





by Ron Hayley

Introduction: Cultures of Resistance

"Anarchy doesn't mean out of control; it means out of their control." -- Jim Dodge, American bio-regionalist

Traditionally, anarchists have relied on two main strategies to bring about social change: syndicalism and propaganda of the deed. Syndicalism involves the organizing of syndicates or trade unions, their federation into "one big union", the

control, and where "art" is the stuff that is put on display in "museums". Autonomous cultures permit the individual to participate in and or/benefit from the ongoing process of "cultural selection"<sup>4</sup>, and to organize themselves on a "subsistence" basis -- able to produce for their own needs independently of the formal economy (see "Shrinking the Economy" in KIO #15). Members of autonomous cultures do not eat corporate deathburgers, wear designer jeans, get their rocks off listening to heavy metal or watching "Porky's" or "Friday the 13th,

Nicaragua ....Together, such indigenous cultures striving within dominant societies for their autonomy have been called the Fourth World." - editorial, The New Catalyst<sup>6</sup>

All over the globe, capitalism (and "communism") are seeking to replace autonomous culture with domesticated culture. In the words of Peter Berg, "Global Monoculture dictates English lawns in the desert, business suits in Indonesia, orange juice in Siberia, and hamburgers in New Delhi."<sup>7</sup> Thousands

ways of looking at the world, different values, different systems of self-government, different perspectives on life and on what contributes to its quality. Every time one of these cultures dies, it's like John Donne's poem -- "...if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less": we lose the possibility of transcending our own culture, of appraising it critically, and of opting for different lifeways.

Three Kinds of Autonomous Cultures



# Carrying Out the Will of the LAND: the PLANETARIAT

calling of a general strike, the seizure of the means of production, and the establishment of systems of self-managed production. "Propaganda of the deed" involves anarchist militants engaging in direct action against persons or property with the aim of empowering people and making society increasingly ungovernable. While it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss these strategies in detail, each is problematic in its own way.

The problem with syndicalism is that the traditional working class, shrinking in size, no longer commands strategic power in the economy. Moreover, it has become domesticated, i.e. has very little of its own culture and tradition to nourish a radical consciousness.<sup>2</sup>

The problem with "propaganda of the deed" is that it tends to speak to the already converted, and doesn't educate and empower those not already convinced. Moreover, it lands the best activists in jail, and the public perception of spiralling "violence" and "disorder" can actually increase people's tendency to put faith in state authority.

And then there's a third strategy: radical populism, which advances its goals by building "cultures of resistance".

What are these "cultures of resistance"? Picture culture as a continuum. At the one extreme is domesticated culture; at the other, autonomous culture. Gene Lisitzky has written of one autonomous culture, the Hopi, in the following terms: "They all dance. Everyone is both an artist and a priest. Everyone has the opportunity to express both himself and the common desire, and everyone has the responsibility for helping to direct nature in the path it should take."<sup>3</sup>

Contrast this with our domesticated culture where people go to concerts structured like fascist pep rallies, where the Pope tells us it's a sin to use birth

Part III" on video, and, as much as possible, avoid working as data entry clerks, doing telemarketing, or scrubbing bathrooms at McDonald's. The use of the term "domesticated" is deliberate. Like household pets, domesticated peoples have had the "wildness" bred out of them, and are dependent on handouts from benevolent masters. This is not always evident because of the shimmer of gold plating on our dog chains.

Autonomous peoples have resisted assimilation. They have had to be dragged kicking and screaming into "civilization". This is understandable in the case of Africans and Indians who chose to commit suicide rather than submit to slavery. But even where autonomous peoples have been offered houses and money in exchange for their "insecure" and "poverty-stricken" way of life, many - like the Navajos at Big Mountain or the Gypsies in Europe -- have chosen to retain previous lifestyles.<sup>5</sup> Autonomous peoples have always needed and valued freedom more than the bangles and baubles of a civilized world.

### The Original "Cultures of Resistance": Aboriginal Peoples

"...industrial society seeks to destroy aboriginal cultures....this is historically what the process of industrialisation -- or 'civilization' -- has always done. The alienated, individuated, and centralized pseudo-culture of the industrial state, worldwide, can only arise from the destruction of coherent, integrated communities and cultures. The resistance of such cultures to this process has occurred since history began and continues to this day not just in North America but in Norway, New Zealand and Australia as well as in countries of the Third World, like

of unique cultures have been lost. The Beothuk, the Caribs, the Yahgans, the Yahis, aborigines of Tasmania, the more than one Amazonian hundred tribes decimated in the sixteenth century -- these are among the peoples that have disappeared at the hands of European culture.

With the rise of the nation-state, even traditional peoples in Europe have been forced to give up their language and customs. Only a century ago, Scottish and Welsh children were beaten in school for using their native Gaelic tongue (this same practice in relation to Native children was carried out in Ontario until the 1940's), and bagpipes were outlawed temporarily in Scotland during the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup> In Czechoslovakia today, the Prague Jazz Section, an important proponent of avant-garde culture, is being suppressed. As Czech emigre writer, Josef Skvorecky has pointed out, spontaneous, liberatory music (largely African-derived) has threatened the Communists just as much as the fascists, because it promises to undermine the authoritarian character structure on which both systems are based.

And yet the very cultures which colonialists and nation-states oppress have given the world uncountable treasures. The Indians of the Western Hemisphere have contributed up to one-half of the food crops of the entire globe: corn, all but two variety of beans, potatoes, tomatoes, squash, pumpkins, celery, peppers, avocados, peanuts, rhubarb, melons, sunflowers, tapioca, buckwheat, vanilla, maple syrup, chocolate, popcorn, and non-food products like cotton and tobacco.<sup>9</sup> From African-based cultures, we have gotten music forms like rock, reggae, jazz, soul, soca, mariachi, and gospel -- to name but a few.

But, more importantly than food or music, indigenous cultures have different

It is useful to distinguish three kinds of autonomous cultures: indigenous, folk, and counter-cultural. Indigenous cultures are those Fourth World cultures referred to above. They are tribally-based, and have lived by hunting and gathering, herding and nomadism, or by means of horticulture. They occupy specific bioregions, and have an animistic cosmology. They tend to have a celebratory attitude towards life which contrasts sharply with "honkyism". Honkyism is a disease of Northern Europe characterized by sexual repression, alienation from the body, a fondness for the artificial, an obsession with material goods, and a willingness to make a fool of oneself in order to get that brand new refrigerator ("Let's Make A Deal", etc.). If you've ever gone to a funeral or a wedding, you know about honkyism. Las Vegas, Nevada is the Mecca of honkyism.

By contrast, indigenous peoples possess dignity and style. One might say they come by it "naturally". I remember seeing a film in first year anthropology about the Nuer of Sudan. I was captivated by their grace and sensuousness. Indigenous cultures -- under assault all over the globe -- still have much to teach, especially in relation to understanding the ecological crisis. As Jay Mason, Native activist, has said, "People know we have to respect the earth and human life. It's not idealistic and utopian. We have to respect life. It's our ancient knowledge. We've taught whites just about everything else -- corn, beans, squash, cotton, rubber, how to govern. Now this too."<sup>10</sup>

Folk cultures are those which have existed under conditions of feudalism or despotism, but which have maintained strong community roots, and their relationship to the soil. Folk cultures -- primarily of peasants -- are characterized by colourful dress, their seasonal festivals

by Catherine Tammaro



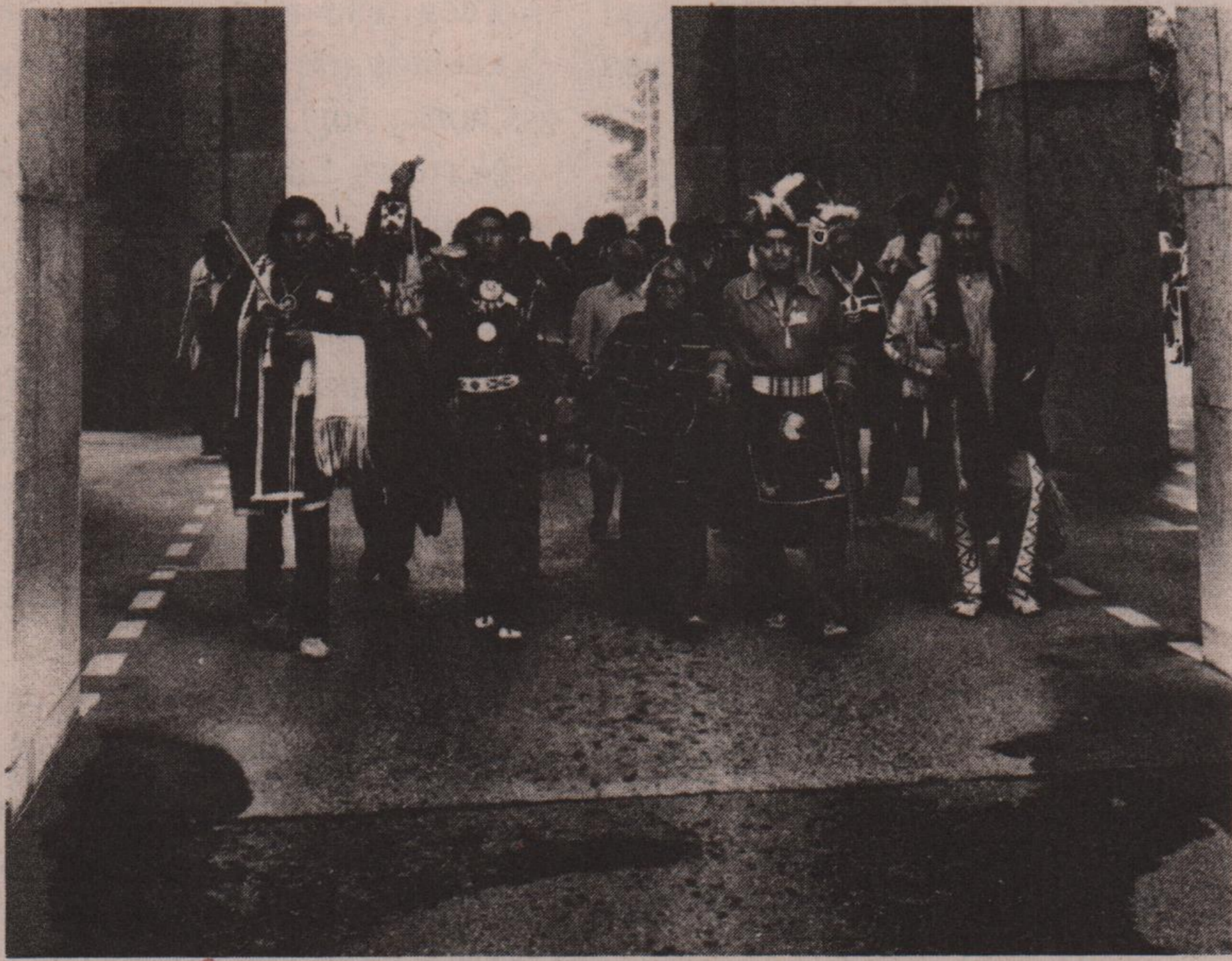
hark back to paganism, and they retain vestigial forms of village self-government. Their music -- "folk music" -- has certain common features whether in the form of jigs, reels, waltzes or polkas. Bill Devall and George Sessions, authors of *Deep Ecology*, have described the Western "minority tradition", which includes folk cultures, as being "decentralized, non-hierarchical, [and] democratic," and as possessing such characteristics as "small-scale community, local autonomy, mutual aid, self-regulation and non-violence."<sup>11</sup>

Counter-cultures emerged within the belly of the beast. Unlike folk cultures, which tend to be the preponderant culture even where subjected to feudal norms, counter-cultures find themselves in a hostile environment, are often based in urban areas, and are bound together by ideological, rather than geographical, ties. These ties range from religion (as with the non-conforming "congregationalist" sects of the English revolution) to music, dress and common values (as in the case of punks and hippies) to a combination of all of these (as in the case of Rastafarians).<sup>12</sup>

Increasingly, autonomous cultures of all kinds are coming to recognize they have a lot in common, and are beginning to form alliances. Faced with pollution hazards and the elimination of species, indigenous and folk cultures are banding together to fight for the preservation of the ecosystems on which their lives depend. They are being joined by counter-culturalists who recognize their kinship with the earth and all its creatures. All three types of autonomous cultures are linked by their desire to preserve cultural diversity and autonomy in the face of the "Global Monoculture". In other words, we are seeing the emergence of culture of a new type -- cultures, in order to survive, are becoming consciously political. Likewise, political movements, faced with the necessity to "dig in" for the long haul and fulfill their members' needs, are becoming more cultural.

### The Emergence of the Planetariat

*What have they done to the earth?  
What have they done to our fair  
sister?*



Akwesasne Notes Photo: Claus Biegert

*Native delegates entering the United Nations Headquarters in Geneva. In the words of one delegate: "We may seem small yet--but we represent the aspirations of millions and millions of people--small nations which will be recognized."*

*Ravaged and plundered and ripped  
her and bit her,  
Stuck her with knives in the side of  
the dawn  
And tied her with fences and dragged  
her down.  
I hear a very gentle sound  
With your ear down to the ground...  
We want the world and we want  
it...NOW!*

-- Jim Morrison

I call this convergence of autonomous cultures the "planetariat". One of the characteristics of the planetariat is exemplified by the slogan, "think globally, act locally." As bio-regionalist Peter Berg says, "There's no effective way to fashion regard for the planetary biosphere without attention to the distinct regions that make it up. For our heads to be everywhere, our feet have to be some place."<sup>13</sup> The planetariat is a unity-in-diversity. "Without the parts there can be no whole. The parts must, therefore, not only be retained but encouraged to pursue their natural diversity."<sup>14</sup>

I have chosen four groups to illustrate this process of convergence: the Fourth World, the peace and ecology movements, feminism, and the youth and "bohemian" counter-cultures.

Fourth World peoples are on the front lines of the struggle between the planetariat and the technocracy. Everywhere, their ancestral lands are under attack from a system whose voracious appetite induces it to gobble up everything it can get its hands on. From the Amazon rain forest to the Black Hills of South Dakota, from the Four Corners area of the American Southwest to the outer islands of Indonesia, tribal peoples are threatened with extinction and the loss of their landbase. The term "Fourth World" was coined because it was found that these peoples had very different needs and aspirations from their "Third World" compatriots. The latter, in some ways, wished to emulate the "development" model of the West and, once in control of state power, often posed as much of a threat to indigenous peoples as the former colonialist powers. This tension in values is evident in the conflict between the Sandinistas and the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua's Atlantic coast.

Indigenous peoples have begun to form global alliances. Organizations like the *World Council of Indigenous Peoples* and the *United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations* have come into existence, and groups like *Cultural Survival* and *Survival International* have been formed to aid indigenous peoples by publicizing their situation and by providing them with resources.<sup>15</sup>

Because of the scope of the ecological

crisis, and the global nature of the arms race, the peace and ecology movements of our time are also international. Of particular importance is the emerging global non-aligned peace movement which is opposed to the division of the world into superpower blocs. It believes in people-to-people initiatives, and is developing networks of support and communication between peace activists, East and West.<sup>16</sup> The peace movements of the East bloc countries have their roots

in the youth/bohemian counter-cultures that have survived or emerged under conditions of state "socialism". Each movement has a distinctly national character, and is usually concerned with a whole array of issues ranging from peace and ecology to human rights and artistic freedom. Many of these groups work under the umbrella of the organized church because, in one group's words, "the ecclesiastical setting provides the only possible public arena for peace work independent of the state." Such grassroots movements are of particular importance because they challenge the myth of "monolithic unity" in the "Communist" countries cultivated by reactionaries in both blocs, and point to the fact that ordinary people have more in common with each other than they do with their respective rulers.

Increasingly, the ecology movement has been transcending national boundaries as well. *Greenpeace*, born out of an international campaign against an underwater U.S. nuclear test, has since grown into an organization with branches in seventeen countries. As *Greenpeace* has become increasingly bureaucratized and conservative, co-founders like Paul Watson have split off to form direct action groups like the *Sea Shepherd Conservation Society*. When Watson, who pursues a strategy of "aggressive non-violence", interferes with the slaughter of sea animals through disabling fishing vessels and destroying processing plants, he declares himself to be merely fulfilling his "planetary obligation" to defend life on earth. For him, the "laws of nature" supersede the laws of nation-states when it comes to defending victims of corporate and governmental greed.<sup>17</sup>

Another instance of international collaboration is the current campaign against the destruction of rain forests, with special attention being paid to the role of the World Bank and the fast food companies.<sup>18</sup> Though not concerned exclusively with peace and ecology issues, the Green movement is another example of an international current which shares a common set of values and ideology in several dispersed parts of the globe. **Green Politics: The Global Promise** by Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof Capra (Dutton Press, New York, 1984) is a basic -- though flawed -- source of further information on this important movement.

The women's movement has also become increasingly global in recent years. Though rent by conflicts over race and class, there are numerous examples of women cooperating internationally to fight abuses like genital mutilation (see KIO #18) and forced sterilization. Though not exclusively a "women's issue", the boycott of Nestles is an example of people responding to multinational exploitation of nursing mothers. In addition, there is concern about multinationals dumping unsafe methods of birth control, such as the Dalkon shield and the drug Depo-Provera, in Third World countries. The women's peace camp movement and the demonstrations at the Pentagon by *Women and Life on Earth* are further examples of this trend.

And, finally, there is unprecedented cooperation occurring between punks and others who correspond with each other through publications like *Maximum Rock'n Roll* and exchange albums and tapes around the globe. Amazingly enough, the punk movement is one of the most intricately networked of the movements we have discussed so far, and a sizeable component of the songs and articles produced by it deal with issues of war, racism, global exploitation, and

animal liberation -- to name but a few (see "Multinational Death Corporation" in KIO #17).

### Can We Learn From Each Other?

As autonomous cultures begin to cooperate, the basis is created for groups to learn from one another, for cultural rigidities to break down. Already, whites are being challenged on their racism, Rastas are reexamining attitudes towards women. Rastas and Native people are discovering that they have a lot in common musically and spiritually, and Westerners are learning from the ecological wisdom of indigenous peoples. When we meet one another, we are potentially meeting as cultural equals -- confident of we are and yet open to learning from the strengths of other cultures. For people of European origin, this is particularly difficult as we tend to exhibit Western arrogance or develop an inferiority complex based on the honkyism of our own culture, and the role imperialism plays in the lives of other peoples. Some people respond by becoming what the Chinese used to call "fake foreign devils" (Chinese who were ashamed of their Chineseness and sought to behave like foreigners). White radicals become fake Nicaraguans, fake Indians or fake Rastafarians. We have to respect ourselves to respect others. We have to discover our own cultural roots.<sup>19</sup>

There are autonomous elements in even the honkiest of cultures. Amongst the English, there is a love of nature and of animals, and a belief in the right of all to walk through the country regardless of boundaries, itself a relic of the practice of "the commons". Amongst Italians we find a society which is intensely social and sociable, amongst French-Canadians a zest for life, greater solidarity and affection, and amongst Jews we find a strong tradition of mutual aid. Even Christmas and Easter are vestigial forms of ancient pagan holidays. Throughout society, indigenous and folk elements persist and can be preserved and expanded upon. Of course, try as we might, for white North Americans, much of our heritage has been irrevocably lost (for Irish-Canadians, it may consist of green beer on St. Patrick's Day). But that only means that we have to work that much harder to create a new culture. The hippies did an admirable job in the 60's, the punks are doing it today, and feminists have also been quite successful at building an alternative milieu. Only when we have the freedom to define our own cultural identities, can we begin to challenge the status quo and work for its ultimate abolition.<sup>20</sup>

### POSTSCRIPT:

*Laure A., in a letter in this issue, poses the question: is there an "unadulterated, underlying nature of humanity." I would argue there is, though, for the reasons Laure enumerates, this is impossible to prove. I see human beings as being endowed with six major faculties: intellect, intuition, the senses, will, emotion, and desire. The needs corresponding to each are for truth, values, beauty, freedom, love and satisfaction. In addition, two major impulses -- imagination and eros -- correspond to two further needs for hope and for self-esteem. When people become alienated from their own needs, false needs arise -- needs for authority, power, order and control, security, status, wasteful conspicuous consumption, and so on. Domesticated culture and the*



alienation of human needs are two sides of the same coin. Autonomous cultures potentially permit a rediscovery of human needs; networks of community permit the construction of social relations to accommodate them. People build their own culture, but this culture must be conscious of its opposition to the dominant culture; it must become a "culture of resistance". In the same way, resistance movements, like the peace movement, must become increasingly cultural. The planetariat thus represents a new synthesis of culture and politics. □

ENDNOTES

1. "Living By Life: Some Bioregional Theory and Practice" by Jim Dodge in *Co-Evolution Quarterly*, Winter 1981. Bio-regionalism is dealt with in further detail in "Eco-Feminism: From the Age of Power to the Age of Caring" in *KIO* #17.
2. Marx, being something of a determinist, thought that the social relations of capitalism would force the proletariat to be radical; hence, he supported the destruction of rural and artisan culture and community life because he thought that, becoming proletarianized, people would become a revolutionary force. However, according to Murray Bookchin, a history of actual revolutionary movements indicates that the real radicals were precisely those peasants and artisans who resisted proletarianization -- that is, who possessed autonomous culture and were trying to preserve it. Now that such groups have largely been domesticated, we realize how difficult it is to create radical subjectivity once the culture which could support it has been destroyed. For a look at the English working class "culture of resistance" prior to industrialization, see *The Making of the English Working Class* by E.P. Thompson, Pelican Books, Hammondsworth (U.K.), 1982.
3. *Four Ways of Being Human* by Gene Lisitzky (female), Viking Press, New York, 1960, p. 273.
4. Unlike animals, human beings evolve by a process of "cultural selection". That is, we consciously or unconsciously adopt and incorporate new elements -- be they techniques, customs, values, institutions or belief systems. In autonomous cultures, these changes tend to enhance the quality of life and well-being of the community and of the individual, but this need not be so -- especially in cultures which are patriarchal. Women do *not*, for instance, benefit from the practice of genital mutilation which is practiced routinely in some African and Middle Eastern cultures (see "Sexual Terrorism" in *KIO* #18).
5. The Gypsies are a 2000 year-old "culture of resistance", persecuted by kings and fascists alike (see "The Brown Triangle" in *KIO* #12). For more on the Gypsies, see *The Gypsies* by Jean-Paul Clebert, Vista Books, London, 1963.
6. "Natives and 'Naturals'" in *The New Catalyst*, Winter 1986/87. Copies available by writing to:

- TNC, P.O. Box 99, Lillooet, B.C. V0K 1V0.
7. "Devolving Beyond the Global Monoculture" by Peter Berg in *Co-Evolution Quarterly*, Winter 1981. This whole issue -- devoted to expounding the concept of bio-regionalism -- is worth getting a hold of. Try writing to: *Whole Earth Review* (their new name), P.O. Box 27956, San Diego, CA 92128.
  8. *ibid.*, and *Folk Music* by Sarah Lifton, Blandford Press, Poole (U.K.), 1983.
  9. see *Indian Giver* by Warren Lowes, CASNP, Toronto, 1986, pp. 164-166. A great book. To order a copy, send \$7.00 plus postage to: *Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native Peoples*, 16 Spadina Rd., Toronto, M5R 2S7. See also "Tehanetorens -- Ray Fadden On the Indian Contribution to the World" in *Akwesasne Notes*, Summer 1986. Copies are \$1.75 (U.S.). Write to: A.N., Mohawk Nation, P.O. Box 196, Rooseveltown, NY 13683-0196.
  10. quoted in "Pursuing Ancient Powers" by Ellie Kirzner, *NOW*, March 26-April 1, 1987. Jay Mason was interviewed in *KIO* #15. See also "Chief Seattle's Message", reprinted by *Chaotic Distribution*, P.O. Box 15642, Vancouver, B.C. V6B 5B4.
  11. *Deep Ecology: Living As If Nature Mattered* by Bill Devall and George Sessions, Gibbs M. Smith, Layton (Utah), 1985, p. 18.
  12. see *Rastafari: A Way of Life* by Tracy Nicholas and Bill Sparrow, Anchor Books, Garden City, 1979.
  13. "Devolving Beyond Global Monoculture" by Peter Berg in *Co-Evolution Quarterly*, Winter 1981.
  14. *Ernest Thompson Seton: Man in Nature in the Progressive Era, 1880-1915* by John Henry Wadland, Arno Press, New York, 1978, p. 20.
  15. *The World Council of Indigenous Peoples*, which has served as an advocate for Nicaragua's Miskito Indians, can be reached by writing to: WCIP, P.O. Box 168, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada S7K 3K4. *Cultural Survival*, which publishes a very worthwhile quarterly, can be reached at: C.S., 11 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, MA, USA 02138. *Survival International* can be reached at: S.I., 29 Craven Street, London, WC2N 5NT, England.
  16. see "A Call to Link Arms: Grassroots Soviet Peace Movement" by Sergei Batovrin and Bob McGlynn in *KIO* #14. There are also a number of journals which report regularly on East European movements -- for instance, *Across Frontiers* (P.O. Box 2382, Berkeley, CA 94702) and *East European Reporter* (P.O. Box 2222, London WC2H 94P, England). Also, groups like *European Nuclear Disarmament* (END, 11 Goodwin St., London N4, England) and Toronto-based *ACT for Disarmament* (456 Spadina Ave., 2nd floor, Toronto, Ontario M5T 2G8) also publish material and organize around these issues. In some ways, groups like ACT are political organizations "of a new type" in that they consciously combine culture with politics (ACT encourages the development of local culture through its *Fallout Shelter* coffeehouse), and address a range



of issues not normally dealt with by "single-issue" groups.

