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The Semiotics of Tension in American Punk Rock

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The Semiotics of Tension in American Punk Rock

Christian Smith

DePauw University Honor Scholar Program

Class of 2022

Sponsor: Dr. Pedar Foss

Committee Member: Dr. Adam Liebman

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First, I would like to thank my father for introducing me to Punk music by letting me listen to his Dookie CD non-stop growing up. Secondly, I sincerely thank my committee: Dr. Foss and Dr. Liebman for encouraging and pushing me to create the best project possible.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations pgs.4-15

Abstract pg.16

Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review pg.17

Chapter 2: Methodology pg.29

Chapter 3: DC Case Study pg.32

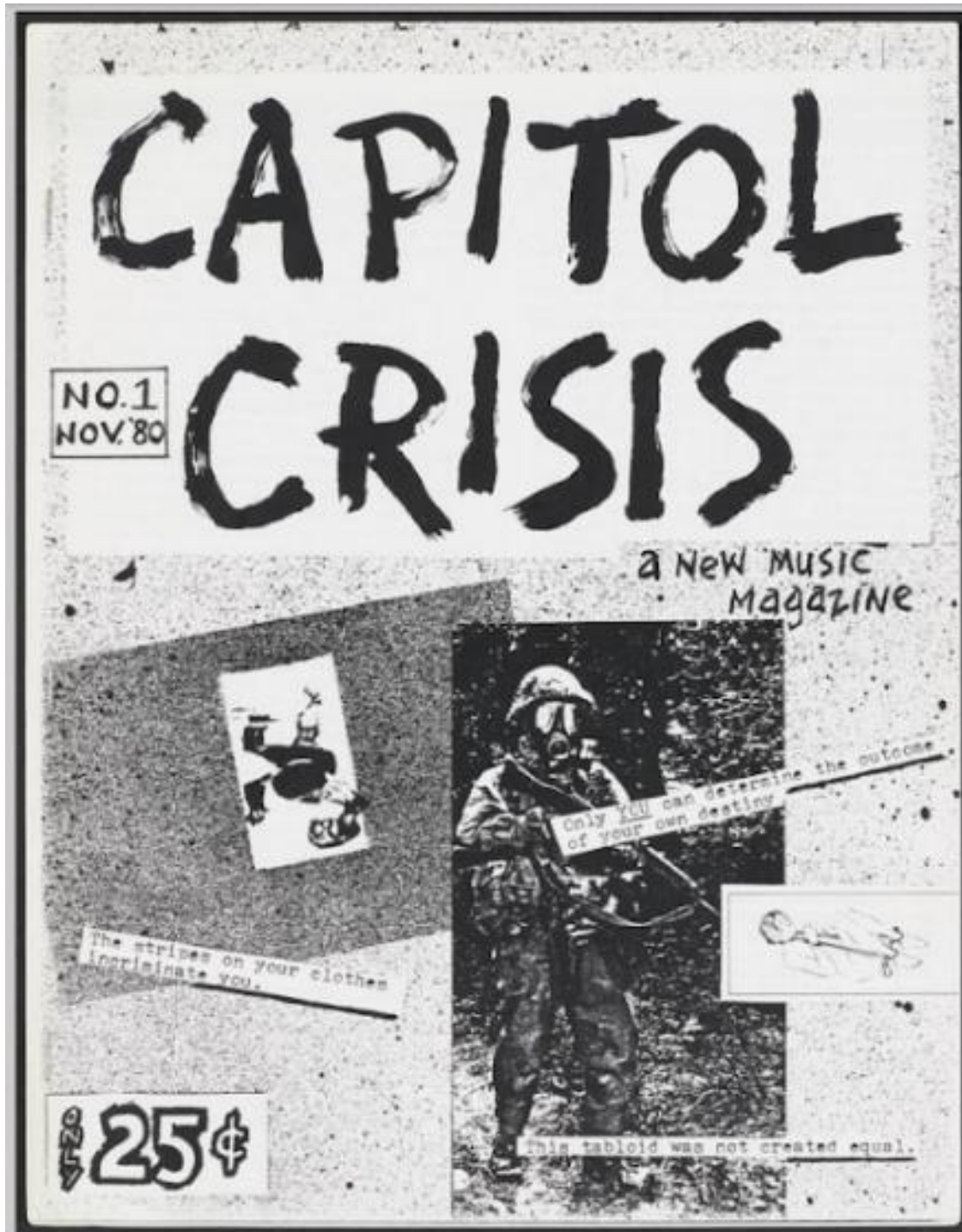
Chapter 4: Los Angeles Case Study pg.46

Chapter 5: Conclusion pg.63

Bibliography pg.71

List of Illustrations:

Fig.1



EDITORIAL.....CAPITAL CRISIS.....
November 1980.....Issue No.1.....

