the border Clifford discovered to his horror that the Canadian system, which does not use indeterminate sentences, had opted for imposing the maximum sentence in such cases.

Clifford and about 12 other prisoners in similar circumstances gained the sympathy of prison wardens across the country and at their national conference last May they passed a resolution asking the Canadian government to re-consider this policy. The government's response, in a nutshell, was "tough luck, suckers!"

Understandably, Clifford is bitter and frustrated. In an interview he declared: "Canada is supposed to be a shining example of a free and enlightened society. But what kind of freedom and enlightenment is there when minor bureaucrats can change and lengthen sentences imposed by a court of law? The powers that be are trying to bury this issue — and me along with it."

Canadian prisoners to boycott conjugal rights program

A pilot program allowing overnight visits by wives of prisoners has been criticized by prison activists. The basis for their objections are that the program is limited to wives and common-law spouses and excludes men and women friends. Fred Sweet, president of the Prisoners' Committee at the Millhaven super-maximum penitentiary, has declared that the inmates will refuse to participate in the program as it is presently constituted. "We will stick together on this," Sweet said, adding that anyone breaking solidarity will "have to come back to the prison population."

The Canadian program is based on the experiment at Attica, scene of the 1971 slaughter of 43 prisoners by U.S. troops, which has been in operation for three years. The Attica program is even more restrictive than the planned Canadian project, excluding even common-law spouses. Only prisoners who have asked the State or Church to sanction their cohabitation are allowed to participate.

Predictably prison guards have spoken out strongly against the planned program calling it "molley-coddling the prisoners." A typical guard's reaction was: "It seems that all they (the prison service) can think of up there is how to molley-coddle these guys. These punks are here for murder, rape, bank robbery and the like." Initially guards at Attica also were strongly opposed to the visiting program. They changed their minds when they discovered how potent a tool of control it was. The mere threat that they would cut a prisoner out of the program is often enough to choke any dissent.

Two day vigil marks Prison Justice Day

On August 10 members of the Prisoner Solidarity Collective of Toronto staged a two-day vigil outside the city courthouse. They were protesting the continued practice of isolating "problem" prisoners in Special Handling Units and the often arbitrary forced transfer of prisoners between prisons. August 10 has in recent years become an occasion that is marked by prisoners and their supporters on the outside. On the inside prisoners refuse to eat or work and on the outside solidarity demonstrations are staged to protest the inhumanity of prisons.

This year the bourgeois press attempted to denigrate the affair and to downplay its significance. In reply the Odyssey Group, a prisoners' rights group at Millhaven super-maximum penitentiary site of the most notorious of the Special Handling Units, issued the following press release:

"Despite the overt fallacies perpetrated by the Canadian Corrections Service spokesmen in an attempt to undermine the significance of National Prison Justice Day and the unquestioning support of these fallacies by various public media, we would like to express our appreciation to the prisoners across this country for their show of solidarity and to those concerned citizens who supported our day. We consider August 10th an unmitigated success and thank those who realize the significance of this date for their partaking in this demonstration of solidarity.

Signed
Ronal Van Bree
Tom Smith
J.R. Boisclair

World's largest company town

By Chris Wallis

In their book, **K.C. Irving: The Art of The Industrialist**, Russell Hunt and Robert Campbell capsualized in one sentence all you have to keep in mind about the extent of the Irving influence on the province of New Brunswick.

"If there ever was a company town covering 28,000 square miles, with a population of 600,000, New Brunswick is it; and the company is K.C. Irving Limited."

I was one of those 600,000. There are 670,000 of us now and Irving Limited is still controlling our jobs, our political system, our environment, our health, our lives, and our future. His story was taught to me the hard way. I have toiled in Irving mills and I have drawn my wages building them. With no other choice but to belong to Irving or leave home I am expected to be grateful.

For the insult of low wages numbed by drink. For the nightmares and memories of fellow workers killed and maimed on the job because government safety inspectors, when you saw them, turned a blind eye to unlawful working conditions while their other eye was on the blood money slipped to them by Irving men. For clear-cut forests where the chain of life has been sprayed to the point of rupture as children die of a mysterious nervous disorder that a prominent researcher has linked to the spraying. For the local newspaper, radio and television that hate unions and love their master, Irving.

A man, his sons, the corporation, the Trinity of fear and respect for an entire population. If there is anything in New Brunswick worth having for financial profit and/or social control there is an Irving finger in the pie.

New Brunswick is a small province bordered by Quebec to the northwest and the state of Maine on the west. It became a separate colony from Nova Scotia in 1786 and was one of the four original British North American colonies confederating into the Dominion of Canada in 1867. As Canada mushroomed and the economy shifted into the central hinterland the New Brunswick economy slid into a permanent state of depression long before the Thirties. This is one of the reasons why anyone who was able to make a go of any business venture was hailed as a Godsend no matter how horribly he treated his workers; nothing is as horrible as starvation. The main industry is lumbering, once for lumber to build ships and now almost exclusively for pulp. It is a country of gently rolling forest laced with broad rivers and countless streams.

The capital city is Fredericton, 50 miles up the St. John River. The chief industrial centre and the real capital is Saint John, hub of the Irving Empire. Once it was a picturesque port town at the mouth of the St. John River on the Bay of Fundy. Now it does what Irving wants to do and looks it and smells it. A brief tour makes this quite clear. I will list only the major points of interest.

The air and water at the mouth of the river is befouled by the Irving Pulp Mill which has defied the federal government for years by refusing to install anti-pollution devices. The Irving Dry Dock is close to the huge Irving Oil Refinery on the east side which is overlooked from across narrow Courtney Bay. Standing to one end of this narrow harbour are the twin flagships of the Irving media, the **CHSJ** television and radio station and **The Telegraph-Journal** newspaper building. Irving owns most of the English press and one major French language paper.

Keep watching Courney Bay as Irving oil tankers slip out of the harbour towed by Irving tugs that also service the entire port. This wee walkabout would take you half an hour and it is only the tip of the iceburg. Irving, such a grinding social institution that it is easy to forget Irving is also a person.

"If there ever was a company town covering 28,000 square miles, with a population of 600,000, New Brunswick is it."

Kenneth Colin Irving was born in Buctouche, New Brunswick in 1899. His father was a lumber baron and merchant. There is a widely held myth in New Brunswick that K.C. began his career as a humble clerk on the bottom rung of the Horatio Alger ladder. Actually the Irving lord underwrote many of his son's budding entrepeneurial experiments. K.C. was intuitive enough to realize that twenthieth century development would move in the wake of the internal combustion engine.

In the 'twenties he started his own oil company to complement his Ford dealership in Saint John. Flogging his wares in an isolated pocket of the North American market Irving Oil was able to draw customers away from the major oil companies as the local boy. Irving has maintained this public service image to good affect in a poor but culturally proud region.