17. see "Freedom Fighters of the High Seas?" in *The Globe and Mail*, January 31, 1987 and "Staging Sabotage for Ecosystem" by Ellie Kirzner in *NOW*, March 19-25, 1987.
18. A good book on the subject is *In the Name of Progress* by Patricia Adams and Lawrence Solomon, Energy Probe Research Foundation, Toronto, 1985. To order, send \$12.95 plus postage to: *Energy Probe*, 100 College St. (6th floor), Toronto, Ontario, M5G 1L5. Another source of information is the *World Rainforest Report*, P.O. Box 368, Lismore, N.S.W., Australia, 2480. In North America, try contacting the *Rainforest Action Network*, 466 Green St., Suite 300, San Francisco, CA 94133.
19. The rediscovery of witchcraft is one attempt to do this. According to Jay Hansford Vest, the ancient Celts had religious traditions very similar to those of Native peoples: "Nature worship among primal Indo-Europeans evidences a traditional theme of sacred natural places, free from desecration by humans and their technology. Such sacred natural places were wilderness, in the deepest sense; they were imbued with will-force -- willed, willful, uncontrollable -- and with spirit. Thus, they held about them a sacred mystery -- a numinous presence. It is from this tradition that the 'will-of-the-land' -- wilderness -- concept emerges." (See "Will-of-the-Land: Wilderness Among Primal Indo-Europeans" by Jay Hansford C. Vest in *Environmental Review*, Winter 1985.)
20. Counter-cultures are not the same as "sub-cultures". Sub-cultures (e.g. youth gangs or cults) possess some autonomous elements, but they divide people on an artificial basis, and in their values and consumption patterns often mimic the status quo. Ironically, political movements often exhibit subcultural characteristics.

While retaining their own unique cultural styles, planetarian cultures will increasingly eschew nationalism, replacing the concept of *national* treason with the concept of *planetary* treason. To the despoilers of all countries, they will say: "Planet Earth, Love it Or Leave It!"

OOPS!

Just a few miscellaneous notes from the collective:

Susan Brown's name was inadvertently left off the masthead last issue despite the fact that she participated as a full member of the collective in producing it. Our apologies, as the issue couldn't have been done without her. Also, the graphic on page 19 was improperly credited (i.e. we gave only the album title and the name of the record). The artist is Dada Nana, and the band whose album it was taken from is K.U.K.L.

Last issue was the first issue produced without benefit of the paste-up space and equipment made available by the folks at FUSE. Without their previous help we would have been sunk. THANKS!

We had hoped to secure an interview with Gayap Rhythm Drummers for this issue, but various screw-ups prevented it from happening. We welcome submissions from Black writers on Black music, culture and history and other more general topics.

We would like to remind prospective writers of our upcoming themes and deadlines: *Coping* (July 27), and *The Psychology of Politics* (October 15). Possible future themes include *Art, Class, Communism, Erotica, and Radical Humour...*

KICK IT OVER

Edited and published by the Kick It Over Collective. All correspondence should be sent to: KICK IT OVER, P.O. Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1P2. Collective Members: Christopher Alice, Susan Brown, Alexandra Devon, Ron Hayley, Kathy Manley (foreign correspondent), Glynis Sherwood, Robyn Turney and Catherine Tammaro. Special thanks to Art, Steve and all others who helped make this issue possible.

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Cultures of Resistance

JUNE 1987

NO. 19

Items submitted for publication should be on IBM compatible computer disks (any text editor) or typed double-spaced. Articles and poems not returned unless accompanied by a SASE (use postal coupons or cash outside Canada). As to our reliability, DO NOT SEND ORIGINALS! We will attempt to return quickly any computer disks sent to us. Upcoming issue themes and deadlines: *Coping* (July 27), *The Psychology of Politics* (October 15). All letters subject to printing and editing, unless specifically requested otherwise. We reserve the right not to print articles or letters.

Donations needed. If you would like to distribute the magazine, contact us. If you are moving, or are about to be paroled, please let us know. People requesting back issues may have to wait until our next second class mailing. Financially we broke even, more or less for issue #18. Press run 3000, Printing \$650, Mailing \$500+, envelopes \$75, typesetting \$35, misc. \$20, Total: \$1,280. Paid advertising accepted, write for rates and terms.

If you see a U.S. address for us, please do NOT use it! The movement of mail from there to here will be, at best, agonizingly slow. If you don't know about it, even better!

Take care, and get plenty of rest -- Christopher Alice

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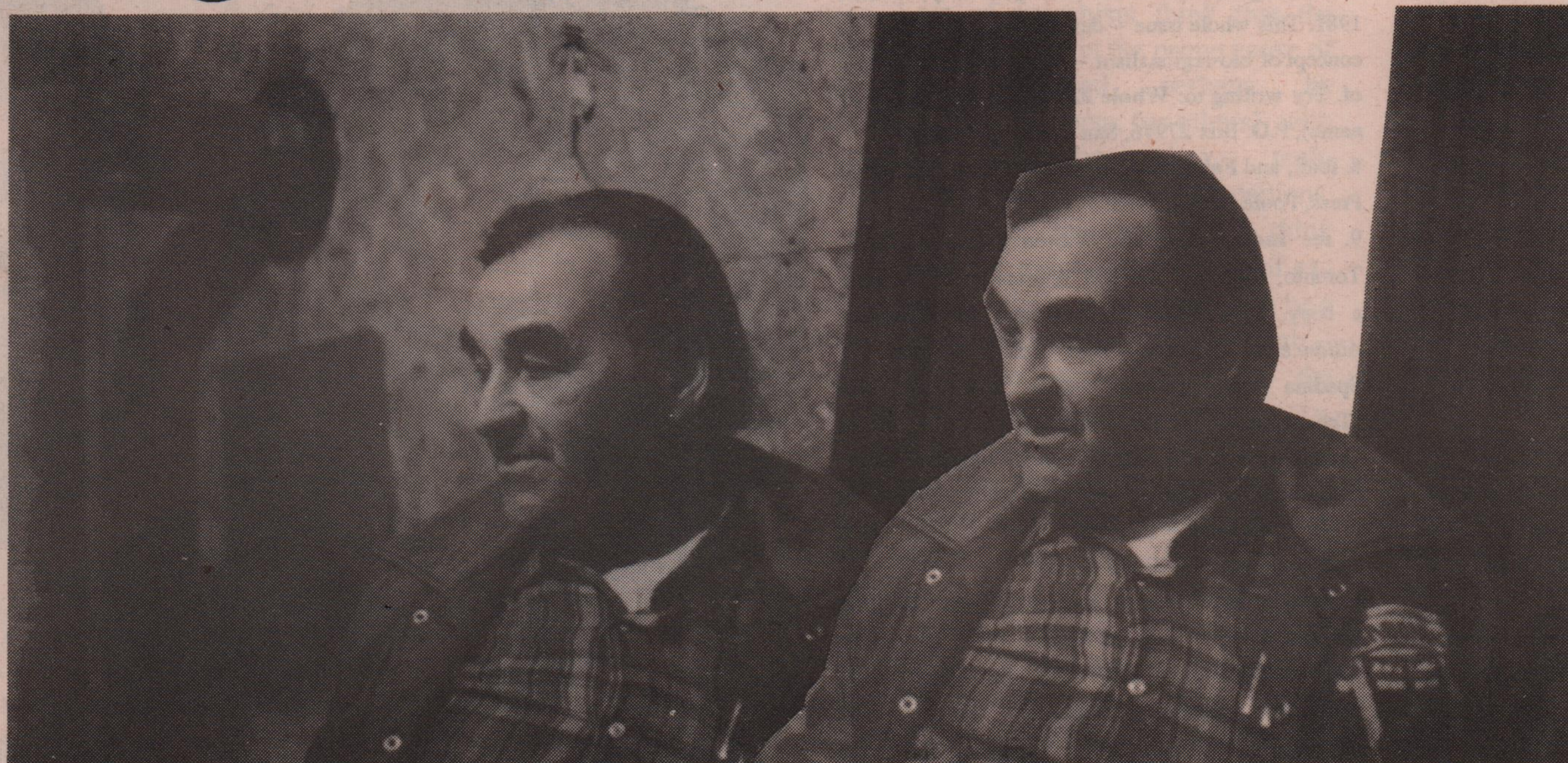
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# On "lighting the eighth fire" an interview with

photo of Art Solomon by Alexandra Devon



## Art Solomon

Transcribed by L. Susan Brown

*The following interview with Native elder, Art Solomon, was conducted in Toronto by Ron Hayley. Questions were written by Ron Hayley and Alexandra Devon. Art has been active with the Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native Peoples (CASNP), in anti-prison and prison support work, and in setting up cultural alternatives for Native people. He is of the Anishnabe tribe, and lives near Parry Sound, Ontario.*

**Ron Hayley:** What changes have you seen in Native people's attitudes towards their own culture in your lifetime?

**Art Solomon:** Well, we have been devastated by the Christian civilized society, but we're still here. What's happened in the past fifteen years or so is that our people are turning back to the Native spiritual ways, seeing how important it is to revive the language again.

They have depended to a large extent on government. Now we have come to the point where, in my perception, they're seeing the government has nothing to offer except extinguishment of a people. So the counterpart to that is the realization among the people for a number of years now that we have to learn again who we are and what we are about as a people. And that's right across the land. So the language is important and also it's important, at least in the minds of some people, to learn the language of "the man", which is a language of deception, essentially, that's what it is. So, it is looking better all the time and I have never been so certain and so firm where it's all going.

You see we are the original people of this land who were put here, we didn't come across the Bering Strait. We were put here, we are listening again to the creation stories of people, that come from the beginning. And the people are turning more and more to the need for spiritual nourishment. Many of them have tried many religions and a good many people now don't have any religion, or their religion is not as significant as it once was. Let's not condemn religion, but our

people are turning away from that and coming back and looking hard at what our ways are. There is no question that we are destitute, we've got to learn all of those things again. We don't have to have them all together before we come together ourselves.

For me the final meeting with the first ministers [Brian Mulroney and the provincial premiers -- ed.] was proof for me -- which I didn't need anyway -- that it is pointless to negotiate with government because they have only one purpose and that is to grab everything that there is left. And those people who call themselves Christian and civilized wherever they have put their hand on the earth and on the people of the earth anywhere they have brought death to the people and the land. That's why it is that people are so concerned today about the environment. They have called it "progress" and "development". We have another name for it, which is the opposite, and that is death and destruction. We only have to look around us: just the air that we breathe is proof of it, the water that we drink is proof of it.

**RH:** What kinds of things are native people doing to strengthen their culture?

**AS:** What they are doing is they're going back to learning their language again and particularly the spiritual ways. It's phenomenal how fast that it is coming together. The spirit people are moving people, preparing, and what is essential to that is to find the spiritual nourishment. We were given a way to respond to the Creator. It has always been our understanding that we cannot harm what belongs to the Creator. It belongs to the Creator from the beginning, and will always belong to the Creator. We are not the owners, we are the keepers of the land. Our work is to keep it into infinity. To leave it more beautiful than when we came.

So the people are turning back to the spiritual, which really is the highest form of the political. The sacred parts have been coming back. They were almost non-existent. In fact, the ways of the Indian people were almost non-existent not very far back. So there's a whole renewal, a renaissance, of Indian people coming back to see that it's not in the money, it's not in the possessions that the real things are,

that happiness lies.

There's an awful lot of suicide and despair among many people because they don't have access or they don't go to where the teachings are. Here's an example here: the first elders conference that they had here [a conference of Native elders held at the Native Centre in Toronto attended by Native and non-Native people of all ages -- ed.], and somebody expressed the notion that this building [the Native Centre -- ed.] was higher than the CN Tower for those three days that they were together. The people are listening. It was said in the prophecies the time would come when our young people would no longer listen to us, to the older ones, but it was also said that the time would come when our people would come back again and ask. And that's what they're doing.

One example in Canada is what is called Alkali Lake where it was almost 100% alcoholism. The people were totally messed up. They had to start from the bottom. Once they can't go down any farther they realize they have to start coming back up. So it was a woman and a man who decided something had to be done. They poured alcohol down the sink and they began to straighten themselves out. That's a very hard thing because you know the truth is that if we want to change the world, if we want to make it a more beautiful place, then we have to begin with us. You can't go out there and make a more beautiful world. You have to begin from inside. As individuals become more beautiful people, that is the pattern, and that is the recipe, and that is the medicine that we have to use. I see to a large extent people will go and look for the medicine. It's like going to a doctor, when you're really in a bad shape, and you ask the doctor for some medicine, and the doctor will do his best or her best to provide you with the medicine. Then if you take the medicine and you go put it on the shelf and you never use it, obviously it's not going to help you. So the medicine is there where the sickness is, it's right there with every one of us.

So in Alkali Lake, after having gone right to the bottom, they began to come up. It's an inspiration to see how a whole people in a community began to straighten themselves out. They chased the

businessman, the free trader, out of the village and they bought him out and took it over themselves and they're a going concern, a going business now. They're in control of their own destiny. There is very little alcoholism there, if there's any there now.

**RH:** What province is that in?

**AS:** That's in British Columbia.

**RH:** It's clear to me that unless there is a profound spiritual revolution amongst North American people, the way we relate to the earth and the kind of culture and civilization we have is not going to change, it's not going to stop its trajectory. You say that a lot of Native people are coming back to the message...

**AS:** Not a lot, but a significant number, but that's increasing more daily.

**RH:** Right. And is there any indication that non-Native people are beginning to pick up on that same message, are beginning to recognize the profound change needed in their own thinking?

**AS:** During *The Longest Walk* [a march of Native people, primarily elders, which occurred in 1977 from the West Coast to Washington, D.C. -- ed.] there were these Buddhist monks who accompanied us, wearing only sandals in the snow and the rain. They had an understanding which was sort of like a prophecy that the Native people of the Western hemisphere would give the leadership. We would become, in fact, the leadership to show the rest of the world how to get out of the mess that they're in.

That was their understanding. And they said, when are you going to start? They were not aware, I guess, that we were already started. That's what the *American Indian Movement* (AIM) was about. It was primarily political, but it then became more spiritual.

In terms of spiritual, there are some who are saying well, we need new cars -- we need some help from you, God. But at the same time they're destroying God's creation. That's a dichotomy that can't keep going.

So the destruction that has been done by people who were Christian and civilized has to be accounted for. So, there will be a purification, and it's not far away. It's very, very close, really, in terms of human history. You know, at no time in the history of the human family has there



been such a destruction and a desecration done by those who call themselves civilized and Christian.

RH: Art, how do we survive? How do we maintain our culture in the face of such tremendous odds, material odds, economic odds, spiritual odds? How do we maintain ourselves so that we can eventually emerge on the other side and create a new world that will preserve the creation?

AS: We first of all have to look at the question of humility. We have to become humble people, just ordinary people learning again how to honour and respect each other -- and that means between men, women, children and the rest of creation. So that humility is essential if we are going to preserve and create a new world.

And just as it is us human beings who have destroyed the creation, so it will be human beings who restore the creation. It is not going to be without the hand of God. That is the most powerful and the most important point about it all. There will be a new world. There will be a new reality. This world will not be destroyed by the hands of fools, such as Ronny Raygun and Margaret Thatcher.

And Gorbachev, the latest king in Russia, is a man of intelligence and, I think, integrity. He has made offers to Ronny Raygun for a six month moratorium on nuclear testing. He said to Ronny Raygun, "Will you do the same?" And Reagan said, "No damn way." So they have gone back to nuclear testing. Ronny Raygun has been given several opportunities now, and he's turned them all down. He's going for Star Wars.

Well, Ronny Raygun is not going to have his Star Wars. You see, the key to all of that is that individual people like you and I are concerned that the environment, that the world, should continue. That there should not be a nuclear holocaust. Ronny Raygun and Margaret Thatcher have wanted to involve us in a final orgy of death. We can talk about limited nuclear weapons and so on, nuclear war. But that's not going to happen for the simple reason that the Creator is not going to allow his creation to be destroyed by the hands of fools. The alternative to that, and what's working against it, is that there are millions of people around the world who insist on affirming life for everything that is here in this creation. Because, what is here in this creation has a right to be here: the stones and the trees, the animals, the birds and the fish, the water, and everything.

And we have a right to be here. That is the power that is working against Ronny Raygun, but it's invisible. But it's real. So, from millions of people, every day, every hour of the day and night, are going up millions of prayers. From out of their hearts, from out of who they really are, to say no, you can't do that. We can't allow that to happen. That is the power that is transforming it right now. And it's been in process for a while.

RH: Is there anything you want to add, or close with, that's been on your mind?

AS: Well, there is a prophecy among the Objibway people, and there are many prophecies across this land, and even from South America the same kind of prophecies with different language, saying the same things. So, the prophecy that the

Objibway people have talks about a time when there would be a people come to this land, and they would have hair like fire, but they would not stay very long. Then after them would come a people with white faces, and they would have no eyes and no ears, and they would have two faces. One was a face of brotherhood and one was a face of anger. And it was said that if they come with a face of anger, it will be very, very hard for Indian people. If they come with the face of brotherhood, everything will be all right.

Now the people with the hair like fire, were the Norsemen who came, and they stayed not very long. Then after them came others, with white faces, with no eyes and no ears. Which meant that we talked to them a long time ago, and we have continued to try to talk to them, about the destruction that they were doing. And they would say "Yes, I can see what you mean, I hear what you're saying." And they would turn around and do exactly the same thing, only worse. And it would continue to deteriorate -- those words were not used, but, that's obviously what has happened. It also spoke of the migration of the Objibway people from the Great Salt Water in the East to Wisconsin. You see there were seven major migrations which were completed. But they talked about the "People of the Seventh Fire". Now, the People of the Seventh Fire are those who would go back to find what they have left behind on the trail -- which means their spiritual ways, their ways of understanding the creation, and how to live in harmony with the creation, not trying to force the creation to live in

harmony with us.

So the People of the Seventh Fire would be the ones who would go back on the trail to find what they have missed, what they have lost. And it says if the People of the Seventh Fire are able to light the Eighth Fire, that there would be peace on the earth from that point on.

Now the process of lighting the Eighth Fire means that people will begin to understand what it is we're talking about. They will listen to what we're saying. There will be peace on the earth. It will not be destroyed. But it will be cleaned, because there still must be an accounting for all the destruction that was done, and is still being done.

So, that's the way the prophecy of the Seventh Fire goes. And people are listening. And the *World Council of Churches* has said that the Native spiritual ways are among the great faith traditions of the world. And we must come and learn from them. That's what's going happen in November: a consultation with maybe fifteen or twenty medicine people and spiritual leaders. I happen to be one of the people who is a key person in it.

So we're in the finals now. This is the beginning of the finals. And it's coming to its conclusion very fast. And if people don't want to listen to what we are saying or what we have been saying for so long, that is going to be their problem. But there will have to be a payment made for all of this destruction. □

*The Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native People (CASNP) is in serious need of funds. KIO urges readers to send donations to: CASNP, 16 Spadina Road, Toronto, Ontario, M5R 2S7.*



## Resistance is Only Natural

by Bob Wilson

Bob Wilson is a member of the Kagiso-Shambhala group, a New Age organization promoting cultural exchange between Canada and Botswana. He has lived in Botswana on several occasions, and plans to eventually establish a cooperative there.

Resistance is something that occurs naturally when humans are subjected to treatment by others that is threatening to, or disrespectful of, their existence. The nature or form of a particular people's resistance will often reflect its spiritual, social and economic state of being, as well as its oppressors' choice of tactics in restricting their freedom.

Ultimately, a people's resistance to domination or assimilation will be successful only if their social and spiritual fabric is strong enough to withstand whatever attack is put forward. In Southern Africa it would appear that the best defense against the erosion of culture has been the strength of the culture itself. The existence of a strong degree of social cohesion among many African people is an obvious sign of this cultural strength.

There is a definite pace to life in Africa. Although it is interrupted from time to time by destructive influences (usually

external) it always returns to give a sense of continuity in daily life. This could be said to be a result of any number of factors such as the hot weather or low levels of "development". However, it is quite plain that the social "set up" has a lot to do with maintaining this more natural rhythm of things. Social adequacy is what I think of it as, and by this I mean the degree of contentment and happiness that people still enjoy through interacting with each other openly from the heart.

In Southern Africa the different peoples of the region have had to resist colonial domination in the past and are still fighting to preserve their cultures from the onslaught of foreign aggression and meddling that is so common today.

While I was in Botswana (also Zambia, Namibia and Zimbabwe) over the past Christmas visiting friends, I found that the amount of activity by U.S. and Soviet-backed factions in the region had escalated tremendously. A good example of this is an agreement recently signed between the governments of Botswana and the U.S. which allows the U.S. to buy land near a village called Sebele and to operate two massive radio transmitters from which the "Voice of America" broadcasts will flow over the African sub-continent and beyond.

I find this type of "development" very depressing (Botswana used to seem so pure) but take comfort in the thought that the wisdom which is brought out by people's genuine and honest way of living will make the propaganda apparent. In Botswana this truthful state of being alive and genuinely happy seems to be what helps people get along with such refreshing harmony.

Unfortunately, harmony is not always left in peace, and the African sub-continent is no exception. The region has such a diverse collection of peoples that the political and economic issues are not only fought with great vigor and loss but become highly complex and mindbending to those concerned with finding a comfortable solution for all peoples.

In the past few years South Africa has stepped up its campaign against the "Front Line" states by making frequent raids, allegedly targeted at ANC [*African National Congress* -- ed.] people working out of or living in any of these countries. What is particularly frustrating to people living in the countries that are attacked is that practically nothing can be done to stop the *South African Defense Force* when they have orders to destroy a target. The raids that have been staged over the past three years into Botswana and

Zambia have provided ample proof of that. The SADF has ultra high tech weapons of war and equipment that enable them to move freely into any neighboring state. These attacks have been bloody and quick, usually leaving several innocent people dead or wounded, the public in a state of panic, and the street littered with propaganda (see example below from the raid on Gaborone, Botswana, 1985).

Lesotho is one country that has always been a virtual captive of South Africa (geographically surrounded) and fell victim to a neatly engineered coup last year when Pretoria choked off all supplies going into the "island kingdom". After that we saw the mysterious death of Samora Machel, leader of Mozambique's *FRELIMO* and a progressive African revolutionary, apparently having crashed on October 19th, 1986 over South African territory when flying home from a meeting in Zambia.

It is strange how a war can be fought in a region without the rest of the world really recognizing it. Backed by our illustrious "Big Brother"(s), the apartheid regime is waging war on the people of Azania/South Africa, the surrounding Front Line states, and in a broader sense, Africa as a whole.



The atmosphere varies depending upon which country you might be in. Some are relatively peaceful and preserved (Botswana), others are struggling for liberation, whilst countries like Mozambique and Zimbabwe are dealing with their post-revolution realities. Both urban and rural peoples have felt the struggle in their lives, although there is still a large gap between rural and urban experiences.

All of this sounds (and is) pretty depressing but there are also a lot of positive things going on that change the picture somewhat. The *Non-Aligned Movement* held its 12th Annual Summit meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe last fall, with a membership of 102 nations primarily from the Southern Hemisphere. The member nations are determined to plot a strategy of interdependence and co-operation that will free their states from foreign domination. Again, this is one ambition that has been shared by "Third World" nations before and has been met with severe opposition (absolute sabotage in fact) primarily from the West.

Every inch of progress is fought for in one way or another, making the struggle seem uphill. An interesting thing that was a "hot item" in the local press when I was there is something known as "sanction busting". This involves several sneaky practices companies are using to avoid the restraints the sanctions have placed on their profits margins. South African goods are labelled "Made in Swaziland" (or some other country) before being exported to other nations. Meanwhile, the big multinationals, with great fanfare, have released news of their withdrawal from South Africa while setting up operations in neighboring states where they can service the South African market. Thus far I haven't seen anything in the press here about this situation which has seemingly slipped by the very people who have spent so long working for comprehensive sanctions.