Well, here we are in this nation's capitol, trying to write about what's been coined The New Wave, since 1976But, have things really changed in the U.S. since The Sex Pistols???? We are pleased to observe that many bands have made creative attempts in the area and that the club scene has improved, but, somehow the depth of understanding with regard to the subculture from whence this music comes remains shallow. (Funny: though W&R was born in the U.S., it seems, as Johnny Infern, " Yanks just don't understand rock; it's that simple." For the most part, Britain has done it better for the past five years.)

The purpose of this tabloid is to allow those unconfined persons, a part of this growing subculture, to be able to express and read about themselves. We admittedly are following in Great Britain's tradition of the punk tabloid. We are not profusely political, although we do wish to exercise our Freedom of Speech and encourage the popular (or not so popular) opinions within the confines of this powerful, though somewhat obscure, musical realm.

Rebellion induces thought and change which, given a cause, can become positive and viable. We must evolve and be open to change, and not be dictated to by the commercial music industry and commercial media. These powers should also awaken to the validity of the music discussed here or in other alternative music publications.

One thing we hope all of us will grow to realize is that in dealing with The Powers That Be (commercially speaking, in reference to media), we are beckoning failure unless we become marketable enough to reach more people. Are honesty and spontaneity marketable qualities? We suppose we'll find out soon enough.

If you wish to contribute we invite

If you wish to contribute we invite your support, your ideas, art and articles. As you must have perceived, we are a low-budget, non-profit endeavor. There is no room for competitiveness between staff members; only the mutual desire to create something of interest to ourselves and those of you out there who share

our musical tastes and empathize with our views. This tabloid is designed, also, with the now defunct (extinct) radio station WGTB in mind. While this country remains free, let's strive to express our feelings wherever and whenever we can.....with PURPOSE.

Here is what we hope to be offering:

- Classified & personal adverts.... a mere .25 per line
- Commercial ads for music-related business supporting alternative music
- Musician's ads/logos/photos/itineraries/news
- Fan club addresses and listings
- Info on vinyl collectables
- Tips on local venues
- Local and International music news
- Record and concert reviews
- Interviews
- Cartoons
- Letters to the Editor
- A monthly music quiz and crossword puzzle
- An advice and gossip column

Please send all correspondence & material to:

CAPITOL CRISIS
Maddox Estate,
4120 N.41st Street,
Arlington, VA 22207

Table of Contents:

P. 3 - Venues P.12 - NEWS & QUIZ
P. 4 - 7 - 45 Reviews P.13 - FILM
P. 8 - LP Reviews P.14 - TOP 20's
P. 9 - 11 - Live! P.15 - CROSSWORD

Fig.2

VENUES

Here is a rundown on local venues (clubs, etc.) that host new rock and roll acts from occasionally to regularly. A four star rating system based on location, quality and variety of bands, acoustics, atmosphere and value for the almighty dollar.

9:30 (930 F St. NW, DC) ****

Has to get the top rating for being superior in at least two of the above areas. The space, although smallish (by New York standards), is comfortable. One can move about rather easily, sit at the back bar, or at tables in the back corridor. The large front room emphasizes dancing and a bar is available there too. Bands vary from local unknowns to well known (in England anyway) British bands, and this is where 9:30 stands tall- the belief and daring to book lesser known and extreme or experimental bands. Four stars just for that! Sound can range from fair to good, drinks moderately priced, snacks available. Wed-Sat, occasional Sun. gigs, DJ-dancing Wed. adm. 1-\$5.

BAYOU (3135 K St. NW, DC) ***

Generally speaking, the best sound system in the city. Fairly good selection of local and out-of-town bands, however, on a much less regular schedule than 9:30. If the bouncers are in a good mood one can have an enjoyable evening there. Two floors, two bars, fairly spacious. Drink prices are a little high, but usually adm. fee is kept at \$5 or under, so you can get by without too much expense. Snacks available, recorded music between acts tends to be uninteresting. Mon-Sat, with some Mondays designated as "New Wave Night"

PSYCHEDELIC (4846 Cordell Ave, Bethesda, MD) ** 1/2

Despite major renovations and increased capacity the 'Delly' remains uncomfortable more often than not. The sound ricochets off the metal ceiling and scatters throughout the room. This club has all the feeling of one of those big Texas bar-b-que barns. Still, one can find some good rock and roll there. On occasion, it is fairly relaxing, and adm. fee and the drink prices tend to be low.