Outwardly he does fit the role of a work obsessed, Presbytyrian capitalist. K.C. Irving does not drink, smoke or pay attention to food or art or any hobby, he is his work. To the native bourgeoisie he is New Brunswick. He dresses in dark suits off the rack at Sears that hang loosely on his stiff, spare frame. The family cars are traditionally mid-priced Ford sedans. Irving detests ostentatious displays, even in his honour. There is only one thing that must bring him pleasure since it is the single thing he pursues relentlessly. Power. Naked Power. Total Power within set boundaries delineating a real place and a real people to manipulate at will.

A petty but prime example: Irving hauls lumber in booms down the St. John River to the Irving Pulp Mill and occassionally a boom breaks and the logs that escape collection end up on the river banks. They pretty much stay there. The odd group of kids hammers a few into a raft or burns them at a bonfire but no pulp cutter dares saw off the identifying mark on the emd of the logs so they can be resold to the Irving Mill. Perhaps you are thinking this says a lot about a shy New Brunswick mentality. It has a lot to say about fear. In 1948 Irving personally took Gordan Green and Hazen Jordan of Barker's Point, for, "fraudulently holding, without consent of the owner, timber that was found floating in the Nashwaak (river)". The "timber" amounted to fifty-four logs. Three decades later the spring ice pushes thousands of logs into the sea every year. If Irving loses them only the Bay of Fundy claims them. This tale is told in several versions around the province and is one example out of many comprising the Irving folklore. Like all legends there is a lesson to be learned: obedience.

Understand that if Irving owns something he damn well owns it. The Irving corporation is solely a family affair, the old man and his three sons, James, Arthur, and John maintain complete or majority control of any Irving enterprise. If K.C. Irving can't play with a toy all to himself then he doesn't want to play no matter how much profit is involved. This rigid policy will probably change with his death. The Empire is too unwieldly for the sons who apparently lack the zeal of their father. With the old man gone the boys will comfortably slip into the extended corporate pattern of reinvesting in stock transactions outside of the Empire. But it will have to be over Irving's dead body.

Today it is impossible to know how many companies are contained within the Irving corporation. Estimates range between 150 to 200 spanning the industrial and commercial spectrum of New Brunswick. Irving holdings spill over into Quebec, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Maine but Irving has not sought the full extent of potential expansion outside of the province.

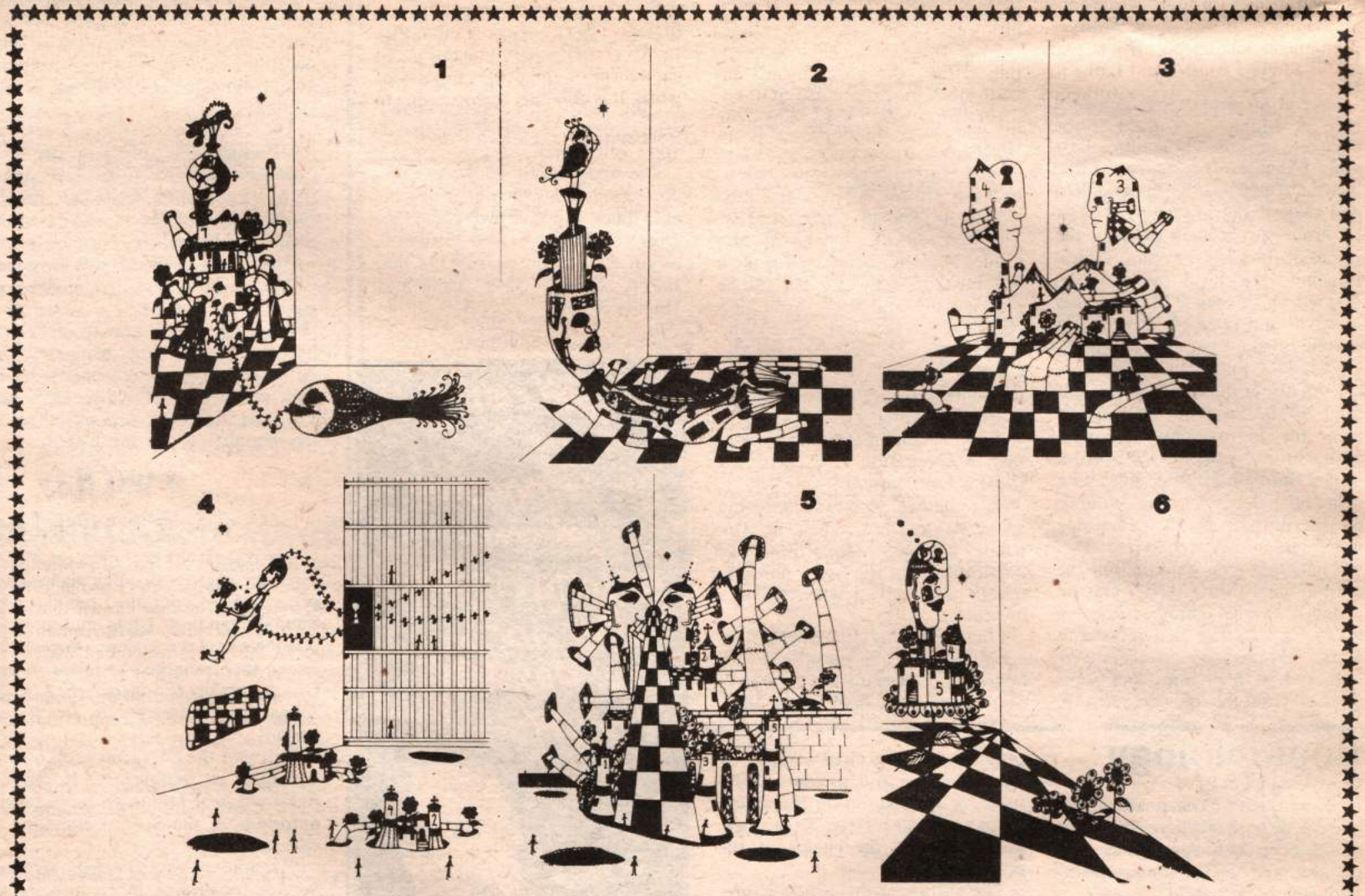
New Brunswick is a small world with an orbit fixed on the Irving star. Kenneth Colin Irving has devoted his life to creating this situation. New Brunswick has become one of the last surviving examples of blatantly monopolistic capitalism ruled by a supreme patriarch. In an age of imeprsonal bureaucratic authoritarianism Irving is oppression with a specific face.

In a perverse way, when he does die I will miss Irving. The Empire will metamorphisize into the modern corporate structure of faceless fascism. And it is difficult to educate people to fight a faceless oppressor even though the institutions of oppression are real enough.

New Brunswickers fall into two categories, those who love Irving and those who hate Irving. As more and more people down there start to seriously question the existing system Irving is the beacon at the top of the social pyramid lighting up the whole structure for plain scrutiny. When Irving passes the very oppression he fashioned will be inherited by slick corporados. I will dance on his grave with a tear in my eye. Welcome to New Brunswick.

