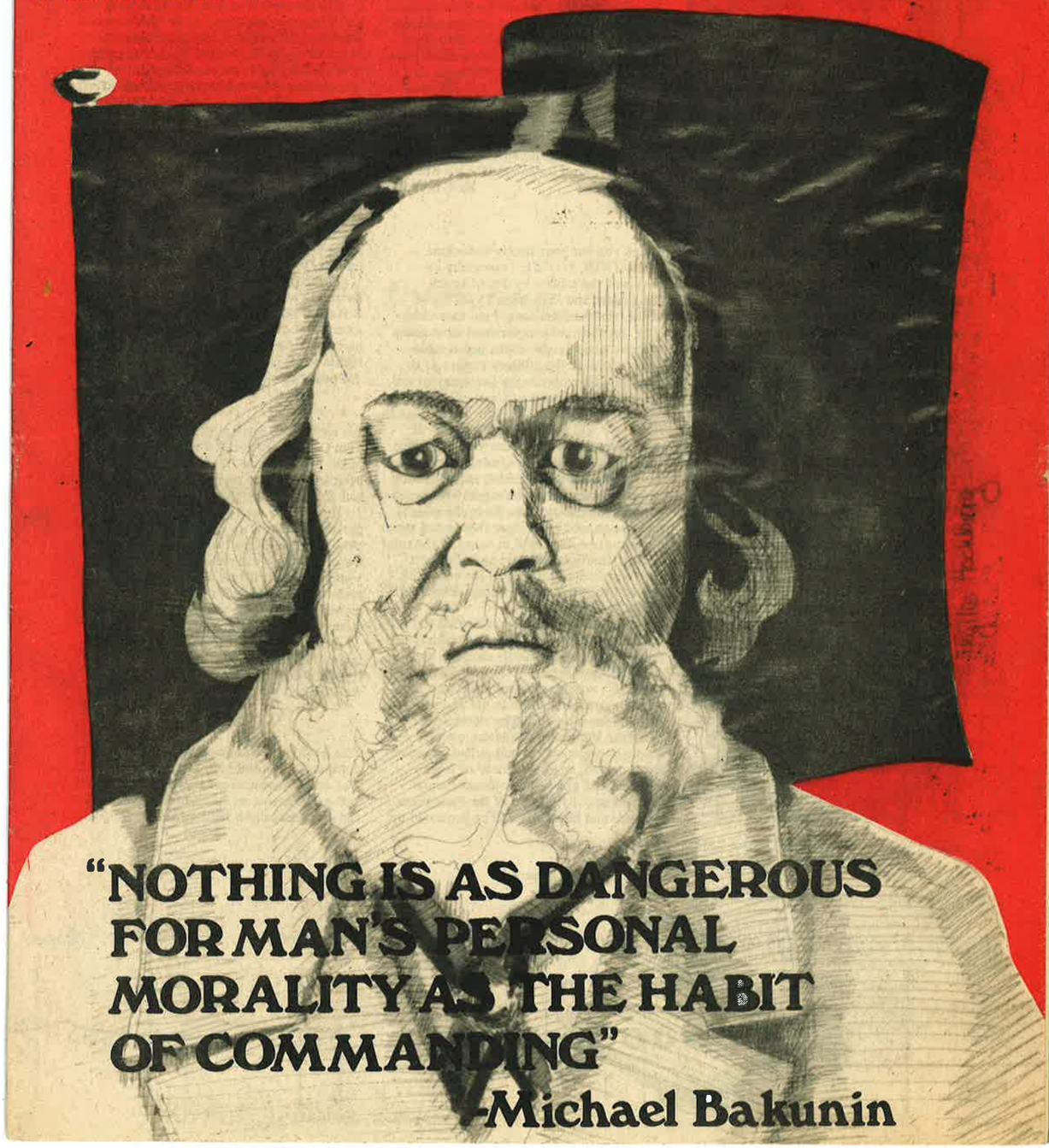
May 15, 1975 / 30¢

win ANARCHISM

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION



Feliz Libertad!!!!!! More power to the Vietnamese!!!!!!!!!@$%†&*! Right On! Hurray and thank the fucking lord they finally did it! Actually don't thank the fucking lord. More power to incredible human strength and perseverance. Less power to the corporate war machine!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! Good Grief I just realized that I really never believed that I would see the day when the US (etc.) was out of Vietnam to say nothing about Cambodia. A FAR OUT day of joy for the Vietnamese. Only aside from my absolutely dying of relief that American bombs will no longer be falling on Vietnamese villages (and more important, villagers) I also have a very sad and depressing realization that although this is a tremendous victory for the Vietnamese and in many ways a welcome defeat in one battle against the imperialist war machine and a great impetous to continue to wage those battles, it is not nearly a defeat of the machine itself. So although I am absolutely flipped out with happiness and total support for the Vietnamese in THEIR victory, I'm also really torn about people here hollering "we won!!!!!!" all over the place. I hope I'm explaining it right, I'm really confused about it and I feel terrible about possibly sounding like I'm putting a damper on an absolutely amazing feat. I mean I'm not trying to say that we shouldn't celebrate the Vietnamese victory but that victory can't be ours (Americans) until the machine is actually defeated and will not be just turning its missiles at the next target for its wars (the middle east next?). But I'm sure that everyone realizes that and that I'm just being a cynic, I was just thinking about all that stuff and it was kinda hard to say it to people here who are just really feeling such joy after they've been thinking of practically nothing else but this day for the last ten years. My mom says that everyone else feels pretty much the same way as I do. I now feel very guilty for putting such heavy thoughts to an event that definitely warrants endless celebration and I also just started thinking about the fact that everyone who comes back from a visit to North Vietnam cannot stop talking about the Vietnamese' tremendous joy of life and optimism in the face of all odds and how this was the base for so much of their incredible perseverance. How hard it is to be optimistic when all you've ever lived in was the belly of the beast?! Well I'm feeling pessimistic and also guilty about it and I shall stop, cease and desist immediately. If the Vietnamese could be optimistic under bombs, at least I can be without them. —DIANE BECKER
New York, NY

Thank you for your timely Indochina special [WIN, 5/1/75]. I especially appreciated the articles by Tom Cornell, Jim Forest, and Staughton Lynd. Some of the other articles caused me to wonder—How can the public understand what peace is about when people in the peace movement rejoice at the military victory of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the military conquest of Cambodia?

With the PRG military drive now successful people will point to the "success" of armed struggle. Twenty-five years of armed struggle in Vietnam has resulted in millions dead, tortured, and maimed, and held back a peaceful struggle which might have ended with real human success. We in the peace movement need to be clear that armed struggle cannot be successful in terms of the total human situation, and that any armed victory represents a setback to the end of of war and the creation of peacemaking instruments and institutions.

As events unfolded it seems that the US was better prepared to accept a military defeat than to risk a possible electoral defeat.

In the past several weeks the PRG engaged in a massive military drive which led to still more destruction in life and suffering for millions of people. The victims were again the Vietnamese children, women, and men who were pushed and pulled, punched, shot, starved, and in a variety of ways mangled and killed. The offensive represented a major violation of the Paris Peace Accords and hopefully will be protested by all people who sought a peaceful resolution of the Vietnam conflict. There are some who cheered the advance of the PRG forces—I consider such a position as pro-war, as that of those who urged the invasion of North Vietnam and Cambodia.

I'm very disappointed when WIN, a pacifist magazine, uses the term liberation in association with military campaigns.

It is relatively easy to be opposed to war when the military advantage is seemingly with the repressive side (the bad guys), but it is just as important to be opposed to war when the military advantage swings to the more sympathetic side. To do otherwise is to support the concept of the just war. Are pacifists to be relegated to the role of camp-followers of armed struggles? Not to protest the PRG military violation of the Paris Peace Accords is to make hollow our peace work of the past several years.

What is to be done? We need to be concerned about the fate of third force people; hopefully they will be able to play an active role in the work of reconciliation within Vietnam; hopefully a new set of political prisoners will not take the place of present political prisoners.

In the US we can work to send humanitarian aid to both South and North Vietnam. It is again timely to press for unconditional amnesty in our own country. And it is especially important for us to maintain a visible peace movement which speaks out for peace on all occasions. —ED LAZAR
Cambridge, Mass.

I'm inclined to agree with the position of Tom Cornell and Jim Forest about the end of the Vietnam war. It would really have been something to rejoice about, if victory had come by nonviolent means.

It is not for me to criticize the oppressed for taking up the sword, but I can't close my eyes to the consequences of violence. History is ruthless on that score. Violence breeds future violence. Have the rockets and missiles of the North Vietnamese killed no innocents? Is the PRG a stranger to the machine gun?

The problem for the pacifist still remains the same. How to combat oppression, and how to combat oppression nonviolently? —ED FEDER
Bronx, NY

This letter concerns doublethink and doublespeak on the Left, a phenomenon that doesn't seem to get as much "coverage" in the alternative media as does doublethink and doublespeak on the Right.

I am incensed with Paley's communique [WIN, 4/24/75], complete with battle cartographics, dotted lines, arrows and shaded territory.

I am incensed with Dave McReynolds who, some months ago at a seminar on pacifism and socialism (in DC), excused the bodily and psychological oppression of gays in Cuba with the old "but look at everything else that's changed" line. This is akin to asking black people to support apartheid in South Africa because the standard of living of black people in that nation-state is higher than that of blacks in other African nation-states. If you asked a black to do that you would be accused rightfully of supporting genocide and suicidal behavior by black people. Yet gay people "should look at the total picture"?!

I don't feel like being told to commit suicide for socialism anymore. I don't feel like looking at battle maps from Southeast Asia and reading Paley's rehash of the pious doublespeak of people whose strategy for "liberation" (what a joke!) includes the rocketing of cities, the taking of territories and the establishment of states. It's OK for the PRG or GRUNK to kill babies and not OK for LBJ or RMN to kill babies?

Obviously, it isn't. If you can't cooperate with the US system you can't cooperate with other violent (physically or psychologically) systems. There is a scale on which violent behavior against human beings can be measured. The Saigon regime, the PRG, North Vietnam and the US are all at the same place on this scale. It is totally impossible to speak of either "liberation" or "protecting democracy" while killing people and get me to believe you any more.

There are dialogical revolutionary struggles going on. If the WRL and the WIN editorial collective want to save their reputations as both nonviolent and revolutionary facilitators of change, why don't they cooperate with *these* struggles by dispatching more reporters and workers to *them*? These are the struggles we can learn from best.

Despite all this thanks for one of the only mags I can read these days without puking (*too* much). —BILL STEELE
Takoma Park, Md.

Dear Mr. Cakars:

This is in response to your letter of 12 March requesting access to any information this Agency may have pertaining to you.

A thorough search of various files and indices located three CIA documents which contain your name. Two intra-Agency memoranda, pertaining to activities on behalf of the anti-war movement are being withheld in accord with exemptions (b) (1) and (b) (5) of the Freedom of Information Act. The other item, which contains your name in a list of individuals, is denied in accord with exemptions (b) (6) and (b) (7) of the Act. Mr. Charles A. Briggs, Chief, Services Staff, made the decisions regarding the first two items; Charles W. Kane, Director of Security, is the denying official on the other item.

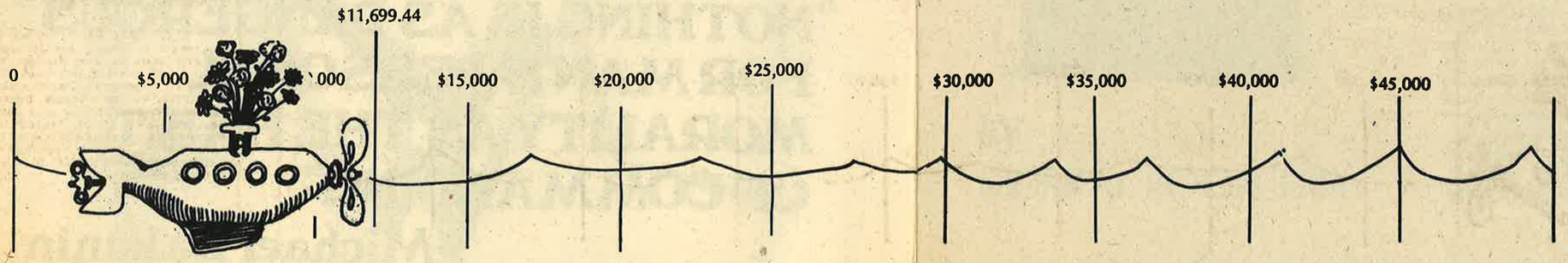
As provided by the Act, you may appeal these decisions to the CIA Information Review Committee, within 30 days, via the undersigned. —ROBERT S. YOUNG
Freedom of Information Coordinator
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, DC

Freedom of Information?!