Meanwhile, back in Africa, people are busy living! It's understood that life is a struggle at times but the good things are always celebrated with a passion. Change isn't expected to occur as rapidly as it might elsewhere -- maybe because it wouldn't fit the pace. It should be remembered that the exploitation of Africans has been happening for close to four hundred years now, and will end only when it is beaten for good.

As the Mother Continent, Africa has so much wealth. Likewise, the potential for positive growth and change is enormous, if only the tentacles of control can be severed.

*A Luta Continua!* □

#### SOLDIERS OF THE BOTSWANA DEFENSE FORCE

SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS ARE  
ATTACKING ANC POSITIONS  
CLOSE TO YOUR BASE.

THESE ANC GANGSTERS  
INFILTRATE INTO OUR COUNTRY  
TO MURDER INNOCENT WOMEN AND  
CHILDREN.

WE REGARD THE  
SOLDIERS/PEOPLE OF BOTSWANA  
AS OUR NEIGHBORS AND  
FRIENDS. WE HAVE NO FIGHT  
WITH YOU.

FOR YOUR OWN SAFETY PLEASE  
DO NOT INTERFERE.

OUR ONLY OBJECTIVE IS TO  
ELIMINATE THESE ANC  
GANGSTERS.

GREETINGS TO OUR FELLOW  
SOLDIERS!





This interview was conducted by Catherine Tamaro, an artist active in the Toronto arts scene. She is currently working as art director in the Puzzle Factory production, *Who's Crazy Now?*

Elly Litvak is a former psychiatric and the founder of the Puzzle Factory Theatre Troupe in Toronto. Puzzle Factory performs at psychiatric hospitals for patients and workers of the profession, at drop-in centers, high schools, and for the general public. The Puzzle Factory provides group support and teaches coping skills.

KIO: Well, Elly, let me start by asking you: just what is the "Puzzle Factory"?

Elly: O.K., the Puzzle Factory is a theatre company comprised of former psychiatric patients originally as a work employment program, toward "rehabilitation", utilizing theatre as a tool. Most of the people that come to Puzzle Factory come via the grapevine of the former psychiatric community.

There is one. I won't call it a happy community, but it's out there. They're in drop-in centers, they're in houses, they're in the cafeteria -- the coffee shop at the Clarke [Institute of Psychiatry] -- and friends or friends. People tell people through the grapevine...

KIO: What do you hope to accomplish by bringing these people together?

Elly: Well the aims are two-fold. One: there's a creative outlet in a safe environment for vocal expression. And two: the theatre experience is such that the focus is on creativity. You're not just sitting around having a group therapy session, and if it sounds like that, well, it's all to a creative end. The shows are the voice of that particular group.

KIO: So you're expressing concerns about, for example how the psychiatricized individual copes with being overdrugged and facing social stigma?

Elly: All that -- but in real ways -- in ways that differ from what the mainstream society would have you believe. The experiences are there in living colour. I hesitate to use the word "process", but the theatrical process, is terribly therapeutic. That's how the Puzzle Factory began. It was more beneficial than anything I'd ever experienced in a psychiatric ward.

KIO: Why?

Elly: Because I really trusted the people I was working with, I felt safe and okay about who I was, without stigma. It gave me real self esteem to know that I had people that I could be comfortable with. Even so, breaking down all those barriers with people is a process within a process.

Coming together like we are in our present show, this process will probably start happening more quickly. It's been building up over the year. People have been working together in workshop so that in the next month, before we do our show, we'll solidify as a group and that will be evident in the show, I'm sure.

KIO: Please tell us more about the show.

Elly: It's called *Who's Crazy Now?*, and so far it's a series of vignettes, various people giving testimonials, pieces taking place in a donut shop involving a whole bunch of people. All very real situations.

There's a scene that's a registration scene at the Clark Hilton<sup>1</sup>. My appearance in the show is going to be very special! That's all I'm going to say about it. I can't believe I'm doing this to myself -- I'm putting my life on the line! [laughs] There is going to be a lot of music. Of course, Catherine, you know about all the wonderful people because you yourself are involved.

KIO: Right, something I'm enjoying.

Elly: We have a great group of people, Cast troupe and staff -- it's coming together really quickly. It's going to be at Joseph Workman Auditorium which is in the famous Queen Street Mental Health Facility.

KIO: What kind of a reaction have you gotten from Queen Street? Do you meet with a lot of resistance in your own community, as well as from the general public? If so, how do you handle it?

Elly: Right off the top of my head? To part of the community, and to all those other people, we are seen as a threat. We are an alternative, a creative alternative -- something very grassroots and reasonable, and I think that a lot of doctors really have a problem with that. As far as dealing with the system at Queen Street, it's just the same bureaucratic shit. It's a matter of playing their game to get what you need. We're really only another theatre company. They have no real knowledge that we are a former psychiatric theatre company.

KIO: Because no one's told them, or because they just choose to ignore the fact?

Elly: Well interestingly enough the Chief of Staff at Queen Street knows about us. We have a "lovely" letter of endorsement from Dr. Malcolmson. The people who take care of booking the auditorium, have no idea who we are. I talked to them. They mentioned some of the things in the contract to me like making noise. I told them we'd be doing music. She said that it was just a concern of theirs. They didn't want us to wake the patients up. Well there are no patients in the administration area which is where the auditorium is! I mentioned that if we did get noisy and get all the way down that long...long...long... hallway [rolls her eyes] and woke some patients up, well -- maybe they could come and enjoy the show! After all, they could just take time out and drool in the theater! [laughs] That's the kind of mentality you're dealing with. I used to think that they should be getting degrees in ECE [Early Childhood Education], but I wouldn't even wish that upon children.

KIO: Do you feel that you have a political responsibility as an artist?

Elly: At first I used to say "I'm not a political animal!"

Now it's just like politics has everything to do with the art and creativity that I personally do. I see that for Puzzle Factory as a whole. Now the people that are involved in it, I can't really speak for them. I just know that everybody initially has something to say and is actively working towards change. That's how I feel art is creatively working toward social change in the theatre and in my own writing -- dramatically mirroring my own experiences. I think people have to be exposed to that. I think they have to be educated. I think awareness has to be created, and I think all the forms of creativity are among the most pleasant ways of being educated. Why not? Pay seven, ten, twenty bucks and go see a show. Maybe go out thinking things over, *God forbid!* [laughs] Gee, I might actually hire somebody that's been in the bin!!!

[Next we look at the advertising feature section of a local newspaper. It says "Discover Mental Health Week". It shows a few disturbed people on the front cover. There's an article covering halfway homes in the city: "Work For A Positive Attitude! Mental Illness, It's a problem, but we're facing it! AETNA CANADA"]

KIO: O.K., you have some feelings about the CMHA? It stands for the...

Elly: ...Canadian Mental Health Association.

KIO: What about them?

Elly: I've had some really bad experiences with them. They sort of picked up on the Puzzle Factory concept and wanted to use Puzzle Factory for their own, um, what do you call it...for their own fundraising.

KIO: They wanted to exploit you.

Elly: It goes even deeper than that. When we didn't get funding to do a tour of all their branches, one of our main volunteers and Board members who worked there was forced to resign. Yes, it was very ugly. Then they had me be the token former psychiatric on their information action committee. It's the kind of committee that writes the copy for the advertising supplement for "Mental Health Week". Knowing that I had worked in advertising as well, they listened to me and they wrote everything down and they thought everything was wonderful, then they just went ahead and did everything their own way. To me, it was superficial and distorted in terms of what the public knows. I understand that it may get part of the message across, but the kid on the park bench and the woman manager of the musician you know. It insults my experience, it's all mainstream. It's propaganda. It's not real, it's self-serving.

KIO: What is the reality?

Elly: The reality is forced incarceration, undignified treatment, and it's hurtful. You know recently someone described the kinds of drugs they use on psychiatric patients as a "chemical lobotomy". It's horrifying to think that you'll never have your mind back because of those drugs. Loss of friends, loss of family, loss of employment, loss of money -- let alone being depressed or whatever brought you into that situation.

KIO: What about people like Phoenix Rising [a voice of victims of the psychiatric establishment] as opposed to the CMHA? Where do you fit in?

Elly: Puzzle Factory fits in everywhere. It's theatre, it's entertainment. It's been labeled all kinds of things, depending on how you see it. Some people are moved to tears by what's happening on stage. Isn't that courageous? But I'm a real advocate of the non-label...

KIO: Meaning?

Elly: I don't like labels on anything!

KIO: Not even ketchup?

Elly: If the ketchup can handle it, I'm O.K. with it!

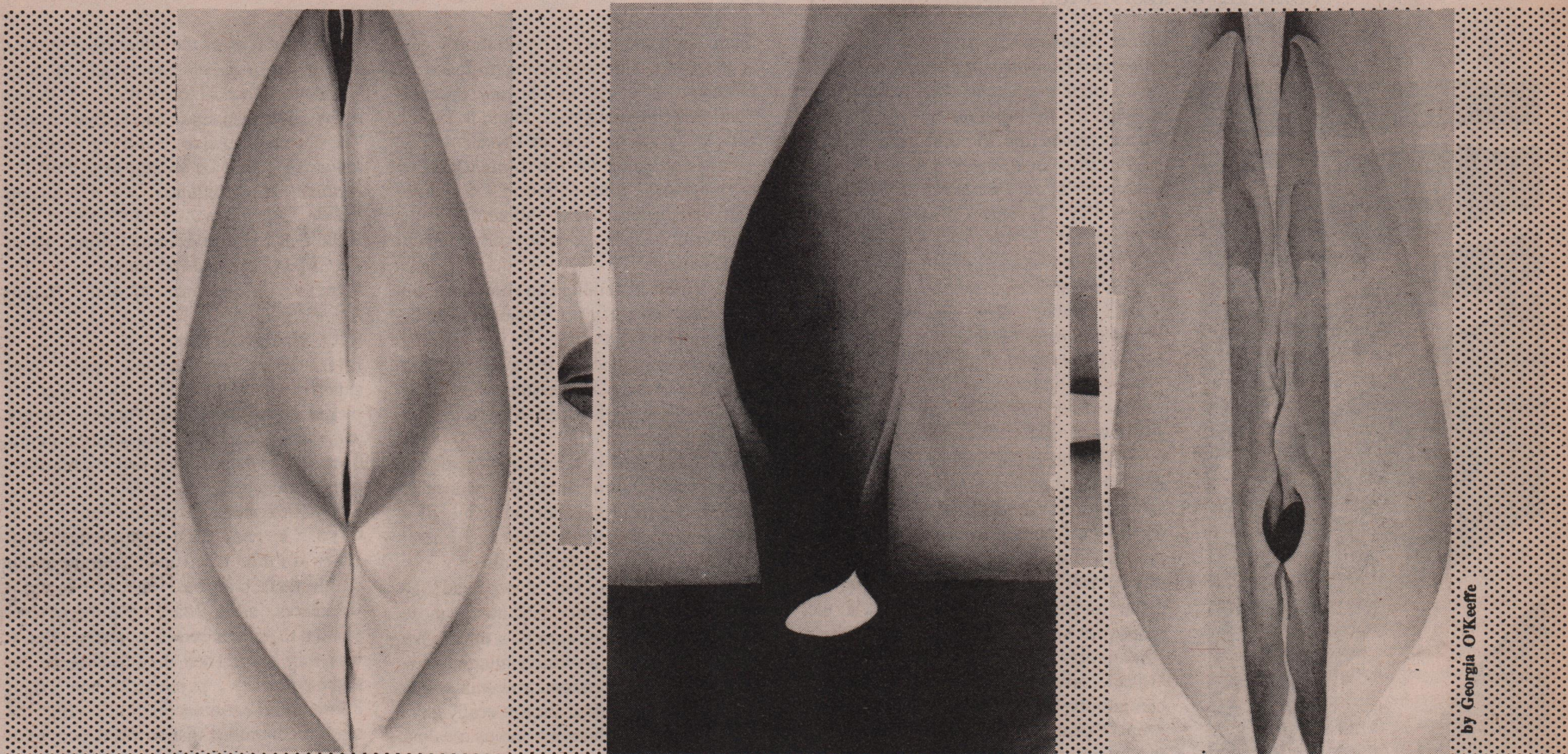
Phoenix Rising is a necessary kind of publication representing probably the most horrible aspects and negating some of the more hopeful stories that come about. In order for people to start thinking, a publication like Phoenix Rising has to circulate more. It seems to be that only members of that sub-society read it. Personally I can't read it; it's very true and it hurts! Now on the other end, maybe that's what's missing from the CMHA thing. Maybe if they collaborated on their ad campaign, they might be able to reach the public.

I just wish people would buy more art, go to more plays. People really have this patronizing attitude. I want to be seen as an artist with respect. □

1. The Clarke is a prestigious psychiatric hospital known by former psychiatrics as the "Clarke Hilton".







by Georgia O'Keefe

# A T A L E O F A N T I - P O R N O G R A P H Y A C T I V I S T S

by Alexandra Devon

On a warm spring evening, I sat in a cabin in northern Ontario with Native elder, Art Solomon. With a tape recorder on a table between us, I asked for his thoughts about women. He began talking about women and came around to the subject of the relationship between women and men and sexuality.

He said:

*If we are to heal ourselves and become real about who we are, we have to accept our sexuality as the Creator intended it and come to the point where we can talk as men and women together about our sexuality as though we were talking about a cup of coffee or tea or a plate of mush without it bothering us...We have been bastardized by those people who came to this country and said, "sex is bad, sex is evil" when in fact (and these were Christian civilized people, supposedly) sexuality is a gift from the Creator. We have a need to dispense with this incredibly bad concept of what is sexuality.*

It struck me how, in many ways, pornography picks up where the missionaries left off. Hearing Art raise this concern as such a central one coincided with my own feeling that the pornographic world view is far from being an isolated or simply "women's" issue; it affects all of us to some degree. From the anorexic woman who desperately tries to approximate the impossibly perfect models to the man who sees his partner as a substitute for a fist and a fantasy, pornography provides an insidious service of reinforcing alienation from our bodies and from a healthy acceptance of our own and other people's sexuality.

To explore pornography is to travel to the heart of darkness of our death-oriented culture which promotes the hatred of women and the body. Two anti-pornography activists who take people on this journey regularly, in an attempt to heal this split between ourselves and our bodies and between women and men, are Nikki Craft and Alison Kerr. Although different in their approaches and on some issues, both try to strengthen resistance in women and men to society's attempts to keep us from being whole. Both try to balance a critique with a vision of how things might be otherwise, not in a programmatic way but in a way which encourages people to explore their own means of redefining their sexuality and rejecting oppressive social norms.

Nikki Craft, who's been active around issues of violence against women since the early 1970's, combines issues of nudity work with her anti-pornography campaign. This provides the positive/negative balance which helps keep her from burning out. I first spoke to Nikki in the summer of 1986 when following her (self-proclaimed) "rampage" against Penthouse<sup>1</sup>, she was embarking on a series of planned "shirt-free" actions aimed at helping women reclaim their breasts from the realm of pornographers, "topless" clubs and individual men. The media was going wild, but not just because of the sensationalism of the action. People were picking up on the fact that there was more at stake than meets the eye. Phil Donahue had just invited Nikki and members of her group to be on his show when I spoke to Nikki in one of the many conversations we had trying to arrange her trip to Toronto. In her soft Texas drawl she confided "I feel like we're shaking the

world." At this point, Nikki had been arrested forty-three times for being "shirt-free" (not topless which suggests that something is missing and is too reminiscent of the exploitative claims of seexploitative establishments).

The right to be "shirt-free" is not one which the feminist movement has paid much attention to or even approved of in many cases. In the face of the poverty, violence and injustice women face, being shirt-free might seem trivial to many and yet it is a very powerful action and symbol. As Ray Greulich, Nikki's attorney for her first arrest for public nudity eloquently states:

*The fact that the particular burden [being forced to cover their breasts] may be of minor importance does not mean that the issue is trivial...because that same discrimination also relates to a system of overwhelming exclusion from economic benefits and social power.*

He states further that

*the small act by Rosa Parks of refusing to sit at the back of the bus is credited by many historians with expanding the struggle against racial injustice from the courts of lawyers and judges to the homes and streets of ordinary people.*

Nikki makes these connections even more explicit when she writes:

*One easily imagines those same angry faces from Rochester's Cobb Park yelling at the bus-riding blacks of Atlanta; or the racist Atlantans screaming at the topless women of Rochester. The words would be interchangeable: "Why don't you just put your tops back on. Let your bras support you! Go sit in the back. It's*

*not such a big deal!"*

Another historical comparison can be made with the action in 1850 when Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, the Grimke sisters, and Susan B. Anthony joined Amelia Bloomer and traded their five to ten petticoats for bloomers. These women faced snowballs, apple cores and insults for their nonconformity.

One would think since men collectively spend so many billions on seeing women's breasts in bars and magazines that these shirt-free actions would elicit a largely positive if prurient response. The reactions to these events speak volumes about the extent to which the pornographic world view has permeated many men's psyches and how important the aspect of control is.

At an off-beat parade in Cedar Bluffs, Iowa, on the fourth of July, five women calling themselves the *Women's Freedom Front* dressed as Statues of Liberty, wearing robes only from the waist down. According to one of the women from the Front, Melissa Fairley, the action was intended to symbolically reclaim women's bodies for themselves -- from pornographers and repressive lawmakers.

The women were pelted with ice, water balloons, dog food and even rocks. One woman ran up and challenged Melissa to take her pants off too. A man pushed his fist into her chest, grabbed her breast and violently twisted it. Fairley said later "It was a perfect example of a guy saying, 'that's not your body.'"

On the same day that the Statues of Liberty were being pelted in Iowa, Nikki Craft was having a shirt-free "picnic" with a group of women in Cobb's Park in Rochester, New York. Uninvited visitors to the event included between four and six hundred men. The women had planned to be arrested but found that when the time came to remove their shirts the police had left them to the mercy of the drunken mob. Nikki describes that when the police left, "The unrestrained men rushed across the park towards us. Morley Schloss and several others worked for several panicked moments to put a buffer of about 25 supporters between the demonstrators and the on-rushers."

Before the women actually removed their shirts, Nikki asked the men who supported them to remove their shirts. Most didn't respond. She then asked the supporters to sit down making those who didn't very visible. Nikki describes how, "At one point a black man standing with his shirt still on heard me compare our



picnic to a civil rights sit-in...I added, 'You're watching history happen, you're seeing things change.' He took off his shirt and sat down. He'd made the connection and the action had gone a little further."

Making connections is an important part of Nikki's work, not simply between issues but between movements. She has done a lot of work with the *naturists* who purport to encourage a healthier acceptance and enjoyment of the body by creating spaces where people can be "clothes free". To this group Nikki has brought a feminist challenge, which should be, but isn't always part of the naturists' agenda.<sup>2</sup> To feminism, Nikki has helped to bring a naturist perspective which has the potential of showing that there can be a life-affirming nudity and sexuality beyond the pornographer's exploitation of women. To those denigrators of the anti-porn perspective, Nikki has shown through her actions that her rejection of pornography has nothing to do with prudery or fear or rejection of the body. Rather her actions are an attempt to go beyond the erotic stifling of human beings that pornographic images represent to the possibility of a healthier culture which accepts and celebrates the body and all people's self-defined, not mass-marketed, sexuality.

This same impulse motivates another anti-pornography activist Alison Kerr. Founder of *Resources Against Pornography (RAP)*, Alison has constructed a series of four workshops on pornography which she and her co-facilitator take to a variety of audiences. The first workshop has as its focus a video which is like a descent into hell.<sup>3</sup> Ironically entitled, "Just Entertainment", Alison's video includes images culled from rock videos, movies available from corner stores and even soft core images from *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*.

The resulting production is devastating to watch for women and men. Focusing as she does on the intermingling of sex and violence or the "eroticization of brutality" in clip after clip from films such as *Purple Rain*, *Friday the 13th*, *Body*

*Double* and *The Hunger*, she offers the viewer a nauseating panorama. These are not esoteric images; none of the videos has above an "R" rating. Viewers might even have seen one or two of the films from which her video was made. While individually, in their respective films, the scenes would have been frightening or offensive, the effect of seeing all of those images being presented together provides a visceral example of women's unconscious collective experience in a half an hour. For women this video is a reminder, and for men it is a crash course on what a woman feels when she is alone or on the streets at night or in any situation she feels there is potential danger.

Many of the clips show women being attacked when they feel they are safe. Images which stick in the mind include a scene where a woman has just made love in a beautiful outdoor setting. Her lover leaves for a second, and a pair of garden shears appears from nowhere and slices her eyes. Other scenes show women being attacked in subways, in bathtubs, in places where they are shown to be helpless and alone, leaving one with the trapped feeling of living in a nightmare from which there's no awakening. As Nikki says of pornography, "We have been forced to live with the knowledge that one day your fantasies will become 'our' reality....It makes us afraid of not only expressing ourselves but of being ourselves. And when night closes in, it comes like a prison." As Alison asks in the video, "What do they (these images) say about women's chances of living safe and independent lives?"

For Alison, these pornographic images are "a teaching tool," "a way in to explore the misogyny of our culture." She focuses on pornography because "it's the most graphic representation of the attitude towards women which makes all the other abuses possible, such as sexual harassment, incest, rape, wife battering and economic inequality." In the second workshop Alison makes these connections explicit.

The exploration of pornographic images

and their effects are only half of the journey. Part of the purpose of the workshops is to try to find a way out. A section of the first workshop where the video is shown is devoted to sharing the participants' own erotic images or experiences which are not degrading. This is a time for starting to create a shared understanding of what an erotic practice could be like, rather than only sharing the common currency of mass-marketed imagery. This is important for women and men. For women it is an opportunity to articulate what a female-defined rather than male-defined sexuality would look like. For men it is an opportunity to explore alternatives to the rigidly defined confines of male sexuality which has so effectively cornered the market.

The last workshop in the series is called "Yes We Can" and it is in this workshop that women are offered skills in how to organize a self-sustaining action group to respond to whatever abuses of women that move them most. While pornography is the starting point, for many women it can be a spring board to other issues, as the misogyny and power imbalance in pornography can shed light on other areas of women's experience. Whatever form of action they decide to take up is up to the participants. For Alison this has been most gratifying. In her words, "Women come into the workshops without voices and leave the workshops and feel that they have a right to speak out and are doing it."

For Alison and Nikki, their aim is to expose the untruths and half-truths which make up our erotic images and experience in a body-denying and misogynist culture. But beyond this, they are working toward the empowerment of women and men in the freeing of the erotic imagination. In Nikki's words, "I have acted in the spirit of total creativity and have encouraged all to explore this realm within themselves." □

#### RESOURCES:

Nikki Craft can be contacted through *Citizens for Media Responsibility Without Law* (also known as *Outlaws for Social Responsibility*), P.O. Box 671, Oshkosh,

WI 54902.

*Clothed With the Sun* is a naturist publication with which Nikki is associated. Its address is: P.O.Box 132, Oshkosh, WI 54902.

The *Emma Goldman Resource Group* has republished an interview with Nikki which appeared in *Off Our Backs*. Copies are available for \$1.25 from: *EGRG*, P.O. Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P2.

Alison Kerr and *Resources Against Pornography* can be reached by writing to: *RAP*, P.O. Box 695, Station C, Toronto, Ontario M6J 3S1.

For a copy of several past articles from *Kick It Over* on the themes of pornography, prostitution and sex, send \$1.50 to: *EGRG*, P.O. Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P2, and ask to be sent the pamphlet, "Reclaiming Our Sexuality".

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The "rampage" against *Penthouse* was a campaign in the spring of 1986 in retaliation against the December issue where Japanese women were shown tied up, hung from trees, with several appearing to be dead. Eighty-five women and men descended on seventy bookstores and destroyed hundreds of magazines, resulting in one hundred and eleven individual arrests.
2. In her article in the Summer 1986 issue of *Clothed with the Sun*, Nikki condemns the "tainted heritage" of naturism in the connections of some in the movement to pornography and exploitative practices.
3. The *Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography* commissioned Alison to make the video.

## IN BRIEF...

by Christopher Alice

*WE at Kick It Over receive large numbers of press releases, more than we can print. Make things easy for us. Write a short ad like one of the ones here, or write us an article. Otherwise we will do our best with NO promises.*

**LOMAKATSI** 1900 M St. NW, Washington, DC USA 20036.

A new magazine created to provide a forum for considering issues, ideas, and actions relevant to "bringing a balance back to the nature of things." The first issue featured an article on the connection between anarchism and animal liberation. For a sample copy, send \$1 U.S.