POST SCRIPT

Officially, New Brunswick is one province. Politically, it is two. Just under forty per cent of the population is of French origin. Les Acadiens. Buctouche, Irving's birthplace, is in Kent county which is in l'Acadie. Irving doesn't seem to care very much. The north and north-east of official New Brunswick, or l'Acadie, is underdeveloped. This report alludes to popular opinions held by Anglo New Brunswickers and does not presume to speak for les Acadiens. They have experienced thier fair share of misery under Irving but have maintained, I think, a greater degree of political consciousness through their ongoing struggle for the liberation of l'Acadie. Bon chance!



Carl's work has appeared in the **Anarchist Black Dragon, The Bulldozer** and other prison papers. Proceeds from the sale of these prints will go to the **Carl Harp Defence Fund** and the **Prison Solidarity Collective**, publishers of the **Black Dragon** and the **Bulldozer**.

size: 10x12 inches on heavy stock
$2 each or $10 for all six postage paid.
$3 each or $15 per set to organizations.
printed by free labour.

available from Box 1817
Bancroft Ont.
Canada
K0L 1C0

Myth of "Control"

By Mitchell Miller

A recent strike at South Bend Lathe In., South Bend, Indiana, has brought to the fore a topic that is being talked about more and more these days; workers' control of the means of production. What separates this strike from other strikes is that the 309 strikers, members of Local 172 United Steel Workers, are technically the "owners" of the company. It should be noted that South Bend Lathe Inc. was also the first company in the United States to nominally transfer ownership from management to the workers in 1975.

The situation at South Bend had broader signicance, not only for the some 3,000 employee-owned "plans" presently in operation, but for all working people sincerely concerned about self-management and workers' control.

The general conclusions drawn from the strike indicate that the expectations of the workers turned "owners" have not been met. And, naturally, the phoney scheme of stock-ownership as a way of achieving self-management and workers' control has also been brought into question. As is the case with any capitalist run and controlled operation "managers still direct the operation as they have always have" (NEW YORK TIMES, 9/8/90). Irregardless of continual wage increases since the company was re-organized by the ESOP, or employee stock ownership plan (a government agency), the workers have found that their stock ownership, which merely provides them with comfortable retirement packages, means little.

Under the ESOP plan the Economic Development Administration, through provisions provided in the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974, allowed South Bend Lathe to sell their operations to the workers. In turn the agency lent $5 million to a South Bend Bank to be lent to the workers over a 25 year period through a trust, which itself is used as collateral to make conventional loans for the company's operations. In turn the workers - rather than seizing the company's assets via joint action on the part of their local union and the bankworkers union, as well as contiuing to seek orders for their products at other establishments - purchased the stock of the company. The "benefits" of this stock-ownership will only "payoff" for individual workers once they retire. To further liquidate the myth that the workers control the company is the fact that the Board of Directors is appointed by the company's president, the very same president who ran the company when it was "privately" controlled.

The strikers contend that the strike was called to determine who should nominally run the company; the professional managers or the workers. According to John Deak, president of USWA Local 1722: "I was told that I was going to be the owner of the plant just as equally as ...anybody else. But now he (Boulis, the president of S.B.L.) decides how the company invests money, he decides how the profits are divided, he decides who will be hired and fired."

Another example of how the workers are not in control of the companies they ostensibly own is the case of the International Group Plans, a Washington, D.C. based insurance firm. While a certain degree of shop-floor democracy prevails, that's about where this "model" case in "self-management" leaves off. Rather than exerting control and influence on company policies, the workers merely exert themselves *vis a vis* "people policies", ie: personal hiring and firing.

Even the Government Accounting Office, the government's investigative arm, study of ESOP enterprises concluded that the managers of the ESOP's, in general, used the assets of the total work force to accumulate personal wealth, while employee-owners fared no better...than they would have under a more traditional operation." (NEW YORK TIMES 9/8/80) Wide spread abuse of financial authority and technological skill is also commonplace.

The question that comes to mind in these two cases, or with any of the other 3,000 "employee-owned" companies, is not simply the question of who owns the stocks. Rather it is a question of control of the work process, the breakdown of the technobureaucracy and of hierarchical relationships and structures. If these questions aren't addressed and answered via collective self-management and control (by which we mean *complete* control of the whole work process, equalitarian and democratic relationships and management committees), the term "workers ownership" is of little value.

The fact is that stock-owner power over "their" company is practically non-existent. The production and distribution processes are so complex and articulated that only the managerial staff, at the present time, are capable of controlling and coordinating them. The present hierarchical structuring does not allow for the sharing of such skills. With such a division of labor it is next to impossible to re-coordinate various technical functions and therefore allow for control by the producers and portions of the technical staffs.

It is ludicrous to believe that stock ownership is a substitute for self-management and workers' control. Such plans are merely stopgap measures to maintain employment in failing companies, they fail to challenge the foundations of capitalism or the actual process of work. It is also next to impossible to

See **Control** Pg. 15

Abbie Hoffman then (inset) and now.

Hoffman returns to media spotlight

By Lazarus Jones

After more than six years in the underground Abbie Hoffman, the Yippie superstar, surrendered to Barbara Walters. The infamous Baba Wawa brought the fugitive in just before the release of Hoffman's autobiography, **Soon To Be A Major Motion Picture**, which is "soon to be a major motion picture."

During his six years on the run Hoffman posed as "Barry Freed," a freelance television writer, and lived on an island in the St. Lawrence river. During that time he appeared several times on TV as a spokesman for the Save The River Committee and as a result of his work was appointed to a federal Commission on Water Resources. Hoffman also received letters of commendation from New York governor Hugh Carey and at one point he even posed for a picture with New York State senator Daniel Moynihan who had chaired a hearing on the subject of winter navigation on the St. Lawrence. When asken if he had known that "Freed" was Hoffman Moynihan replied, "Well, I'll be damned! Hell no!"

As a result of his illegal status Hoffman's "radical" reputation fared better than any of his six co-defendants in the 1968 Chicago conspiracy trial. While Rennie Davis crawled off after the Mahara Ji and Jerry Rubin cut his hair and joined a Wall St. Brokerage firm ("money is power") Hoffman went on the lam after he was set-up by the FBI in a 1973 cocaine bust. But the Abbie who emerged from the underground with a surgically altered schnozz is not the Abbie of old.

He is quoted in the **Washington Post** as stating: "The political world Abbie lived in, it was blacks against whites, the early 60's, the Viet Nam war, generational revolt . . . confrontational politics. Now in the environmental field, it's coalition politics, because everyone is involved — if an area is destroyed, it's destroyed for everybody." Since Hoffman never based his political activity on any kind of class analysis it shouldn't come as any surprise that he is able to make such hopelessly naive statements with a straight face. Hoffman was never more than a clown and as Jerry "Growing Up At Thirty-seven" Rubin discovered such a role is hard to sustain.