Recycling

Given the waste-not-want-not flourishes with which President Ford launched his "Whip Inflation Now" program, it is only fitting that a sizable stock of those little red WIN buttons has been acquired—cheap—by the pacifist commune which publishes WIN, a magazine which takes it name from Workshop in Nonviolence and to which several well-known antiwar leaders have contributed. In that the President's WIN program—which the magazine once labeled a "quack remedy" for inflation—has been abandoned. "WIN buttons are again fashionable," its subscribers were told in a recent letter appealing for funds to help pay the magazine's debts. The letter included a free button and reported that extras could be obtained for five cents, plus postage.

The unspoken hope, we suspect, is that they will help whip insolvency better than they helped Mr. Ford whip inflation. —*Editorial in the*
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Sunday, April 27, 1975



May 15, 1975 / Vol. XI, No. 17

5. The Spirit of Terror is Born / *Murray Bookchin*
9. Louise Michel: "Angel" of the Paris Commune / *Marian Leighton*
12. The IWW Rolls On / *Craig Ledford*
15. America's Decentralist Dean / *Mildred J. Loomis*
18. Changes
20. Reviews

Cover: Drawing of Michael Bakunin (1814-1876) by Phyllis Hochberg.

Box 547 / Rifton / New York 12471
Telephone: 914-339-4585

WIN is published weekly except for the first two weeks in January, the last week in March, the first week in June, the last two weeks in August, and the first two weeks in September by the WIN Publishing Empire with the support of the War Resisters League. Subscriptions are $11.00 per year. Second class postage paid at New York, NY 10001. Individual writers are responsible for opinions expressed and accuracy of facts given. Sorry—manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope. Printed in USA

Anarchism is stirring agin, both in the United States and abroad. It is one of the least understood and certainly one of the most maligned political philosophies. Yet it has, and continues to evoke a deeply passionate fervor from those who embrace it.

People can live peacefully and harmoniously together without "benefit" of government. They can control the things which affect their lives. These concepts have excited many since a coherent expression of anarchism emerged in the middle of the last century.

This country has a rich background in the anarchist movement which has been lost or purposely destroyed in the periodic purges of jingoistic patriotism. Europe has maintained a waning movement which has shown new life and force, particularly in France, Germany and the Netherlands, in the last ten years.

Anarchism has many facets. It is not immune to the hair-splitting and angels-on-the-head-of-a-pin type of disputes that afflict political thought. So, it is difficult to present an article or analysis and say, unimpeachably: "This is Anarchism!"

We are avoiding that trap by reaching into fullsome literature of the anarchist/decentralist/self-management movement and pulling out a few selections in history, biography and a touch of theory.

First, a preview of Murray Bookchin's forthcoming history of Spanish anarchism. Spain was once the home of the most dynamic anarchist culture in the world. It was crushed after the Spanish civil war and by the continuing repression of the Franco regime. However, Spanish anarchists still give a little kick from time to time. They haven't given up.

Women have been prominent anarchists from the start. There is nothing typical about any of them; but Louise Michel is even less typical. There has not been much written about her, so we thought you might find the brief sketch of her life and her essay interesting.

The Industrial Workers of the World have always avoided political labels. Wobblies over the years have reiterated that what you call yourself isn't important. What's important is that you want to take control of the means of production. That's what really counts.

And finally, Ralph Borsodi; quite an institution in himself. Borsodi is an American pioneer in self-management and cooperative living.

In the future we'll continue to print snatches from the past, reports from the present and predictions for the future of anarchy. —Murray Rosenblith

The Spirit of Terror is Born

Drawing by Kathe Kollwitz.

BY MURRAY BOOKCHIN

To European anarchists of the late nineteenth century, the ruling classes seemed more firmly in the saddle than ever. An oppressive atmosphere of bourgeois egotism had settled over life like the grime and soot from the factory chimneys. Everything seemed to acquire a dull, gray, tasteless appearance. Men with sensibility were repelled by the smugness and banality of the age. The spirit of revolt, blocked by the massive stability of *fin de siecle* capitalism, began to burrow into the underground of this society.

Rimbaud's credo of sensory derangement, Lautrec's provocatively "lumpen" art, and the flouting of middle class conventions by Wilde and Gauguin reflected the compulsion of writers and artists to provoke the bourgeois, to cry out against the deadening complacency of the period. A literary and artistic anarchism emerged which included men like Barres, Mallarme, Valery, and Steinlen, in whom generous ideals for the liberation of humanity were marbled with a furious anger toward bourgeois mediocrity.

Their effect on the social life of the time was virtually nil. At best, the bourgeois answered with scandalized outrage, but more commonly he responded with uncomprehending indifference.

There were other men, however, whose desire to provoke led them to terrorist actions. These men were not ignored. Often they came from the lowest strata of the working class and petty bourgeoisie—true *Desheradados*, whose lives had been crippled by poverty and abuse. A few like August Vaillant, who exploded a bomb in the French Chamber of Deputies, were members of anarchist groups. The majority, like Ravachol, were soloists.

They were men who called themselves "anarchists," but belonged to no group, for the word had by this time become a synonym for "terrorist." This reputation was the result not merely of earlier bombings but of a new emphasis in libertarian circles on "propaganda by the deed."

The disappearance of the Bakuninist International after the Viviers Congress of 1877 left behind small, isolated anarchist groups all over Europe which lacked any strategy for revolutionary change. These men could oppose nothing but their writings and speeches to the entrenched power of the state. The growing Socialist movements of the time were utterly repellent to them. Authoritarian in structure and reformist in goals, they seemed to deal with the pedestrian spirit of the age by accomodating themselves to it. It was at this time, in a night of defeat and growing hopelessness, that a bold act in Russia illuminated the way.

On March 1, 1861, on the banks of the Catherine Canal in St. Petersburg, two young men, Nikolay Rysakov and Ignaty Grinevitsky, succeeded in assassinating Czar Alexander II. Rysakov and Grinevitsky were members of a small terrorist organization, the "People's Will." A politically hybrid group with strong anarchist leanings, this band of young revolutionaries had publicly sentenced the Czar to death in 1879 and tracked him for two years until

This article is an excerpt from Murray Bookchin's The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Period, 1868-1936. *Free Life Editions will publish the book sometime in the spring, 1976.*

they were successful. The duel between a handful of terrorists and the massive Russian state fascinated the world, virtually bringing the Czar to nervous collapse.

The assassination electrified Europe. When shortly afterward an international congress of anarchists and left-wing Socialists convened in London, one of the main topics to be discusses was "propaganda by the deed." The delegates concluded that "a deed performed against the existing institutions appeals to the masses much more than thousands of leaflets and torrents of words. . ."

There was much discussion on "chemistry." It was resolved that "the technical and chemical sciences have rendered services to the revolutionary cause and are bound to render still greater services." Hence affiliated groups and individual supporters were asked to "devote themselves to the study of these sciences."

Among the supporters of this new tactic was a young Russian prince, Peter Kropotkin, who had broken with his class and entered the anarchist movement. Although temperamentally the very opposite of Bakunin, Kropotkin shared the deep humanity of his predecessor. Despite his aristocratic lineage—or perhaps because of it—he had spent two years in the dreaded Peter and Paul fortress for his ideals. His dramatic escape and his distinction as a geographer gave him an international reputation. By the time of the London Congress, Kropotkin had become the outstanding spokesman for "anarchist communism," a theory he advanced with great ability against the prevalent "collectivism" of the traditional Bakuninists.

Bakunin, it will be remembered, believed that the means of life an individual receives under anarchy must be tied to the amount of labor he contributes to society. Although he is to receive the full reward of his labor, the quantity of what he receives is determined by the work he performs and not by his needs. It is not difficult to see that Bakunin's view of work and reward is anchored in a belief that insufficiently advanced technology could not provide the means of life according to individual needs.

Kropotkin does not differ with Bakunin's overall vision of anarchy. He believes that anarchy will be a stateless society of free, decentralized communes, joined together by pacts and contracts. What distinguishes him from Bakunin is his insistence that directly after the revolution each commune will be capable of distributing its produce according to need.

"Need will be put above service," he writes; "it will be recognized that everyone who cooperates in production to a certain extent has in the first place that right to live comfortably." Underpinning this view is the conviction (naive in its day) that technology had advanced to a point where everyone's needs could be satisfied. The famous communist maxim ("From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs") would be the rule for guiding distribution immediately after the revolution.

Kropotkin, it has been claimed, favored a purist anarchist elite and rejected the Bakuninist demand for a close linkage between anarchist groups and large mass organizations. Actually, this is not quite true. In a dispute with a number of Italian anarchists who advocated a strictly conspiratorial type of organization, the Russian insisted that the "small revolutionary group" has to "submerge" itself in the "organization of the people," a view that closely parallels Bakunin's organizational ideas.

The difference between Bakunin's and Kropotkin's organizational views turns primarily around the issue of "propaganda by the deed." As Max Nomad observes: "That tactic had not been in the armory of the Bakuninists; they believed that the masses were essentially revolutionary, and hence needed no terrorist fireworks to stimulate their spirit of revolt. All that was necessary, according to Bakunin, was an organization of conspirators, who at the proper moment would capitalize on the revolutionary potential of the masses. That view was no longer shared by Kropotkin and his friends. It was replaced by a sort of revolutionary *education* of the masses through acts of revolt, or *propaganda by the deed.* Originally that sort of *propaganda*, as first discussed at the Berne Congress of the *Anti-Authoritarian* International (1876), referred to small attempts at local insurrection. Somewhat later—after such actions had proven to be quite ineffectual—the term was applied to individual acts of protest."

None of these ideas had any significant effect on Spanish anarchism until well into the eighties, when translations of Kropotkin's works were made available. At this time, Italian emigres in Barcelona, many of whom were anarchist communists, began to promote the purist approach to organization and emphasize the importance of terrorist actions. In fact, the harsh controversies among Spanish anarchists over the new ideas and tactics greatly accelerated the breakup of the Workers' Federation, a "legal" union started in 1881, which foundered from the beginning, torn between pressures from radical workers and government repression.

When the once-promising Workers' Federation dissolved in 1888, its place was taken by a strictly anarchist organization and by ideologically looser libertarian trade unions. The former, the Anarchist Organization of the Spanish Region, was founded at Valencia in September, 1888, and consisted of several libertarian tendences, mainly anarchist communist in outlook. The base of this movement was organized around the *tertulia:* the small, traditionally Hispanic group of male intimates who gather daily at a favorite cafe to socialize and discuss ideas. Anarchist groups were usually larger and more volatile. Like the *tertulianos,* they met in cafes to discuss ideas and plan actions.

Actually, such groups had already formed spontaneously in the days of the International, but the new Anarchist Organization consciously made them its basic form of organization. Decades later, they were to appear in the FAI as *grupos de afinidad* (affinity groups) with a more formal structure. The great majority of these groups were not engaged in terrorist actions. Their activites were confined largely to general propaganda and to the painstaking but indispensable job of winning over individual converts.

The union movement, on the other hand, focused its energies on economic struggles, generally taking its lead from libertarian union officials. A number of these officials, anticipating the death of the Workers' Federation, had decided to retain a loose relationship with each other. In 1888, they formalized this as a Pact of Union and Solidarity of the Spanish Region. With the revival of the labor movement in 1891, the Pact of Union and Solidarity convened for its first congress in March, attracting socialists as well as anarchists. Although the congress was held in Madrid, the new organization was primarily a Catalan movement, influenced by anarchist collectivists and by militant syndicalists.

The Pact of Union and Solidarity was ill-fated almost from the start, for it emerged at a time when terrorist activity in Spain began to get under way in earnest. Although there had been no lack of bombings and assassination attempts in the eighties, they were isolated episodes, occurring in the background of a larger class struggle between unions and employers. The bombings that opened the nineties, however, were quite different: they exploded across the foreground of the struggle and were destined to take on a chronic form in Barcelona. The first of these bombings occurred in the midst of a general strike for the eight-hour-day which the Pact of Union and Solidarity had decided to call on May 1, 1891.

The strike began peacefully enough with a large rally at the Tivoli Theater in Barcelona, followed by a street demonstration down the famous Ramblas to the Civil Governor's palace. On the following day, however, it began to take on serious dimensions. Many factories closed down and violent clashes occurred between workers and police. Characteristically, the government responded to the situation with a declaration of martial law:* The next day, an explosion rocked the Calle de la Canuda. A bomb had gone off before the building which housed the *Fomento del Trabajo Nacional* (literally, the "Encouragement of National Labor"), a euphemism for the powerful, notoriously reactionary association of Barcelona manufacturers.

The strike was broken by violence and treachery, but from that point onward, bombings became a commonplace feature of labor unrest in Barcelona. They were invariably followed by arrests and by beatings of imprisoned militants, yet the explosions themselves did very little damage. Generally, they were set off at places or during hours when they could do minimal harm to people. Apparently, the intention of the "terrorists" was to frighten rather than kill; indeed, it is not certain how many of these bombings were caused by anarchists, who were protesting against the real injuries inflicted by the authorities on imprisoned labor militants, or by *agents provocateurs* of the police.