**ENLIGHTENED ANARCHISM** by Swami Nirmalananda

From the forward: "When the soul is awakened where is the place for disorder and confusion? When the awareness that the Self in me is the Self in everyone has dawned on all, who is to govern whom and where is the need for a government?" Available from Viswa Shanti Nikethana, B.R.Hills P.O, Chamaramanagar 571 313, Kamataka India (Rs. 2.50, 70p, \$.90).

**BUILDING THE MOVEMENT** Gathering '87, June 18 to 22, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Contact: Back

Room Anarchist Books, 2 East 27th St.(612-879-0312)

"...So please contact us if you plan to come June 18-22...We suspect that more of you are planning than have informed us." For those of you who don't already know, the schedule for the gathering is: **THU** June 18 Eve: Welcome party at the Back Room; **FRI**: Workshops followed by Banquet; **SAT**: Workshops followed by Concert; **SUN**: Festival in the Park and Wrap-up meeting; **MON** Noon: *Increase the Pressure War Chest Tour* through downtown Minneapolis.

**THE NUCLEAR RESISTER** (newsletter of the *National No-Nukes Prison Support Collective*) P.O. Box 43383, Tucson, AZ, USA 85733. Their March 20th issue featured an article on the largest nuclear test site protest ever (2000 came; 438 were arrested). Free to prisoners; write for rates. Send a couple of \$ for a sample copy.

**NEW BLANKS SINGLE!** Detroit band, *The Blanks*, have a new single out. The first side, "Say Can You See," deals with Rambo-ism; side two, "Where There's Smoke," deals with the deadly trash incinerator plant being built in Detroit. For a copy send \$2 U.S. + postage to: *The Blanks*, P.O. Box 1010, Birmingham, MI 48012.

**HUMAN AWARENESS WITH RESPECT AND DIGNITY (H.A.R.D.)**, an organization of psychiatric prisoners being held at the Oak Ridge Penetanguishene facility in Ontario need outsiders to help them with support and organizational work. To contact them, write to: *H.A.R.D.*, c/o Eldon Hardy, Chairman, Box 5000, Penetanguishene, Ontario L0K 1P0.

**LEONARD PELTIER** is currently serving two life sentences in Leavenworth Prison in Kansas City after having been convicted of murdering two FBI agents. There were numerous irregularities in the trial, including the fact that the FBI later admitted that they had provided Canada with false evidence in order to have him extradited to the U.S.A. from Canada.

Some of Leonard's supporters include 60 members of the House of Commons, the Assembly of First Nations, the Native Council of Canada, the Canadian Association in Solidarity with Native People, 55 members of the U.S. Congress, Amnesty International, the U.S. National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers, Nobel Prize winner Desmond Tutu, and many others. For more information, write to: the *Leonard Peltier Support Committee*, 456 Spadina Avenue, 2nd floor, Toronto, Ontario, ON CANADA M5T 2G1.

# FUSE



Illustration: Tony Hamilton

In the Spring '87 issue

#### PORN AGAIN

Feeling the Heat of Censorship by Varda Burstyn

#### LESBIANS ON THE LOOSE

Sight Specific at A Space review by Colin Campbell

#### SOCIAL BARBARISM AND THE SPOILS OF MODERNISM

by Marlene Nourbese Philip

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by George Woodcock

The following is Part 1 of a longer article by George Woodcock. Part 2 will appear in issue #20. The two parts were originally in reverse order. We have changed their order with the author's permission.

### Introduction

Tradition and even history mean different things to the anarchist from what they do to the Communist or the conservative. They mean accepting and learning from the past without being enslaved to it; one of the constructive ways to learn from the past is by considering examples, which reveal not only those negative aspects of the collective human experience that made Voltaire remark despairingly that "History is nothing more than the record of crimes and misfortunes."

History is in one sense universal, for, as Donne said, "No man is an Island, entire of itself," and it has become steadily more so, as the world has tended toward cultural homogeneity and the distances that preserved many small cultures more or less intact have been telescoped by the technologies of transport and communications. The fatal encounters between cultures have all taken place, and we are living in a world where the exploitation of the poor by the powerful has become multinational and where we share our perils if not our prosperity. Nevertheless, even within such a world, as events in Iran and Haiti and the Philippines and Latin America have shown, what actually happens at times of crisis in specific communities tends to be governed as much by influences coming out of their local history as by those that move out over the world from the major centres of economic and political power like Washington and Moscow and Peking. If we are to plan the kind of action that in the short run will make us more free and in the long run will enable us to turn a possible revolutionary situation in the right direction, we have to recognize not merely the broader movements of world history, but also the histories of the regions and the countries in which destiny has placed us.

This is what makes it important to consider the decentralist and communitarian elements that have emerged in Canadian history and may be regarded as constituting the rudiments of a libertarian tradition. Readers from other places will, I'm sure, be able to fit in data from their own societies, for the law to which all particular instances of this kind apply is, I suggest, the fact that even in the most coercive of social orders the voluntarist urge, the spirit of mutual aid, always continues to assert itself, and society would, indeed, collapse without it.

### The Role of the Canadian State

Though Canada has never been a totalitarian society, and appears to observe the classic formulae of a representative democracy, in which the rights of individuals are surrendered every four or five years to a ruling political party, its history shows an exceptional tendency, particularly in comparison with the United States, to rely on government to provide essential services and to surrender to the state wide control over vital aspects of economic and social life. The Conservatives came into power in the last election largely by stressing the fact that Canadians are over-governed, which nobody can dispute, and that the blame lay on the Liberal administration of Pierre Trudeau, with its insatiable urge to

# The Underside of Canadian History

## Searching for Radical Traditions



photo of the Canadian Rockies from the Archivist

multiply laws and regulations (largely "orders in council" arbitrarily imposed by the Cabinet) and to encompass more and more of the country's economic life in an unwieldy and inefficient network of crown corporations [corporations owned by the federal or provincial government -- ed.]. In fact, the Trudeau era represented merely the crescendo of a process that had begun long before Confederation and in which all political parties and factions have played active roles.

It began in the period immediately after the Anglo-American War of 1812-14, which was followed by a large influx of immigrants who mainly settled in Upper Canada, the present Ontario. The old transport network, through narrow waterways, with portages where the rapids were not negotiable by canoe, proved inadequate for the needs of settlement, nor did it meet the strategic anxieties of British military commanders who feared a renewed American attack. So canals were built around the worst portages and the Rideau system was built between Kingston and Ottawa to provide a waterway by which fairly large craft could travel well away from the international border. Such costly undertakings did not attract the merchants of the time who, like the Molson family, were making easier money running the first steamship services on the St. Lawrence. So the taxpayers, British and Canadian, were called on to foot the bills, and the state began a long career of involvement in Canadian transport.

A generation or so later, when the various colonies of British North America were brought together through Confederation in 1867, the construction of a railway to link British Columbia with the original colonies and to open up the prairies to settlement seemed imperative. Once again the state intervened at the expense of the taxpayer and the capitalists got the better part of the deal. The CPR [Canadian Pacific Railway] was built by a consortium of Montreal financiers, but its completion was possible only because the government of the day subsidized it with massive land grants, money grants, and guarantees for loans. To this day the shareholders reap the benefits of such state benevolence, as the land sold to the CPR more than a century ago is sold at vastly inflated prices.

Later, early in the present century, the state interfered massively in transport by saving a number of failing railroads from bankruptcy and merging them into the Canadian National [Railway], which has been state-operated ever since. Afterwards the state went further into the fields of transport and communications by establishing the *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* and *Air Canada*, and during the Trudeau regime the tendency to spread state control of industry while benefitting capitalists at the expense of the taxpayer reached virtually epidemic proportions as scores of failing businesses were taken over by heavily bureaucratized crown corporations. There can be few societies

not avowedly state socialist in which government has assumed so strong a role, as entrepreneur and regulator alike, as in Canada. And this does not take into account the extent to which the Canadian welfare state has inhibited voluntary initiatives and created artificial dependencies through a failure to face the real social and economic problems underlying unemployment and preventing enforced idleness from turning into productive leisure.

But this is only one side of the picture, and a look at Canadian history, particularly if one does not restrict it to that of the colonizing groups who are generally known as the "founding peoples", shows a somewhat different picture. We can begin with the native peoples, who were once thought of as a doomed group representing obsolete cultures -- the "vanishing Indian" and so forth -- but who in the past generation have shown not only a reversal of their apparent demographic decline but also a resolution in pressing their claims to a right to control their own destinies. The native people now see themselves as a number of "nations" with rights to autonomy within Canadian society -- to "self-government" as it is sometimes called. But what they mean by nation bears no resemblance to the nation-state as the major modern states, whether "democratic" or Communist, have developed it. The "nation" as conceived by the Canadian Indian or Inuit or Metis consists of the community that shares a common language and common traditions and hopes to regain enough of its land to operate again as a distinct cultural entity. Nor does the "self-government" which the native people demand for their "nations" approximate the bureaucratic state. It is a concept based on traditions of consensus rather than coercion that goes back far into the past of the various native groups.

It is doubtful, in fact, that any native people north of the Valley of Mexico developed a concept of authoritarian government like that which has held sway in the Middle East and Europe from the early days of the great Mesopotamian empires. In the European sense, both the Inuit and the Indians were politically unorganized. The Inuit, living as extended family groups that wandered independently over the tundra and the ice and came together only occasionally for ceremonial and trading purposes, had virtually no system of authority and certainly no kind of organized government, which did not prevent them from developing a culture perfectly adapted for ensuring survival in one of the world's most rigorous environments. Their life before they were taken over by the Department of Northern Affairs and became wards of the welfare system, was an object lesson in the ability of men and women to live a good and joyful life even in harsh conditions without the need for government.

Among the Indians the degree of organization varied from tribe to tribe. There were wandering groups of northern Indians who moved about like the Inuit in family groups, since the poor terrain would support nothing larger; the families would sometimes come together for short periods, but they had no permanent political structures. At the other end were the confederations of prairie Indians and of the Iroquois, in which families were organized into bands, and into tribes, and among whom there were also warriors' fraternities that cut across the band organization. Finally the tribes were formed into alliances that shared hunting grounds and combined to keep other tribes



out. The Iroquois confederation consisted of six tribes or "nations", and the Blackfoot confederacy of four tribes, covering a considerable area of the prairies both north and south of the international border.

The institution of chiefdom that existed among these people has often been misinterpreted by white historians, who have thought of the chief as the equivalent of a European absolute ruler. In fact, in both the Blackfoot confederacy and the Six Nations of the Iroquois, he was rather the first among equals, delegated to act mainly as an arbiter in tribal affairs, and depending on the support of the council of elders and of the warriors' societies, which sustained the voluntary discipline of the tribe during hunts and wars. During hunts and war expeditions special chiefs were chosen, who retained no powers beyond the particular occasion, and held office only as long as they had the approval of the tribe. As Father De Smet, an early missionary in the West, remarked:

*If a chief does not succeed in gaining the love of his subjects, they will despise his authority and quit him on the slightest opposition on his part; for the customs of the Indians admit no conditions by which they may enforce respect from their subjects.*

This kind of delegated authority, immediately revocable and leaving each individual his or her essential freedom, was inherited by the *Metis* [persons of dual Indian-white ancestry, usually a mixture of Plains Indian and French-Canadian -- ed.], who tended to live with virtually no political organization except at times like the annual buffalo hunt and their two insurrections against Canadian authority, when a degree of agreed communal discipline was needed. At the buffalo hunt the hunters would gather in assembly to decide on the rules to ensure fairness during the hunt, and would elect a council of ten captains, of whom one could become the leader of the expedition because he was regarded as the most experienced hunter. His role lasted only for the period of the hunt. Next year a different leader might be picked, and for the year in between the *Metis* lived as free hunters. The idea of a permanent authority, not subject to recall by the people, was anathema to the *Metis*. Alexander Ross, in his classic book *The Red River Settlement*, gave a critical account of them which suggests how much of natural anarchism entered into their attitudes:

*... these people are all politicians, but of a particular creed, favouring a barbarous state of society and self-will; for they cordially detest all the laws and restraints of civilized life, believing all men were born to be free. In their own estimation they were all great men, and wonderfully wise; and so long as they wander about on these wild and lawless expeditions, they will never become a thoroughly civilized people, nor orderly subjects in a civilized community. Feeling their own strength, from being constantly armed, and free from control, they despise all others; but above all, they are marvellously tenacious of their original habits. They cherish freedom as they cherish life.*

These inclinations which the *Metis* shared with the Indians and the Inuit have not vanished, any more than the native peoples have vanished. All these peoples remain resistant to imposed as distinct from delegated authority. By virtue of their different languages and strongly held tribal traditions they are natural

decentralists. The *Dene* [Indians of the North] may talk of themselves as a "nation", but one never hears talk of a "nation" embracing all the native peoples. Self-government as they see it means each group governing itself on its own land; it does not go beyond the concept of a band or, at most, a tribe managing its own affairs without interference, and choosing its own form of political structure. Given native traditions, in most cases that structure is likely to be a relatively loose one.

#### Communitarianism in Canada

Another direction in which decentralist, experimental and at least partially libertarian urges have come to the surface in Canadian history has been that of intentional -- rather than ethnic -- minority groups. An intentional minority, as I see it, is one distinguished by beliefs, political or religious, that induce it to try and establish an alternative form of society; there is no necessary connection -- though there is sometimes an accidental one -- between the intention of the group and its ethnic composition. The *Doukhobors*, for example, have not been distinguished by being Russian but by having a religion that has led them to attempt communitarian living patterns strikingly at odds with the Canadian society which they entered as refugees from an even more hostile Tsarist Russia in the 1890s.

In comparison with the United States, where the mid-nineteenth century saw a considerable community movement, involving hundreds of settlements inspired by the various Utopian creeds of Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and Etienne Cabet, not to mention native anarchist communities following thinkers like Josiah Warren, Canada has a relatively slight history of utopian communities. So far as I have been able to trace, the only Owenite community was that established by Henry Jones at Maxwell in Upper Canada in the 1830s, and the largest of the Canadian secular communities was *Scintula*, a socialist settlement established by Finnish miners and loggers on Harmony Island off the coast of British Columbia in the early 1900s; two thousand people took part in it but the actual population of *Scintula* at any one time can hardly have been more than four hundred.

A combination of personal incompatibilities, poor management and sheer misfortune resulted in a short life for secular communities in Canada. Religious communities, like monasteries and those of ascetic sects like the Hutterites, had a cohesion of belief the lay communities lacked and this led to a better survival record, which was usually paid for in rigid structures and constricted lifestyles. Even the *Doukhobors*, whose resistance to wars and to earthly governments was wholly admirable, were not in fact the natural peasant anarchists Kropotkin and Tolstoy believed them to be. They have always been dominated by spiritual leaders, a kind of theocracy modified by the strength of the *sobranie*, the gathering of the people at which worship and debate are mingled.

Still, the *Doukhobors* did show, in their great British Columbian community of six thousand people, which lasted for almost three decades and only came to an end because the banks foreclosed during the depression, the viability of a communitarian alternative to the capitalist economy. Living in their big community houses, with whole valleys at their disposal, the *Doukhobors* did create a largely self-contained and communally-owned economy; it was not merely agrarian, for it operated brickworks and

sawmills, jam factories and flour mills, and it was only the exceptional circumstances of the 1930s and the politically inspired ill will of its creditors that brought it to an end.

To a lesser extent the communitarian ideal was also pursued by the *Mennonites*, another war-resisting sect from Russia, who settled on the prairies in village communities which had their own efficient voluntarily operated welfare system long before the poor and the old were looked after in the rest of Canada. The *Mennonites* did not hold their land in common, but they did practice various kinds of mutual aid, assisting each other in putting up buildings and at harvest time. To this day in Ontario they continue the old pioneer custom of barn-raising bees, and when the recent tornado in the Barrie area on Ontario destroyed many farm buildings, spontaneously organized teams of *Mennonites* left their farms in the surrounding countryside and worked for nothing replacing the destroyed buildings of non-*Mennonites*.

The community tradition is not entirely dead in Canada. During the 1960s it formed one of the ways in which the counter-culture experimented with alternative models of social organization. A number of Canadians and of Americans fleeing the Vietnam War found their way into the marginal farmlands of British Columbia, Ontario and the Maritimes, and set up agrarian communes; others set up urban living communities, and working collectives of many kinds emerged, publishing books and magazines and operating small-scale industries. The people who took part in such ventures were also active among the protesters against war and against threats to the environment.

The communities and collectives of the 1960s have largely disbanded, and the visions of quickly achieving a participatory democracy which they nurtured have evaporated. But the network of protest groups survives as a positive heritage from that period, and -- like the native rights movement -- remains a focus of resistance to the Canadian tendency to accept authority. In such a movement the idea of community as a practical expression of mutual aid still lingers. When a hundred thousand people march for their future, that is mutual aid.

#### Regionalism

Finally there is a broader tradition of decentralization and mutual aid that has opposed itself for over a century to efforts at political consolidation like John A. McDonald [the first Prime Minister of Canada]'s *National Policy* and Pierre Trudeau's *One Nation* drive. Whatever the efforts made by the centralists in Ottawa to turn Canada into another unitary nation state, it remains obstinately a country of regions, with Newfoundland, the Atlantic provinces, the Prairie provinces, British Columbia and the northern territories all seeking to defend their interests in various ways from the financial-dictatorial power of the great central Canadian cities of Toronto and Montreal and their satellite industrial towns.

The regions in Canada are not distinguished merely by economic factors. History and geography have made them culturally different, as one can see by reading the writing and looking at the art that comes from them and which reflect different historical experiences and different social patterns. A Newfoundlander and a British Columbian may both be Canadians and both speak English, but they are as different in their views of existence as a Yorkshireman

from an Australian or, for that matter, as a man from Trois Rivières [in Quebec] from a Parisian.

The hinterlands of English Canada have never accepted the hegemony of Ontario, anymore than the *Quebecois* have accepted the hegemony of English Canada or the *Acadians* [French-speaking people residing on the East coast of Canada] have accepted the hegemony within French Canada of the *Quebecois*. We remain, territorially as well as by ancestry, a gathering of peoples with common interests, the principle of which is our shared intention not to be absorbed by the United States. To carry the concept of unity beyond such loose common interests in the direction of a centralized state always creates more disunity than there was before, as Trudeau discovered in spite of his blind eye. In separatist movements, in agrarian movements like the *Progressive Party*, in fringe parties like *Social Credit*, even in the *CCF-NDP* which started and first succeeded as an expression of regional prairie discontent, Canadians have repeatedly shown their rejection of centralism, their dogged adherence to regionalism as the pattern of their collective life.

#### Cooperative Tendencies

The manifestations of that adherence which I have quoted are all political, showing that, though their disillusion with politics is growing fast, Canadians up to now have largely been inclined to show their decentralism through the ballot box. But there have also been non-political expressions of rejection of the concentration of economic power. The movement among the prairie farmers to take grain sales out of the hands of entrepreneurs and organize them cooperatively through the Grain Growers' Associations was one example. Another was the *Caisse Populaire* movement in Quebec, followed by the Credit Union movement in the rest of Canada, which in fact was an adaptation of an old anarchist idea, the *People's Bank* that Proudhon tried to found in 1848 to create a system of mutual credit among the workers that would break the grip of the banks.

Such movements, started in resistance to exploitation, have found their place within the economic structure of Canadian society, but in doing so they have modified it. They are not examples of anarchist action; nobody would think of claiming that. But they do show the vitality of the idea of mutual aid even in a world of welfare states, and they show that men and women have a rooted longing for independence which may be ill-defined and misunderstood even by those who experience it, but which demonstrates that large numbers of people still have a capacity for free action and an awareness of the value of mutual solidarity. It is these tendencies we have to foster and support, always seeking new ways of expressing them, so that if a time of revolutionary crisis comes, as it has come to many countries in recent years, people will be so conscious of the superiority of voluntary organization that they will fight for liberty rather than power and recognize the power-seeking opportunists such situations always push to the surface.

#### Conclusion

I have used examples in this essay from the history of my own country. People from other lands will be able to substitute others from their own history. I trust they too will find enough essential anarchism among them not to accept the future as a time of defeat. □



by Kenn Quayle

*The following article is a first person account of a recent faerie gathering (a rural gathering of spiritually-oriented gay men) in southern Oregon. It combines journal entries and reflections interwoven with narrative.*

"The newts in the dark tea pond. My silent hello respects their watery home. Little burrs on my clothes an almost

pleasant nuisance. The flies attracted by the smell of me, sweating in the sun. Little larvae, and long legged rowboat bugs join the newts in their home. The winds and the birds and the blue blue sky call me on."

"I munch the magic mushrooms and I write from my heart as the time begins. I smoke mugwort for clear guidance as I begin my voyage of new sight and awareness and communication. The flies and the snakes are near me. Marijuana, beautiful herb, and coltsfoot tea to care for my body. I eat some more and masturbate. The winds pick up and join me in my climax, and the little fish feed from my sperm. I turn from the water, and the snake and I pass by each other and I write this, eat some more, and continue my journey."

"Dancing, singing, making music, and making meals together. Sharing laughter and tears, herbs and healing, crystals, tarot and magic, costumes and drag. Circles of communication of joy and pain. A little extra patience with each other's differences."

"After such an amazing experience of open hearts with cheerful 'see you later' and 'until the next time' instead of

FAIRIES ARE a conspiracy of equals. Fairies are acid queens from Haight-Ashbury. Fairies are wandering craftsmen in the woods of Oregon. Fairies are prisoner support workers in Toronto. Fairies are active in, and beyond, the class struggle. Fairies make lots of music. Fairies dance whenever we can. Fairies heal with crystals. Fairies learn the powers of herbs. Fairies work for the health of the Mother Earth. Fairies perform in *The United Fruit Company*, a Boston-based political theater collective. Fairies work alongside our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua. Fairies find ways of supporting the survival of the native peoples of this land. Fairies weave rugs, weave magic, weave spells of love. Fairies help out in AIDS hospices. Fairies die of AIDS. Fairies spirits soar on the warm winds of community. Fairies find the strength to be ourselves. Fairies do the trashiest drag. Fairies spend time with the trees. Fairies commune with other creatures. Fairies learn to loose the grip of the Machine. Fairies are anti-authoritarian. Fairies are of divers spiritualities. Fairies are big on Karma. Fairies circle with the Goddess. Fairies gather in the Rainbow Tribe. Fairies circle with our progressive brothers at Men's gatherings. Fairies fix lifeless engines. Fairies are sweaty of the brow. Fairies are muscled in the field. Fairies are polished of the nail. Fairies are silent, speaking only with the twinkling eye. Fairies are guardians of the sacred gossip. Fairies work on community newspapers. Fairies are strong. Fairies are joy-

tearful 'goodbye', the dark cloud descended. Among the very last to leave, Michael and I went to the swimming hole, hoping to find Thai and David to share mushrooms and laughter with. Too late and they had left, and I no longer felt like swimming, or laughing, or getting high."

"Michael swam a bit, and I sat on the rocks in gloomy silence wondering how I would ever deal with future life. No words came from me and we sat slightly apart in silence. Finally my tears broke and my sobs crashed the silence and brought us

together in embrace. 'I want to never leave, and the faeries should be together always.' And my fears expressed, Michael showed the hope that we must work for our dreams. The massive love and freedom of the faeries has shown me all the more clearly how we all need a home. And in our joy together, we have shown that the work does get done."

*The preceding are journal entries written immediately after the faerie gathering. Afterwards, we spent a week with other faeries just down the road before going back to the big bad world....*

Overworked, cranky and stressed out, it's easy to throw ourselves beyond our own limits, sometimes without even realizing. Ah, the struggle. And such a gloomy world. Where does the inspiration come from in this seemingly hopeless age of the death culture? Is there any hope at all? Nuclear threats and toxic disasters... Will we even survive to have the chance to change this world?

So much of our time is spent fighting against the system around us and so often it's a fight in self-defense, having been shoved up against the wall too hard, too often. But where is the trust? Where is the living -- the love, the pleasure? Aren't we fighting this revolution because we want

ous sissies. Fairies are mid-op sex changes coming to terms with the newness of breasts. Fairies are social misfits. Fairies live in rural collectives. Fairies circle in the cities. Fairies have moustaches and beards. Fairies use eye liner. Fairies have hairy chests. Fairies have mohawks. Fairies shave our legs. Fairies share the common fight with our sisters against the patriarchy. Fairies are naked. Fairies wear clothes of many colours. Fairies wear robes, skirts, jeans. Fairies ask questions. Fairies listen to answers. Fairies are storytellers. Fairies share our experiences. Fairies share our bodies. Fairies are men loving men. Fairies are friends to our younger brothers and sisters. Fairies are of all ages. Fairies spray graffiti. Fairies smash the state. Fairies evolve. Fairies do whatever we can to enhance human life. Fairies just want to have fun. Fairies are/do all of these, none of these, and of course much more. □

*You can keep up-to-date on many faerie happenings through RFD, "a country journal for Gay Men Everywhere," published quarterly on the equinoxes and solstices at: Running Water, Route 1, Box 127-E, Bakersville, North Carolina, USA 28705, or by contacting the Queer Anarchist Network, P.O. Box 6705 Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X5.*

by Michael Smith

to be happier?