So don't look for any courtroom theatrics this time around. As Hoffman whined, his lips taking on a noticeable brown colouring: "I was involved in an environmental struggle that won the approval of the governor of the state, I was appointed to a presidential committee . . . I'm different from Abbie. I don't even think of myself as Abbie Hoffman anymore — I think of myself as Barry, that's my new name." Right On! Barry.

Somoza goes out with a bang!

Ex-dictators have been having a hard time of it since we last went to press. The Shah finally succumbed to the cancer that had dogged him with even greater determination than the mullahs. And, if that wasn't enough, the earth was cleansed of one more tyrant when the ex-dictator of Nicaragua was blown to high heaven in Paraguay. To paraphrase the words of a British Labour MP on the death of Franco these two must surely number among "the most unmourned corpses in the world." If, as seems to be the case, these deaths come in bunches we'd like to nominate General Pinochet of Chile as the next dictator-most-likely-to-expire.

SUSTAINING FUND

July 29 to Sept. 26, 1980

M.A., Edmonton	95.00
R.H. Bridgewater	10.00
Tampa Workers' Affinity Group	20.00
The Unknown, Seattle	5.00
M.S., Tucson	25.00
P.D., Providence	5.00
W.S., Regina	10.00
R.E., Oakland	5.00
A.M., New Orleans	50.00
Exchange on U.S. funds	18.00
Total, Sept. 26, 1980	243.00

Many thanks from the **NAA** editorial collective. Please address all contributions to: **The North American Anarchist**, P.O. Box 2, Station 0, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4B 2B0.

More Letters More Letters More

FRANK STEVENS ON SEABROOK

Dear **NAA**,

I would like to reply to the thoughtful criticisms made by Rudy Perkins in his letter to **NAA6** on the strategic alternatives of the anti-nuke movement.

Rudy defines direct action as "an attempt to bypass and hence remove the decision-making power of (the) authorities by making the decision ourselves." The only problem with this definition is that it removes direct action as an immediate possibility and places it instead off in the future at the beginning of an insurrectionary period. (Rudy sort of acknowledges this when he calls the European anti-nuke struggles "semi-insurrectionary".)

It makes more sense to me to call direct action anything that we do that compels the authorities to change their decisions to meet whatever demands we happen to be making at the time. You could say even then that "we are (really) making the decision", but you wouldn't be giving the mistaken impression that the authorities had suddenly ceased to exist as a social force.

Rudy correctly criticizes some of my sloppy formulas, so let me try to put a couple of them more precisely. The main danger of nuclear power is not just the existence of a nuclear reactor; it is the fact that large sections of the ruling class have decided to build many nuclear reactors. Keeping them from building a particular plant at a particular site is a meaningless victory as long as they simply build it somewhere else. Wyhl may be very inspiring, but as I understand it, nuclear power is spreading in Europe even faster than in North America.

In the same way, what I should have said was "it isn't real, except for the participants and immediate witnesses, unless it's on television." For example, the workers in Poland in recent days have included in their demands the publicizing of their struggles in the Polish media. They understand, as all of us must understand, that every social act against the present order needs the widest possible circulation—or it may as well have never happened.

Then there are some questions of fact and interpretation. Rudy says that the turnout for a Wall Street sit-in was no longer than for rural Seabrook; but I can't help wondering which action was more effectively disruptive, which action had a better effect on the morale of the activists, and, yes, which action got better coverage in the media for the energy expended in the action.

It is hardly fair to compare the coverage for Seabrook to the coverage for a symbolic demonstration in Washington, D.C. Almost any kind of direct action will probably do better than formal rituals in which, from the media standpoint, "nothing happens except talk". (Also, the media operates geographically; all events in the east tend to be sketchily reported on the west coast and I'm sure the same is true for what happens out here. All other things being more or less equal, media coverage diminishes in proportion to the distance from the event.)

Likewise, it is hardly fair to compare urban turnouts in North America to rural turnouts in Europe. As Rudy says himself, the level of consciousness is much higher over there than it is here. Rudy may be right when he suggests that an urban strategy won't raise consciousness here to European levels, that we have to wait for "a full-scale crisis" (whatever that might be). But what I argued in my article is that the present strategy, concentrating on plants in rural locations, has already failed. We don't really have much to lose by trying a different focus. (And, as an aside, if the European anti-nuke activists can muster 28,000 to 60,000 people to stop a plant in a rural location, what could those numbers do in Bonn or Paris? Occupy every government office? Sit-in at every corporate headquarters? Bring these cities to a halt completely? It makes one wonder!)

Comradely,
Frank Stevens
San Francisco, California

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

To the Editors:

Lazarus Jones is a complete and total idiot and doesn't know his working class history. If he did he would know that the acronym, I.W.W. signifies *Industrial* Workers of the World, *not International* Workers of the World. This is a common "error" made by bourgeois and Stalinist hacks and one would expect that an anarchist would know better. Albert Meltzer once speculated that the bourgeois and Stalinist media call the IWW the International Workers of the World for the same reason that they call the RAF anarchist or CNT resistance fighters in the fifties and sixties marxists—to confuse people so that they never know what exactly this or that group stands for. I'm not saying that Jones is consciously trying to confuse folks but it seems rather odd that a person who supposedly knows North American working class history would not know that the 'I' in IWW stands for Industrial *not* International. I hope that you will print a correction in the next NAA and in the ACF Internal Discussion Bulletin. This is not a minor point!

In solidarity
Mike Hargis
Chicago, Illinois

Editor's Note: Lazarus Jones has expressed suitable contrition and has promised to write *Industrial* Workers of the World on the blackboard 1,000 times.

LENINISM AGAIN

Dear Friends,

That Lazarus Jones is more than a bit confused concerning Marx and marxism is borne out by the misinformation and contradictions trotted out in his article entitled **Anarchism and the Leninist Counter-Revolution** in the June-July edition of **NAA**.

Lazarus contends that Marxism is by its very nature anti-democratic, authoritarian and reactionary, and yet not even one simple example is given us as proof of this contention. Lazarus only explains that because Marx had on some occasion used the term 'scientific socialism' (as opposed to the utopian socialism of Fourier, Saint-Simon, Weitling, etc.) "the Marxists drove a firm wedge between themselves and the workers." Thus, in Lazarus' view, Marx believed in a supposedly 'scientific' elite of leaders who would establish their own class rule. NONSENSE! Surely, if this were true, Marx himself would have tried to establish himself as a member of such a ruling clique. In real life Marx never tried to obtain personal power and always proclaimed that the emancipation of the working class could only be achieved by the working class.

Furthermore, that Lazarus has taken up such a view simply does not jibe with his later statements that "Marx had always maintained that class consciousness arose spontaneously as a result of working and living conditions under capitalism." Well, if class consciousness is spontaneous (as Marx himself admitted) and since Marx proclaimed workers to be their own leaders, then it does not make sense to establish a so-called 'marxist ruling class'. Lazarus thus defeats his own arguments!