ONE FLIGHT UP (4934 B Wisconsin Ave., NW, DC) ** 1/2

A small congested place, One Flight Up was one of the first places one could go to listen and dance to 'new wave' music on a weekly basis. People are generally friendly, although one can never predict what type of crowd will show on any given evening. Local bands appear weekly. Drink prices are low and dance floor is small.

SCANDALS (1236 Wisconsin Ave., NW, DC) **

Not sure of their status these days. You may find a local band pound-ing away in the small back room, or a dj spinning discs. It's a rather curious environment with pompous Georgetown types sequestered in the front bar watching football- but, watch out if the Untouchables and Teen Idles play there! Call for info.

DESPERADO'S (3350 M St., NW, DC) **

The name evokes images of a dusty, old western, shoot-em-up style saloon. While many bands that are booked-in to this establishment are akin to the above image, the occasional local & national 'rock and roll' band will put in an appearance. The two roomed, two tiered Desperado's doesn't offer the best sound system, but the moderately low priced drinks and cover slightly make up for it.



Fig.3

Fig.4





Fig.5

INTRO. **POSITIVE FORCE**

THIS INTRODUCTION TO THE GROUP 'POSITIVE FORCE' IS WRITTEN BY AN ORGANIZER OF "NO BUSINESS AS USUAL. HOPEFULLY IT WILL GIVE YOU A GOOD IDEA OF WHAT THE GROUP IS ABOUT... .

A Little BÎT on what WE're About...


We are part of the generation who don't care or at least that's what everybody keeps telling us. We are the mindless self-efatuated yuppies who care about having a large bank account and a "prestigious position" in some posh corporation. We are those who worry about skiing trips and designer jeans while we close our eyes and minds to social injustice, world wide oppression, and the many atrocities happening across the earth. We are the "Good Americans" who play follow the leader straight to the mushroom cloud...

PAUSE  STOP 
incorrect data

But yet there are those of us who do care. But with "Resurgent America" and its blind and smiling "patriots" waving their plastic flags and screaming "America #One" -our viewpoints and voices are being silenced. Yet we will not and can not be silent especially now! There are so many horrors in our world today many of which could lead to total destruction of our earth and life as we know it today. Contrary to what many say, we are not trying to "recreate the 60s" we just want more youth to wake up from their apathy, see the necessity to act, and ACT NOW!

As young people we meet with constant struggle against conformity and molding of our opinions. If our parents, schools, peers, and television sets don't actually come directly out and tell us to keep quiet and not question the status quo, they can make it quite difficult by making us feel fearful and outcast. Yet there are reasons they want us to keep quiet as well as there are reasons that so many people willingly gag themselves...

In the first place this system and those in power want to maintain the status quo and their power and any questioning of it threatens it. Also many people may see problems yet they are so bewildered frightened and lacking of knowledge of what to do about it that they just simply "do not worry about it." Hell, think of all the diversions they can use to escape the problems today ranging from television and fashion to the life of their favorite rock star. Especially in America people have an easier time of putting on their blinders and going on with their "business as usual."

 OH! I'M SO HAPPY! I CAN'T SEE!

But we cant pretend that everything is "nice and rosy." Nor can we just simply pretend that there is nothing we can do about the situation we are facing.
We are powerful together and we can do something that will change things. By coming together we offer an alternative to the system and "business as usual." We may have diverse outlooks on what its going to take to change things yet in our diversity we can find unity to work together.

Many things have changed through collective action and NOW is the time to stop making excuses for being inactive. NOW is the time to ACT.

In the D.C. area, people are taking up a June 11th action against Caspar Weinberger's appearance at Fort McNair. There will be a Rock Against Reagan/Racism on July 3rd on the Mall (there could be actions on July 4th, but these are in the planning stages). And from August 6th to 8th, there will be creative actions taken, being that August 6th is the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. If you are interested in taking part or helping out these actions in any way or want a copy of our magazine "Off Center", please write to:

The Peace Center
c/o Positive Force
2111 Florida Ave., NW
Washington D.C.
20008
or call 265-5233 (Thurs. & Fri.)


Our first meeting is on June 15th at the Peace Center. All are welcome!

(and on [✓]Sat. after that)

STOP BUSINESS AS USUAL!

Fig.6

Fig.7



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LET US PREY!

by Bob Black

Thanks to the Moral Majority, it's again okay to be anti-religious — a little bit, anyway. And yet only the grossest grandiose abuses of the radio reactionaries and direct-mail chauvinist pigs come in for even polite criticism. That's too bad, 'cause if you turn the other cheek, you'll probably catch a slap on that side too. When the fundamentalists start piling up faggots around faggots, let's not limit ourselves to deploring the fire code violation.