In order to be politically active, we must at some point have come to an understanding that it is not ourselves that are fucked up, but the society around us. I suppose if we were to be concerned only with ourselves we could drop out, and no longer take part in this hideous civilization, by becoming a hermit in the middle of the forest. However, some of us choose to remain social creatures.

I have early adolescent memories of wanting to be a part of a group of people made up of all the other people who were

ostracized from all of the other groups. Either that, or the beautiful prince was going to show up and confirm what I already knew to be true by saying, "Kenn, it's time for you to come back to the palace, to live happily ever after. You've only been left to live with all these horrible, nasty people to learn the true nature of your kingdom." Then again, the mirror could melt, or this could be the mud puddle I'll step into and get sucked into another world where everyone is nice all the time, with waterfalls and fresh-smelling green grass. I've pretty much resigned myself to the fact that this is it. I really doubt that I'm going to wake up and the nightmare will be over. But I still like to take hallucinogens, and maybe I'll get to fuck with Pan someday. And in such supernatural sex, we won't need condoms!

Hopefully at some point we have learned strength enough in ourselves to not become dependent on anyone else. This is, of course, taking responsibility for ourselves, and not living in parasitic-consumer-wonderland. When you've got a problem, deal with it. Don't phone the cops. If the plumbing is screwed up, let's fix it ourselves. And we can cut each other's hair. And maybe we'll learn that food really doesn't come in little cellophane packages in the supermarket....

That's material, day-to-day responsibility. Then there's the emotional spiritual responsibility. Feeling jealousy is one of the most disgusting things I've ever done to myself, but without it, I guess it would be a lot harder to recognize the parts of myself that need working on.

When I came out in Toronto in 1981, I was hoping the gay community was going to be my merry little band of misfits. Much to my dismay (and continued disgust), I found a pathetic world of yuppie sell-outs to Christian capitalism and its fascist morals: "We're as normal as you, we just fuck different."

The anarchist community, with its strongest times being at the solstice and equinox potluck gatherings, is much closer to my dream world. Or at least it includes a bunch of people who want to have fun, and would like to see everyone else having fun too. We play together some, but most of our connection with each other is intellectual and political. Very much in our heads. We so often see ourselves as "working together", and not "living together". If we really want to set up our alternative tribe/community, we have to know how to love each other, to play together, to heal one another, and to cooperate together in making our future for ourselves.

We help each other to find strength and love for ourselves. We see our reflections in the people around us. We reach out to each other because sharing and cooperating is easier than maintaining absolute independence.

My inspiration for action comes from the simple understanding that I am alive. There are many other living things around me, and we all need each other in order for all of us to continue living. I like having fun, and I like being alive. I want to do what I can to make sure I can keep on doing what I like. Sometimes this inter-connectedness of living things is called the "web of life". Sometimes the inspiration and hope and love is called a "spirituality".

There are spiritualities we can learn about respect for life from. Buddhism.

Paganism. Various Native religions. As we try to define our place in balance with nature, I think one of the first things we need to be doing is examining our language. Language is for communication, and hopefully we want to communicate pleasure to one another. I wonder if words like "spiritual", "goddess", and "anarchy" cause damage to the ideas they're supposed to represent by turning off people who may have similar ideas, but different labels.

When we feel strong and together, we are much more confident and happy. When we feel loved, we feel strong. We can learn to trust by coming together in a circle of friendly folk and opening ourselves to each other. Trusting that everyone else has come to the circle for the same opening of hearts. And that's where the magick begins.

In August '86, I was in San Francisco with a fellow Toronto-based faggot anarchist, Michael. We met a whole community of sissies who call themselves faeries. We also met Timothy in a Berkeley queer bar, and Danny from D.C. The four of us drove up the coast, into southern Oregon, to a faerie gathering. We spent three days getting there, stopping to play on the beach. We discovered an amazing huge boulder on the sand. We tunneled underneath and out the other side. We climbed up and down, and through the holes, and around and inside, until we came to a cave/tunnel thing -- if you ran fast enough you could get through and back out onto the beach without getting soaked by the waves. We slept in the forest, and we spent our time getting to know one another. All four of us were going to our first faerie gathering ever. We were all virgins.

The gathering was about two hundred to three hundred people who all came together for a week to open ourselves to each other and to love. Being a gathering of faggots, our loving of one another was potentially limitless -- we were free to go as far as we wanted. Being on a farm, secluded in the woods, we were free to be ourselves. Finally free from the omnipresent, seemingly mandatory, representations of heterosexuality. Some days I feel like I'm going to freak out if I see one more subway ad with its ultra-brite and sanitary glorification of nice, normal, straight family life. When I see straights necking in public, I want to ask them if they really understand the privilege they're exercising. If they have any idea how I feel. The clenched fist in my stomach, the lump in my throat, as I feel a mixture of anger and sadness. I want to scream, and I want to cry. I want to hold my lover's warm back as my hands slide under his shirt. Knees between knees, and erections pressed together, breathing heavily through our noses, and between moans and around our tongues and soft wet lips. A moment of lustful



pleasure as he squeezes my ass and pulls my hard cock against his. As we lay beneath the sky, on the soft grass in a park on a warm sunny day. Or out behind the junior high football field, near the smoking area, instead of running in circles or thrashing the shit out of each other, like we were supposed to.

The faerie gathering was indeed like coming home. It was by no means utopia, but it was people who had come together to try. Some of the older men felt lonely, and some of the young men felt like they were being molested for their youth, just

as I feared in such an environment of sexual freedom. But the difference was that we could all talk about it together. There were morning and evening circles everyday. Attendance was never mandatory for anything. Anarchy ruled. The food (all vegetarian, of course) was prepared by people who felt like doing it. And the dishes got done too. There were workshops in massage, crystal healing, tarot, auras, and faerie shamanism. There were people involved in magickal circles, and people involved in circle-jerks. Make-up, and drag, and our "no-talent" show. Hiking through the woods, or swimming in the creek. Blackberries everywhere, and smiling naked men all over the place.

So much love happened at that gathering, it gives me hope. I know we can come together and live peacefully if we try. Since the gathering, that property has been purchased by a faerie land trust group called "Nomenus". "Creekland" has become a faerie sanctuary. There's another faerie farm in Tennessee. And another one in North Carolina. And more to come.

There are women's gatherings all over the place. And, particularly in California, there are men's gatherings. About half straight and half gay. Men healing one another and communicating honestly about everything. Learning love and emotional independence. I think separatism and creating safe spaces for ourselves can give us the strength and the courage to deal with the rest of the world. When it comes to healing and loving, we start with ourselves. We are daily bombarded with hostilities from people who have made different choices. We can find community and protection in our similarities.

A common experience, shared by many faeries, is that of having been a sissie as long as we can remember. This was explained to me at the gathering. "Do you remember being a little boy, when all the other little boys would say, 'You throw like a girl,' and the girls would say, 'No he doesn't, he throws like a sissie.'" We knew we were different somehow, and all the other little kids knew it too. An incredible number of queers I know now have stories of a little group of misfits they hung out with in school who have since grown up and come out! We can clarify our differences, and discover our strengths at these gatherings.

Maybe faeries will one day be welcomed into human society, our unique abilities valued and recognized for what they are. And if Jim and Tammy Bakker and their like keep it up, maybe we won't have to worry about the really dangerous lunatics like Lyndon LaRouche and Ken Campbell. Maybe we're seeing the death of the father god. Reeking of putrefying flesh, corrupted by greed and suffocating on moral insanity, now farting and dying of bowel cancer. □

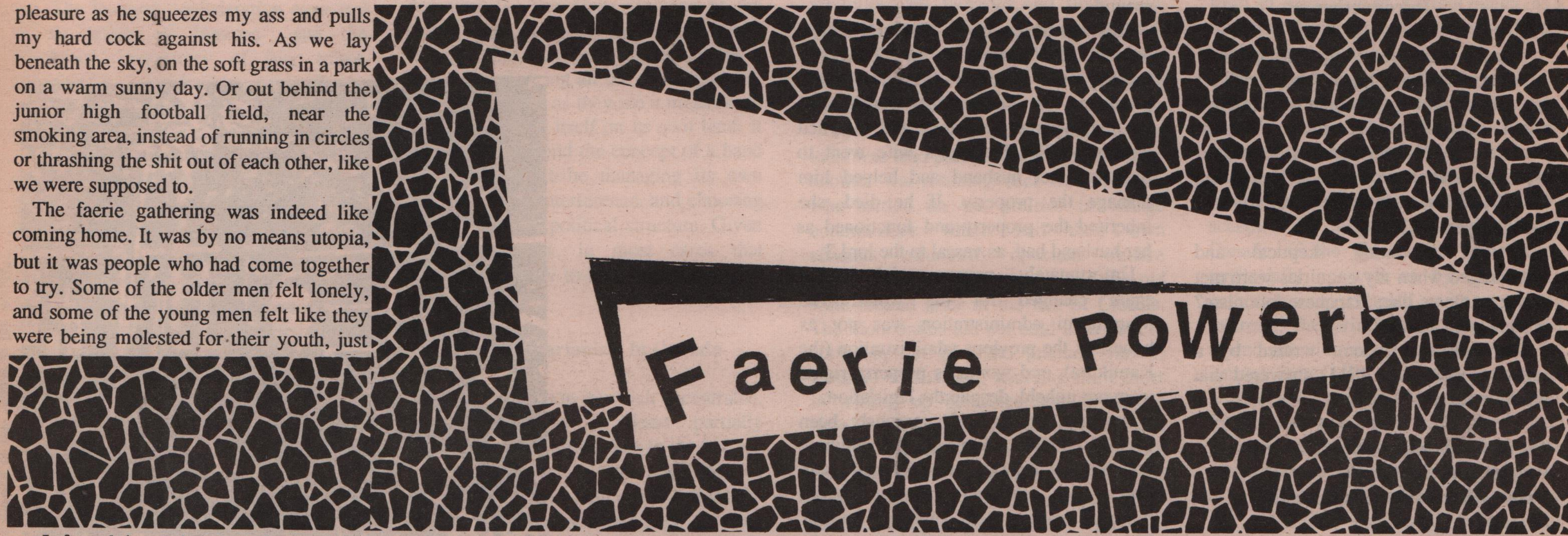


Photo by Thomas Berg



### Introduction

When I was researching this article, I initially met with a lot of "dead ends". I spoke to a number of people who I hoped might be possible resources: Toronto feminists, a Chinese feminist scholar, a Japanese woman professor of East Asian Studies, and various other likely (or so I thought) persons.

I was becoming skeptical and discouraged when my enquiries were met with comments like, "Japanese feminism? Is there such a thing?"

The following poem, written by a Japanese woman in 1911, answered that question for me:

*The mountain-moving day is coming,  
I say so, yet others doubt  
Only a while the mountain sleeps.  
In the past  
All mountains moved in fire,  
Yet you may not believe it.  
Oh man, this alone believe,  
All sleeping women now awake and  
move.<sup>1</sup>*

Feminism has been criticized as a recent Western phenomenon being foisted upon the women of Asia. My research does not substantiate this. The women of Japan have a history of struggle which roughly parallels the struggles of women in other parts of the world.

Just as there are similarities, there are interesting differences. These differences make the history of feminism in Japan a unique and exciting study.

One of the unique aspects of Japanese feminism is that Japanese women can trace their history back to a society where strong women figures predominated.

### Women in Japanese History

Shinto legend says that in the beginning Japan was created by a Creator-Goddess, Izanami. The supreme deity of Japan's ancient religion was also a woman figure, Ameratsu, the Sun-Goddess.

Further to the point, ancient society was ruled by women. Queen Pimiko reigned from 147 to 190 A.D. Before she came to power it is said that Japan was torn by "civil war and anarchy"<sup>2</sup>. She was succeeded by a female relative, leading to a matrilineal monarchy that produced two queens and six empresses, and ended after the reign of Empress Kokken. Empress Kokken died in the eighth century, unmarried and without children. This, coupled with the adoption of the Taiho Code, ended Japan's matrilineage. The Heian Period (794-1185) followed.

The Taiho Code consisted of new social laws which were based on the Chinese family system. Chinese social law was influenced by Confucianism, an extremely sexist philosophy which states that women are unquestionably inferior to men.

The Code uplifted Confucianism and patriarchy, and embodied discriminatory attitudes with regard to property, marriage, and divorce laws.

During the Heian Period women lost much of their power. However, despite the oppression of Confucianism, another of Japan's unique women figures emerged. Lady Murasaki Shikibu (970-1040) is accredited with having written the world's first novel, *The Tale of Genji*. This book is considered an authoritative information source on Heian court society.

The Kamikura Period (1185-1333) followed the Heian. During this time women regained some property rights, and they were still held in some regard; but with the arrival of the Muromachi Period (1338-1500), women lost more

ground.

This was the era of the "Samurai Ethic", one of the mainstays of feudalism. Initially, the Samurai lifestyle looked promising for women. Girls were trained in the spartan virtues and learned weaponry. The Samurai's wife went to live with her husband and helped him manage the property. If he died, she inherited the property and functioned as her husband had, as vassal to the lord.<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, property rights once again changed for the worst. The Muromachi administration was not as honest as the previous administration (the Kamikura), and women's property rights were not upheld, despite the legislation.

Property, which had previously been divided equally among all the children, now went mainly to one chief male heir. The other children received lesser portions, making them dependent on him. This attitude supported both patriarchy and feudalism.

After the Muromachi Period was over, there was a period of one hundred years (1500-1600) when women were subject to political expediency. They were often "given" in marriage to appease a suspicious opponent, later to be held as hostage when hostilities erupted. Mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives were married, divorced, or given outright as hostages. This could happen to a woman on more than one occasion during her lifetime. In effect, women were slaves to be bartered and sold by men.

The Tokugawa Period began in 1600 and ended in 1868. During this time Tokugawa Ieyasu officially adopted Confucianism, and the status of women was finally defined. Kaibara Ekken (1631-1714), a popular writer of the time, published tracts explaining the nature of women, as seen by neo-Confucianism:

*The five worst infirmities that afflict the female are indocility, discontent, slander, jealousy, and silliness. Without any doubt these five infirmities are found in seven or eight out of every ten women... Such is the stupidity of her character that it is incumbent on her, in every particular, to distrust herself and obey her husband.<sup>4</sup>*

Ekken's works, particularly his *Onna Daigaku* (Great Learning for Women), were to be found, and adhered to, in nearly every Japanese household.

This period of standardized structural oppression endured for more than 250 years. By the end of the Tokugawa Period, women were totally devoid of rights. It was not until the next era, the Meiji Restoration, that the status of Japanese women began to be questioned.

### Feminism in Japan

By the latter half of the 1800's, during the period known as the Meiji Restoration, Japan was industrializing. Capitalist growth and "modernization" were the yardsticks of progress. Japan studied the West for inspiration.

There was widespread opposition to the oligarchy. Organizations like the *Movement for Freedom and Popular Rights* embodied the growing dissatisfaction with the government. Farmers and merchants were attracted to the concepts of political power that was shared among the strata, and no taxation without representation.

One of the "reform" groups that emerged at this time was the Meroksha (Meiji Six Society). In the early 1870's they spoke out on the status of women:

*The low regard for women in Japan was a major contributor to its backwardness... if there was to be a real reform in Japanese society, it*



photo of Ise late in life in the garden of the "house in the woods"



must begin with the family, and women must be the center of change.<sup>5</sup>

Education was the main issue at this point in time. In 1871 the Minister of Education sent five girls to America to study family life, "an action stirring such wonder in Japan that one contemporary Japanese writer compares it to man's arrival on the moon".<sup>6</sup> One of the girls, Tsuda Umeko, was to become a leading feminist.

This same year (1871) the *Education Ordinance* was passed. The aim was "universal literacy". A number of schools were built for girls. Overtly, it looked like women were finally going to get an education. Covertly, they were being trained to be good housewives and mothers within the school system. This ordinance benefited the state, not women.

The following year, in 1872, a 45 year old woman name Kasunose Kita wrote a letter to the *Movement for Freedom*, the forerunner of the Liberal Party. She explained that her husband had died, and she, as acting head of the household, had very serious responsibilities that she must fulfill. She was forced to take over her husband's property and tax liabilities, yet she enjoyed none of the rights or privileges which were accorded to the head of the household if that person was a male. This letter created a great impact and it forced the Movement to incorporate women's rights as an issue.

In 1873 legislation was passed prohibiting women from cutting their hair. This issue, in itself, might seem inconsequential, but taken in the context of the time, it takes on much greater significance.

The Japanese, in their enthusiasm for Western capitalism, had decided to cut their long hair and wear it in the Western style. This was seen to be in keeping with "progress". However, when the women wished to cut their hair in the Western fashion a law was passed forbidding them to do so. They had been told clearly that progress was only for men.

By 1875 women teachers had appeared in Japan. This is not such an exciting landmark in view of the oppressive curriculum for women. Most women in the workforce were employed as factory workers. In fact, by 1876 women constituted 60% of the labour force in Japan. (This high involvement remained constant, until the beginning of World War II, when it rose to 62%.) Here women appear in Japanese history as "wage slaves".

The circumstances around factory work only enhance this statement. The factory owners would contract with poor families for their daughters. They enticed the family with the promise of adding to the family coffers before the young girl was married and of no further financial benefit to them. The factory owner then acted as patriarch when the young women went to live at the factory.

The factory "dormitories" were more like prisons. The workday was 15 hours long, and the work was hard. The remaining 9 hours were just enough time for the young women to eat, clean their dormitory quarters, and sleep. Many ran away, and some committed suicide. Their

earnings were given to their households, and they received no compensation other than the knowledge that they were acting as "obedient daughters".

The oppression of women in Japan became more obvious when Japan compared herself to the West. The "liberal/reformers" and Kasunose Kita were drawing attention to the issue of Japanese suffrage. By 1876 the issue of women's suffrage finally received political acknowledgement when it was raised in the *Hamamatsu Prefecture*. Unfortunately, there was no response to the raised concern, and the issue remained unrecognized by the power structure.

Toward the end of the decade, two books appeared in Japanese translation: Sheldon Amos's *Differences of Sex* (1878) and John Stuart Mill's *On the Subjection of Women* (1879). Both had a significant impact on Japanese women. Previously, it had been the male reformers who spoke out for a change in the status of women. Now, at the end of the 1870's, women spoke for themselves.

In 1882, Kishida Toshiko was sent to the court of the Emperor as a lady-in-waiting to the Empress. Although this was considered a desirable position for a woman, Kishida found it stultifying, and left pleading ill health. She had been influenced by authors like Spencer and Jean Juarez.

She began to speak out on issues such as equal education for women, oppressive sex codes, civil and property rights for women, as well as the need for economic independence from men. Her quote, "The government lords it over the people; men lord it over women"<sup>7</sup>, indicates her awareness of the power structure dynamic.

Another strong feminist emerged at about the same time. Fukuda Hideko was influenced by Kishida Toshiko, and formed the *Kyoto Women's Lecture Society*. Literary groups were one field of expression left open to women. Fukuda believed that

*accepting the right of those with superior force to dominate those who were weaker, whether man over woman, or Western nation over Eastern nation, was an argument for savagery, not civilization... if this notion of physical strength was to be accepted, then Sumo wrestlers should occupy the highest position of state.*<sup>8</sup>

Fukuda's speeches encouraging women to be active in shaping their destiny were well-received by her audiences. Her popularity did not go unnoticed by the state. One year after forming her group, in 1883, she was arrested for her speech, "Daughters Confined in Boxes".

Two years later, in 1885, women nurses and doctors appeared on the scene in Japan. This was still not an indication of enlightenment. Encouraging women to be "care givers" was very much in keeping with the state's image of women. It was similar to the Education Ordinance in that it appeared to be liberating women while in actuality re-enforcing their traditional status.

Women took what they could from these negligible gains. Two separate groups of women were evaluating their status in their own separate ways at this

stage in Japanese history. The well-educated women from the upper class (Tsuda Umeko, Kishida Toshiko, Fukuda Hideko, etc.) became aware of women's suffrage as a challenging intellectual concept from their readings. Many books had now been translated into Japanese on the subject of women's oppression.

The women from the lower class, the factory workers, came to realize their oppression, and their potential for power due to their value to industry at almost the same time. In 1886 at the Amamiya Silk Mill the first strike to ever occur in Japan took place. One hundred women walked off the job in response to a cut in pay and an increase in working hours. Women were gaining recognition as a force to be reckoned with. How the state would deal with this emerging social force remained to be seen.

The oppressive political structure was finally changing. In 1889 a constitution was adopted as a result of the changing socio-political environment. Japan adopted a National Assembly with elections on a party basis.

father had control over where she would go even when she married. After she married, she would be controlled by her husband.

Banned completely from direct political activity, women continued to pursue feminism in literary and educational settings. One of the female students who had gone to America in 1871, Tsuda Umeko, established the *Women's University* in 1900 to allow more women to have access to an institute for higher learning. (Prior to World War II only 40 women attended the imperial universities, compared to 30,000 men.)

Just the next year the *Japan Women's Patriotic Association* was founded, ostensibly to console the families of war veterans from the Sino-Japanese war, and to impress women with their "patriotic responsibilities". In reality this organization was a tool of the state used to enforce the traditional role of women. Discontent with this manipulation caused many Japanese feminists to join communist, socialist, and anarchist groups. These groups allowed women to

Figure 1

? - 147	-	"civil war and anarchy"
147 - 190 A.D.	-	Rule of Queen Pimiko
190 - 794	-	Japan's matrilineal monarchy, ended with Empress Kokken
794 - 1185	-	Heian Period, valuable literary contribution by women (Lady Shikobu)
1185 - 1333	-	Kamikura Period
1338 - 1500	-	Muromachi Period, "Samurai Ethic", Women's property rights not upheld
1500 - 1600	-	undetermined, may be considered Muromachi or Tokugawa
1600 - 1868	-	Tokugawa Period, Confucianism adopted officially
1869 - ?	-	Meiji Restoration, beginning of "feminism"

By the following year, 1890, it was clear that women were to have no part of the "new" Japan. The *Peace Preservation Law* was passed in that year. Article 5 of the Police Regulations (part of the Peace Preservation Law) prohibited women from holding, attending, or in any other way being involved with political meetings. It is quite probable that the Act was revised to include women as a fearful reaction to growing feminist activities. Women had demonstrated an interest in politics, and men needed the assurance that the control would remain with them.

By 1894 a mood of conservatism and nationalism prevailed. Japan was at war with China. By 1898 the *Meiji Code* was drafted, ostensibly to "protect" the existing family system, more realistically as a reactionary measure to repress growing feminism. Women were granted some token rights to create an illusion of progress. For example, women could now legally own property, however, their husbands must "control" the property. Women were allowed to initiate divorce, but men retained custody of the children. At best, these were negligible gains.

Other clauses in the *Meiji Code* made adultery by a woman a civil and criminal offense. Parental consent was required to register a marriage; therefore a woman's

express themselves politically, although it was still illegal according to Article 5.

In 1904-1905, Japan was at war with Russia. The mood of conservatism/nationalism grew stronger. The left-wing groups where women were finding freedom to express themselves politically became the focus of extreme repression. Nevertheless, women like Fukuda Hideko continued to campaign for the abolition of the oppressive Article 5. By 1907 she had established the *Women of the World Journal*, a forum where both men and women debated socialism and women's issues. In an interview in the Journal, Kotoku Shusui, the socialist leader, made this statement:

*If I were asked what the first requirement of the women's movement is, I would reply that it is for women to learn about socialism.*<sup>9</sup>

It was dogmatic attitudes such as this that would lead to disenchantment with socialism (and communism) on the part of some feminists. By 1909 the Journal had closed down, and Kanno Suga, a woman who was active in socialist circles, began to publish a newspaper called *Free Thought*.

When *Free Thought* was closed down, Kanno, frustrated by this and other incidents of harassment including a one





year jail sentence, turned to violent activity with the socialist leader, Kotoku Shusui.

The following year (1910) Kanno, Kotoku, and 24 others were arrested, charged with treason, and sentenced to death. Kanno admitted to a plan to kill the Emperor. She said this was to illustrate to the people that "he is not a god."<sup>10</sup> Kanno said that unusual measures were necessary to effect change in such a system. Worldwide protests resulted in the sentences being reduced to imprisonment for the others, but Kanno and Kotoku were executed.

The next year, in 1911, Hiratsuko Raicho formed one of the most notable feminist groups in Japanese history. Hiratsuka, a former member of the Lady Writer's Association (formed by Keisha Bungakukai in 1907) launched a group called *Seitosa*, translated as Bluestockings.