Lazarus writes that the factional disputes between the Menshevik and Bolshevik wings of the Russian Social Democratic Party somehow did not concern democracy yet curiously indicates that "The Mensheviks are a classic example of the problems of combining an authoritarian ideology with democratic scruples" (again, not even one piece of evidence to back up the assertion). Therefore, in Lazarus' own words, the "orthodox Marxists"—the Mensheviks—were democratic, and while he makes the case of Lenin's anti-democracy, somehow comes to the illogical conclusion that the disputes between the two groups did not concern democracy! Truly amazing, indicating that Lazarus knows nothing about the debates which had split the two factions into separate organizations.

Now, Lazarus has gone to great lengths to point out that Leninism is the inevitable extension of Marx's beliefs and yet *every* example he has chosen in this article shows us that Leninism was a radical rupture from Marx and that Lenin has more in common with the theories of August Blanqui and nineteenth century Russian revolutionaries.

I think that Lazarus' problem is a problem of many anarchists. Continuously they condemn Marx as anti-democratic and reactionary (of course they never bother to seriously read Marx, they only have to look up convenient quotations from Bakunin, their own pure ideologue). Well friends, suffice it to say that one can simply glean over Marx's writing and possibly construe them in such a way to make him sound authoritarian (Lenin was a master at it), but a perusal of Bakunin's writings would make a great case for him being labelled an anti-German, anti-Semitic, conspirational Machiavellian who would resort to terror to gain his own ends.

If Lazarus wants to make a serious analysis of marxism and leninism may I suggest that he read Marx on Marx instead of Bakunin, Lenin, Stalin or anyone else on Marx. Furthermore, that Lazarus believes that Lenin's interpretation of 'marxism' is the only such one is a slander on all other marxists such as Rosa Luxemburg, Anton Pannekeok, Karl Korsch, Julius Martov, who did present marxist alternatives to the Bolshevik dictatorship.

Yours for free socialism,
Len Wallace
Windsor, Ontario.

Christie

Continued from Pg. 3

decided to bind me over for two years As I was starting a job the following week. He was on the verge of sending me to prison for eighteen months.

When the job I was to start was described in the court the judge, police and prosecution raised their eyebrows. I was to convert London and the home counties to natural gas.

Later you were alleged to have belonged to the Angry Brigade. What made for the allegation?

The Angry Brigade's first action was an attempt to blow up a new police complex in Paddington, London on May 22, 1970. The police alleged it was the British section of the International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement from which the FMG was drawn.

The Angry Brigade itself grew from a breakdown of the traditionally stable consensus element in British politics due to the hard line, reactionary politics of the Conservative Heath government. The keystone of Heath's policy was the now infamous Industrial Relations Bill; a direct attempt to control the labour movement. The popular reaction against Heath's policies was so strong that the bill soon had to be withdrawn.

How were you implicated?

I was considered the main suspect. For much of this period I was under constant police surveillance. The police knew that the other main suspects were in my circle of friends but they had gone underground.

Unfortunately, they'd financed their existence by cheque frauds. This led to their downfall. I was arrested when I went to their flat. They had been arrested the previous evening. I had walked straight into a trap.

How were you acquitted?

Quite simply because the Anti-Terrorist Squad and the Special Branch made such a hash of framing me. The main charge was possession of two detonators found in my car parked five blocks away. According to forensic evidence thirteen detonators had been found in the flat. The next day the number was dropped to eleven. When questioned on this the office siad there must have been some confusion with the detonators being miscounted.

Additionally, explosive traces were found on my screwdriver and a bullet found in my flat two years before in a previous raid was alleged to have been in the breach of an automatic pistol discovered in the comrade's flat. What they had done was to get this bullet from police property, put it into the gun's breach and eject it again to connect myself to the weaponry in the flat. The same with the screwdriver.

What took place after your acquittal and before your moving here?

After my acquittal a senior Special Branch officer told me I should leave London as steps would be taken to ensure that the next time I was placed in the frame it would be done more efficiently. Worse things were hinted at as well. Discretion being the better part of valour we moved to Yorkshire.

I tried to regain my job with the gas contractors but the gas board informed my old company that on no account was I to be reemployed. They had tried to get rid of me prior to my Angry Brigade arrest but my position was very strong. I had 100 per cent support from the union members and most of the engineering staff. Any attempt to sack me would have halted the entire gas conversion program in South England.

After eighteen months in prison however my bargaining power had diminished drastically I tried to get a job in other places but my notoriety appeared to always go before me.

So this encouraged you to publish?

While in prison I had translated the book, Sabate; an exciting work on a well known Spanish anarchist guerilla. I tried to place it with every major publisher in London. They all liked it but anarchism was an anathema to them. At last I discovered a small hardback publisher who agreed on the condition that I took so many for a paperback edition using my own contacts. So Cienfuegos was born.

I got the idea for an English language anarchist publishing house, which was something sadly lacking, from an Italian comrade, Franco Leggio, who has a shoestring publishing house in the south of Sicily; an amazing fellow. I figured why expect other people to do things when you can do it yourself.

When did the Anarchist Black Cross begin and how did it fit into this evolution?

Upon release from Spanish prison I felt that that part of my past shouldn't be forgotten. I'd been fortunate but many comrades were still behind bars receiving no support from outside the Spanish CNT. Only Communist Party members and certain religious people had international support.

With Albert Meltzer and others from around his bookshop and Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review we decided to revive the Anarchist Black Cross (ABC). It had become inactive in the Twenties. This led to the founding of the ABC bulletin which in turn led in 1970 to the founding of the newspaper The Black Flag.

How has life in the Orkneys effected Cienfuegos since your move here?

We came in 1976. Although our finances were unstable to say the least, we have, with the support of the international movement and the generous help of one or two individuals, consolidated our position, increased our output of material, and, what for me is most important, have been able to get anarchist ideas across to people not in the movement who hadn't the foggiest idea of what anarchism is.

We've been very successful in establishing an anarchist presence in the Orkneys. Locally, we had two excellent quarter-hour talks on the radio and good local press coverage in reaction to our activities.

There's been an excellent and growing response to our local paper The Free-Winged Eagle. And when we had a stall at the county show recently we sold over £100 worth of books, badges, records and posters.

The response from the general public was frankly, amazingly sympathetic. Incidentally, we got our marquee from the army who obviously didn't realize who or what we were. They were dismayed to see us distribute anti-militarist and Troops Out of Northern Ireland literature.

So what does the immediate future hold out for Cienfuegos?

Either ten years in jail for me or preferably, with more subscribers, a steady increase in our output of literature. We've over forty titles waiting to be published and the number is growing weekly.

We also want to make the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review quarterly. Expanding into revolutionary fiction is another goal. We've some excellent material in this field and I'm sure we will get it out one way or another.

Brian Amesly
Sanday Island, August, 1980.

Subscriptions to Cienfuegos' publications are good value for the money. $40.00 U.S. gives you a copy of everything published in a year.