Face it: the aggressive *elan* of the religious right is running rings around the limited legalism of its enemies. The repressive right is (on the) offensive. The punch-drunk, punch-pulling "progressives" are only reacting. Unlike most who model the adjective, the godly really are radical. They're happy to rewrite or rip up their own revered Constitution. They're out to shatter the social and sexual status quo. They have a (tunnel) vision of a theocratic New Order. They mean business.

The liberals and leftists in contrast are dithering, defensive conservatives — Weinman paralytics unwilling to do unto others what's being done to them. Why not?

Until recently, leftists regarded any resurrection of the Marxist and Bakuninist critiques of religion as old-fashioned and irrelevant. The fact that "the masses" they profess to serve but secretly despise still largely adhered to a watered-down Christianity didn't disturb the leftist leadership. That was just one more sign of the elect to distinguish the vanguard from the rank and file; one more reminder that the hoi-polloi need to be controlled for their own good.

Certainly such superstitions, if overlooked, proved no obstacle to the officialdom's prime purpose: herding people into its parties and unions. By the 1960's, the left's inheritance of Enlightenment freethought had so far evaporated that "Marxist-Christian dialog" became fashionable. The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., especially after his martyrdom, assumed totemic stature, his holy name gracing in-

numerable and otherwise unchanged streets, schools, parks, and buildings. The New Left toyed with mysticism — a tendency which later differentiated into a self-subsistent scam-subculture, the New Age — and collaborated with Quakers, religious liberals, and hip Vatican II priests and nuns in antiwar work and various ventures in humanitarian uplift.

Among liberals, the mere mention of religion was a breach of good taste as well as a threat to the New Deal coalition which yoked them to the Catholic ethnics. Everything, from the Kennedy cult to the radical-liberal effusions of the National Council of Churches, combined to abort any resumption of the liberal anticlerical tradition of Paine and Jefferson. It isn't easy to hew Voltairian verities while holding hands with a mini-skirted nun and a black Baptist pastor as you lift up your voices in a chorus of "We Shall Overcome."

The 70's made matters worse. A media-manufactured white ethnic / "hardhat" fad espoused by some opportunist intellectuals further insulated popular piety from the criticism and contempt it deserved. Despite the Berigan Brothers, despite folk-music masses and other ecumenical cosmetics, the Catholic Church devoted its millions — and its millions of mystified minions — to opposing abortion and imposing morals laws.

The left proved useless. It was busy disintegrating into countless special-interest groups, each aspiring to the envied position of victim-group which the blacks had assumed with such seeming success. The Leninist sects which kept up the revolutionary rhetoric likewise claimed to be the agent of a specialty group, the proletariat, grudgingly augmented with others (everybody had to palliate women, but some could never bring themselves to champion gays), but in all cases the critique of the totality was foreworn. With more leftist organizations but less leftists than a decade before, all that happened was that a few more small-time operations assumed their modest place in the pseudo-pluralist system of constituency politics. The *sine qua non* of this accommodation was of course a tacit understanding to overlook one another's shortcomings, especially the ones common to all. On the defensive

and playing it safe, leftists were about as likely to tackle the Religious Question as, say, the Jewish Question.

As for the liberals... what liberals? As Saul Alinsky (it takes on to know one) once said: "A liberal is a guy who leaves the room when an argument turns into a fight." And then there was the Age of Aquarius. (Buddy, can youse paradigm?) The New Agers syncretized the worst mushminded, narcissistic and accommodationist currents of the Counterculture (the New Left at play) into a new religion of resignation. Earlier religious zealots at least checked each other's excesses by exposing and exhorting them. In the New Age, however, all religions are true. I'm okay, you're okay. This time the problem is not going to solve itself. No need to dwell on the embarrassment of the recent election, in which liberals strove manfully (and womanfully) to outdo their opponents' devotion to *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* and talked themselves into a richly deserved debacle.

No surprise then that the "scientific socialists" and other left flotsam got caught off/vanguard by the New Right and its militant social conservatism. As usual the intelligentsia, self-appointed servants of history, failed to learn from it and so outsmarted itself. The leftists were so busy studying Liberation Theology that they forgot that — from Franco's Carlist shock troops in 1936 to Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards today — always and everywhere the religious fanatics have been the (throat-)cutting edge of reaction.