Bluestockings put out a publication dealing with women's issues like abortion, prostitution, and pacifism. One year after its founding, the editorship was taken over by another woman, Ho Noe (1912). The group was active until 1916, when it finally folded.

Two years later another landmark in feminist history occurred. The *Rice Riots* took place in 1918, when a number of women workers demonstrated their disapproval of unacceptably high rice prices by refusing to load the rice on board ships. This gesture received widespread support, and sparked numerous demonstrations and strikes which resulted in violence and eventually caused the government to fall.

Socialism and democracy were the dominant political concepts in the intellectual atmosphere of post-World War I. Japanese feminists were in contact with North American and European feminists. Ishimoto Shizue studied the birth control movement pioneered by Margaret Sanger in New York, and launched a similar one in Japan. Ichikawa Fusae was in contact with Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Paul during her four year visit to the United States.

Although Bluestockings had folded three years earlier (1916), its members remained politically active. In 1919 Hiratsuka Raicho, Ichikawa Fusae, and other ex-Bluestockings formed the *Association for New Women*. They campaigned for equal rights, women's suffrage, a labour union for women workers, and of course, for the abolition of Article 5.

Japanese women experienced still another negligible gain. Article 5 was revised in 1921 to allow women to attend political meetings. They were still not allowed to join or organize political parties.

In 1923 another violent episode occurred in the history of Japanese feminism. Ho Noe, ex-Bluestockings editor, and her common-law spouse were arrested and killed by police as enemies of the state.

Women continued to work for change in Japan's oppressive political and social system. Literary publications continued as the main vehicle for feminist expression. Yosano Akiko (who wrote the poem in the Introduction to this paper) was looked

upon with suspicion because of her anti-war stance. Yagi Akiko was jailed many times for her link with the anarchist movement. She helped to edit two militant women's magazines: *Women's Front* and *Women & Art*. Miyamoto Yuriko, a communist militant, edited a journal called *Working Women* and Sata Ineko joined Miyamoto Yuriko in the Proletarian Writers' League.

Another feminist anarchist, Takamure Itsue, arrived on the scene in the early 1920's. Itsue identified herself as an anarchist because she felt that the socialists and communists were more interested in creating a new power structure to replace the old, than in recognizing the profound inequality that existed for women. A quote by the socialist leader, Kotoku Shusui, which appeared earlier in this paper would seem to indicate that Itsue's criticism was well-founded.

Ichikawa Fusae, an ex-Bluestockings, helped to organize a new group called the *Women's Suffrage Alliance*. The Alliance campaigned for three reform bills: 1) women's suffrage, 2) civil rights for women, and 3) lifting the ban on women joining political parties.

The women's movement was very much alive during the early 1920's. By the mid-1920's it had split into four separate factions.<sup>11</sup> By 1928 the *Seiyukai*, a leading political party, had adopted the issue of women's suffrage and the press had turned supportive. Unfortunately, the issue was opposed unequivocally by the Home Minister, Hochizuki Keisuke, and there was no outcome.

Widespread support for women's suffrage led to the first national meeting for suffrage in 1930. Five hundred women attended. It has been described as a period of hope. The next year, 1931, the Lower House of the Imperial Diet passed a modified bill on women's civil rights, but the bill was rejected by the Upper House, 184 to 62.

The same year (1931) a suffrage meeting erupted in violence when a man tried to pull Ichikawa from the stage. Emotions ran high, both outside and inside the women's movement.

It was also in 1931 that another important landmark in Japanese history occurred. Takamure Itsue, the anarchist feminist, had been involved in a long-standing debate with Matsumoto Masae, a Marxist feminist. Takamure had urged women to reject socialism. She had "strong reservations regarding the Marxist vision of the post-revolutionary future; she felt it embraced yet another world planned by and for men into which women were fitted as an afterthought. She complained that Marxist blueprints concentrated one-sidedly upon production while ignoring reproduction, the main concern of women."<sup>12</sup> Takamure urged women to build a new world where they held real power.

Takamure's vision was greeted with skepticism by many of her contemporaries, but Matsumoto Masae openly ridiculed her. When Takamure said that women need only look at their own history to see an example of a woman-based society, Matsumoto challenged her to back up her statements with historical facts. Although the heated

debate had been going on for over a year, in 1931 Takamure Itsue withdrew from all other activities to research the fabled woman-based society at the root of Japanese history. I find it interesting to note that until this time the true heritage of Japanese women, and history itself, had effectively been distorted by the dominant male culture.

At roughly the same time as the women's movement was becoming volatile, Japan had become militaristically aggressive. Her "expansionist" policies were finally condemned internationally over the occupation of Manchuria. Despite serious oppression the *Third National Women's Suffrage Conference* was held. Japan's government policies were criticized strongly at the conference. These Women's Suffrage Conferences continued to be held until 1937, when the name was changed to the "Provisional Women's Conference". The tone of these conferences then changed drastically.

Militaristic and "patriotic" slogans were proclaimed. Speeches were made giving gratitude to "the Emperor's soldiers, who continue to achieve such a brilliant record abroad." The women speakers said that they wanted "to be strong in our duty: protection of the home front."<sup>13</sup>

The important research that Takamure Itsue began in 1931 was completed and published in 1938. It was a lengthy work entitled *Study of Matrilineal Systems*. Its potential for impact was diminished by the advent of World War II in 1939. During the war the issues of women's production and reproduction became important to the government. Women were co-opted by relaxed labour laws.

The early women's movement had become more and more right-wing since 1937.<sup>14</sup> By 1942 the "women's movement" was finally absorbed into the *Greater Japanese Women's Association*, and the exciting, unique history of Japanese feminism came to a disappointing end.

### Conclusion

The original Japanese women's movement died out completely between the years of 1937 and 1942, but feminism did not. Although there were no outward signs of feminist activity during the 1940's, it would appear that some feminists, like Takamure Itsue, had merely gone into hibernation in dangerous and changing times.

Itsue published her monumental work, *Studies in Uxorilocal Marriage*, in 1953. The depth of this undertaking makes it seem quite likely that she was involved in writing and research during the 1940's when any kind of direct activity had been effectively eradicated.

Feminism experienced a rebirth after World War II, and is still present in Japan today, but the rights that Japanese women have now come about as a direct result of legislation during American occupation.<sup>15</sup> The unique struggle of Japanese feminists which took place within their own culture (due to Japan's policy of isolationism) was unable to come to fruition due to World War II. It is now impossible to know how, if, and when Japanese women would have obtained rights if it were not for the

westernization which occurred as a direct result of Japan's defeat and subsequent occupation by the U.S. in 1945.

Certain details are not as clear as I would like them to be, but my information sources were limited, as was my time. I have questions that remain unanswered, such as: What was the outcome of the strike at the Amamiya Silk Mill? and, who is the author called "Spencer" (no first name) who influenced Kishida Toshiko?

Towards the very end of my research I located a handbook of feminist organizations (printed in French!) with a listing for a Japanese feminist group, *Asian Women's Liberation*. Unfortunately this did not allow me time to contact them. I include the address below:

Asian Women's Liberation  
Poste Restante  
Shibuya Post Office  
Tokyo, 150

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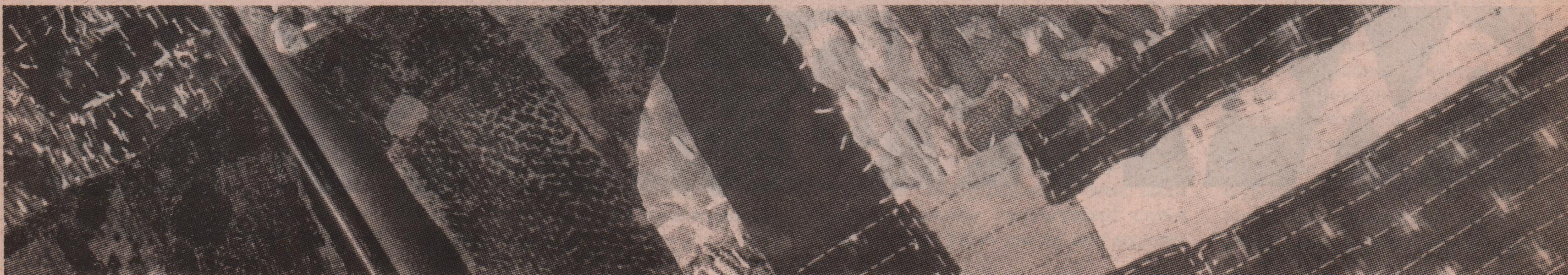
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### Footnotes

1. Yosano Akiko, "Mountain Moving Day" in Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, p. 226
2. Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, p. 228.
3. Joyce Lebra, Joy Paulson and Elizabeth Powers, *Women in Changing Japan*, p. 9.
4. Jayawardena, p. 229.
5. Jayawardena, p. 231.
6. Jayawardena, p. 231.
7. Jayawardena, p. 239.
8. Jayawardena, p. 239.
9. Jayawardena, p. 241.
10. Jayawardena, p. 243.
11. Although it was not explained in my reference material, the "four factions" appear to be as follows: anarchist, communist, socialist, and mainstream.
12. E. Patricia Tsurumi, "Feminism and Anarchism in Japan: Takamure Itsue, 1894-1964", p. 9.
13. Jayawardena, p. 252.
14. Apparently it is not uncommon historically for left-wing organizations to swing to the right during wartime. In Italy some feminists joined with the fascist government; in Germany some of the left-wing nudist/ecologists joined with the Nazi party.
15. For example, in 1945 Japanese women were allowed to vote (*Revised Election Law*); in 1947 women were granted equal pay for equal work (*Labour Standards Law*); 1947 saw the *Revised Civil Code*; and in 1948 birth control and abortion was allowed (*Eugenics Protection Law*).





# THE OTHER WOMYN'S MUSIC: PART 2

by Lynna Landstreet

So here it is, Part 2. You see, I do sometimes finish things that I start. But first, an apology for forgetting to list contact addresses in Part 1. I did intend to include them, but I was writing in a rush, trying to meet an imminent deadline and somehow it slipped my mind. Anyway, I've included the addresses for Part 1 in the list below. In reference to a few other things people who wrote to me raised, the reason I didn't include X-Ray Spex or a number of other bands for that matter is that I didn't want to write about any bands who were on major multinational labels. Most of these labels (notably EMI and Polygram) have a lot of investments in goodies like missile guidance systems and other (non-musical) instruments of destruction, as well as just being part of the whole disgusting multinational capitalist death-corporation structure which is supposedly what we (and many of the bands who hypocritically sign to these labels!) are trying to do away with. And that goes for so-called independent labels which link up with multinationals, like *Skinny Puppies* (Skinny Yuppies) *Netzwerk*, which is connected with Capitol Records, too. I've heard rumours about some Bizarre being linked to WEA but I'm not sure -- anyone with any info, please write! Feelings about that particular topic run quite strongly in some musical circles around here -- that's why *Violence & the Sacred* call their cassette label Kapital Records and *Mourning Sickness* is planning to call ours Radical Cunts Anonymous (RCA for short, of course).

## MATRAX (Cassette compilation)

This is a compilation of various all-womyn bands, mostly leaning toward hardcore, although there's a fair amount of variety. The line-up is: The Iconoclasts, Industrial Waste Banned (not actually industrial, unfortunately), The Ruggedy Annes, Topless Answer And The Frilly ?s, Sally's Dream, Past Layers, Unwarranted Trust, Moral Lepers, Barely Human, Pre-Metal Syndrome, The Raunchettes, ASF, and Cracked Maria. Some of the bands are really interesting, most are at least passably good, although a few are too poppy (like Past Layers' *Listen to the Clock*) or rhetorical for my tastes (like Industrial Waste Banned's *Look At The Laundry* -- lyrics like "Pigs are capitalists/ Pigs are fascists... Anarchy Now" sound pretty cliché by now, although their music's interesting and it's one of the few reasonably well-produced tracks amidst the mostly walkman-in-the-basement quality recordings on this tape). I think Topless Answer And the Frilly ?s are my favourite, especially their version of that old "Put your hand in the hand of the man..." song (whatever it's called), altered to "Stick your woe up the nose of the face of authority" -- a much more interesting and original way of getting the message across (Are you listening, IWB?). Anyway, the tape's well worth sending away for, even though the womyn who originally put it out have apparently abandoned it, but it's been re-issued by Mike Niederman in London (see below).

## POISONGIRLS

*Piano Lessons/Closed Shop* EP (with the Fatal Microbes) (XNTRIX/Small Wonder)  
*Hex* EP (Crass/XNTRIX)

## Chappaquiddick Bridge LP

(Crass/XNTRIX)

*Total Exposure* LP (Crass/XNTRIX)

*Where's The Pleasure?* LP (XNTRIX)

*7 Year Scratch* LP (XNTRIX)

*Songs of Praise* LP (XNTRIX)

*The Price Of Grain & The Price of Blood* EP (Upright Records) + various singles (too many to list)

As anyone who follows my writings in *KIO* knows, I have been an ardent Poisongirls fan for quite a long time. (I should have realized it was getting too serious when I got a tattoo of the crow from Hex.) Like Crass, with whom they worked until Crass got offended by a reference to castration in one of their songs (see *KIO* #14), they're a band that grew up out of the hardcore movement, but is musically far more varied than most bands of that genre. They've been around for about ten years and experimented with a wide variety of musical styles while



SIDE ONE: OLD TARTS SONG / CRISIS / IDEOLOGICALLY UNSOUND / BREMEN SONG  
SIDE TWO: POLITICAL LOVE / JUMP MAMA JUMP / UNDER THE DOCTOR / REALITY ATTACK

retaining their distinctive personal/political stance. Some of their recent recordings had seemed to lean a little too close to the commercial for me, especially 1985's *Songs of Praise*, which even downplayed their politics to a certain extent, but the *Price of Grain* EP is more like the old Poisongirls. They're supposed to have a new LP out soon according to a newsletter I got from them, but I haven't seen any signs of it yet. For more info on this band see the interview in *KIO* #14 and the review in #15.

## RUBELLA BALLETT

*Ballet Bag* cassette (XNTRIX)

*Ballet Dance* EP (XNTRIX)

*42 F* EP (Jungle)

*At Last It's Playtime* LP (Ubiquitous)

*Money Talks* 45 (Ubiquitous)

*If* LP (Ubiquitous)

I was originally attracted to this band after hearing that it contained certain offspring of Poisongirls' vocalist Vi Subversa, but they're no longer involved and I still like the band. They're fairly fast and noisy but not really hardcore -- more like some of the early punk bands (X-Ray Spex come to mind), but a little weirder. And they've got a certain air of *niceness* somehow; despite the noisy music and

sometimes disturbing lyrics, you just know you could trust them to feed your cat while you're out of town. Maybe it's the fact that they have a small child who sings on some of their recordings ("The Amazing KARA"), and I think she must do most of their cover art as well, and maybe their clothes. You can always spot their records at a distance, that's for sure. The front cover of *IF* is an exception -- while the colours are typically eye-blinding, it's cliché psychedelic op-art, rather than their trademark kindergarten finger-painting style. I for one was terribly disappointed.

## TEDDY & THE FRAT GIRLS

*I Wanna Be A Man* EP (Alternative Tentacles)

Proof positive that you do not actually have to be able to play to have a band and even a record, which certainly makes me feel better. Most of the songs on this EP

sax, and they both sing. Many of their songs are purely vocal, with no instrumentation whatsoever. They're definitely not much like most of what I listen to, in fact they might even go over fairly well with the Holly Near crowd, but they seem to have inexplicably arisen out of the British hardcore scene. *Remote Control* is on a hardcore comp, where it certainly stands out. Most of their songs deal with sexual politics in one form or another, in a way somewhat similar to Poisongirls, who I believe they are friends of, but distinctly their own.

## VAROSHI FAME

*Unfolding & Growing* cassette

My favourite Toronto band -- which isn't really saying too much, as anyone familiar with the Toronto music scene will probably tell you. Seriously, though, things are getting better here and Varoshi Fame are one of the signs that this is so. Their music is industrial metal percussion, in the same vein as Test Dept. and Einsturzende Neubauten, but vocalist Deborah Forbes' strong presence sets them apart from the rather overwhelmingly male-oriented majority of such bands. I have yet to see a band with womyn actually playing metal percussion themselves (other than, occasionally, my band, *Mourning Sickness*) -- Varoshi Fame's percussionists are all male, but it's definitely a step in the right direction. The lyrics and other texts in the booklet that comes with the tape are very political, with anarchist/feminist leanings. Unfortunately, the intensity of their live shows doesn't really come across all that well on tape, even though it's all live recordings; something just gets lost in the translation. However, it's still worth getting, especially if you live outside Toronto and can't see them live.

## JOHANNA WENT

*Hyaena* (Posh Boy)

+ A cassette which I don't have and unfortunately don't have the name of.

Another artist whose recordings don't begin to do justice to her live shows, although in this case the reason is more obvious; she's primarily a performance artist. I had seen a video of a performance of hers which I really liked, but when I finally got hold of the LP after much searching (it's really hard to find, and I think the address on it is out of date; at least, I wrote and never got any answer), I was pretty disappointed. Without the visual element to distract you from the sounds, it's much easier to notice that the music's actually pretty dull, and her rambling, confused-sounding vocals don't convey the same impression of frenzied abandon that her performances do. So I can't really recommend the album, but if you can get hold of the video or see her live, it's definitely worthwhile. The cassette may be better than the LP, I don't know. Also, the *Industrial Culture Handbook* (Re/Search #6/7) has a great interview with her that's much more interesting than listening to the record and has lots of photos of her performances. The book's also a very useful primer on industrial music.

## WILMA

*Pornography Lies* EP (Subterranean)

I haven't usually bothered to list individual tracks on compilations in these mini-discographies, but I did this time because *Remote Control* was the first Toxic Shock song that I heard, and it's still the one I like best. Toxic Shock are two womyn; one plays bass, one plays



**Wilma LP (Subterranean)**

An all-womyn band who are very difficult to describe. They're quite melodic most of the time, but very weird nonetheless. In many ways they remind me of KUKL (see Part 1). The music is mostly slow, moody, almost hypnotic, with intricate layers of sounds ranging from violins to strange percussion effects. A few songs are more up-tempo, but these are generally less interesting, except for an amusing semi-hardcore version of *Georgie Girl*. This is one of those records that didn't leave my turntable for about a week after I bought it.

**Further Reading**

If you're interested in finding out more about these and other interesting bands, here's a few magazines to check out:

**Sound Choice:** P.O. Box 1251, Ojai, CA, USA, 93023. Probably the best overall source for info on alternative music of all kinds. They're also more political than most magazines of their type, and a good place to find out about the various scummy activities of major labels, government censorship attempts and other useful info.

**Option:** 2345 Westwood Blvd. #2, Los Angeles, CA, USA, 90064. Another all-purpose alternative music magazine, but a little tamer.

**Artitude:** 209-25 18th Ave., Bayside, NY, USA, 11360. Industrial & Experimental music.

**Maximum Rock'n'Roll:** P.O. Box 288, Berkeley, CA, USA, 94701. The hardcore zine. A lot of political content too.

**Forced Exposure:** 719 Washington St., Apt. 172, Newtonville, MA, USA, 02160. Actually, I *hate* this zine!!! But it does cover interesting bands (sometimes) so I thought I might as well include it. And they've printed writings by Michael Gira and Lydia Lunch that you can't really find anywhere else. However, it is consistently sexist, racist, homophobic, irresponsible, and just plain *stupid!!* If possible, I suggest you steal it rather than buy it.

Well, that's a few sources to get started on. Sorry they're all in the US, but Amerikan magazines get better distribution than anyone else so that's mainly what I've been able to find. **All The Madmen's** catalogue lists a lot of interesting sounding British zines but overseas postage costs so much that I haven't yet been able to send away for anything from them. And Canada isn't exactly a treasure trove of alternative music zines at present, but some friends of mine are planning to start one up, probably this summer, so you can write to the V&TS/MS address for info on that, or there'll probably be an announcement in **KIO**.

**Contact Addresses**

(Includes contact addresses for Part 1.)

**All The Madmen** mail order (Distributes all kinds of records, hardcore, industrial, and more. Best mail order source for British and European records) P.O. Box 596, London, E8 4PL, UK.

**Alternative Tentacles** P.O. Box 11458, San Francisco, CA, USA, 94101, or 67-71 Collier St., London, N1 9BE, UK.

**Caroline Records** 5 Crosby St., New York, NY, USA, 10013.

**Crass/Corpus Christi** P.O. Box 279, London, N22, UK.

**Hide** 363 Queen St. E., Toronto, Ont., Canada, M5A 1T2.

**Matrax** c/o Mike Niederman, 48 Craig St., London, Ont., Canada, N6C 1E8.

**Metalanguage** 2639 Russell St., Berkeley, CA, USA, 94705.

**Mourning Sickness/Violence & The Sacred** P.O. Box 1031, Adelaide St. Stn., Toronto, Ont., Canada, M5C 2K4.

**Mute Records** 53 Kensington Garden Square, London W2, UK.

**Re/Search Publications** 20 Romolo St. #B, San Francisco, CA, USA, 94133.

**Subterranean Records** 577 Valencia St., San Francisco, CA, USA, 94110. (Record label which also distributes a wide variety of other labels' records; probably the best mail order source for Amerikan records.)

**Unclean Records** P.O. Box 725, Sand Springs, Oklahoma, 74063, USA.

**Varoshi Fame** 682 Manning Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.

**Vindaloo Records** P.O. Box 235, Balsall Heath, Birmingham, B12 9RJ, UK.

**XNTRIX** P.O. Box 299, London, E11 1EF, UK.

Please remember when writing to any of these places it's a good idea to include a SASE if you're in the same country, or an IRC if you're not. Most independent labels can't afford the postage to write back to everyone who writes to them. □

## REVIEW OF DEEP ECOLOGY

by Carol Moore

*In issue #17, we featured some criticism of the "deep ecology" perspective on grounds that it tends to blame all human beings equally for the ecological crisis, without making a social analysis of the causes of ecological destruction. Moreover, we alluded to some of our misgivings regarding the danger of creating new paradigms which merely stand patriarchal attitudes on their head. Carol Moore, a feminist and decentralist, wrote the following review of one of the main texts of deep ecology (appropriately titled **Deep Ecology**), and we are reprinting it for the edification of our readers. It is taken from Carol's newsletter, **Decentralize!**. For sample copies, send \$2.00 (U.S.) to: **Decentralize!**, Box 106, 632 Cloverdale, Los Angeles, CA 90036.*

**Deep Ecology: Living As If Nature Mattered** by Bill Devall and George Sessions:

Written by two academics and philosophers who have also been active in the environmental movement, the book describes the dominant, anti-nature worldview, radical and reformist pro-nature reactions to it, the principles and sources of deep ecology, and ecotopian visions and strategies. It is an excellent overview of the leading environmentalist/ecological personalities, perspectives and movements.

The principles of deep ecology are described as: the well-being of all life and the diversity of life are values in themselves; humans have no right to reduce

this richness except to satisfy vital needs - therefore, human population should decrease over time; economy, technology and ideology should focus on life quality rather than economic growth. Most relevant to us, the political implications -- what Devall and Sessions call "The Minority Tradition" -- are "decentralized, non-hierarchical, democratic, small-scale community, local autonomy, mutual aid, self-regulation and non-violence."

The book's greatest shortcoming is the judgmental "Good" deep-ecologist-biocentric vs. "Bad" humanist-anthropocentric theme running through the book. Some feminists argue the book also fails to give prominence to the fact that it is not just "anthropocentric" but "androcentric" - i.e. male-centred -- culture which dominates both women and nature. (My own unpleasant run-ins with a couple of very dominant and intolerant males aggressively expounding biocentrism and deep ecology also make me uncomfortable with the terms.)

Finally, I believe the authors rather blasely dismiss the significance of evidence that there is an evolutionary drive for greater self-organization and consciousness, most fully -- if not perfectly -- developed in humans. Rather than putting humans down they should be gently reminding us of our kinship with all living beings.