Partisan Press, P.O. Box 2193, Seattle, Washington 98111 will be publishing Stuart's autobiography, The Christie File, in the U.S. Cienfuegos will be issuing the U.K. edition.

Libertarian Notes

FRIENDLY FIRE?

In the early 1960's Robert Johnson, a U.S. Army sergeant, photographed dozens of top secret documents at a vault near Paris and passed them on to the Soviets. One of those documents was a manual on "nuclear yield requirements" giving lists of targets in enemy, friendly and neutral countries. Recently the Soviets re-released the material, (in 1969 and 1970 selected documents were leaked to West German and Italian magazines), sending copies to various British Members of Parliament as well as several newspapers. The **New Statesman** reports that "the manual lists 16 different sizes of weapons ranging in power from 2.5 kilotons (one quarter of the size used on Hiroshima) to 1.4 megatons." Some of the cities targetted and assigned warheads include: Vienna, Linz, Klagenfurt, Helsinki, Zagreb, Dubrovnik, Kiel and Lubeck.

Even more daunting was the list of Soviet targets which includes every minor airstrip, railway yard, important industrial site and road bridge. And, as the **New Statesman** noted: "The Soviet target lists will have a similar spread for Western Europe. For Leningrad airport, read Manchester Ringway. For Helsinki airport, read Shannon and Cork. For a motorway intersection at Linz, read Spaghetti junction." Presumably the targets in "Friendly" countries listed in the U.S. manual will only be hit if they are over-run by Soviet troops which must be a source of cold comfort for the populations involved.

DR. STRANGELOVE AND THE AYATOLLAH

The former U.S. ambassador to Iran, William Sullivan, has revealed that Zbigniew (Dr. Strangelove) Brzezinski asked him to arrange a military coup to overthrow the newly installed Islamic government of Iran. Previously Brzezinski had told Sullivan to support the military in the hopes of forestalling Khomeini's bid for power. And, before that, Brzezinski had told him to support Bakhtiar "without reservation" even though Sullivan had informed the White House that Bakhtiar's regime was only "a chimera that the Shah had created to permit a dignified departure."

Throughout the period Brzezinski's messages to Sullivan were described as "acerbic" and at one point, when Sullivan was slow to wholeheartedly support the latest idiocy from the White House, Brzezinski cast "an insulting aspersion on his loyalty." Sullivan finally resigned in disgust over America's policy towards Iran.

DEATH ON THE INSTALLMENT PLAN

The Canadian federal government is quietly assembling a top-notch sales team to push foreign sales of the Candu reactor, reports the **Toronto Star**. Canada, and especially Ontario, have overbuilt to such an extent that demand for reactors in Canada is at a standstill threatening the $1 billion a year industry. And, just in case the all-out sales push is not initially successful, the government has a back-up plan—building pre-fabricated reactor units and stockpiling them to meet future demand!

The effort to save the Canadian nuclear power industry was foreshadowed by the Liberal governments scrapping of a full-scale parliamentary inquiry into domestic and international nuclear policy that had been planned by the defeated Conservative government. In its place an "internal review" of federal policy will be undertaken. This has effectively precluded the possibility of an open public discussion of the "morality" of selling more reactors to police states such as Argentina and South Korea.

One of the few voices of sanity amidst this madness has been that of Gordon Edwards of the Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility. Edwards says that instead of bailing out the nuclear power industry "Canada should seek entirely new nuclear options such as the development of technology to dismantle reactors when they are no longer operable." Or, rather, at the first opportunity.

THAT'S ALL THERE IS 'CAUSE THERE AIN'T NO MAO

China's de-Maoization project is chugging along under a full head of steam. The huge portraits of Mao that once dominated every public square have been painted over or dismantled and the upcoming trial of the Gang of Four will administer the final *coup-de-grace* to "Mao-Tse-Tung Thought." With "production in command" the hapless followers of the Peking line in the West have had to reduce this confusion to a mantra-like formula. In brief, it goes like this: before 1949 Mao could do no wrong; 1949-1966, a few mistakes—but not too bad; 1966-1976, total insanity.

But, not satisfied with merely heaving "The Great Helmsman" overboard, the Peking regime is even allowing open ridicule of poor old Mao. A new musical—Big Sea, Be My Witness—is an open lampoon of the Cultural Revolution and its excesses starring none other than Lin Piao, the one-time heir apparent to Mao's throne who died in a mysterious plane "crash" in 1971. The plot concerns Lin Piao's attempts to find a "true Red" bridegroom for his daughter. His many entrances, the once ubiquitous little red book firmly clasped in his hand, are greeted with gales of uproarious laughter from the audience. One production number, complete with saucy lyrics, features a horde of Mao-oids dancing and prancing around waving little red books to the tune of—The Great Helmsman, the theme song of the Cultural Revolution! Ain't nothing sacred?

SPERM ON ICE

Eldridge Cleaver, the former Black Panther turned born-again something or other, has formed a new organization called The Guardians of the Sperm. As reported in the magazine **Mother Jones**, Cleaver feels there is a plot hatched by "ignorant scientists and lesbian propagandists" to send male sperm on a virtual "suicide mission." Cleaver reportedly ranted that: "The dwelling place of God is in the male sperm (and)...you're sending sperm into a minefield. There's artificial chemicals, nooses, traps inside the female body—put there to murder sperm."

Cleaver's misogyny has long been well known. Even in the late Sixties, when he was still one of the left's darlings, he was quoted as saying: "There's only one position for women in the movement—prone." Now it seems his women-hatred has degenerated into outright paranoia.

QADDAFI DUCK STRIKES AGAIN

Libya's crackpot strongman Muammar Qaddafi, whom the bourgeois media politely refer to as the "desert visionary," is trying the Arab unity game again. Talks are underway to unite Libya and Syria on a program of destroying Israel. This isn't the first time Qaddafi has gone to the altar with a blushing bride. In 1972 he formed a union with Egypt, in 1973 he took Libya into the Federation of Arab Republics with Egypt, Syria and Sudan, and in 1974 he tried a union with Tunisia. All these efforts collapsed but, undaunted, Qaddafi is willing to give it another go. Watch out for Anwar Bunny, Qaddafi!

Ecology

Continued from Pg. 5

existence? What is all this besides just another set of "anarcho-spiritualist" chains to fetter the ambitions of humanity? It seems to me that as soon as one postulates anything to which people must submit, you have abandoned the anarchist project, the project of freedom unlimited.

Humanity cannot be half slave (to the purposeless forces of nature) and half free (of domination of human by human). We cannot be free in the material world while bowing to a ghostly world carried around in our heads. All of the spiritual roads lead to a common destination, and the name it bears is Jonestown.

We reject worship as we reject every other form of servility. We demand heaven on earth, in the solar system, in the galaxy, in the universe. Win or lose, we will no longer settle for theological horseshit as a substitute for what we really want. But, at least in my opinion, I think we will win.