With the repression of the Jerez uprising, however, terrorist actitivy reached a turning point: the garroting of four anarchists in the main square of the Andalusian city incensed revolutionaries throughout Spain. On September 24, 1893, two bombs were thrown at Martinez de Campos, the officer whose pronouncement had paved the way for Alfonso XII. Martinez, who was now Captain General of Catalonia, miraculously escaped serious injury, but the explosion killed a soldier and five civilian bystanders.

The police quickly apprehended the assassin, Paulino Pallas, a young Andalusian anarchist, who had prospected in Patagonia with the famous Italian anarchist, Errico Malatesta. The Andalusian was tried by a court martial and sentenced to execution by a firing squad. From the opening of his trial to the moment of his death, Pallas's behavior was defiant. Before the bullets claimed his life, he repeated the ominous cry of the south: "Vengeance will be terrible!"

The warning became a reality before the year was out. On November 7, during the opening night of Barcelona's opera season, two bombs were thrown from the balcony of the Teatro Liceo into a gilded audience of the city's most notable families. One of the bombs exploded, killing twenty-two and wounding fifty.

Panic gripped the bourgeoisie of the city. Unleashed to do their worst, the police closed all the workers' centers and raided the homes of every known radical. Hundreds were arrested and thrown into the dungeons of Montjuich Fortress, the military prison overlooking Barcelona's port area and working class districts from Montjuich hill. Five anarchists, although obviously innocent of the Liceo bombing, were sentenced to death and later executed.

The real assassin, Santiago Salvador, was not discovered until two months later. Salvador had been a friend of Pallas and was determined to answer his cry for vengeance. After failing at a suicide attempt on his arrest, Salvador succeeded in escaping the brutal tortures which the police ordinarily inflicted on political prisoners by pretending to repent his act and feigning conversion to the Church. For nearly a year his execution was stayed while Jesuits and aristocratic ladies petitioned the government for a commutation of sentence. When the young anarchist finally stood on the scaffold, he abandoned his deception and died with the cry: "Viva la anarquia!"

Salvador's death was followed by another round of bombings, arrests, and executions. To quell the anarchists with a more effective counter-terror, the government established a new unit, the *Brigada Social,* composed of specially assigned police ruffians. This new body of police was manifestly awaiting an opportunity to throw itself on the anarchist movement—indeed, on all oppositional groups in Barcelona—and there are strong reasons for suspecting that it manufactured a provocation of its own three years after the Licea bombing.

On June 7, 1896, while Barcelona's Corpus Christi Day procession was wending through the Calle de Cambios Neuvos into the church, a bomb was thrown to the street from a top story window. The procession was led by the most important notables of the city, men such as the Governor of Catalonia, the Bishop of Barcelona, and the new Captain General, Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, whose cruelties in Cuba two years later were to earn him worldwide opprobrium. Yet with this alluring bait at the head, the bomb was aimed at the tail of the procession, whose ranks consisted of ordinary people. The explosion killed eleven and wounded forty. The assassin was never found. The Corpus Christi bombing, however, provided Weyler with an excuse for rounding up not only anarchists and labor militants, but Republicans and ordinary anti-clericals. Over four hundred people were thrown into the Montjuich dungeons and left to the mercy of the *Brigada Social.*

When revealed in the press, the tortures to which these prisoners were subjected produced a sensation throughout the world. One of the victims, Tarrida del Marmol, an anarchist of a distinguished Catalan family and director of Barcelona's Polytechnic Academy, reported his eye-witness experiences in a book, *Les Inquisiteurs de l'Espagne,* that caused a shudder of horror north of the Pyrenees. These tortures were so severe that several prisoners died before they could be brought to trial. Men were forced to walk for days at a time without rest; others were hung from cell doors for hours while their genitals were twisted with ropes and burned. Finger and toe nails were pulled off and

**In Spain, this was called a "state of war." Here, I have consistently translated the expression as "martial law," which essentially denotes the same condition: the substitution of civil government by military authority.*

savage beatings inflicted mercilessly all over the body. At length, after spending the great part of a year in the prison fortress, ninety were brought to trial in the spring of 1897. Of twenty-six convictions, eight received death sentences, and the remaining nineteen were given long terms in prison. So obviously innocent were the convicted men that five were actually acquitted. Nevertheless, the vindictive Canovas regime had the acquitted prisoners re-arrested and transported to the African penal colony of Rio d'Oro, the Spanish equivalent of France's Devil's Island.

Weyler's attempt to crush oppositional sentiment in Barcelona backfired completely. Not only did he fail to extirpate the anarchists, but a massive protest rolled in from Europe and South America. Mass meetings against the Montjuich tortures and atrocities were held in London, Paris, and other cities. Leading figures all over the continent expressed their outrage against the barbarities of *Espagne inquisitorial.* Despite its shortcomings, the closing years of the nineteenth century were a period when men could be genuinely angered by visible evidence of injustice.

Finally on August 8, 1897, only a few months after the Montjuich trials, the terror reached the premier personally. Canovas was cornered on the terrace of a mountain resort in the Basque country by Michel Angiollilo, an Italian anarchist, and shot to death. Although Angiollilo was garroted for the assassination, an unsuccessful attempt by the anarchist Sempau to kill Lt. Narciso Portas, one of the Civil Guard officers who had presided over the Montjuich atrocities, ended in quite a different result. Despite the fact that his assassination attempt occurred only a month after the death of Canovas, the Montjuich atrocities had produced such a profound reaction of shock that no judge would convict Portas' would-be assassin and he was released.

The men who performed these anarchist *atentados* (as the terrorist acts were called) were not cruel or unfeeling like Weyler or Portas, who apparently relished their brutalities. The original bombings of 1891 and 1892 had been relatively harmless acts; they were obviously meant to shatter bourgeois complacency and provoke a spirit of revolt among the workers, not claim life. The lethal bombings that followed were reactions to the barbarities of the police and the state. The *atentados* had developed from *opera bouffe* into desperate acts of vengeance. Despite the terrible price they took in life and suffering, these terrorist acts served to damage the facade of Spanish government and reveal the cold despotism that lay behind Canovas's mockery of parliamentary rule.

The anarchists had been goaded from a generous humanism into a vengeful terrorism. This began early, as we noted, when the Internationals, almost mortally wounded by the Serrano repression, established an "Avenging Executive Nucleus." When the Cordobese section began complaining frantically to the Federal Commission about police repression, the answer it received is significant: "Take note of the names of your persecutors for the day of revenge and justice." Actually, the "Avenging Executive Nucleus" and the Cordobese section did very little to even the score; the government and police invariably came out ahead. But a time would come when the names collected by the police would be matched by the lists prepared by their opponents; then, the firing squad of the Falange would be echoed by those of the FAI.

Drawing by Kathe Kollwitz.

Louise Michel: "Angel" of the Paris Commune

by Marian Leighton

The life and self-avowed motivations of Louise Michel can help us to understand in psycho-social terms a neglected type of historical female revolutionary style. In recent works on women's history, three "types" have received the bulk of investigation and attention: suffrage pioneers, important socialist theorists, and spokeswomen for new lifestyles (sexual liberation, alternatives to insitutional family, etc.).

Yet the "ministering angel" role of women's activism has not been dealt with, aside from middle and upper class social workers like Jane Addams or Florence Nightingale. However, even in radical and socialist movements, the motivations of many charismatic women speakers and writers seem to have been of an extremely self-sacrificial nature. It is important to recall that Victorian and late-Victorian female socialization was extremely imbued with religious expression and image, which, combined with other factors of self-perception rooted in Victorian female childhood socialization, created the mentality of the Joan of Arc style revolutionary.

Louise Michel's charismatic style is an extreme of this type of female activism. Much of the strength of her appeal to other revolutionaries and to the Parisian poor rests upon her total identification with and embodiment of "La Vierge Rouge" (The Red Virgin) as she was popularly called. Not only was she an extreme exemplar of this development in her self-image and her identification of self with the Social Revolution, but also in her later conscious articulation of and adherence to the ideology of anarchism.

Louise Michel was probably the best-known, popular speaker on socialism and anarchist socialism during the 1880's and 1890's, until her death in 1905. Through her speaking missions, she reached literally hundreds of thousands of French and English people, introducing them to socialism. Attended by hundreds of thousands of Parisian poor, her funeral in 1905, was the second largest in French history until that time, second only to Victor Hugo. Yet today, since her approach to the world often seems so melodramatic to the modern mind and since male socialist historians are usually more impressed by vast bodies of theoretical quibbling than with actual relationships with the oppressed, she is virtually unheard of.

Marion Leighton is a member of the Rounder Records collective. This article is exerpted from a longer piece in Black Rose, *No. 1.*

Like many of her female contemporaries, Louise Michel often seems more like a pious nun than an "emancipated woman," as currently defined. Pauline Roland (a Communarde of 1848), Nathalie Lemel (a fighter with Michel in the 1871 Commune) and Louise Michel identified themselves rigorously with their cause, and refused to distinguish their public lives from their private lives. Devotion to the people, extreme physical deprivation, sexual asceticism and moralism, and humble and quiet lives (often as "spinsters") were not atypical of such nun-like revolutionaries.

Whereas the male radical tradition in 19th century France was often dominated in word, spirit, and deed by extreme rationalism, women revolutionary leaders embody a new kind of spiritual body which tends to be self-consciously transcendent, verging on mystical in character.

Louise Michel's radical activities did not begin until she was 41 years old, during the Paris Commune of 1871, which she considered the turning-point in her life. Just prior to that time, she was merely another *institutrice,* spinster elementary school teacher in Paris. True, she had been involved in various radical organizations and intellectually radical groups in the 1860's; but she had also sung fairly regularly in the choir in her local Catholic Church, up until the Commune when she became violently anti-clerical like most other Communards.

She was born as the illegitimate child of the servant in a family of rural nobility. She was educated and raised as part of the family, a not uncommon occurrence if the father or son were implicated in the servant child's paternity. For many years, the future Louise Michel was called Louise deMahis, the family name of the household where Louise's mother Marianne served. Louise and her mother remained with the deMahis' until the death of the head of the family and the selling of the estate, at which time the old family servant and her illegitimate child went to Paris. There Louise's exceptional education in music, the arts, and literature stood her in good stead in supporting the two of them with teaching jobs.

Louise remained with her mother, caring for her, worrying about her, until her mother's death while Louise was imprisoned in the 1880's. Later in life, Louise's only companions were devoted women friends. As a schoolteacher, she often lived with other women teachers when she first left her childhood home. In later years, after her mother's death, she lived with

various other, younger women like Marie Ferre, the younger sister of Louise's martyred, fellow Communard Theophile Ferre. Never did she experience similar intimate and caring relationships with men.

All her experiences with men seem to have been totally idealized. Her inspirational poetic muse from adolescence was Victor Hugo, who in return idealized her and immortalized her in a poem of tribute. She enjoyed similar relationships with prominent radicals or men of letters like Kropotkin and Henri de Rochefort. It seems entirely unlikely that these contacts, which were the source of much of her creative energy, were ever complicated by actual physical contact.

Once the Commune had been declared, Louise Michel found her element. During the Commune, she was literally tireless, usually not going home or sleeping for days on end. She attended meetings of many organizations, working with all people, commiting herself to helping others, all the while carefully transcending identification with any particular group. To have been a partisan of one particular organization would have been inimical to her style, her own ideology at that time being very amorphous and vague if judged in terms of traditional intellectual development.

Constantly during March-May 1871, until the Commune was finally defeated by the Versailles forces, Louise lived with the threat of death looking over her shoulder, often consciously seeking to expose herself to the most dangerous extremities. She gathered up the wounded and bandaged them on the battlefield. . .she went under fire to rescue a cat. . .under fire also, she read Baudelaire with a student. . .near a barricade, she played the harmonium in a Protestant church at Neuilly.

During one night of heavy fighting, she paid a midnight visit to the grave of a former close woman friend at a cemetery on the heights outside of Paris. Vividly she later described the extraordinary event in a letter to her fellow Communard, Theophile Ferre. She had felt there in the cemetery the presence of her old friend, as if distinctions between life and death no longer had any meaning, as if she had perceived a timelessness of the moment, wherein past, present, and future merged. She had experienced life on another plane. Only one other time does she record a similar transcendent experience and that was in extreme old age, after she was hit by an assassin's bullet and believed herself to be resting on her deathbed.

Louise Michel's revolutionary mystique should not be dismissed as atypical of the examples of other women leaders of the Commune. Louise Michel, thoroughly steeped in the phantasmagoria of the French romantic tradition, and a tremendously imaginative poet and novelist in her own right, obviously was more conscious of living through a certain image or mystique than many other women are. But even here one cannot be led to depict her as a "phony" or a "crackpot;" her mystique was her life and inspiration.

During the confusion of Bloody Week, May 1871, which saw the final slaughter of the Communards by the Versaillese troops of the Third Republic, Marianne Michel was arrested and was to be shot in her daughter's stead. Louise rushed to the detention center, barely saving her mother's life. Two trials followed, before Louise was finally sentenced to exile in New Caledonia for her role in the Paris Commune.