As teleologues, the liberals, Marxists and anarchists thought that all the trappings of modernity — technology, democracy, humanism, etc. — came as a set. To their bewilderment, the New Right has mounted a massive high-tech propaganda campaign (anticipated, to be sure, by Goebbels) successfully promoting the most absurd and vicious misogynist, sadistic and irrational notions. They never did understand, to their cost, what Adorno and Horkheimer and Marcuse had tried to tell them about the difference between instrumental and substantive rationality. But instead of rethinking their positivist prejudices, leftists quibble over constitutional technicalities which they themselves have done so much to relativize. Like the Cold War liberals of the 50's and 60's, they'll never out-flagwave the right no matter how many of their values they betray.

The secret source of the left's impotence in the face of the upsurge of the recrudescing right is this: they have too much in common. A leftist is someone who shoots himself in the foot once he gets it out of his mouth.

The hard right accuses the left of imposing its "secular humanist" values in the public schools and elsewhere while feigning neutrality. Obviously the right is — what else? — right. Now the meat- and Bible-beaters figure it's their turn to rewrite the script to suit their own antediluvian tastes. The liberals pretend that evolutionism is "science" while creationism is "theology," a fine distinction at best. In its origin, obviously creationism is Christian. But in its origin, so is evolutionism, a scarcely secularized transubstantiation of the

transcendent millennial essence of Christianity, the historical dimension which distinguishes it from other faiths. So what? Surely the kook right is onto something for wondering why birth-control training belongs in compulsory public schools but prayer doesn't. It is possible to take a principled stand against compulsory schooling, i.e., state-enforced thought control, and thus outflank Babbity altogether. But the leftists and liberals do nothing of the sort.

Max Stirner's reproach is still telling: "Man, your head is haunted; you have wheels in your head!" Religion always represents the permanent possibility of repression. God, the ultimate patriarch and absolute authority, strives to consolidate His dictatorship "on Earth as it is in Heaven." But He has help, not only from the consciously Christian crud, but from everyone who covets His power and emulates His methods. Every vanguard gang is a Jesuit rhtread. Every hierarchy microcosmizes the Great Chain of Being. All "militants" belong to the Church Militant.

The left has never jettisoned the humanist moralism it took from Christianity. From Rousseau to Lenin (to say nothing of small fry from Bob Avakian to Mario Cuomo) it preaches guilt, renunciation, martyrdom, self-effacement, obedience, work — in a word, religion. Moralism means the sacrifice of real, tangible individuals and their face-to-face passionate groups to abstract extrinsic "causes" and pseudo-communities (the State, the Party, the Proletariat, *la Raza*, Sisterhood, etc. *ad nauseum*). If God is dead, moralism is the Dostoevsky Machine which He spitefully bequeathed us.

The craving for community, for the sensation of a sensibility transcending the sterile, calculating reason of the engineers and bookkeepers and planners cannot be satiated by a demeaning religiosity which falls short of full-blooded practical reason; but only by a surrational leap which includes but exceeds it. "Reason is the bound or outward circumference of Energy" (Blake), not the ultimate cop-like Categorical Imperative. Reversing Freud: Where Ego was, Id will be too.

Also to be avoided, though, are the nervous artificial sacrilegious of the surrealist academics. As Raoul Vaneigem observed, "pissing on the altar is still a way of paying homage to the Church." Above all, under no circumstances commit an act of art.

Neither sacrificialism, nor any empty "individualism" means anything to the freely in(ter)dependent social individuals who disdain the system along with its friendly enemies. The ideologically possessed, left and right, have always stood in our way — not one another: we all know we want each other.

Not just religious cranks meddling in politics, but religion and politics themselves pose the permanent problem of what Gibbon called the eternal alliance of Throne and Altar, the Holy Alliance of all authorities and authoritarians. Separation has proved to be a liberal mirage. The only real alternative to theocracy is the abolition of church and state alike — because they are alike. Let us prey!

Fig.8

CONTENTS

EXCLUSIVE: DAMNED INTERVIEW	PAGE 5
LOCAL SHIT	PAGE 8
THE SCREAMERS: PICTORIAL	PAGE 9
SINGLE REVIEWS	PAGE 12
ALBUM REVIEWS	PAGE 13
CONCERT REVIEWS	PAGE 15

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EDITORIAL

SO THIS IS WAR, EH?

This decade's biggest musical fad has been the dreadful dripping sounds of disco music. Up to now. Because lately there've been rumors of strange goings-on on the fringes of the music world. Violence at concerts both on the part of the performers and of the audience, outraged editorials in daily newspapers, foul-mouthed interviews on live TV and frightened record companies dropping contracts faster than a chimp would a hot potato, oddball fashions of slashed clothing, repulsive make-up and bondage paraphernalia, and of course music, dirty primitive music that has little to do with the stuff music stations have been pouring in our ears for what seems to be an eternity.