Control

Continued from Pg. 13

believe that the present concepts of "worker-ownership" could actually function in the interests of the working class in their struggle for a classless society. This is, in part, due to the fact that the creation of "self-managed islands" in a capitalist society are bound to fail, due, in part, to the competitiveness of capitalism, possible denial of raw goods by larger capitalist concerns and the desire by competing capitalists to help put out of business firms controlled in any way, shape or form by the workers.

It would be very easy to say: "To hell with such 'worker-ownership' schemes, and your jobs for that matter"; objectively we can not, since we are talking about fellow workers' livlihoods. But we can make known the fact that stock ownership is merely a ploy by the capitalist class, the State and the social democratic reformists to fool workers into believing they are really in control of their workplaces. By the same token it is imperative that our fellow workers begin to realize and discuss what actual self-managment and workers control is all about and how their self-activity and the reorganization of their workplaces on a massive scale will not only benefit themselves but society as a whole.

We invite all shop-floor militants to open a dialogue with us on this issue.

Contacts

Interested in ACF? Members of prospective ACF collectives in these places would really like to get to know you. Contact:

ACF, P.O. Box 3658, Regina, Saskatchewan S4P 3N8

Black Cat Press, P.O. Box 11261, Edmonton, Alberta T5J 2T6

Bayou La Rose, 3525 Gravier St., New Orleans, Lousiana 70119

ACF, P.O. Box 40513, Portland, Oregon 97240

ACF c/o P.O. Box 1415, Succ. H, Montréal, Québec H3C 2W4

Turkey

Continued from Pg. 16

the military gave him advance warning of the impending coup.

The Turkish junta is emphasising the fact that they are going after both the extreme left and right, but not surprisingly, the knife is cutting deeper intot he left with wholesale dismissals from the civil service, professional societies nd municipal administration. The junta is clearing the decks of all potential opposition to the imposition of IMF politics and the amateur terrorists and their sympathisers have to go.

The Reuter newsagency quoted a liberal Turkish professor saying: "The unusual thing about this coup is that it toppled the opposition rather than the government." Apparently Washington did not think ex-Prime Minister Demirel would be able to handle the implementation of Friemanite economics over the long haul so they replaced him with someone who would be willing to do what is necessary to pay the price for the $6 billion loan from the West. As in Argentina and Chile the bullet and the bayonet will be needed.

Buddy, can you spare a fin..?

For a small newspaper like the NAA distribution is a big problem. Bundles are sent out to bookstores on consignment with no guarantee of payment. Even when payment is made we lose 40% off the top as the bookstore's share of sales. Since we also absorb postage costs our returns from bookstores are small.

Street sales by ACF affiliates provide a steady source of income as do the monthly (usually) affiliate pledges. But the real key to financial stability is a solid subscriber base. At present we have just over 200 paid subscribers. If we could raise that figure to 1000 the NAA would be financially self-sufficient. With only 1500 subscribers we could seriously consider going monthly.

Paid subscriptions are an investment in the newspaper's future. With a steady source of income we can improve and expand our operation. So if you are a regular reader we strongly encourage you to subscribe. You'll be helping to ensure that we can continue to publish. You'll also be helping us to concentrate on producing the best possible newspaper. And besides, our creditors will love you.

read the North American ANARCHIST

Subscription rates are $5 for individuals for one year (six issues) and $10 for libraries, institutions and funded organizations. Overseas subscriptions (outside North America) are $7 per year. **The North American Anarchist** will be sent free to prisoners on request.

Make cheques payable to **The North American Anarchist** and send to: P.O. Box 2, Station 0, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4B 2B0.

Turkeys take power in Turkey

By Lazarus Jones

The event was reported with the studied nonchalance so typical of the bourgeois press when dealing with military coups. The newswire reports matter-of-factly churned out the news; "Turkish military leaders seized power in a bloodless coup today, abolishing the government and parliament and imposing martial law with an indefinite curfew."

Only weeks before Turkey had negotiated a massive loan from a consortium of Western banks on the condition that they adopt the Friedmanite economic program so beloved of the IMF. Interestingly enough, Turgut Ozal, the architect of the new program of economic "restraint," has been appointed Deputy Premier by the generals. So Milton "Free to Choose" Friedman now has one more bloody jewel to add to his necklace of enslaved nations.

I read the news today, oh boy. "Army seizes power" reads the headline.

It was a gentlemanly affair, as coups go. Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel was informed by telephone that his services were no longer required and that a limosine would be around to pick him up in three hours. Demirel couldn't say he hadn't been warned. As early as Jan. 2 General Kenan Evren, the leader of the coup, warned him that "anarchists and seperatists" were "rehearsing a general uprising." But as the army has had much more experience in these affairs they moved first. It's almost become a ritual, every ten years — 1960, 1970 and now 1980 — the army overthrows the government and clears house.

Because of Turkey's strategic position on the Soveit Union's southern flank the paid hacks of the capitalist media almost fell over themselves in their rush to portray the generals as reluctant patriots performing a hard duty. The coup, they said, was a natural reactions to the emerging "social anarchy." Supposedly the rising tide of left and right wing terrorism prompted the coup, but as always behind the swirl of self-righteous rhetoric stands the real terrorist — the state.

Amnesty International reports that most people arrested in Turkey are routinely tortured. The methods used vary from electric shock and vicious beatings to that particular speciality of the Turks, *Falanga*, the prolonged beating of the soles of the feet with iron bars or, if they like you, leather straps. One member of the Turkish parliament estimated that one person in five in his home province of Kars had been subjected to torture. Singled out for special attention are the members of Turkey's radical trade unions.

Faced with this total assault on any kind of dissent many individuals have turned to terrorism as the only way of striking back. On the left the Marxist Leninist Propaganda Unit has been the most active of late specializing in the execution of U.S. military advisers. The left in Turkey however is incredibly fragmented. At last count there were over 50 parties spanning the full spectrum of creative Leninism. The right, by contrast, is united behind the Nationalist Action Party of Alparslan Turkes. Turkes escaped the mass round-up of left and right wing activists after a sympathiser in

See **Turkey** Pg. 15

Vote: What for?

by G. Simmons

From the defenders of elections one often hears the remark that if you don't vote you have no right to protest whatever happens. The growing number of people who don't bother to vote indicates that this argument is losing its ability to persuade people to turn out to the polls. And why?

Could it be that people are everywhere realising that voting doesn't matter and doesn't make a difference? The crucial issue is whether casting one's ballot every four years or so gives one any control over ones life. It is for those who believe that voting does so to fall silent. For once they vote they've had their 'say' and given consent to a party or politician to run their lives. The political order of things now has their stamp of approval.

But is this truly democracy? In his essay on elections, Jean-Paul Sartre has uncovered the underlying passivity of the prevailing notion of political democracy: "Why am I going to vote? Because I have been persuaded that the only political act in my life consists of depositing my ballot in the box once every four years? But that is the very opposite of an act. I am only revealing my powerlessness and obeying the power of a party."