All of Louise Michel's later life, from her exile at age 41 until her death at the old age of 75 is deeply colored by her involvement in the Commune. Thereafter, she believed herself to embody the Social Revolution and behaved accordingly, living always in utter material deprivation on what little she could borrow from old friends or earn by her writing and speaking engagements, most of which she gave away.

Her ideology, loosely described as anarchism, was largely defined during her years in exile. Here again, she always stated that her belief in anarchism was the result of her personal political experiences. Louise Michel's relationship to her ideology was a total one; it could brook no hypocrisy in her personal life nor any compromise with alternate political modes.

I became an anarchist when we were exiled to New Caledonia for our activities in the Paris Commune. On the State's ships, we were sent with affictive and defamatory condemnations, to which we were absolutely indifferent, having seen that, obeying our consciences, we would have been criminals to behave otherwise than we did: rather we reproach ourselves for not being more vengeful; sorrow in certain circumstances is treason.

Always, in order to bring us to repentance for having fought for liberty, and for protection against such "great malefactors" as us, we were put into cages like lions or tigers.

For four months on the ship, we could see nothing but sky and water and occasionally the white sail of a boat, like a bird's wing, on the horizon—that impression of flatness was startling. There, we had all the time in the world to think, rocked by the gentle rhythm of the waves, being lifted infinitely into the distance or expelled all at once to the immense depths, the shrill whistling of the wind in the sails, the vessel groaning under the swells; there we were like servants to the elements and the idea was magnified.

Eh bien!—the force of comparing things, events, men. . . Having seen our friends in the Commune energetically throwing their lives away, so honest and so fearful of not being adequate to their tasks, I rapidly came to be convinced that honest people in power will be as incapable there as the dishonest are harmful and that it is impossible for liberty ever to be allied with any power whatever.

I felt that a revolution forming any government whatever was inconsistent, that it does not open all the doors to progress, and that the institutions of the past, which seemed to disappear, actually remained under changed names. Forged in the chains of the old world, these institutions form a single bloc which must disappear entirely to make way for a new world, happy and free, under the heavens.

I saw that the laws of attraction which endlessly carry countless spheres toward new suns between the two eternities of the past and of the future, also preside in the destinies of human beings in the eternal progress which attracts them toward a true ideal, ever changing and growing. I am then an anarchist because only anarchy means the happiness of humanity. In working for the ultimate good, the highest idea which can be comprehended by human rationality is anarchy.

For to the measure in which ages will pass, progress as yet unknown will follow. Is it not common knowledge that what appears as utopia for one or two generations will be reality to the third generation?

Only anarchy can render man ethically aware, since only anarchy can make him totally free. Anarchy therefore means the complete separation from the hordes of the enslaved and true humanity. For every man participating in power, the state is like the bone upon which the dog gnaws, and it is for this reason that he defends the state's power.

If power makes one ferocious, egotistical, and cruel, servitude is equally degrading; anarchy then will mean the end of the horrible misery in which the human race has always languished; anarchy alone will not become a recommencement of the old suffering. More and more, it attracts hearts tempered for the battle for truth and justice.

Humanity wishes to live and adhere to anarchy in the struggle against despair which it must engage in order to leave the abyss, this struggle is the harshness risen from the rocks below; any other idea seems like tumbledown stones and uprooted weeds. We must fight not only with courage, but also with logic. It is time that the true ideal, which is greater and more beautiful than all the fictions which preceded it, should be shown prominently enough for the disinherited masses no longer to shed their blood for deceptive chimeras.

This is why I am an anarchist. —**Louise Michel**

In some respects, Louise Michel's representational relationship with her ideology, colored the very nature of the ideology itself. While absolutely intolerant of reformist groups and reformist political measures, (she refused nomination by a women's group to run for political office because she believed that electoral reform could not promote or aid in making a thoroughgoing revolution) she was nonetheless dogmatic only in the sense that the "dream," the new world, the Social Revolution must never be compromised. Destruction of the old order must be complete in order to allow for total construction of the new. But on the other hand, obscure, theoretical discussions or implications of her ideology did not interest her.

Louise Michel's anarchism was a non-dogmatic radical ideology in that, for all its emphasis on the principles of decentralization, anti-Statism, and anti-authoritarianism, it would never statically impose itself upon a popular uprising with emergent radical implications. As during the Commune, there was no distinction between her life, needs, and emotions, and the lives, needs, and emotions of those oppressed around her, whom her ideology served.

In the Victorian period, the values of the religious establishment were ingrained in a female's self-image almost from birth. As in the Victorian "respectable classes," religion was the great educator, so today the values of the psychoanalytic establishment, the new priesthood, operate as the dominant socializing force upon middle and upper middle class women of the West. In both instances, society encouraged a feminine core personality to be constructed upon passivity, narcissism, and masochism—qualities viewed very negatively if possessed by "patriarchs" themselves.

Yet many outstanding Victorian women were able to become extremely productive and creative members of society by variously balancing feminine personality components usually judged only negatively by society. For example, to relate to the world and to one's ideology as a "vessel" is not tremendously different from the way a traditional mother might relate to her offspring. Furthermore, the narcissism of total identification of self with one's beliefs is quite apparent. It is further true that Louise Michel was terribly masochistic in service to her ideology and to disadvantaged people around her.

I am in no way belittling or trivializing Louise Michel's place in women's history. Her contributions to society and her vision of a new society are tremendously important in women's history, in libertarian socialist history, and in French Revolutionary history. However, I am affirming that Louise Michel's greatness, is, so to speak, the potential greatness of Everywoman. The male historical school of the "Great Man" has emphasized the distance from the experience of the Man in the Street to the Great Male Leader. Further, male historians often tend to have us believe that Great Women possess unique, mysterious, male-affirmed qualities that consequently separate them from the rest of the hysterical, masochistic, narcissistic, and passive women of their age. By implication they say: emulate and strive for male qualities of strength and you will be a Great Woman. In opposition, it seems that Great Women, while different from Everywoman in their unusually important social, political, or intellectual achievements, have not always achieved this greatness by attempted "masculinization," but often by extreme female psychological qualities.

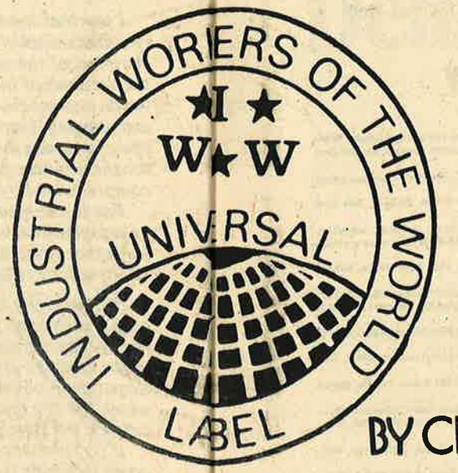
In summary, the richness and intensity of female internalized activity (fostered at an early age by societal proscriptions or discouragement of externalized behavior allowed or encouraged in male children) has at certain times in history led women to perceive their own self-image within the body social in terms very disparate from that of their male revolutionary counterparts. Louise Michel is an extreme example of the female "transcendent" revolutionary type. Her self-image of identification of herself as inseparable from her ideology further extends to the political beliefs to which she self-consciously adhered later in life after the Commune, i.e., anarchism.

In politics, the identification of self with one's beliefs is intellectually compatible only with an ideology that affirms the unity of means with ends. Thus, after the Commune, Michel came to believe that no hierarchical or dominating political structures as a means could be compatible, even during a transitional or crisis stage, with a totally liberatory, revolutionary end.

Consistent with Louise Michel's anarchism, the only authentic revolutionary leader must be one whose life is one with her ideology and one with those people whose needs her ideology purportedly serves. The comparatively greater psychic energy at women's disposal, caused by the comparatively greater intensity of feminine internal activity, has allowed women revolutionaries of the "Joan of Arc" type greater imaginativeness and greater creativity in outlining a multidimensional relationship with the world, as well as multi-dimensional ideologies to explain this relationship. Implied in, or maybe inherent in, the female revolutionary's approach to her ideology and revolution is the necessity for a more subtle awareness of, and acting upon, different facets of interrelationships, both societal and personal, which often do not seem immediately definable in traditional male, narrowly rational, linear perceptions of the world.

Ω

THE IWW ROLLSON



BY CRAIG LEDFORD

Nineteen seventy-one was the coldest winter of recent years in Chicago. Below-zero gusts of wind blew through the picket line of Wobblies and supporters in the IWW strike against Hip Products Incorporated just west of the Chicago Loop downtown area. The Hip Products workers produced "youth-market" goods like design candles. They struck for better conditions, like a clear lunchroom and clean bathrooms, for higher wages, for an end to intimidating company practices like mandatory lie detector tests, for an end to forced overtime, and for the Industrial Workers of the World as their bargaining union. The strike carried on for a good part of that winter, with the company trying to fire four workers. Informational picket lines were set up at Hip Products outlets as far away as Boston and San Francisco, and a new strike song was written in the snowy cold to Johnny Cash's "I Walk the Line."

These strikers were the largely young, white, Chicano, and black workers who produce, for example, the dry goods at the local Kresges or Montgomery Wards. Along with their sisters and brothers in other industrial cities, they constitute the underpaid and overworked backbone of light industry in North America. Jobs last in these small to medium sized plants as long as the company does not change its marginal marketing line and move out, until a business recession starts lay-offs, or until one worker here and there is lucky enough to find a slightly more stable job or even get an apprenticeship. Like the unorganized workers in service jobs and heavier industries, they are mostly semi-skilled or unskilled and a good many highly-paid union business agents will tell you that they are unorganizable.

Assembly, industrial, and service production workers create a vast wealth, only a small share of which they receive back as wages. Organized workers, who amount to only about 20% of the US working class according to AFL-CIO estimates, may receive a slightly larger wage share depending on their industry and locality. Unemployed workers are left to fend for themselves or are allotted a welfare pittance to stay out of the productive process until the employing class, which owns, controls, and consumes the vast surplus of wealth left after wage or welfare state payments, determines that their employment may once again be profitable.

As a revolutionary organization, the Industrial Workers of the World seeks to include all wage workers. Struggles like the one at Hip Products are important not only in the vital light of their immediate gains for the plant workers, but also in their larger contributions to the rest of the working class, regardless of industry or employment status. The strike at Hip Products produced some gains for the workers by the time it was ended. The company itself has since gone out of business—once their line of products became outmoded. But a number of the workers there continued their membership in the IWW, not out of any nostalgia, but out of an obstinate recognition that struggles like the one they waged at Hip would likely go on so long as class interests dictated their working lives.

Since the founding of the IWW seventy years ago, the organization has held together on the notion of building a class union, in which workers increasingly exert their economic power from the shop-floor level to create a different industrial society run by workers through their industrial unions. The IWW has been reasonably flexible and adaptive to technological, economic and political changes, to the point that it is the oldest active radical labor organization in North America advocating militant job action and the worker self-management of industry.

Much of the IWW in the US, Canada, Great Britain, Sweden, and the Pacific is organized into general membership groups or branches. The members of these groups may work on a variety of jobs; they may be unemployed or retired. So long as they are meeting they may choose a variety of labor activities, from support picket lines to educational meetings. As well, local IWW members have become involved in workplace organizing or shop workers have directly sought out the IWW. Like at Hip Products. The scope of this article is not to write a recent history of the IWW, but to show how IWW's propose class union action to settle problems facing workers.

The Wobbly group in Tacoma, Washington produced a leaflet in response to last year's oil crisis that analyzed corporate and government complicity in driving up oil prices. The leaflet closed with:

We can't rely on either government or the free enterprise system to help us out of this situation. The only weapon we wage workers have is our combined economic strength. Working people need to come together on a well organized and massive front to back each other up. Our unions would be the logical way to go. Unfortunately, most unions prop up private enterprise. The Industrial Workers of the World is one union that looks beyond the present system of production. We are organized to fight the bosses right now, not just for more and cheaper gas, but for the whole works. We can continue to fight these skirmishes forever. Eventually, we are going to have to put an end to the fighting by taking the means of production (drilling rigs, refineries, amnufacturing plants) into our own hands and produce for use instead of for profit.

Lately, IWW members in several areas have been leafletting local unemployment offices. The 1975 depression accompanied by rampant inflation serves as a tool to weaken the working class. Dollar wage gains made in the last several years have been lost in the decline of real wages. Corporate profits, on the other hand, have risen, and mismanaged corporations like in the automobile industry laid off millions of production workers to buy time for the market absorption of gorged inventories.

But the real story of the depression is in the unemployment office line that winds into the street, full of folks who can't afford to buy groceries. IWW members in New England distributed a leaflet that began:

Being unemployed can get to be a real drag. Most of us end up bumming off of our friends and family. We get discouraged after tramping the streets day after day looking for jobs that aren't there. We get tired of hearing the same refrain: "Sorry, we don't have anything today; but we'll keep your application on file." It's no wonder that we get pissed off.