Today this madness is mostly an English phenomenon, but there are signs that it will not stop there. This publication was born out of curiosity and out of hope. Curiosity regarding what looks like a possible rebirth of true rebel music, hope in its eventual victory over the bland products professional pop stars have been feeding us. May the punks set this rat-infested industry on fire. It sure could use a little brightness!

So there will be no objective reviewing in these pages, and definitely no unnecessary dwelling upon the bastards who've been boring the living shit out of us for years with their concept albums, their cosmic discoveries and their pseudo-philosophical inanities. Enough is enough, partner! About time we squeezed the pus out and sent the filthy rich old farts of rock 'n' roll to retirement homes in Florida where they belong. Let them play at Saturday night dances for the mink and Geritol crowd at the Sheraton hotels, let them remember the old days when they'd rather die than be seen with socialite creeps and being heard talking trash and then let them shit in their pants with envy. As The Clash say, NO ELVIS, BEATLES OR ROLLING STONES IN 1977!

SLASH PAGE THREE

Fig.9

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EDITORIAL

Your values are worthless...

There is nothing more puzzling to a generation than the emergence of a new movement which openly rejects what everyone had come to think of as reliable "new" values: well-deserved respect and appreciation from the graveyards in charge. So the most obvious legacy the thirty-year-olds laid on the western world, the ROCK we all learned to accept as part of modern life, the ever-present background to countless activities, the money-making machine for the hip businessmen, the beat that's been going on since Cher wore Sonny's ring, the ROCK we grew up on is crumbling. The sacred sound is being mocked, ridiculed, challenged and ignored at the same time.

What surprises me most is that very few people saw it coming. Even though the music had been going in loops for half a decade (disco being to original rock 'n' roll what Brautigan is to Joyce), even though the signs of stagnation were everywhere (the rise of the studio musician as a cult figure, the more and more flagrant regression to '40s slickness and irrelevance, the countless reworkings of old standards...), even though what was once the very look of rebellion had progressively become the de rigueur appearance for every ambitious creep with an attache case in place of a heart, even though every fuckin' sign pointed to the exit, hardly anyone was ready for the storm. All caught unaware, with their pants off next to the waterbed and their brains still ringing with the latest Frampton lick!

Poor slob. You laughed when the Dolls tried to disrupt the coziness of your musical tastes, you snickered when the Ramones extracted the essence of YOUR music and threw it back in your face, but now it is coming at you from all directions, and some of it is hard to swallow, ain't it?

And going around complaining about the lack of "music" in the new stuff is sad and silly: there were hundreds of articles written in the '50s explaining that Elvis' sound was NOT music, and hundreds of others in the '60s claiming the same thing about the Stones or the Pretty Things. And all they were saying, those failed prophets, was that it had little to do with the music that THEY KNEW; and therefore couldn't be music. Classical reaction. Now every Stones' riff is probably taught in music courses and is a must for any band that wants to be considered as a serious challenger.

What narrow-minded bullshit! There is no way to intelligently rasp what the real new bands are about if one insists on applying the same judgment standards we've been using in the '60s and the '70s (face it, this decade is over with—what we're witnessing are the birth pangs of '80s music). Of course THEY are not treating songs the way we got accustomed to. Of course they are not worshipping the old concepts of melo-

dy, balance (alternating fast and slow songs is such a prehistoric leftover from innocent school days...), of course they are not trying to look like everybody's sexual fantasy (I can't believe how long this androgynous-macho appeal actually lasted—sure shows how repressed and basically normal everyone was!).

What they are doing is brutally, forcefully shattering our ideas of what modern popular music is like, just anticipating a bit in the process. By doing so they get called monotonous (and so is reggae to millions of know-nothings), negative (because right now is the rejection stage—give them time—there is so much to do away with [!])—they have no choice but to negate), and amateurish (by which it is meant they haven't been doing the beer bar circuit for decades, paid the famous cliché "dues"—what a redneck concept!—and in the process lost every speck of arrogance and originality they may have started with!). Technical proficiency is the last quality one should admire in a music group, goddammit! The same people who are all "soul" this and "soul" that are also the maniacs who can go on for hours about the cleanliness of a guitar lick and the perfection of the beat changes.