Despite these reservations, I recommend **Deep Ecology** as a fascinating study of the variety of views arising among those who seek a deeper understanding of nature and our relation to it. (\$9.95 U.S. in paperback plus postage from *Peregrine Smith Books*, P.O. Box 667, 1877 E. Gentile St., Layton, UT 84011 801-544-9800.) □



Plans are now underway for the third annual North American anarchist gathering. It will be held in Toronto., on July 1-4, 1988, which is a long weekend for both Canada and the USA and a time of much nationalistic clamour in both countries. The gathering will include many workshops, events, shows, conversations, food, action, and tons o' fun. No definite plans have been made as to the exact content of the gathering, since that depends on what people want and what people are prepared to do, so in order to start working on that we're planning a meeting on September 13th here in Toronto for anyone who wants to help organize the gathering. A mail-out should also be going soon, so now's the time to get in touch and get more info. Let us know in advance if you're planning on coming to the meeting so we can arrange accomodations. Hopefully if we get lots of input now, by the time the gathering rolls around it'll be a great success! So please get in touch for further details, send all your cash and valuables, and keep an eye out for more news. **Smash the State and have a Nice Day!**



Anarchist Circle



by Carlo Ghirardato

From "A" *Rivista Anarchica*, no. 140, October, 1986

translated by Gianni Corini

The following article is being reprinted from "A" *Revista Anarchica*, an Italian anarchist magazine. Garcia Lorca, an important Spanish poet, is not well known in North America -- which is all the more reason to publish an article about him. The era of Spanish history dealt with in this article was one of social upheaval and strife. It was also a time of artistic ferment. In addition to being a poet and a painter, Lorca was active in the Spanish gay underground and perished only days before Spain erupted into a civil war and subsequent revolution. Thanks to Gianni for all his hard work. Edited by L. Susan Brown and Ron Hayley.

Fifty years after his death, Federico Garcia Lorca is remembered as a poet. He was also a playwright, a scholar of popular culture, a friend of the surrealists and a rebel. It was certainly not by mistake that the fascists [the forces of General Franco] executed him by decree.

My own unique perspective on Lorca, which has been stimulated by articles which celebrate his work, differs significantly from those proposed in daily newspapers by experts in Hispanic matters. These experts only praise the innovative techniques, the depth of themes, the style of the language, and the significance of Lorca's poetry. On the fiftieth anniversary of his death, such technical specificity perverts the true nature of the artist: his revolutionary essence.

On July 16, 1936 Lorca was in Madrid debating whether to go to his hometown of Granada for the summer before a planned trip to Latin America. Fighting in Seville troubled the poet, who, although engulfed with premonitions, managed to reach his home town the same night. Luis Rosales, a childhood friend as well as being a poet with fascist ties, secretly advised Lorca to flee. Lorca, who left Madrid saying "The will of God will be done," decided instead to stay with Rosales. While his friend was away, the fascists visited Lorca and murdered him.

#### Rider's Song

Cordoba  
Far and lonely.  
Black mare, full moon  
and olive in my saddle bag.  
Although I know the way  
I will never get to Cordoba.  
Across the plain, in the wind  
black mare, red moon.  
Death is looking at me  
from the towers of Cordoba.  
Ah, what a long way!  
Ah, my good mare!  
Ah, death is waiting for me  
before I will get to Cordoba!  
Cordoba.  
Far and lonely.

Like his own characters, modest and human, Lorca carries within himself a sense of destiny. As this sense is internal it is unlike the externally imposed "fate" of the Greek heroes.

Lorca's fate has the same overtones of the "gypsy drama" so prominent in his works. The interest for the nomads is linked to a tradition that goes back at least to Miguel de Cervantes [author of *Don Quixote*], who gives us a picture of the gypsies' humanity and freedom:

*Few are the possessions which are not in common with everyone, except*

*wives or lovers who we want to be for whom they were given.... With those and other laws we carry on and live gayfully; we are masters of the fields, of the sown land, of forests, of mountains and rivers. Mountains give us free lumber; trees, fruits; vineyards, grapes; springs, water; rivers, fish; cliffs, shadows.... Our lightness is not bound by chains, neither by gorges, or retained by walls; our souls are not bent nor diminished by tortures of ropes and irons.... Between yes and no there is no difference, when it is more convenient we prefer to pride ourselves on our martyrdom rather than on being confessors.... We work at day and steal at night, or better still, we make sure that each is on the lookout, and mindful of one's own things. Fear of wasting our labour does not bother us, nor are we troubled by the ambition of fostering it. We do not instigate factions, neither do we get up at dawn to prepare petitions nor to escort magnates or solicit favours.... Paintings and landscapes of Flanders are to us what nature offers.... We are rustic astrologers because, by sleeping under the sky, we distinguish the hours of the day from those of the night... On the whole, we live by our own skillfulness and acumen, without having to abide by the ancient motto: "by church, by sea or royal house." We have what we want, as we are satisfied with what we possess.*

The epics and lyricism of the gypsy world are an inspirational source for ourselves as well as for Lorca; it is a world of outcasts and rebels, of individuals separated from society. These "characters" appear throughout the dream, as do love, death, blood and tears, all expressed in highly emotional tones, lending themselves to universal significance.

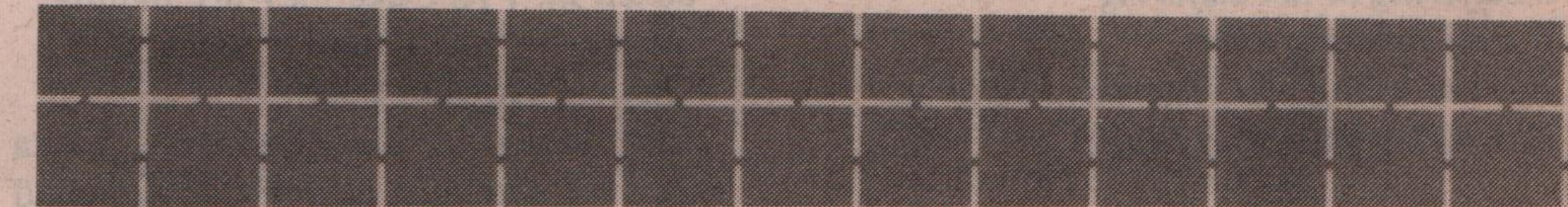
#### Song of the Beaten Gypsy

Twenty-four slaps;  
Twenty-five slaps;  
Then, my mother, at night,  
Will wrap me up in silver paper.  
Patrol guard,  
Give me a sip of water  
Water with fish and boats.  
Water, water, water, water.  
Ah, chief of the guards,  
Up there in your room!  
There will be no silk handkerchiefs  
To wipe my face!

In Andalusia, gypsies, to whom Lorca dedicated extensive studies aimed at verifying the place and origin of their civilization, blended well with the culture of that region. So well, in fact, as to be a worthy model. They were not to be compared with the English gypsies, even the less so with the Italian *zingari*. In Andalusia the gypsies were masters of civilization; they possessed fully the arts of singing and dancing, of music and metalwork. In the lyrics of his *Romancero Gitano* [Romantic Gypsy], Lorca, in his intimate way, seems to predict the spreading of gypsy ways throughout all of Andalusia. The Andalusian who associates with the gypsy becomes one and takes on expressive forms which encompass different cultures. These include first and foremost the Arab culture, which is totally excluded from the history of the Western bourgeois world.

The *canto hondo* [deep song] is the ultimate expression of Lorca himself; it is, as the name suggests, a song with immense depth, which emerges in the radical intensity of the execution. Its

# L O R C A



by Olev Muska

## The Poet as Rebel

themes are pain, separation, death, and the void. The skill of the singer can be measured by the effect he creates in whoever is listening.... At first, there is discrete hand clapping, then a few *ole's*, and finally, one cheers the interpreter's state of grace with *anda con dios* [go with

God]. Often the execution turns into a magic moment, a collective ritual. Therefore, the hondo singer did not have an easy life under the Holy Inquisition. Notwithstanding the prohibition, it enormously infiltrated the *campesino* [peasant] culture in which there is always



the triumph of the "vegetable" ideal of life.

...Suffering or not suffering  
it's all suffering to me  
For not seeing you yesterday I suffered  
For seeing you today I suffer.

Lorca's interest in the *canto hondo* reflects his commitment to save it from the bourgeois intrusion which was emptying it of its content. By performing it in indoor theatres the *canto hondo* was transformed into a folkloristic movement: the *zarzuela* [Spanish musical comedy]. The composers Manuel de Falla and Zuloaga, together with the poet Lorca, organized a *Fiesta del Cante Hondo*. Lorca, taken by the idea of the show, composed the *Poema del canto hondo* in a free and personal interpretation of the theme.

#### The Six Strings

The guitar  
Makes dreams cry.  
The sob of souls  
Lost  
Escapes from its mouth  
Round.  
Like a tarantula,  
Weaves a big star  
To snare sighs  
which will float in its black  
wooden cistern.

The *guardia civil* [police] is a symbol of death and repression, just as the gypsy is a symbol of revolt and freedom. It is with a gypsy's eye that Lorca wrote the following:

#### Romance of the Spanish Gendarme

Horses are black.  
Irons are black.  
On the cloak stains of ink and wax glitter.  
They have lead skulls,  
that is why they do not cry.  
With souls of sequin  
they go by in the streets.  
Hunchbacked and nocturnal,  
wherever they go, they order  
dark rubber silence,  
and fears of fine sand.  
They pass, if they want to,  
and hide a vague astronomy  
of non concrete pistols...

...They come in by two's.  
Double nocturnal of cloth.  
The sky, as if it belongs to them  
A window full of spurs  
The city, without fear,  
was multiplying its doors.  
Forty gendarmes  
Were entering to sack...

...The city of the gypsy!  
The gendarmes leave  
in a tunnel of silence  
while you are surrounded by flames.  
The city of the gypsy!  
Who has seen you and does not remember  
you?  
Let them search my forehead.  
Games of moon and sand.

I believe that Lorca felt that his interest in the gypsies had not been fully understood. His interest was not a mere folkloristic representation of a culture, but rather was an expression of a universal human condition, an Orphic [mysterious] journey to the roots of Andalusia. The success of the *Romancero Gitano* tended to place him within a popular tradition.

The myth surrounding my interest in the gypsies annoys me. They confuse my life and my nature... The gypsies give to me the tone of a limited

culture, a lack of education; it gives the impression of a wild poet, which I am not at all. I do not like being boxed in. I feel like they are putting chains on me [from a letter to J. Guillen, surrealist poet].

Like many in his generation, Lorca joined the surrealist movement. He found much stimulation in his friendships with L. Bunuel and Salvador Dali. Lorca was influenced by the extremism of the psychic automatism typical of the French artists at that time. This influence was manifested above all in his paintings, which he had been displaying since his first one-man show in Barcelona in 1927. His poetry also reflected this influence. His expressive techniques always maintained unaltered the objective data, treating as real the things to be communicated: if a child cries, it really cries. On the other hand, the heated social situation was inevitably pushing him towards action.

In 1932 Bunuel left the surrealists and filmed *Tierra Sin Pan* [Land Without Bread], the same year Lorca wrote *Poeta en Nueva York*, where his allegiance is still with the oppressed: "I believe that being from Granada makes me sympathetic to and understanding of the persecuted: the gypsy, the moor, the jew and the black who is within each of us."

...Ah! Harlem! Ah, Harlem! Ah, Harlem! No agony can be compared to the one of your oppressed eyes, of your blood shuddered inside the obscure eclipse, of your deaf and dumb grenade violence in the twilight, of your great being prisoner dressed up as a porter...

Lorca does not consider himself political, but rather a revolutionary. Contrary to Rafael Alberti he'll never get a membership card from a political party. Back from the U.S.A., Lorca became one of the most fervent intellectuals committed to social issues. His tie of friendship with Salvador Dali was broken because Dali was not interested in giving up his delirious dreams. At the same time, Lorca's anxiety to communicate pushed him to "knock at the doors of the theatre." In 1932, thanks to tangible support from Fernando de Los Rios, the Socialist Minister of Education of the emerging Spanish Republic, Lorca founded *La baracca*, a theatrical company made up of university students. This company produced twenty festivals in various Spanish town squares. Despite the turn of events in 1934 which saw the rise to power of the C.E.D.A. (a right wing party), Lorca did not give up the struggle even though his company was in financial distress. The repertoire was classically Spanish: Miguel de Cervantes, Calderon de La Barca, Lope de Vega.

I do not believe in art for art's sake...  
The theatre which does not pick up on the social beat, the historic beat, the people's drama and the authenticity of its passages, with its laughter and tears, does not have the right to be defined as theatre, but is rather an entertainment salon or the kind of place where one does that terrible thing called "killing time".

Such convictions led Lorca to revise scripts when the original was too binding. In *Fuenteovejuna* by Lope de Vega, Lorca struck the entire last act which portrays the king as the decisive element in the solution of the conflict between the people and a local squire. By cutting out the intervention of the monarchy, what remains is a play depicting the triumph of the people.

Perhaps these insights into Lorca's life and times will underline the poverty of an analysis that concerns itself only with his style and technique. □

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#### Violence vs. Nonviolence

Dear KIO:

There is a lot of talk in KIO and letters to KIO about revolution vs. evolution, violence vs. non-violence. I would like to say that violence can be very liberating. Of course the violence has to be done by someone "underneath" against some overlord. If it's done by someone already on top, then naturally it's not liberating, it's just more domination and oppression. Now anyone can tell that, for example, the rapist in the movie *Extremities* (with Farah Fawcett) who was badly beaten by his intended victim was not liberated by that violence. But the women who had been living in fear of him sure as hell

was!!!

It makes me sick to hear people make a big moral dividing line between those (good) people who are non-violent and those (bad) people who are violent. Don't you know that nice nerdy accountants and engineers for McDonnell Douglas and other such firms are far, far guiltier of crimes against the human race than any masked Autonomens of West Germany? For any who don't know, the Autonomens are self-proclaimed anarchists who, among other valiant things, stoned the limo that George Bush was riding through some German city in. For that, many "nice" respectable "peace people" shunned them. I know from my own family that a lot of non-violent peace activists would rather spend a nice homey evening with some white-collar person who carries no weapons but plans death in his calm little office, than associate for five minutes with the likes of the Autonomens or any other real fighter against imperialism who is tainted with the words "violent".

As Mark Twain once said, "which is a

"Much has been said, now much must be done."

READERS might be interested in checking out a magazine from Britain called *Lib Ed*, "A Magazine for the Liberation of Learning." Overseas subscriptions are available for 5 pounds sterling. Send to: *Lib Ed*, The Cottage, The Green, Leire, Leicestershire LE17 5HL, England.

PAGANS AND WITCHES interested in joining with and helping to build a network of politically active pagans, please contact Sam Wagar at: *Pagans for Peace*, P.O. Box 6531, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X4.

BUILDING THE GREEN MOVEMENT: A National Conference for a New Politics, July 2-7 at Hampshire College, Amherst, MA. For more information, call (802) 295-1544.

PUERTO RICAN WOMEN UNDER ATTACK. Lucy Berrios and Ivonne Melendez, two women members of the *Puerto Rico 15*, have recently been released after being incarcerated for fourteen months as a result of repressive legislation. To find out more about their case and how you can help, write to: *New Haven Action Committee Against Repression*, P.O. Box 2072, New Haven, CT 06521.

bigger crime, to rob a bank, or to found one?"

And I would like to add: which is more immoral, to riot outside a Democratic Party convention, or to non-violently vote for one or the other of the murderers and nuclear war-mongers who run for office in the land of the free????

Hendrik Mills  
Missouri, USA

#### Walls of Print

Dear KIO collective,

Hi, I am writing you for a number of reasons. The first is to congratulate you for the quality and constructive content of

#### Letters Letters Letters Letters

KIO. Particular themes that I have liked in recent issues have been your coverage of anarchy-feminism, anarchy in the third word, and of our roots (Art Berthelot article). I also like the way you have managed to discuss relatively complex issues without alienating those who are new to anarchism (eg. using lots of explanatory notes). The only criticism I would make is that you have a tendency to be too copy heavy. Often, only the foreknowledge of your quality writing gives me the will to dive into those walls of print. I know it's hard to fit everything into a limited number of pages, but I think more people would read more of KIO if you broke up your copy with a few more graphics. ...

Thanks,

Steve Stewart  
Vancouver, BC

P.S. The poem by Marilyn Johnson, on the back of your Dec. issue is fuckin' A. It spoke for and to a lot of us out here.



# EARTH FIRST VS. FOOD FIRST



Dear KIO,

I just read a copy of your winter 86/87 edition and liked what I saw. I was especially interested in your response to the interview with Kirkpatrick Sale regarding the *Earth First/Food First* controversy on the population question [see also "Towards an Integrated Approach to Population and Justice" by Mr. McCormick in *Earth First!* August 1, 1986, page 23]....

I agree with your uncomfortableness with the Garrett Hardin/"Lifeboat Ethic" that has been so unfortunately picked up and advocated by Ed Abbey, Dave Foreman, and others of the *deep ecology* crowd. There is some dangerous common ground here with the recent resurgence in white separatist ideology that would have the Ku Klux Klan and other neo-nazis patrolling the Mexican border to keep out all those who are not "our kind" (while in fact most economic and political refugees coming across the border are of mixed Indian descent and have at least as much right if not a hell of a lot more, to live on North American soil than we descendants of white invaders do. Not to mention the fact that the mammoth oppressive bureaucracy that has been created to maintain the INS and other border authorities effectively does away with any claim to philosophical anarchism its proponents may have).

At the same time it is only fair for me to say that as someone coming out of the *Catholic Worker*/christian anarchist perspective, I have found *Earth First!* one of the most hopeful signs of our day, and have been greatly inspired by the writings of Abbey, Foreman, et al. I think the deep ecologists are right in their criticisms of Wendell Berry's tired "stewardship" approach, which argues that we humans were basically put here to dominate the land, and therefore we ought to do a better job of it. I think if there is any "subdividing" to be done, it is of our own bloated appetites and desires. I find myself heartily concurring with the deep ecology position that other species of life on the planet have a prerogative to exist in their own right, and that they are not simply tools in our master plan; which has been neither very masterful or well planned thus far.

I also appreciate *Earth First!*'s boldness and willingness to take direct action against the corporate rapists of the land, to stand in front of the bulldozers and to go to jail for their convictions (and not just to

talk about it). This is opposed to other environmental groups that have become so tame that at times it is difficult to tell the difference between them and the corporations themselves.

So while it may be true that the deep ecology movement is still a little rough around the edges (just like the civil rights, antiwar, feminist, and other movements have been), I still feel that it deserves our strongest support, and hopefully with time and cross-fertilization with the other schools of thought can clean up some of their misconceptions about the lifeboat theory, and so on. But heaven forbid that *Earth First!* ever become another *Sierra Club*, or *Friends of the Earth*.

Leaving aside the excesses of *Earth First!* for awhile, I would like to move on to the excesses of Francis Moore Lappe, Joseph Collins and the *Food First Institute*. While the deep ecologists are wrong to have fallen under the spell of Garrett Hardin and his highly questionable notions, Lappe and Collins serve little purpose by gravitating to opposite end of the extreme and bending over backwards to try and "prove" that overpopulation has no effect on world hunger, that there is more than plenty to go around and it is only the multinationals and rich nations that deplete resources, and that poor families are "acting quite rationally" when they have 10 or 15 children -- (even though half of them will starve or die of some related disease before they are 5 years old) because this is the only means that Third World parents have of guaranteeing their economic security. (To me this latter argument is roughly akin to inviting all passers-by into a burning house for dinner -- i.e. the pro-natalist argument that "every child that can be born must be born" -- and then acting surprised when they burn up. While it may be perfectly true that the fires are being set by a band of greedy thugs who are getting rich off of their misdeeds, this does not change in the slightest that there is indeed a fire raging, and to deny this is neither rational nor compassionate.)

Although certainly it's true that the economic means of food production and distribution are in the hands of the few and wrong people, and we ought to do everything in our power to oppose the economic exploitation they have wrought (and Lappe and Collins have done us a service by stressing this point), at the same time I think they have done the entire radical movement a disservice by managing to convince large numbers of

people (including most of the people I associate with) of "the myth of overpopulation", as they like to call it. They seem to be talking as if we already live in some sort of ideal democratically socialized world where everybody's needs are and always will be provided for, and where we can go on using up natural resources at the current alarming rate. Well, if this were true, if everybody was equal, if no human being ever exploited another, if there were no limits to growth and "large is beautiful" -- as seems to be the current battle cry -- then perhaps it would be "quite rational" for every poor family to go on having at least a dozen children. However, as we all know nothing could possibly be further from the truth.

The simple fact is that it is in the best interest of *everyone*, rich or poor, red, yellow, black, or white that we all begin to have significantly smaller numbers of children now, and it is in the best interest of *no one* that we wait until the human population has doubled a few more times and every global problem becomes a hundred times worse. In this case eventually there will surely be a dramatic decrease in population, however it may not be of the sort we would like. Edward Abbey has written some valuable scenarios of what such a chronically overpopulated world might be like, with increasing standardization of the material, psychological and spiritual realms, ecological nightmares, near complete destruction of decentralized and communal self-reliance, growth of insecurity and chaos and a corresponding totalitarian backlash of preemptory social controls and repression. It is certainly not a world that I would want to will to my children. What is most repugnant to me is that I think Francis Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins are intelligent enough to know this, and yet are deftly obscuring this issue in their highly publicized little tracts. While they have been gratuitous enough to concede once or twice in all their years of writing that overpopulation might be a problem in its own right, then they quickly move on to page after page of analysis (as in their book *Food First*, 1977) painting advocates of population control as the most unscrupulous racists imaginable, all in the service of the Rockefellers and out to serve the world's poor on a silver platter. As an advocate of population control who has worked and lived among the poor for many years, I resent this characterization, and I ask the folks in San Francisco: when are you go-

ing to wake up and quit flogging the dead horse of the 1960's Rockefeller school of "population control as social control", and realize that this is the 1980's and Reagan and his current squad of advisors all subscribe to the Herman Kahn/Julian Simon "Resourceful Earth" continuous growth is good for the planet hypothesis and are openly hostile to birth control?! I challenge you to go after the real demons in our society for a change!

One final note on birth control. The pronatalists have had a field day painting advocates of birth control as white imperialists forcing their wares on unsuspecting brown-skinned villagers, and from what I understand have some factual basis for creating this caricature. Certainly there have been abuses in how birth control techniques has been introduced to Third World countries, and these abuses have set back the cause of population limitation immeasurably.

However, I would like to set the record straight on one matter. There is nothing rational or natural about the human population of the planet earth going from less than a billion in the year one, to 1.5 billion in 1950, to 2.5 billion in 1970, to 3.5 billion in 1978 to over 5 billion in 1986. This growth rate is more akin to a malignant cancer, and its effects are just as deadly. So while it may be true that the overall growth rate has finally slowed somewhat, this does not alter in any way the fact that we are still growing at a rate unparalleled in all of known time, and as we head onwards to 6-8-10 billion(?), there will just a surely come a great crash as Humpty Dumpty fell off the wall.

It seems to me that the real question we have to face is this, do we want to deal with the population problem now in as decentralized and humanitarian way as possible, or do we want to wait until we all live in some sort of world-wide totalitarian dungeon and have Big Brother do it for us (as has happened in China where they are now well past one billion, and are said to have topsoil that looks like packed dust). To paraphrase a famous writer, population control has not been tried and found lacking; it has been found difficult and not tried.

I hope we choose wisely,

Bill McCormick  
1425 Miller Ave.  
Atlanta, GA,  
30307 USA





More Balance Needed

Dear KIO,

...I, like many people, was a bit put off by the title of Ron's article. A Herstory of Anarcha-Feminism by a man? Now, really. That's just a his-story by a different him. I'm not going to take the hard line approach that for a man to write such articles at all is co-optation pure and simple (although I respect those who feel that way), but let's strive for a little accuracy in titling, shall we?

Now, to get to the main body of my problems with the issue: I was troubled by Alexandra's editorial (although I agreed with everything she said -- it was what she didn't say that was the problem), and especially, by Susan Brown's article, and what seemed to be the general tone of the issue. Everyone seemed to be quite eager to talk about how much anarchism has to offer feminism, but there was little mention of what feminism might have to offer anarchism. Now I know this is partly because I didn't get part 2 of "Jerk-Off Politics" in on time (honestly, it's coming sooner or later), but still, one might have hoped for a bit more balance. Also, I don't think an anarchist zine is really the right place to criticize (non-anarchist) feminists and talk about how much they all need to discover anarchism before they'll be as good as us. Criticism should be directed

order before transferring an essay like that to the pages of KIO. I don't think our readers really require the old "In-this-paper-I-will-argue-that-" style of introduction-body-conclusion-say-everything-three-times overkill.

But more importantly, I really disagree with her major thesis, namely, that "feminism is inherent in anarchism, but anarchism is not inherent in feminism" or that anarchism is complete and perfect, but feminism is flawed and limited. I don't know, maybe Susan just hasn't encountered as many macho, sexist male anarchists as I have (must be nice!). If feminism is inherent in anarchism, there's a lot of male anarchists who haven't figured it out yet! Check out Bob Black's "Feminism As Fascism" for starters, but there's lots of other male anarchists with the same views, or milder versions, not all of whom are as notoriously flaky as Black. I have always considered how an ideology is put into practice to be more telling than how it can be interpreted theoretically, and, based on my experience, I have to conclude that anarchism as it exists today is fundamentally a male-defined ideology expressed in a male-dominated movement, which "includes" feminism and womyn only as long as we agree to place our concerns as womyn second and don't rock the boat too much. I can't go into too much detail about this without saying everything that I'm planning to say in my next article, so I'll try to keep this short.