The most enraging part of being unemployed, however, is the feeling of isolation—the feeling that nobody cares. The bosses certainly don't care. If they did they wouldn't have laid us off in the first place. The social workers and unemployment counselors may, as individuals, feel some sympathy for us but to the bureaucratic system that they serve we are just a case number; and when our unemployment insurance runs out or if by some technicality we are denied food stamps or other benefits, the bureaucracy is relieved of one more case to process and some money is saved.

The US government, weakened considerably in international trade by the inflationary dollar, has not been able to deal with the depression. Labor Department economists foresee unemployment rising for at least the duration of this year, even allowing for liberal stimulants to the business cycle. Depression-level job programs have been poorly administered at both the federal and local levels. In Illinois, funds allotted the unemployment offices were used to hire more managers and boost their salaries, rather than to hire more full-time service workers.

For years the IWW has advocated the six-hour day in industry, with no cuts in income, simply by employing more people in the productive process. Such a demand can unite organizations of both the employed and the unemployed. More and more, though, groups of idled workers may re-open those factories that were paid for over and over, but which are not in use. In a published speech last December to a Chicago North Side public meeting of the unemployed, the Associate Editor of the *Industrial Worker*, Patrick Murfin, discussed the possibilities of factory seizures:

This depression will undoubtedly cause the failure of many small and medium sized production firms. Conglomerates will cut loose their smaller operations to consolidate capital in big facilities and maximize their profits. Workers in these plants do not have to take their unemployment lying down. They can occupy their plants and resume production as their own bosses. This is not as impossible as it may at first sound. After all, we do the same work every day and could continue to do it whether or not there was a boss standing over us. The tactic is widely used in Europe and has saved many jobs. . . A growing movement of such occupations can do much to support itself with the help of the unemployed and of tenant unions. Eventually, it can snowball to take in bigger and bigger plants. This would not only provide work, but would also lay the solid groundwork for a new social order built not around bosses or commissars, but around the working class itself.

Leaflets, flyers, and speeches are all valuable educational tools. They bring together like-minded workers and convince others. The leaflets quoted above are all premised on a notion common to both Marx and Bakunin: that workers in an advanced capitalist society can not run industry until they are first conscious of themselves as a class, upon whom production depends. Still, the IWW is not just a propaganda organization. An IWW member will likely carry his or her opinions to work, whether working on an unorganized or already unionized job. Lunchroom talk, for instance, among any group of workers today may cover a variety of economic and political questions. The key questions, the ones that hit closest to home, however, are those problems affecting a group of workers

Craig Ledford is the General Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World.

immediately in the plant. How is the lighting? Who did the supervisor yell at last? If production goes down, will the lay-offs start this week?

There are not rights to free speech or peaceful assembly during a laborer's working hours. The freedom to hold a shop floor meeting of workers should be a basic demand of the labor movement. IWW members working presently in a Midwestern metal machinery plant pushed for monthly shop floor meetings of the already established company union with the results that immediate grievances and safety hazards can be isolated immediately and immediately discussed.

Where IWW members have entered into organizing campaigns, it has often been in spite of labor laws and the legal denials of basic rights to wage workers. That there is collusion between politicians and corporate managers is no news; that this collusion extends into maintaining workers as a manageable, profitable class is simple labor economics. Since, for example, the regional offices of the US National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), a body supposed to guarantee the organizing rights of industrial workers, are open only during the daytime business hours, any rank-and-file organizing committees or union caucus group must find some surrogate for representation in routine NLRB matters. No boss would give a worker paid time off to pursue a union case against him. Or, as with the NLRB-conducted "representation elections," the laws are constructed to management's advantage. When workers in, say, a fast-food restaurant petition for an NLRB election to determine their bargaining unit, the election itself is normally not held for six weeks or more. And, even though the restaurant may have a high turnover rate, only workers employed at the date the election was set can vote. The restaurant management can use the period in between to eliminate or force out anyone it suspects of pro-union sympathies.

Where the agencies are ineffective and unresponsive, the IWW will simply advocate direct action by the workers to eliminate the grievance. The following is from a newsletter issued by an IWW committee of grocery store workers:

Next time you're in the store, check out the schedule for the night shift (12 to 8). Notice that whereas normally at least four workers are scheduled for week nights, five on weekends, it has been cut back a worker a night. The question to be raised is: will this become the standard schedule, and more important, will it set a precedent for speeding up the entire store?

Management certainly can't argue that "so many workers aren't needed anymore." You don't need access to the company books to see that the volume of business for that shift has been up markedly for the past few weeks, usually a reason to hire more workers.

Perhaps management intends to cut back on all shifts this way. . . At least until we gain legal representation through the election, we urge all workers to take a direct action approach. Don't speed up. Above all, don't work beyond a pace which is normal and healthy for you. No one should end up sick because management is too cheap to hire enough workers.

Let's take a solid and firm stance on this issue, fellow workers. They may ignore our protests, but they can't ignore us. We do the work.

In 1975, the IWW is more than an idea based on militant union action and workers' self-management of industry, but neither would it pretend to be more powerful or influential than it really is. There is a lot of work to be done to organize the unorganized, to make the existing unions more honest, and to create productive work for the unemployed. All of these problems can and are, to one degree or another, being tackled by IWW's. This article contains only a few examples; why don't you dig a little deeper? You probably need a union.

CONTACT:
If you are interested in the activities of the IWW, get in touch with the branch or delegate nearest you. Or contact the general administration at 752 West Webster Ave., Chicago, Illinois, 60614.

IWW directory

NORTH AMERICA

ANCHORAGE, ALASKA: Ruth Sheridan, delegate, 2008 Boniface, Anchorage, Alaska 99504
BOSTON BRANCH: Boston Area General Membership Branch, Alice Scanlon, Branch Secretary, PO Box 454, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139
BOULDER, COLORADO: Laura Tisoncik, delegate, PO Box 416, Boulder, Colorado 80302, telephone 303-444-2603
BUFFALO, NEW YORK: Henry Pfaff, delegate, 77 Eckhart Street, Buffalo, New York 14207, telephone 716-877-6073
CHICAGO BRANCH: Chicago General Membership Branch, David deVries, secretary, 752 West Webster, Chicago, Illinois 60614, telephone 312-549-5045, business meetings first Friday of every month
FORT WAYNE, INDIANA: Tom Lewandowski, delegate, Box 155, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801, telephone 219-442-8513
HOUSTON, TEXAS: Blackie Vaughn, delegate, Marine Transport Workers IU 510, 7505 Navigation Boulevard, Houston, Texas 77011, Gilbert Mers, delegate, General Membership, 7031 Kernel, Houston, Texas 77017
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI: Ralph Merrick, delegate, 602 West 40th Street, Apartment 7, Kansas City, Missouri, telephone 816-531-2579
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY: Nancy Collins, delegate, 356 Rose Street, Apartment 3, Lexington, Kentucky 40508
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Dorice McDaniels, 11130 Truro Avenue, Inglewood, California 90304, telephone 213-677-8397
MADISON, WISCONSIN: Richard Linster, delegate, 410 Cantwell Court, Madison, Wisconsin 53703; Bob Steffes, delegate, 426 West Wilson, Madison, Wisconsin 53703, telephone 608-257-2086
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN: John Scheer, delegate, 2930 A North Booth, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212
MONTREAL, QUEBEC: Ron Sigler, delegate, 205 Mount Royal West, Apartment 5, Montreal, Quebec, Canada
NEW YORK CITY BRANCH: New York Metropolitan Area General Membership Branch, Merrill Moss, Branch Secretary, PO Box 570, Radio City Station, New York City 10019, telephone 212-477-3355
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA: Richard Ellington, delegate, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland, California 94609, telephone 415-658-0293
OBERLIN, OHIO: Dave Bures, delegate, c/o New Media Workshop, 50 West Lincoln Avenue, Oberlin, Ohio 44074
ORONO, MAINE: PO Box 106, Orono, Maine 04473
PORTLAND BRANCH: Portland General Membership Branch, Dean Nolan, Branch Secretary, PO Box 14291, Portland, Oregon 97214
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA: Julian Beck, 500 West North, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15212. Roy Harris, 1112 Bidwell Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15223
PULLMAN, WASHINGTON: Donna Marie Briana, delegate, NE 535 Maiden Lane, Apartment 107, Pullman, Washington 99163
RACINE, WISCONSIN: Max Gordon, delegate, 3821 Spring Street, Racine, Wisconsin 53402
RYE, TEXAS: Fred Hansen, delegate, Box 728, Rye, Texas 77369, telephone 713-585-4875
SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH: San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch, David Long, Branch Secretary, PO Box 40465, San Francisco, California 94104
SANTA ROSA: Eugene Nelson, delegate, Box 7037, Santa Rosa, California 95401, telephone 707-887-2785
SEATTLE BRANCH: Seattle General Membership Branch, 309 Federal East, Seattle, Washington 98102
STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA: Red Warthan, delegate, PO Box 171, Stockton, California 95201
TACOMA BRANCH: Tacoma-Olympia General Membership Branch, Ottilie Markholt, delegate, 2115 South Sheridan, Tacoma, Washington 98405, telephone 206-272-8119
TORNTO BRANCH: Toronto General Membership Branch, G. Jewell, Acting Branch Secretary, PO Box 306, Station E, Toronto 4, Ontario, Canada
VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA: J.B. McAndrew, delegate, 1555 Woodland Drive, Room 802, Vancouver 6, British Columbia, Canada

EUROPE

British General Organizing Committee

OLDHAM, LANCASHIRE: Bob Lees, delegate, 6 Coniston Avenue, Werneth, Oldham, Lancashire, England; Graham Moss, delegate, 116 Chadderton Way, Oldham, Lancashire, England
BIRMINGHAM: Paul Shellard, delegate, 72 Wellington Road, Handsworth, Birmingham 2, England

Skandinaviska Organisations Kommitten

MALMÖ: Benny Roslund, Delegate, Box 320 10 200 64, Malmö, Sweden
STOCKHOLM: Ingmar Eriksson, Hagerstensvagen 149, og. 3 tr. 126 46, Hägersten, Sweden

PACIFIC

AGANA, GUAM: Shelby Shapiro, delegate, Box 864, Agana, Guam 96910
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS: R.B. Sheets, delegate, PO Box 33, Ewa Beach, Hawaii 96706, telephone 808-689-5698
NELSON, NEW ZEALAND: Hugh McVeigh, delegate, PO Box 2092, Stoke, Nelson, New
TASMANIA: Bill Graham, 34 Kennedy, Launceston, Tasmania, Australia 7250

America's Decentralist Dean

MILDRED J. LOOMIS

Years ahead of his time, Ralph Borsodi was about the first dropout from the rat race to demonstrate how an individual could live the good life in spite of the mechanization of man in our industrial society.

Expanded families, communes, intentional communities, and other natural ways of living which contemporary young people are just now discovering were demonstrated in successful experiments at the time of the great depression by Ralph Borsodi and written up in his *Flight from The City*, (Harpers 1932). As our nation and the world plunge into another depression, the solutions for our problems which he set forth then are still practical. They are being applied by so many people that the publishers brought out a new edition of *Flight* in 1972, 40 years after the first introduction of these (un)common sense ideas.

Far in advance of most rebels, Borsodi saw how the factory system plus Madison Avenue was degrading human beings. Marx and others were showing how workers were being exploited; Borsodi showed they were exploited as consumers too, their creativity mangled and destroyed.

Ralph Borsodi was a forerunner of the current rebellion of young people against meaningless lives. He too, more than 50 years ago, was repulsed by creatures "made in the image of God" grabbing and grubbing for consumer trivia which does not satisfy any basic need. His achievements—productive homes, homesteading communities, books and researches—have influenced countless people. Alert and active in 1975, his experiments in ethical land and money systems, are helping turn the tide towrad decentralism.

As a boy, Ralph Borsodi lived in a middle-class family in Manhattan. He was in private schools, or privately tutored on tours with his mother, a concert singer. At 15 he set up his own apartment and endlessly studied his favorites: America's founding fathers, especially Jefferson and Tom Paine; the Bible and the Bagavad-gita; John Locke, Thoreau, Emerson, Tolstoy, Henry George and Gandhi. In his father's publishing business he was delivery boy, proof-reader and bookkeeper. He enjoyed discussions with writers and authors; made friends with Bolton Hall, a disciple of Henry George and author of *A Little Land and a Lot of Living.*

In his late teens he helped form the Single Tax party, and edited its monthly journal. He set up his soap box on street corners and explained to all who gathered the evils of the land monopoly and the need for the public use of land-site value.

Myrtle Mae Simpson, a Kansas farm girl in New York for a career, worked for the Borsodi Publishing Co. She and Ralph Borsodi fell in love. After their marriage, Ralph Borsodi set up his own business to counsel businesses in marketing and advertising problems. Soon his clients included Duponts, the Strauss brothers, heads of Macy's department store, and others.

A time soon came when Ralph Borsodi was moody and depressed. Myrtle Mae pried for the reason. "It's the business," he said. "Income is OK but I'm in the wrong job. Advertising does more harm than it helps."