The approach most magazines (even the pseudo "advanced" fanzines) use when dealing with the new wave is wrong and self-defeating for those very reasons: if it is new music, it is useless to talk of it in the same breath as the Hollywood Stars, Ted Nugent or Abba. Blaming the new wave exponents for muddy bass lines, one dimensional singing or whatever the fuck old standards they don't measure up to is like blaming Eddie Cochran for not sounding like Bing Crosby. Totally beside the point. A waste and a miss. So, if nothing else, write about the intentions of the group, the precision of their rejection, or the effects of their music on normally peaceful people... See what I mean? (It's about time!)

Booo on the "zines" for mixing covers and articles on (check out the mess!) KISS, CLASH, TUBES, SPRINGSTEEN, PISTOLS, TODD RUNDGREN, BLONDIE, RICHARD HELL and so forth. They are muddling up everything and making it hard for the uninformed fans to know diamonds from shit. You cannot pretend for a second these groups or individuals have any artistic goals in common, no matter how wide an audience you're trying to reach and unify. The old wave and the new one are like oil and water: they do not mix.

So what the hell does it all mean? Don't really know. Means a big definite NO to a lot of things we had taken for granted, which is good. It means a big question mark as far as future directions, and that's probably even better. It's alive. So are we. If the new noise hadn't happened, rock would have died peacefully of old age in a couple of years anyway. It just got stabbed a bit before its time. Let it bleed (to death)!

SLASH PAGE 3

LETTERS

section

SLASH,
I WOULD JUST LIKE TO SAY FUCK YOU TO THIS ALEX/SNICKER/BOCCOFF JEKK (OCTOBER SLASH). FIRST OF ALL ITS NOT OUR FAULT YOUR FRIEND STARTED THAT FIRE, AND WHETHER OR NOT YOU LIKE OUR BAND I DON'T GIVE A F*CK. B*SS. IF PEOPLE LIKE YOU AND YOUR KIND LIKED MY BAND I'D PROBABLY QUIT THE WHOLE DAMN THING. AND FOR YOUR INFORMATION THE GEMS X, FEAR, PLOD, EDDIE & SUBTILES, RUBBER CITY REBELS (KICKBOY WILL HATE ME) AND A FEW OTHER GREAT BANDS ARE THE ONLY REALLY GOOD THING ALIVE IN THIS WHOLE METEELS COUNTRY CITY. AND MY NUMBER IS 626 7312, GIVE ME A CALL AND I'LL LET YOU SEE IF WE CAN MEET IN A DARK ALLEY SOMETIME. WE'LL FIND OUT HOW MUCH OF A "WIMPID FAGOT" I AM. TIL THEN SUCK THE SCROTCHBAG YOU GRAVESTAD SWINGER. THE STEPMOTHERS SAY FUCK OFF, AND DIE, LOVE, STEVE JONES, DRUMMER AND LEADER OF THE STEPMOTHERS

DEAR SLASH,
GODDAMNIT, WE ARE ALLOWED TO CELEBRATE THE BIRTH OF PUNK THIS NOV. SIXTH (THE PRE-SID VIOGUS SEX ITS TOLS MADE THEIR DEBUT ON THE STAGE AT ST MARTIN'S ART SCHOOL IN 1975 IN LONDON?). I'M SURE THE SAME QUESTION WAS ASKED IN 56 ABOUT THE POWER BIRTHDAY OF ROCK N ROLL (BILL HALEY AND HIS COMETS RECORDED "ROCK-A-BEATING BOOGIE" IN 52). SHOULD WE HAVE A SWARTZ SENSE OF HISTORY AT THIS TIME OR DO WE HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL THE 90S. STEVE WILLIAMS

I PERSONALLY CELEBRATE THE BIRTH OF PUNK EVERY YEAR ON NOV 6TH. WE MAY NEVER MAKE IT TO THE EIGHTIES ANYWAY. KICK

SLASH,
FIRST OF ALL, RIK L RIK WAS NOT BOOKED FOR THE NIGHT AT THE THROUBADOUR (SEPT 13) REVIEWED BY CHRIS D. (THE KING OF PURPLE PROSE AND "BLAZING TROPICIS" AS FAR DE PLAYING BASS - SURE IT WAS "PART OF HER" - LIKE AN ARTIFICIAL L&O. QUOTE: "THE SHOW MUST GO ON, NO MATTER HOW STONED OR HIGH THE AUDIENCE IS." - THE AUDIENCE THEY WASH THEM AS BEING PUCKED UP AS THE RIND! NEXT TIME, SEND A REVIEWER, NOT SOMEONE PROMOTING HIS OWN PRODUCT. THE QUEEN MOTHER