Another big problem I found, with Ron's article as well as Susan's, was the emphasis on what might be called "Anarch-ISM", that is, the use of a particular label, anarchism in this case, to the point where the label becomes more important than the ideas it represents. For example, all this emphasis on whether someone "is" or "isn't" an anarchist, which seems to be determined solely by whether they have actually used "the A-word" in reference to themselves or not.

ties, or personal feelings as to what forms are closer to the center of the current mess. Lots of anarchists think that the existence of the state is the prime cause of oppression, followed perhaps by capitalism (or vice-versa, for others), with patriarchy, anthropocentrism, technocracy, etc., relegated to lesser positions. Is that any less "hierarchical"? I think there is entirely too much defining of exactly what one has to think in order to be a good little member of the Anarchy Club -- why can't we each work on the oppression(s) that we feel most deeply, and leave each other alone?

Anyway, this letter is way too long, but I just wanted to explain why it was that, after reading the issue, I felt a bit embarrassed that I had been selling it to radical feminist friends at International Womyn's Day. Many womyn already feel that anarcha-feminism, like other hyphenated feminisms, is just another way to co-opt womyn into subordinating their own interests to a male-defined political program -- and I'm not so sure that they're wrong. If we want anarcha-feminism to mean something more than that -- and I do -- we have to start looking at it as more than a one-way exchange.

Lynna Landstreet  
Toronto, Ontario

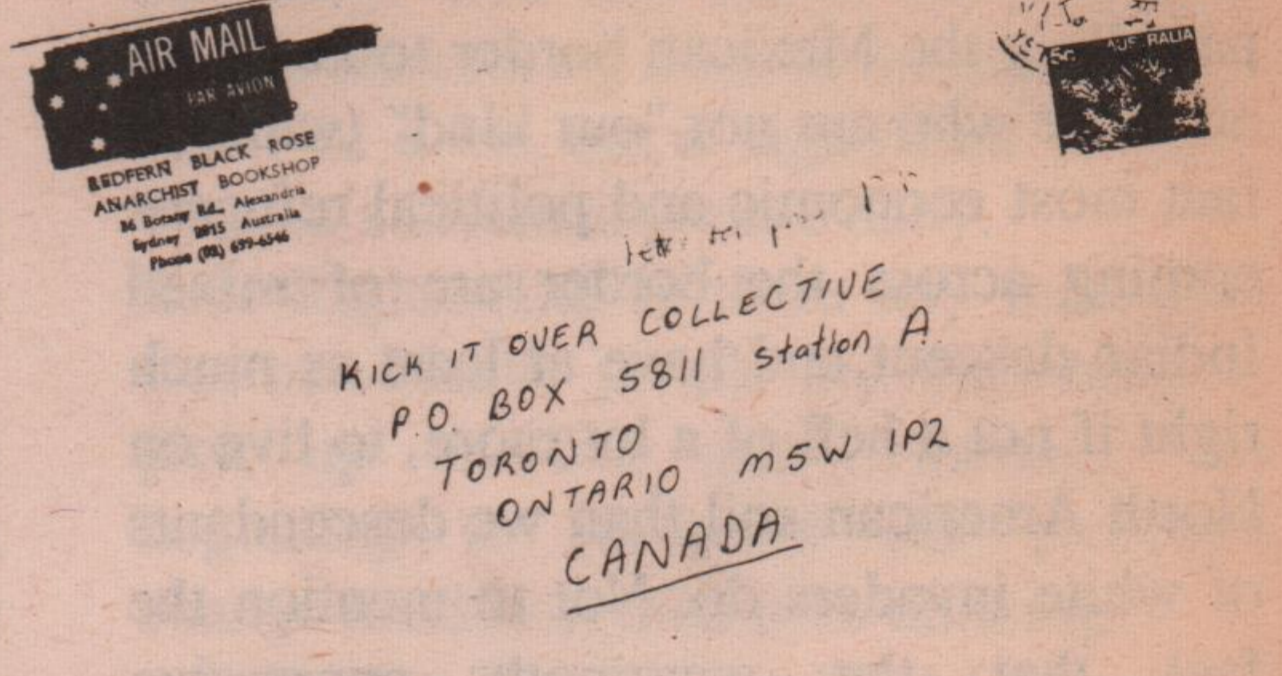
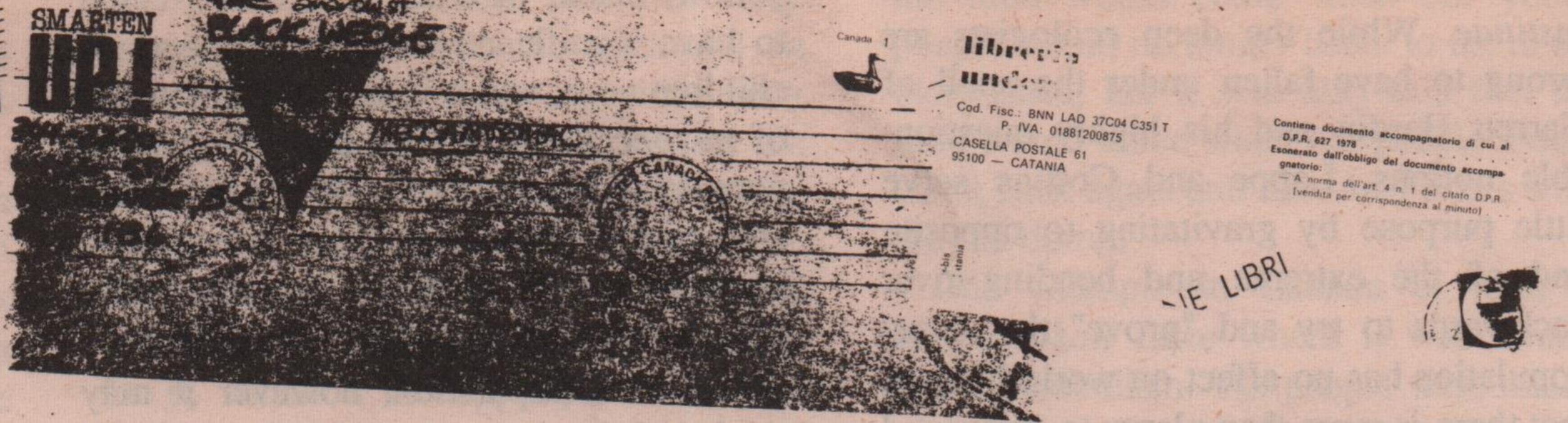
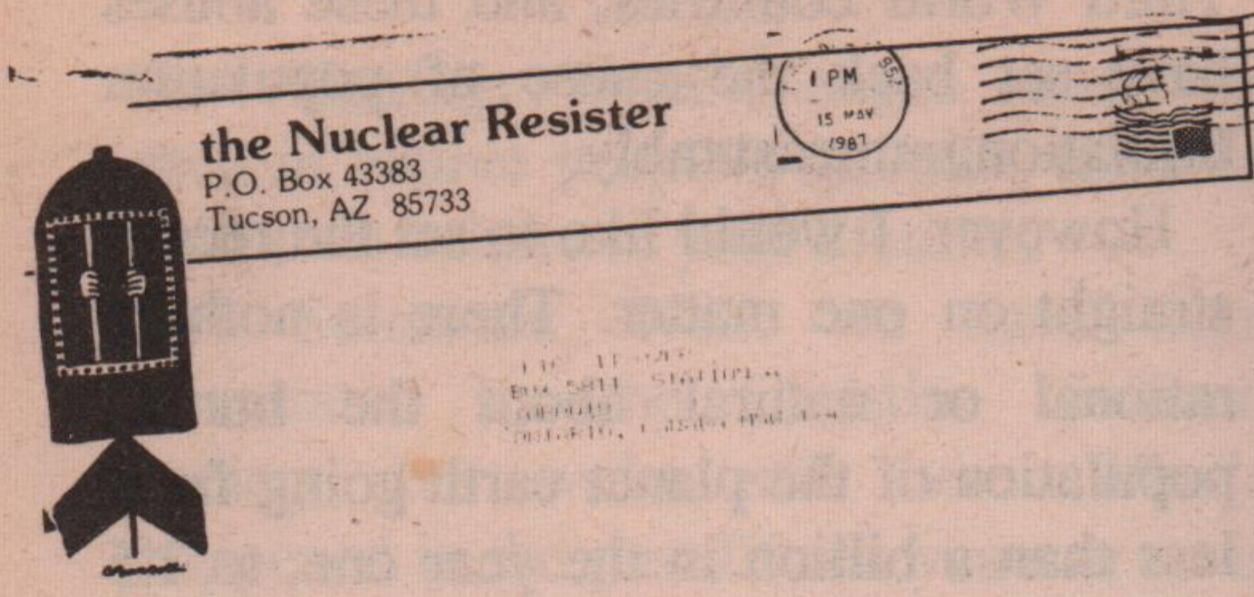
On Human Nature

Dear KIO,

Was very glad to see some fantastic articles in the most recent KIO (I liked the issue before this also). I'd like to use the "Why Anarcho-Feminism?" article for an anthology I'm compiling on anarchist writings because I think it simply conveys its message very well. I share Bob Black's attitude on copyrights (he says in The Abolition of Work and Other Essays that any material in that book may be freely reproduced, translated or adapted, even without mentioning the source) but

abstract as "human nature" you have to define it first. That's where one of my primary problems comes up: What does human nature mean? Does it mean the nature of humans as it exists today or does it mean the unadulterated, underlying nature of humanity?

My only answer to this has to do with the fact that nobody knows if there is an unadulterated common humanity, and if there is, what it is. Malatesta believed there was something (see Anarchy), so did Kropotkin and so did I for a long while. I always believed that underneath people just want to survive, to love and be loved but there is rarely such examples of people that have not been influenced by anything (people who are severely mentally retarded may be in this case, but anybody who knows anyone like that knows that they do not practice mutual aid because they cannot reason with the wants of other people), and there is certainly no good historical evidence to prove that people ever existed that didn't want to oppress each other. Sure you can talk about early people working together to grow food or whatever but that's only because that was the way they survived. The men oppressed women because it didn't threaten their survival and they could get away with it. Anyway, we can't



home where the people you're criticizing will see it. Otherwise, what's the point? At best, you're preaching to the converted, at worst, giving ammunition to the anti-feminists in our midst. Better to send articles like that to a feminist zine, and use this zine to discuss the problems in our own movement. Although I can certainly understand why many people might be reluctant to stick their necks out after the response to "Jerk Off Politics" (part 1) showed how well the anarchist "community" reacts to criticism!

I'm not sure where to begin with my reaction to Susan's article. Maybe with the style. Now, O.K., I go to school too, so maybe I'm in no position to complain, but maybe a bit of rewriting might be in

How else can one explain Susan's statement that Starhawk is not an anarchist? Not only is Starhawk's writing more anti-authoritarian than most of what I've read by "official" anarchists, but she makes references in Dreaming the Dark to black flags, Murray Bookchin, and various other identifying factors. However, her apparent label-less-ness seems to mean that she doesn't qualify. (Incidentally, at her recent talk in Toronto she did use the A-word, so I guess now she "is". Sign her up for the Anarchy Club, the membership card's in the mail.) Some of the best anti-authoritarian writing I've read has been by feminists who don't call themselves anarchists, especially eco-feminists. So Susan's claim that a particular writer "does not and cannot" address the corrupting influence of power "because she is not an anarchist" simply doesn't follow. Issues of power, domination, and hierarchy have often been, and will probably continue to be, addressed by all kinds of people who don't explicitly identify as anarchists.

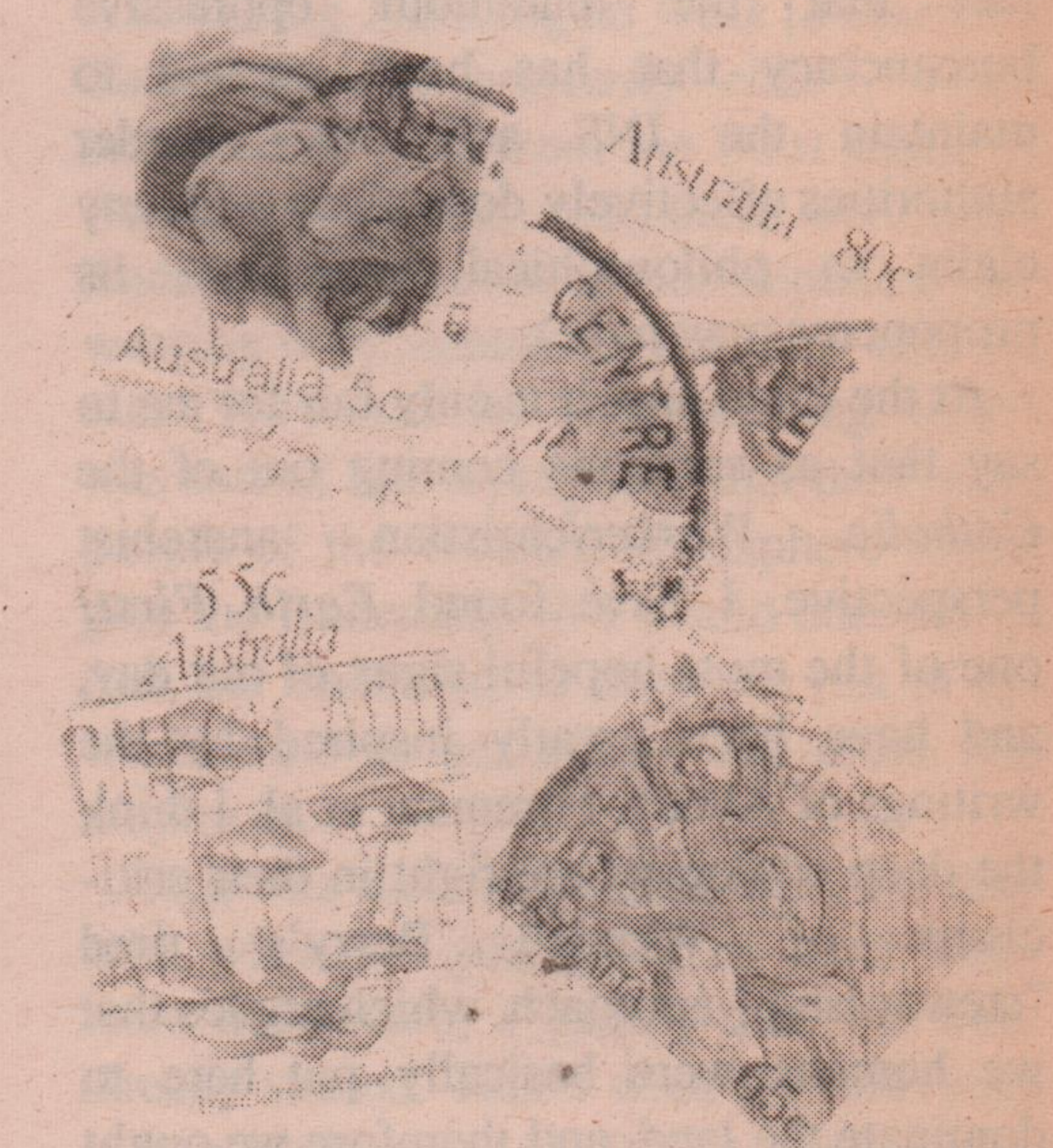
I also disagree with Susan's statement that to see patriarchy as the root cause of all oppression is necessarily an anti-anarchist idea, or implies "a hierarchy of causes". To me, anarchism means opposition to all forms of domination: it doesn't necessarily dictate one's priori-

I've been recently flooded with nasty letters from people about this, much to my surprise. So rather than just notifying L. Susan Brown that I will be using her essay, which, judging from my mail, most anarchists consider an authoritarian act, please pass on my address to her so we can discuss this possibility.

At the end of the "Why Anarcho-Feminism?" article, I was glad to see a list of important questions added. We discuss these questions quite frequently here and I always bring these subjects up over and over again (much to the annoyance of certain people I know) because I think there is a lot to be said about them.

Opening up a nice can of worms, I'd like to make a few comments on the question "Is there a human nature?". First of all I think you hit the question on the head. Does one exist? For so long I was struggling with the question "What is human nature?" until I realized that it wasn't so much my answers that were weak, but it was the question itself which presupposes that a human nature actually exists.

From this a few people have already gathered that I don't really believe in a human nature and this is because of many hours of discussion and thinking about what is meant by human nature. I think when you're working with terms as



say there is a human nature but we can say there are predominant human tendencies that exist today, which some people will define as human nature, but I won't.

My question on all this is what does it matter if there is a human nature or if there isn't? Nobody exists as a human nature so we have to realize this and take it from there. It's like all these people who say "People always... (whatever)" when trying to justify something. "It's human nature." Look, I don't care if they think it's human nature, or typical human practice or what. I think that you define





your human nature; you create it (of course most people use role models though). One of my hopes as an anarchist is that people always try to consciously make things better for everyone, and when I say for everyone that's what I mean. I am tired of people trying to legitimize change by fishing for historical or cultural examples of people living non-hierarchically or worse yet by saying that it's really everybody's underlying human nature. To me the historical and cultural examples, when they truly exist (very rarely), are fascinating but shouldn't be relied upon to prove a point. The point that a small group of people can make something work if they want to is important, but most examples thrown up of anarchistic tribes or whatever are not only bad examples, because they mostly are anarchistic only in their lack of government, but because they were just going along living the way they were taught to live and I'm not sure if they ever considered the idea of other ways to live. There are, however, good examples of people dropping out and setting up new societies, but then again they are rarely referred to when trying to rationalize an existence of human nature.

Another question you brought up is that of "free will". As I said before, I think that

something like this? (Points to an expensive dress in a window.) You know it would make you look nice.

**Me:** Well, who determines what looks nice and what doesn't? Just because it's more expensive doesn't mean anything. The clothes don't make the person, the person makes the clothes. People who try to get dressed up in expensive clothes are just clothing themselves in materialistic values, it doesn't make you any better than anybody else.

**Woman:** I didn't say it makes you better than anybody else but people dress in a way that conveys a message about themselves to other people. *You* use the way *you* dress to convey the message that you're unusual. I don't want to convey that message.

**Me:** That's because people are taught that they should "fit in". The message that you're trying to convey is that you are rich when you buy expensive clothes that are available in cheaper, equally good models.

**Woman:** And the message you try to convey is that you're poor. What's wrong with wanting to convey that you're rich. I am rich.

**Me:** Saying that you're poor through your clothes is a political statement. It's saying that poor people exist. I only wish that more poor people would dress like poor people instead of as rich people.

**Woman:** I know that poor people exist. But they should dress better, like rich people if you will, to give themselves more dignity.

Etc., etc.  
The point is that the woman desires to be rich and wants it known. Is this a true desire? And if it is (which I doubt, at least how I define true desires. Shit! Maybe desire isn't any different than human nature), does that make it O.K.?

Well, anybody who wants to share his or her opinions please write.

creatures your soul will go to Heaven, by sacrificing a human being like me, you will have more of Heaven. So you sacrifice me now and leave these harmless animals free." Saying this, he showed his neck for his own sacrifice! The king was shocked, the knife he was holding for the slaughter fell from his hand and he remained speechless while looking at Buddha. He became Buddha's discipline and banned the custom of animal sacrifice throughout his kingdom.

According to Buddha, Compassion is the cream of religion. Yet Compassion cannot be bought from a shop as we buy a TV set or a car with money. Only in a pure heart and mind, kept unified, sharpened and sensitive by meditation, true Compassion is born. As the sun gives light and warmth to all creatures, the infinite Compassion flowing through the heart benefits all beings. It is this healing balm of Compassion that is sorely needed everywhere in this sorrow-stricken world of increasing violence, turbulence and turmoil, not so much of the one-sided head-education with its dry intellect and jugglery of words without the corresponding development of the heart, not so much of the dazzling material miracles brought about by science, technologies, factories and industries. "A good heart is better than all the heads put together." We may boast that we have succeeded to walk on the moon. But have we learnt to live together in peace on earth? There is a saying: "Tell me what you eat, I shall then tell you what you are." Look at the difference in temperament between a grass-eating deer and a meat-eating tiger! Mother-Nature, in deep gratitude, blesses those who do not kill, cause to kill or harm her children.

Swami Nirmalananda,



Mr. Board not attempt to refute this point, and change the topic after bringing it up?

It is true that more harmful chemicals are used in growing fruits and vegetables, which is saying a lot, because they use some pretty scary ones in the animal foods industries, but in this case, Mr. Board is guilty of over-simplifying things.

Pesticide residues collect in the tissues of livestock, creating concentrations that do not occur in fruits and vegetables. As for his concern over cancer, I suggest a comparison between the cancer statistics for vegetarians and those for the general public.

I agree that if McDonald's were a soyburger corporation, they'd likely buy from producers that destroy rainforests, but they aren't, and they don't. Meat production causes massive destruction to rainforests, rivers, the land, human health, and billions of animals, who have the same right to live as does Mr. Board. Meat eating is dangerous in a very negative way, and we are all paying for its destruction. Vegetarianism however, is a threat in a very positive way, and we can all reap rewards from its spread.

Healthy as can be,  
Glenn R. Harrington  
London, Ontario

Thank You Letter  
KIO:

Greetings, and thank you for the issue (#14) I asked about. I am impressed with



Kick It Over  
Box 5811 Stn. A  
Toronto Ont.  
CANADA MSW IP2

RETURN TO SENDER  
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pp ends issue 17  
Gerry Hannah

Anarchy, Peace & Love,  
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France 75013

SALONICA  
GREECE

"K.I.O."  
P.O. Box 5811

A Rejoinder

Dear KIO

I am writing in response to Mykel Board's informed criticisms of my article, "Meat Is Murder", which appeared in issue 17. I appreciate his concern that I over-simplified issues in my article, but I assure you, simplification was not unintentional. If I were to include all the political ramifications of every complex issue brought up by the article, it would have been very lengthy, exhaustive, and uninteresting. I wrote it in a depth sufficient to provoke thought, and a length sufficient to keep the progression of subjects comfortable, not exhaustive.

When I said, "It takes about 16kg of feed to produce 1kg of beef," I was not inferring anything to do with feeding malnourished people; I was simply refuting the popular anti-vegetarian wisecrack, "Vegetables is murder", along with its inference that, "vegetarians are just as bad as meat eaters". A vegetarian diet simply requires less killing.

I am well acquainted with the food surplus issue, and have studied it, and that is why I did not say, "This grain could be used to feed starving people." The fact is, it could, but it would not.

As my article indicates, the abuse of antibiotics in animal agribusiness does result in the evolution of resistant bacteria, and decreased effectiveness of many drugs in treating people, so why did

Box 1425 NYC 10009

Compassionate Living

"Kill not for pity's sake," wrote Edwin Arnold quoting Buddha in *The Light of Asia*.

Vegetarianism is India's great contribution to the world. The one who was chiefly responsible for turning a large section of the intelligent masses of this country to non-killing and the vegetarian way of life was Buddha whose heart of Compassion for all creatures knew no bounds. The society of Buddha's period blindly practiced the ritualistic tradition of animal and even human sacrifice for propitiating their gods. But Buddha paid no heed to those gods who were thirsting for blood. His message throughout was: Revere Truth, have Compassion for all living beings, but don't appease gods. Carrying a lame sheep which the shepherd was beating and driving along with a large flock, Buddha went to the king seated in the *Yaga-sala* (special enclosure for sacrificial offerings) where hundreds of priests were chanting hymns and performing ceremonies and where thousands of sheep and goats were going to be sacrificed to propitiate gods. Looking straight to the face of the king, Buddha said: "By sacrificing these innocent



people have basic underlying desires but this is based on my hopes, not on anything I've seen. I think it's imperative that we all discuss things like will, desires, aesthetics, and so forth, especially in relation to ourselves (because we are the people that we can change) and weed out our desires and tastes and try to establish some sort of knowledge of what has been influenced by our race, class, sex, age, etc....

One conversation I had with a woman that made me think about desires was the following:

**Woman:** Did you ever try to wear

KIO, and offer my support and best wishes. My strongest praise for KIO is this: Unlike many anarchist periodicals and anarchist individuals, KIO does not seem to be pretentious. Your writing, I feel, combines radicalism with some realism, not an easy accomplishment. I was most impressed by the Chomsky interview, the article by Ms. Landstreet, and the piece on Soviet-Bloc Grass Roots movements.

I am a university student studying history, and I was (still am, I suppose) very inspired by the hardcore "movement". I am a voracious reader and I like to write, so if you need help in those aspects I can help. ...

Best Wishes,  
David S.  
Michigan, USA