"Surely, not," Myrtle Mae objected. "It makes goods cheaper—that's a service to people."

Mildred Loomis is Director of Education at the School for Living in Freeland, Maryland.

"That's what most people think," Ralph said, "but I'm finding this isn't true for a lot of advertising—particularly *national-brand* advertising. Retail and wholesale advertising which announces and describes goods to get new customers and hold old ones, is a service. But national-brand advertising is a different story. They not only sell junk at high prices—they are actually *raising prices!*"

They discussed it pro and con. Ralph showed her how the increase of *brands*—toothpaste, cereals, clothes, plumbing, everything—made it necessary for stores to provide more shelf room, storage, shipping, etc. "National-brand advertising—80% of all advertising—is distorting people's values, mis-educating, misrepresenting facts, raising prices and reducing prosperity." To ease his mind, Borsodi wrote out and published these facts in *National Advertising vs. Propserity.*

He probed deeper into accepted notions attending the boom of big business, and came upon another "myth"—that *mass* production of everything was inevitably more efficient and cheaper. Ralph Borsodi saw that these assumptions of centralized industry appear to be valid, but they ignore or cover up hidden costs of that process. Borsodi said, "Of course there are economies of producing *some* things by mass buying, mass producing, specializing labor methods, etc. But these savings in producing are often eaten up by the costs of transporting raw materials to the centralized factory, and the distribution—advertising, storage, selling, transporting—to the users. The *real* cost to the consumers of mass-produced products often ends up not less but more than the products of small-scale, decentralized production in small shops or the homes of people themselves." All this and more Borsodi elaborated in his 1926 book, *The Distribution Age.*

In this period, Ralph Borsodi was asked by his father to handle a land deal for him in Texas. Alone and lonely on the wide open space, he was willing to sell his father's thousand acres to the first bidder.

"Hang on to that land, kid," advised the hotel clerk. "People are coming this way. Land is going up. In ten years you can make a million on your father's acres."

"But would we have earned it?" asked young Ralph Borsodi.

"Earned it! Don't be silly," the man said. "Take what you can get and don't ask questions."

Back in New York City Borsodi asked his question again. "Who owns the land on this island? Who is pocketing the fabulous fortunes that come from renting and selling those few square miles on and under which 80,000,000 are struggling to live—to exchange goods for money? So many reasons," he said, "why some people get rich without working, and why millions stay poor even though they work! What can I do to help change these social conditions?"

Bolton Hall's *A Little Land and a Lot of Living* suggested the answer.

In 1920 they bought seven acres north of New York City. Hardly knowing the difference between a hammer, hoe and hatchet, Borsodi tore down an old shed, built a shelter for chickens and goats, remodeled a cottage. Myrtle Mae revived her farm skills—her garden was a triumph; she studied foods, body metabolism and health. "We're in for a revolution in diet," she announced in 1920. "No more white bread, white flour and white sugar for us."

Commuting on the train, at work or on the homestead Borsodi pondered the place of a modern, well-equipped productive home in an industrialized society. Together he and Myrtle Mae canned and preserved food, kept careful records of costs and compared them with store-bought goods. Always a surprising saving. In a few years they were eager to build a new homestead from scratch. Two little boys added incentive for a "place of our own." On 16 wooded acres in the Ramapos, they built a stone house and outbuildings—called it Dogwoods homestead. Ups and downs, successes and failures, always living and learning. On the third floor, in his study overlooking the pines and hills, Ralph poured his findings and feelings into *This Ugly Civilization*—comparing the sterility of urbanism, industrialism and centralism with the health, beauty, justice and freedom of productive living on small acreages.

The response was more than he expected. Letters and people appeared on his doorstep, asking "how can we get a homestead for ourselves?" A collapsed city in Ohio asked his help. Dayton, the Gem of the Miami Valley, was hard hit by the depression; banks were closed, half of the heads of families were unemployed; children were staying home from school without shoes

and coats. Would Borsodi come to direct a program of helping families moved to homestead communities on outlying land? Gladly.

Borsodi saw in Dayton the possibility of "homesteading and decentralism" becoming a national pattern, an educational movement, a cultural trend. He abandoned his work in New York City to give full attention to the Dayton Liberty Homesteads. With Social Agency funds, an 80 acre farm was purchased. Families signed up for homesteads. Liberty Homestead Association was formed to hold title as a group to the land. Each family would have use-title of one or two acres for a small annual payment (instead of land-purchase) and there build their home and raise their food, to which they had full private title.

When more money was needed the Project Committee suggested borrowing from the federal government. Borsodi demurred. "Building houses is not a function of government," he offered. "Government is coercion; it gets its money by *taxing;* by compulsion. We must *limit* government to protection—not ask it to do our business," Borsodi said.

"To use government funds or find local money from voluntary sources" became an issue. Borsodi worked staunchly for non-coercive support. Local bonds were issued and bought by business heads in the city. Problems here too. Bond-holders wanted to choose the homesteaders and direct the policy of the developing community. Again Borsodi championed the democratic control and development of the new community. Financial supporters withdrew; homes were incomplete.

Borsodi agreed to a US government loan, *if* control and administration could remain in Dayton. *Mirable dictu*—he persuaded federal officials to a small loan on this basis. When those funds were exhausted, a second loan was requested from the US government.

For the summer months, Dayton Liberty homesteaders gardened—no building with no funds—and anxiously awaited a reply from Washington. Borsodi would withdraw if federal control were required. Factions developed: for and against government help, which also meant for and against Borsodi. To some Borsodi was a prophet of a new age; to others, a dictator. In September the answer came; "Government money will be advanced *when and if*, by majority vote, the Liberty homesteaders accept direction and completion of their community under federal officials."

An edict for sure. Until the actual vote, no one could predict the outcome. When it came, it was close—12 to 10 in favor of federal funds. On a chilly Fall day, a "wise man from the East" returned to Dogwoods homestead to consider next steps.

In 1936, Borsodi and friends had organized and opened a School of Living for adults. A 40-acre Ramapo meadow became, in the next year and a half, Bayard Lane (intentional) community. Fourteen attractive, owner-built rock homes surround the School of Living;—the school a slightly larger stone house with its four acres of organic gardens, compost heaps and small barns. Busy families, recently from megalopolis, were becoming homesteaders—many of them, in their own minds, "building a new world."

On the world scene, World War II developed. Borsodi translated his ideas to a wider stage. He prescribed a stable money in *Inflation is Coming;* he urged families to put their savings into homes and homesteads. In *Prosperity and Security* he challenged economists to forsake their abstraction and treat economics in the specifics of actual human beings producing their food, clothing, shelter and amenities. He said "it is not *'nations'* that produce; economics is really 'the management of households' as the Greeks said; not juggling figures called 'gross national products.'" He exposed the predatory ways in which many moderns make (not earn) their livings; he called for an economics "where people matter." Not many economists in the late 30's responded. One vital decentralist voice was influenced: Paul Goodman told a School of Living conference in 1972, *Prosperity and Security* made a decentralist out of me."

In 1938, Borsodi had a part in *Agriculture in Modern Life,* by M.L. Wilson and O.E. Baker of the US Dept. of Agriculture. In a lively trilogue he showed the advantages of organic, family-farming over commercial mono-culture and agri-business. "In a few decades," he said, "America and the world will wake up to depleted resources, erosion and pollution!"

The 1940's was a decade of adversity for Borsodi. Financial difficulties made necessary transferring the Suffern School of Living to the Loomis Lane's End Homestead in Ohio. In 1948 Myrtle Mae Borsodi died. Ralph Borsodi was desolate, but not defeated. He established a linotype in the basement of Dogwoods homestead, and set in lead type with his own hands, his experiments and conclusions on education. Daily his ideas flowed into hot metal. Eventually it became 700 pages of *Education and Living.*

After his marriage to Clare Kittredge, the Borsodi's lived in Melbourne Village Homestead Community which Dayton associates had built in Florida on the Dayton plan. There, friends joined in organizing and building Melbourne University for the study and solving of universal problems of living.

"The United States doesn't provide the soil for a decentralist culture," Borsodi concluded. "Let's test the response abroad." He went three times to the Far East. In the mid 1950's he and Clare interviewed and lived with educators, government officials and common people in China, Thailand and southern Asia. He reported in *Challenge of Asia* two Asias contending for dominance—the old Asia of family and village life, and the new Asia of cities and factories.

Ralph Borsodi counselled Asians not to abandon, but to improve their family and village life, to develop decentralist and domestic machines, instead of accepting without question the monopoly and technology of the over-centralized West.

On a second tour, from 1958 to 1962, Ralph Borsodi studied, lectured and wrote in Indian universities. As a guest of the Gandhian University of Vidyanagar, Gujerat, he had all the facilities of an established university at his disposal.

Unfortunately Borsodi fell ill with dysentery, and for months languished near death. His son Bill arrived to hospitalize him, encourage him back to health, and assist his return to his new home in Exeter, New Hampshire.

Fully recovered, then past 80, Ralph Borsodi undertook new projects—important conferences on population problems and Ecumenical Humanism in New England.

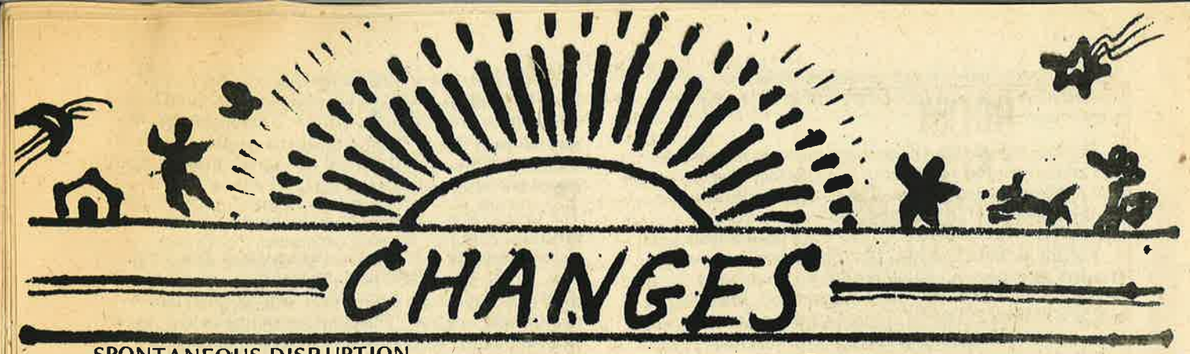
His younger friend, Robert Swann, long-time pacifist and social activist came to Borsodi for help in 1967. In the Martin Luther King movement in the South Robert Swann had decided that the prime need of the blacks was solution to their economic problem—an ethical alternative to poverty and powerlessness.

"They need land of their own. Access to land is the source of their survival and of their ability to dissent," Swann said. "How shall we help them to land and independence?"

Delighted, Borsodi proposed the land-trust for title held by associations for the common good, and family payment of a use-fee—the plan he had proposed at Dayton and at Suffern. It was organized with Bob Swann accepting the responsibility to teach, demonstrate and sponsor the land trust through the International Institute of Independence. A 6,000 acre tract of land in Georgia was the first land-trust formed, developed as a cooperative of, for and by the people in that area.

Borsodi organized and conducted a year's experiment in a stable currency, known as Constant currency, [see WIN, 1/24/74]. Backed by and issued against 30 staple commodities (wheat, oats, corn, rye, peanuts, oil, coal, metals) Constants circulated in lieu of dollars in an effort to eliminate inflation. Constant currency was integrated into the International Institute of Independence, and Borsodi went abroad the third time to introduce the land trust and new currency to leaders in England and India and to register the Independence Institute as a non-national, non-profit corporation in Luxembourg.

Nearing 90, Ralph Borsodi has shaped the three "revolutions" he set out to influence in his life time—a land reform, a money reform, and a new adult education. His work and goals are the core of the School of Living for adults in Heathcote Center, Freeland, Md.



SPONTANEOUS DISRUPTION HALTS MASS DC RALLY

Tens of thousands of workers poured into Washington DC the morning of Saturday, April 26. The IUD arrived first, picketing the White House about 11 am demanding "jobs now!" and then joined the main line of the march which formed at the Capitol and moved across town, largely through the black residential area, to JFK Stadium, where a heavily conservative group of speakers were to address the "Jobs For All" rally.

The rally, originally organized by District 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, (New York), and by the United Auto Workers of New Jersey, had been effectively taken over by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, and the demands, which had originally included an end of all military aid to South Vietnam, had been toned down. Liberal trade union speakers had been replaced by conservatives and one of the featured speakers was Hubert Humphrey. George Meany, confronted by rank and file militancy, and realizing he could not head off the rally, moved to coopt it through IUD sponsorship. (Meany himself refused to speak at the rally or to endorse it.)