Sartre disputes the notion that by voting the 'citizen' delegates his or her authority, for to do so would mean that we have power to delegate. True democracy, that is, direct democracy would mean that we would exist in genuine community, having mutual and complete control over the material conditions of everyday life. But on the most basic levels of existence — work and leisure — we are not allowed a say in the management of affairs. We are powerless and alienated. Just as the workplace allows us no say and pits one worker against the other, elections atomize the voters, separating them and demanding their support for the political arrangement of things.

More and more, people are reaching the inescapable conclusion that, as Sartre says, "indirect democracy is a hoax." The various political parties and candidates go on television and ask us to choose among them. But this competition disguises the underlying sameness for which they all stand, "indirect representation, their hierarchic power, and the powerlessness of the citizens, in other words, the 'bourgeois system.'"

Voting is not capable of satisfying our frustrations and overcoming our alienation; it can only confirm and reinforce them, deferring the liberation of everyday life that much longer. It is only by taking over the management of our lives that we can realize democracy. The direct control of the workplace and the community is the only route to freedom. This is why strikes are a much more significant bid for democracy than any election ever could be. Some who proclaim themselves revolutionaries run candidates and join the appeal for votes. Again, Sartre expresses a basic insight, that "the revolution will be drowned in the ballot boxes — which is not suprising, since they were made for that purpose."

To cast a vote is to perpetuate the illusion that we are by doing so free. But just as elections only intensify our alienation and are incapable of conclusively dealing with the frustrations arising from our lack of control over everyday life, a subterranean war wages against the institutions which confirm our powerlessness. This war expresses itself on a variety of fronts, from the growing cynicism over politics to everyday resistance against authority in the workplace.

This is why Sartre concludes that the road to freedom is not in elections, but rather in organizing resistance on the level of everyday life. To abstain from voting, he writes, is a start, an act which rejects the system by which human beings are transformed into things, owned and powerless. The real task for democracy is "to organize the past antihierarchic movement which fights institutions everywhere." Although this "libertarian and anti-hierarchical movement . . . is still embryonic, diffuse, unclear even to itself," its reality is manifested in the increasing rejection of conventional politics, whether it is the gut recognition that there are no real choices presented to us or in the refusal to vote. It remains for us to make clear the inadequacy of indirect representation for the demands of everyday life, and to organize the movement for the transformation of society into a true and direct democracy. As national elections in the U.S. grow nearer, let us counter the futility of voting with renewed demands for selfmanagement.

Labour Pains

PLANT OCCUPATIONS SPREAD

Southern Ontario's industrial belt has experienced two more workplace occupations of auto-related plants in response to the continuing phenomena of factory closures. These examples of direct action involved 200 workers employed by **Houdaille Industries** in Oshawa and 18 workers at **Tung-Sol International** in Brampton. The workers in both locations took these initiatives in response to the insulting terms offered to them by their respective employers in compensation fo the loss of their jobs.

At **Houdaille**, management did not take the confrontation lightly. It quickly threatened the occupiers with legal action and their union, the **UAW**, with a damages suit. Not intimidated, the workers remained inside contiuing what was to be an almost two week long action. They were not alone. Throughout the struggle solidarity uncharacteristically gave active support by granting the occupiers regular strike benefits and also by issuing a public statement advocating government seizure of **Houdaille's** Canadian assets.

The workers militance paid off in a settlement with major gains. Severance pay would now be six times what the company had originally offered. All workers with 30 years seniority would be guaranteed pensions and those who were sixty years or over would get full pensions if they had at least ten years seniority.

About three weeks later 18 workers at **Tung-Sol** followed their example by staging a three day occupation. These workers were among the 56 member **UEW** local that had initially responded to the miserly terms which accompanied management's decision to close the plant with strike action. Their occupation also won major concessions including a sex-fold increase in severance pay.

Seen in combination with the short **BBendix** occupation in Wondsor last June, also in response to an auto-related plant closure, it is evident that a trend of successful militance is taking shape. Nonetheless, these actions remain limited in their potential especially because the union bureaucracies will undoubtedly try to channel theis militance into political dead-ends like supporting the New Democratic Party in the coming provincial election. And, given the fact that these plants will still close leaving the workers unemployed, it becomes even more essential for us to realize in practice that the problem will continue to be with us until we are rid of this rotten capitalist system in its entirity.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Some workers in the construction industry have hit on a novel method of combatting the effects of unemployment which have plagued the trades since the recession. Employers and police have reported that equipment theft has skyrocketed in recent years. In 1979 over $500 million dollars in construction machinery was 'liberated' in the United States. And in British Columbia, Canada, equipment expropriations rose 300 per cent over their 1978 levels in 1979 putting a price tag on equipment gone of 25 million dollars. Police have been unable to prevent the equipment seizures because of the relative isolation of many construction sites, the fact that most construction equipment is easy to start and because the use of one key for several vehicles is fairly common among contractors.

The liberation of construction equipment appears to be carried out, for the most part, by unemployed construction workers. They usually carry out the seizures on the evening before a long week-end which gives them extra time to change serial numbers and transport the equipment across the border before its missed. Some commentators suspect that the equipment is being stockpiled for use on the Alaska highway pipeline.

BOSTON'S TAXI RANK-&-FILE ORGANIZE

The **United Taxi Workers Organizing Committee (UTWOC)** was formed from rank and file members of the **Teamsters Local 496** at **Checker Taxi** when they were continually refused the floor at meetings when they pushed for the union to organize the entire city of Boston, which **Local 496** doesn't want to do.

Taxi industry workers have no job security, no paid holidays, no vacations, no health insurance, no retirement benefits, no workers compensation, since they are considered "Independent Contractors", and on top of that it is hazardous work. Drivers are forced into competition with each other as a result of the way the companies run their operations, which also creates a poor public image and little public sympathy or support. **UTWOC** looks forward to taxi workers having the same working conditions and benefits as other transportation workers, such as bus, train, subway, truck and ailine workers.

EQUAL PAY?

It's always nice to know that the union bureaucrats believe in parity with their membership. According to a survey by the **Teamsters for a Democratic Union**, at least 25 officers of the **Teamsters** union are paid more than $100,000 a year. Leading the pack is **Teamsters** General President Frank Fitzsimmions, at $296,854. Other **Teamster** officials over $200,000 are Donald Peters and William Joyce of Chicago and Jackie Presser of Cleveland.

One way of increasing their paychecks, according to the **TDU** newspaper, Convoy-Dispatch, is through multiple jobs. Of the 29 Teamster officers listed only Joseph Kelahan of Chicago is content with a single position (paying $173,422). The average union officer has more than 3.5 jobs. Roy Williams of Kansas City leads the parade with seven.

The Convoy-Dispatch survey also listed **Teamster** officers who have relatives on their payroll. Winner in this category was Salvatore Provenzano of Union City, New Jersey. Besides his five **Teamster** jobs paying $106,847, Provenzano has his brothers Nunzio and Anthony, his niece Josephine, and his brother-in-law T. Reynolds on the payroll, bringing the family another $190,931.