More than 30,000 workers, a great many of them blacks, had taken buses and trains from New York and were joined in DC by thousands of other workers. The total that gathered in Washington was certainly close to 50,000, though the number that finally entered JFK Stadium for the rally was less than 30,000. Half way through the program spontaneous disruption began, starting with a single man who rushed out on the field waving his union banner. The police, heavily booed by the audience, got him off the field only to find a woman had jumped in and was running around with her sign. By the time the police got her under control, dozens and then hundreds of workers, some of them waving the placards of the rank and file organizations, had crowded onto the field, and eventually mounted the speakers platform.

The union leadership, confronted by a membership which had no interest in listening to Hubert Humphrey, declared the rally at an end. The union leadership blamed the disruption on "militants and crazies," but eye witnesses on the field said it seemed to be a spontaneous action by the workers with the "militants" climbing over fences to get into the field only after it was clear the crowd was supporting the disruption. A poll taken of workers leaving the rally showed most of those leaving felt the disruption had been the only meaningful event of the day.

Outside, WRL and FOR members and others from the Mass Party, Socialist Party, etc., had been leafletting the crowd with material from the Coalition on the Economic Crisis. Every radical group in the country was—or seemed to be—on hand with material. As we moved along with the line of march, under the CONEC banner and with Charley King playing his guitar, it seemed as if every radical group in the country was out to push its own line, far more interested in ripping off a possible recruit here or there than in building a serious coalition to relate to labor. It was like watching a massive and living creature flowing down the street, being nipped on the flanks by piranas.

In all, the day was a triumph for labor, if not for the bureaucracy. It was a peaceful, good-natured assembly. But if the jobs are not forthcoming, the gentle chaos in the JFK stadium may well turn ugly. Despite all the efforts by Meany's men to keep the slogans only to the question of jobs, hundreds of the signs—many of them officially issued by participating unions—stressed the demand for massive cuts in the military budget.

—David McReynolds

SHOULD HE GET TEN YEARS FOR SAVING KIDS FROM NAPALM?

In 1970, Avlin Glatkowski was a civilian crew member on the *SS Columbia Eagle*. In February, the *Columbia Eagle* steamed out of Long Beach harbor and headed for Thailand with a cargo of napalm.

On March 14, Glatkowski and another civilian crew member, Clyde McKay, seized the *Columbia Eagle*. Holding the captain and chief mate at gunpoint, Glatkowski and McKay announced that they were seizing the vessel because the napalm was to be used for an unlawful war. Ordering a core of crew members to stay aboard they instructed the captian to signal to abandon ship. The lifeboats were lowered, and the *Columbia Eagle* resumed at full speed.

The mutineers then broadcast pleas for political asylum. Their message eventually got to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was then chief of state in Cambodia. Sihanouk relayed his affirmation that they were welcome in Cambodia.

En route to Sihanoukville (Kompong Som), they spotted ships following them and were approached several times by a US reconnaissance plane. The mutineers threatened to blow up the *Columbia Eagle* and this persuaded their "escorts" to turn away.

Soon after Glatkowski, McKay and the *Eagle* arrived in Cambodia, the Sihanouk government was overthrown in a CIA-directed coup, and eventually replaced with the pro-US Lon Nol regime. As a result, exiles such as Glatkowski and McKay were placed under house arrest. Their attempts to renounce their citizenship and seek passage to another country were denied.

During the next year, several escape attempts were made, with McKay, and an Army deserter finally getting away. Glatkowski's unsuccessful escape attempts left him in poor health, and finally, almost a year after the hijacking, he found himself on a plane with federal officers headed for the United States.

Back in the US he pleaded guilty to two charges at the urging of his attorney, who encouraged him to plea bargain. Glatkowski was then sent to the Federal Correctional Institute in Lompoc, California, to serve a ten-year sentence. A Glatkowski Defense Committee has recently been formed, whose address is: c/o VVAW/WSO, 1421 State Street, Santa Barbara, California 93101; phone 805-963-9119.

The movement for universal and unconditional amnesty demands that *all* people who resisted the war in any way be granted amnesty. It is a struggle to legitimize people's actions against the war. This includes Alvin Glatkowski.

(Alvin Glatkowski's address is 10096-116, C-1, K-Unit, PO "W", Lompoc, California 93436.) —NCUUA

TOO BAD!

"It's a shame. That whole part of the world (Southeast Asia) looked like it was going to be the world's next oil province."

This choice quote on the Vietnam war is from Corbett Allen, vice president of Global Marine Co., which until April 15 operated a drilling rig for Mobil Oil Corporation offshore from South Vietnam. Mobil Oil Corporation is one of the dozen or so oil compaines (mostly American) which since the summer of 1973 have paid Thieu's government a total of $100 million for drilling rights in the South China Sea. Others include Exxon, Shell, Cities Service, Sun and Marathon.

The quote was part of a story in the *Washington Post* April 25 headed "Oil Firms Abandon Vietnam Investments."

—Jim Peck

STUDENTS OUTWIT "BIG MAC"

Twenty-six students at Caltech in Los Angeles stand about a one-in-two chance of winning most of the prizes in a massive giveaway contest sponsored by the McDonalds hamburger chain.

The students took advantage of a loophole in the contest rules that did not specify that all entry blanks had to be handwritten. Armed with a university computer, they ran off 1.2 million entry blanks with each student's name on no fewer than 40,000 blanks. Handwritten entries numbered around 2.4 million, giving the 26 students a probability of winning half the prizes.

The prizes include five automobiles, a five-year supply of free groceries, four three-month supplies of groceries, and 1,850 $5 gift certificates to McDonalds.

McDonalds officials who first considered cancelling the contest, have now decided to go ahead with it. However, to neutralize the effect of the ballot-stuffing, the company will have to have two drawings. Every time a student wins a prize, the company will award the same prize to a non-student—or at least to a handwritten entry.

—Straight Creek

ANTIWAR SUIT IS LOST

A jury in Charlotte, NC, found H.R. Haldeman and eight others not guilty in a $1-million civil suit of illegally barring antiwar demonstrators from a Billy Graham Day rally attended by President Nixon in 1971. —News Desk

PRISON NOTES

Eddie Sanchez, one of the courageous resisters of the now defunct behavior modification program called START, still faces trial on four counts of assault with a deadly weapon against prison officials, and one count of assault with intent to murder an inmate, charges which could add four life sentences plus 20 years to his current sentence. The trial stems from a frame-up, and is probably a reprisal for continued political action and success in opposing START. Eddie's plight is particularly grim. Now 26, he has been in jail or prison since he was ten years old. He recently wrote: "It has been very hard not to lose hope. And to tell you the truth, I've just about lost hope of being legally set free." Eddie's only real hope rests on publicity and support. In March, Laurence Holmes, a civil liberties lawyer from Wichita, Kansas, entered his case, providing sympathetic legal aid for the first time. The need for funds is obvious. For more information or to make a contribution contact: Committee to Free Eddie Sanchez, 912 E. 31st Street, Kansas City, Missouri 64109.

Extreme repression is coming down on all political activists in the prison at McAlester, Oklahoma. In March the prison re-opened an old, rat-infested dungeon and filled it to capacity with 12 prisoners, three whites, three native Americans, and six blacks. Letters of support are *urgently needed* to prevent further dehumanization and even possible death of these men. Send letters to Chuck Stotts 82093, Box 97, McAlester, Oklahoma 74501, or write Larry Gara, 21 Faculty Place, Wilmington, Ohio 45177 for a list of all the prisoners in the hole and others who should get letters.

The April, 1975 issue of *The Catholic Agitator* features the second Day of Nonviolence in Los Angeles, where Jim Douglass spoke just before his arrest for probation violation, an arrest which happily did not result in any additional prison time. The paper reprints Jim's talk as well as another on "Aggressive Reconciliation" by Ed Guinan. The *Agitator* provides excellent coverage of the West Coast resistance actions. In good Catholic Worker tradition, the annual subscription rate is only 50¢. Write *Catholic Agitator*, 605 North Cummings Street, Los Angeles, California 90033.

Not all prison news is grim. There are many indications that the hell of imprisonment cannot crush the human spirit and that even in prison, individuals find ways to develop and express their creative talents. In March, jazz singer Flora Purim, who is serving a stretch for possession of drugs, gave a concert to prisoners and guests in the prison at Terminal Island, California, the first time a prisoner in the federal system has given a public performance. Another bit of evidence is provided by the current art exhibit in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Entitled "Captive Art," all the works are by men and women awaiting trial in various New York City prisons. Finally, there was the play at Massachusetts Correctional Institute at Norfolk, co-directed by prisoner Mark Frechette of *Zabriski Point* fame. The play, *Stars and Stripes*, was a dramatization of part of the Nixon White House tapes, a production which must have given peculiar satisfaction to those acting in it. One may hope that the various government officials who viewed it also enjoyed themselves.

Remember how Gene Debs ran for the presidency from Atlanta prison in 1920? Kriss Worthington, a Wilmington College student, almost duplicated Debs' effort. Kriss was one of 62 people arrested in the March 1 demonstration at the White House. Just before he left for his trial in Washington, Kriss ran as a last-minute, write-in candidate for president of the college student government. When he called from Washington he found out that he had won the election. At the trial Kriss defended himself. The result was a hung jury, with the possibility of a new trial in June. —Larry Gara

Reviews

NOWHERE AT HOME—LETTERS FROM EXILE OF EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Edited by Richard and Anna Maria Drinnon / 320 pp. / index / illus. / notes / $12.95

Emma Goldman didn't sing, and Alexander Berkman wasn't too hot on keyboards or alto sax. But they both knew the blues. They were kicked out of the USA in 1919 after going to jail in 1917 for opposing World War I. About the same time, New Orleans outlawed liquor, closed down its honky tonks and banned most street music. Jazz and jazzman began moving up the Mississippi in search of a market. Berkman and Goldman went to Red Russia, and anarchism as a leading force in American radicalism died.

The Red Scare curtailed radical activity and the Bolshevik success in Russia converted most activists in the US and the rest of the world to Marxist-Leninism.

Goldman and Berkman however, left the "socialist paradise" in December of 1921 after Lenin and Trotsky massacred the Kronstadt sailors and workers, and that's when their blues and this book really begin.

These letters span about fifteen years of both activists European exile. The letters, very personal literature, exhort, scold, comfort, complain, and gossip. Great events and personalities of the day share space with pleas for money, food, and help for imprisoned comrades.

Hounded from country to country, denied premanent residence permits or a passport, Berkman wrote his *What is Communist Anarchism* and edited the "Bulletin of the Relief Fund of the International Working Men's Association."

Emma Goldman wrote her two volume autobiography *Living My Life* and *My Disillusionment in Russia.* Amid sickness and personal tragedy both activists living apart, wrote each other several times a week.

The letters give a perspective on how and why they published these works. Each succeeding letter is a piece of the puzzle of their lives. A love affair gone sour, comments on the anarchist movement, or the growth of fascism, it all gives substance of what was until the publication of this book only sketchy conjecture of their last years.

Through the letters to each other and other comrades we share their agony of a revolution betrayed.

While "progressives" hailed Stalin as the savior of the working class, and defended the purges and prison camps as necessary for the defense of the "revolution," Berkman and Goldman denounced dictatorship, left or right. But it was just so much pissing into the wind. The workers they propagandized followed their socialist and communist leaders in submitting to Mussolini's corporate state, Roosevelt's New Deal, and Hitlers Volksgemeinschaft.

This left them vocalists for a small band of unorganized international freedom-loving revolutionaries. The integrity and purity of their convictions is their legacy to us. While opportunists stole the "revolutionary" stage world wide and advocated and carried out any policy that maintained their control or popularity. Berkman and Goldman kept the faith.

Like their contemporaries, the old time jazz-blues men and women, they were playing a song most people didn't want to hear. But that didn't keep them from continuing their labors, or lose faith in the eventual emancipation of mankind from tyranny.

In their joint letter to their comrades in the USA on the eve of their deportation they wrote, "We do not know where the forces of reaction will land us. But wherever we shall be, our work will go on until our last breath. May you, too, continue your efforts. These are trying but wonderful times. Clear heads and brave hearts were never more needed. There is great work to do. May each one of you give the best that is in him to the great struggle, the last struggle between liberty and bondage, between Well-being and poverty, between beauty and ugliness.

"Be of good cheer, beloved comrades. Our enemies are fighting a losing battle. They are the dying past. We are the glowing future."

—David White

BLOW FOR BLOW

Distributed by Red Ball Films

The issues of women's liberation and labor's rights are beautifully joined in the French film **Blow for Blow** which opened as a benefit for the New York Coalition for International Women's Day and showed sporadically at the First Avenue Screening Room and Bleecker Street Cinema.

I say "beautifully joined" because the pitfall of making the villains all males is studiously avoided. Though all the workers at the ladies garment factory are women, the ruthless supervisor leading the speedup is also a woman—other members of the supervisory force are men. When a team of typical union bureaucrats try to get the striking women to vacate and charge that the sitdown is fomented by "agitators," the team consists of a man *and* a woman. And, finally, when workers in neighboring plants walk out in sympathy and march in the streets, it's women *and* men together.

At the start, as the camera sweeps across the rows of women sweating it out at their sewing machines, they seem a stultified mass of humanity. Their growing discontent over oppressive working conditions is climaxed by the unjust firing of two workers, which prompts their decision to sit-in. In the course of eating, sleeping, standing watch and, in some instances, taking care of the kids, whom their husbands bring to the plant as a consequence of their own ineptness, the women get to know themselves and each other for the first time and they emerge as the diverse individuals whom they are.

The excellently cast nonprofessional actors are obviously turned on by their own enthusiasm. The film, shot in color around the city of Rouen, is the collective effort of 100 unemployed workers and a crew of film-makers. For those interested in booking it, the US distributor is Red Ball Films, PO Box 298, New York, NY 10014.

—Jim Peck

THE ANARCHIST COLLECTIVES

Workers' Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution 1936 - 1939
Edited by Sam Dolgoff. Introduction by Murray Bookchin. 231 pages, illustrated. $3.45 paper, $10.00 hardcover.

"The eyewitness reports and commentary presented in this highly important study reveal [that] . . . libertarian communism as it was realized during the Spanish revolution, was truly the creation of workers and peasants. . . . Varied, complex, often inspiring, the achievement of the people of Spain is unique in the history of twentieth century revolution."
—Noam Chomsky

"Presents a feast of historical experience."
—Murray Bookchin

AS WE GO MARCHING

by John T. Flynn. Preface by Ronald Radosh. 290 pages. $3.45 paper.

"John T. Flynn's book remains one of the best and most readable popular analyses [of fascism]"*—Prof. Arthur Ekirch, Jr.*

"A very strong case"*—Norman Thomas*

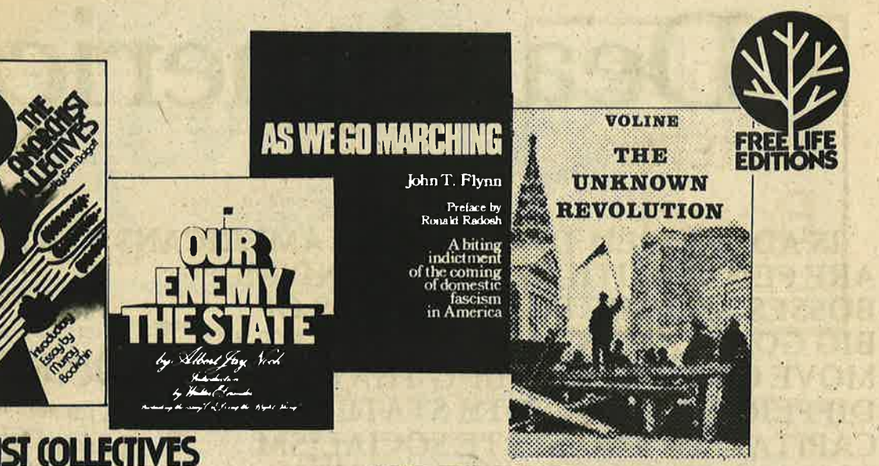
This book is about fascism in America. Flynn finds the real core of fascism in the authoritarian state, government spending, militarism and imperialism. Written in the 1940's, it is perhaps even more relevant to understanding the corporate state of today.

THE UNKNOWN REVOLUTION

by Voline. Introduction by Rudolf Rocker. 717 pages with over 30 pages of illustrations. $5.95 paper, $15.00 hardcover.

"Should be read by every person interested in the Russian Revolution and the anarchist movement."*—Prof. Paul Avrich*

This history of the Russian revolutionary movement includes many intriguing eyewitness accounts of popular, libertarian movements from the Makhnovists of the Ukraine to the Red sailors of Kronstadt, and how the Bolsheviks suppressed these movements.



OUR ENEMY, THE STATE

by Albert Jay Nock. Introduction and biblio. by Walter Grinder. 143 pages. $2.95 paperback.

"In some ways, Nock reminds me of Paul Goodman. They were both anarchists who identified their anarchism with old-fashioned conservatism. Both believed that America had been better off under the Articles of Confederation than under the central government established by the Constitution."*—Henry Bass*

"Nowhere can the reader find a clearer or more forceful portrayal of the libertarian position than in this book."*—Prof. Murray Rothbard*

BAKUNIN QUOTE POSTER

Beautifully printed in brown and blue on heavy coated poster paper. Full size—18" x 22". Makes a nice gift. $2 for one, or $3 for two.

ORDER FORM

Please send the following books:

- ☐ OUR ENEMY THE STATE, $2.95 pb
- ☐ AS WE GO MARCHING, $3.45 pb
- ☐ THE ANARCHIST COLLECTIVES, $3.45 pb, $10 hd.
- ☐ THE UNKNOWN REVOLUTION, $5.95 pb, $15 hd.
- ☐ POSTER: Bakunin Quote, $2, or $3 for two

Please add 25¢ postage per order_____
NYS residents please add sales tax_____
Total amount enclosed_____
Send your order with payment to: FREE LIFE EDITIONS, 41 Union Square, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Name_____

Street_____

City, State_____ Zip_____ W

People's Bulletin Board

Free if no $$ involved
and under 20 words.
Otherwise $2 every 10 words.

PUBLICATIONS

WOODS, ROCKS, STREAMS—where to go, how to go. Our guides and maps will help plan your next trip, whether backpacking, climbing, canoeing or walking. Trails and streams of the East from Hudson Bay to the Everglades. Western and foreign guides, naturalists' guides, wild food trail guides, how-to-books. For catalog send $0.25 to TRAILS, Box 94, Collegeville, PA 19426.

VEGETARIAN TIMES is a magazine for nonviolent eaters. Subscriptions $3/6 issues. Vegetarian Times, PO Box A3104, Chicago, Ill. 60690.

ENERGY: A TIME TO CHOOSE. . . One of the most comprehensive publications available on energy resources for the future. $1.25. Community Ecology Center, 15 West Anapamu, Santa Barbara, CA 93101. .

For Progressive Politics and Progressive Religion, send $1.50 for "Christianity Re-Examined" and "The Christian Way" to Paul Cotton, 172 Elm St., Geneva, Ohio 44041.

UNIVERSAL HANGLIDER CATALOGUE, $1.00, Box 1860-WN, Santa Monica, CA 90406.

New free catalog of 90 audiotapes of the radical arts and political analysis: GREAT ATLANTIC RADIO CONSPIRACY, 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218.

Announcing the first GOODBOOX CATALOG. Gandhi's works, Mother Jones, the IWW Songbook, Veggie Cookbooks, Barbara Dane and The Red Star Singers—plus much more, all in the first catalog from Goodboox & Such. Yours free from: PO Box 437, Boston, MA 02102.

Free catalogue of Soviet clandestine literature on pacifism, socialism, surrealism, etc. DEFENSE BOOKSTORE, PO Box 8232, Chicago, Ill. 60680.

ANARCHISM

(A) The largest and most complete selection of anarchist books available anywhere. Includes individualist, communalist, syndicalist, mutualist and Christian anarchism. Open daily noon-7 p.m., or *write* for a free catalog. Laissez Faire Books, Dept. W2, 206 Mercer St., New York, N.Y. 10012. Tel: (212) 674-8154.

PRODUCTS

CALDER AMNESTY POSTER. 4-color, original. $6.00 donation. Safe Return, 175 Fifth Ave., NY, NY 10010.

Women's Serials, Health, and Law microfilms—have your library order: Women's History Research Center, 2325 Oak St., Berkeley, CA 94708.

WOMEN'S AND OTHER POLITICAL RECORDS. Willie Tyson, Meg Christian, Lavender Jane, Red Star Singers, others. SASE for list. We're an anti-profit, collectively-run store. BREAD AND ROSES COMMUNITY MUSIC CENTER, 1724 20th Street, NW, DuPont Circle, Columbia (DC) 20009.

NONCOMPETITIVE GAMES for children and adults. Play together not against each other. Free catalog; Family Pastimes, Boissevain, Manitoba, Canada R0K0E0.

OPPORTUNITIES

BUSINESS HEAD needed at WIN. Prefer someone with publishing background and/or movement fund raising experience. Crazy hours and low pay but many intangible rewards. If you are interested, tell us something about yourself. WIN, Box 547, Rifton, NY 12471.

NEW PALTZ-KINGSTON AREA WIN READERS: WIN has all sorts of jobs ideal for volunteers (stuffing envelopes, proofreading, etc.). If you have some extra time and want to help give a call—339-4585—and come on over. Intangible benefits provided.

GODDARD/CAMBRIDGE GRADUATE PROGRAM IN SOCIAL CHANGE. An accredited MA program of Goddard College, accepting students for 1975-76. Project areas include American social and cultural issues; Feminist studies, US imperialism at home and abroad. Catalogue available. 5 Upland Rd., Cambridge, MA 02140. Tel. 617-492-0700.

MUTUAL AID by Petr Kropotkin
Classic anarchist answer to the misuse of the theory of "survival of the fittest." Presents the progressive elements of evolution, cooperation, and support within the species, as the actual and evolutionary basis for social growth.
"...in the ethical progress of man, mutual support - not mutual struggle - has had the leading part."
-Excerpt

WHAT IS TO BE UNDONE
A Modern Revolutionary Discussion of Classical Left Ideologies
by Michael Albert
"...preserves the prime theoretical accomplishment of the 1960's: it is an open-ended, open-minded book that values spontaneity and freedom..." Terry M. Perlin, WIN

THE DEFINITION OF DEFINITION
by Ralph Borsodi
A uniquely rational approach to the integration of knowledge.

Extending Horizons Books
Porter Sargent Publishers

Order From:
Porter Sargent Publisher
Dept. W
11 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108

Please indicate quantity on line preceding title.
Where cloth and paper available, circle which.

	cloth	paper
_____ Definition of Definition	$4.00	$2.00
_____ Mutual Aid	$5.00	$3.00
_____ What Is To Be Undone	$8.95	$3.95

( ) Check enclosed (Mass residents add 3% Sales Tax.)

Ship to: .....

.....

.....

..... Zip .....

Date ....

Signed .....

All orders must be prepaid. Porter Sargent Publisher will pay handling and shipping fourth class.

Woolman Hill is looking for a farmer/woodsperson and a kitchen coordinator. For details of us send details of yourself to Woolman Hill, Deerfield, Mass. 01342.

New Midwest research institute seeks unselfish, socially-conscious, non-careerist, MA-PhD MOVEMENT economists, political scientists, etc. MUST be able to get grants or raise funds. Semi-scholarly studies on war-peace reconversion, etc. READ Gross and Osterman "The New Professionals" pp. 33-77, Studs Terkel "Working" pp. 525-527, 537-540, Don Biggs "Breaking Out." Midwest Institute, 1206 N 6th St., 43201.

EVENTS

Nonviolent training weekend in Chicago; mid-June. Write: NONVIOLENT CENTER, Room 510, 542 S. Dearborn, Chicago, Ill. 60605 or call 922-8234.

ANARCHIST LECTURE SERIES: Michael Ryan and Robert Bass, "Semiological Analysis of Everyday Life." Freespace Alternate U, 339 Lafayette, NYC., May 23, 8 pm.

The BLACK ROSE LECTURE SERIES 1975: 5/23, Sylvia Kashdan, "Culture and Revolt," MIT, Bldg. 9, Room 150, 8 pm, Cambridge, Mass.

For information on the New Hampshire World Fellowship Center Summer Season Seminars: Box 156, Kerhonkson, NY 12446 (914-626-7974) or Conway, NH 03818 (603-447-2280).

MNS/Life Center is offering a comprehensive and intensive 2 week training workshop for nonviolence organizers, May 23-June 6. Kenn Arning, 4811 Springfield Ave., Phila., Pa. (Phone 215-SA4-1858).

HELP!

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED for work on Indochina, B-1 Bomber and amnesty. Chicago residents only. For info call 922-8234 during days.

ANTI-WAR ANTHOLOGY. Wanted poems, songs, conscientious objector statements. Please send to Mark Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church Street, London SE5.

NYC SIMPLE LIVING—nonviolent, egalitarian, social change community seeks additional activists. Cluster, c/o Kendrick, 144-34 Village Road, Jamaica, NY 11435.

FEMINISTS (female and male), ovo-lacto-vegetarians, seek same to live collectively in Central Jersey. No cigarettes, drugs, alcohol, please. Call 201-249-7671.

MISC.

Worker for nonviolent social change available this summer in exchange for room, board. Susan Smith, COOP-Pomona College, Claremont, Calif. 91711.

Can you use my books and magazines? I'm going abroad. Jack Leiss, 603 N. Paca St., Baltimore, Md. 21201.

ARTHUR EVERETT JOHNSON: The US has dropped all charges against you and recalled the warrant for your arrest. Please contact your parents.

Sing and Fly with

Enclosed is my subscription

☐ $11- for a full year

☐ $6- for 6 mos.

☐ $____ for a contribution

Name _____

WIN Magazine/Box 547/Rifton/NY 12471