OKAY LITTLE QUENTE,
CHRIS D. WOULD LIKE YOU TO KNOW THAT HE DIDN'T WRITE THAT REVIEW TO PUSH HIS OWN PRODUCT BUT THAT HE REALLY LIKES THE BAND AND THAT IS THE REASON THEY ARE ON THE FRONT COVER RECORD ANYWAY. WHAT'S MORE, HE THINKS YOU'RE A HEARTLESS AND CIVILAL NOBESPUCE FOR NOT APPRECIATING DEE DRE'S GUTS AND BRAVERY UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES. DO YOU EVER TAKE CHANCES, PUCK HER, OR DO YOU

JUST SIT BACK AND SNICKER?
FINALLY, I WASN'T EVEN THERE BUT I KNOW THE WORTH OF G.I. A. SO I WOULD LIKE TO ADD MY VERY OWN FUCK YOU, KICK IN TOUCH, KICKBOY

DEAR SLASH,
HOW COME WHEN THE DILS, MUTANTS, DEAD KENNEDYS AND SCRAMMERS SEPARATELY PLAYED NEW YORK THE AMMISSION TO THE GIGS WAS FIFTY DOLLARS? WHO THE HELL DO THESE "SUPERSTARS" THINK THEY ARE? I JUST READ AN OLD FLIPPIRE WHERE THE DILS WERE QUOTED AS SAYING: "BOCCOFF THE WHISKY, 5 DOLLARS. STICK IT IN THEIR (SCRAMMERS) EYE." SHIT! TALK ABOUT HYPOCRISY! I THINK IT'S ABOUT TIME THESE BANDS STARTED TO SHOW SOME RESPECT FOR THE PUNK AUDIENCE - THE ONES WHO GAVE THEM THEIR INITIAL SUPPORT - BY REFUSING TO PLAY AT THESE NEW RIPP-OFF CLUBS. I NEVER PAY MORE THAN 4 DOLLARS TO SEE ANY BAND AND IF YOU DO YOU'RE A POOL.

ADAM HAZARD
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

P.S.: THESE BANDS HAVE HAD NO EFFECT ON THE PUNK MUSIC SCENE IN N.Y. ONLY LEFT PEOPLE WANT TO SEE THEM.

WELL, LET'S WAIT TO HEAR WHAT THE ACCUSED HAVE TO SAY.

SLASH,
THE GEMS G.I. RECORD IS THE LONG AWAITED PROFF THAT THE GEMS ARE PRODUCING THE BEST ROCK N ROLL OF ANY GENRE AT THE PRESENT TIME IN AMERICA, NAH THE WORLD!

GOSHIT KICK

SLASH,
IS JIMBO JIM STARK'S (JAMES DEAN) AND JUDY'S (NATALIE WOOD) TWENTY THREE YEAR OLD BIOLOGICAL SON CONCEIVED WHILE THEY WERE HIDING FROM GOON (DENNIS HOPPER) AND HIS GANG IN THAT OLD HOLDING HANSON WHERE THE GRIFFITH PARK PLANETARIUM WILLE PLATO (SAL HEDDO) SLEPT? JIMMY'S DAD (JIM BACKUS) KEPT REFERRING TO OUR REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE AS JIMBO BACK IN 55 '56 THE NAME MUST HAVE STUCK IN JUDY'S MIND AS THE NAME TO GIVE JIMMY'S ONLY BEIR. AM I RIGHT OR AM I RIGHT... STEVE

CATCHIEST MOST ENERGETIC NEW WAVE BAND AROUND. LAST TIME I SAW THEM THEY SHOWED A LOT OF BALLS AND HEART BLAZED OUT THE SUBURBAN LAWNS CROWD WHO WERE EXPECTING A PUSSY WASH UP ACT AND INSTEAD GOT THE FASTEST I HONESTLY THINK THEY DID (DO 20 SONGS!). THEY WERE SO... RAMHUNTERS, THE ONLY THING I DON'T LIKE IS THEIR LEAD SINGER WHO JUST SEEMS TO HATE THE AUDIENCE SO MUCH, I DON'T THINK IT'S REALLY NECESSARY TO KICK SOMEONE IN THE FACE, OR STEP ON THEIR FINGERS JUST BECAUSE THEY TIP OVER A MIKE STAND, YOU'LL NEVER SEE ANY OF THE SUBURBAN LAWNS DOING ANYTHING AS STUPID AND VIOGUS AS THAT, ANYWAY IT WAS AN ENJOYABLE DOUBLE BILL. PLEASE LET ME KNOW WHEN THE SUBURBAN LAWNS ARE GOING TO PLAY WITH THE STEPMOTHERS AGAIN. ALSO, WHICH ONE IS EDDIE IN EDDIE AND THE SUBTILES? SHERRY COLA

THE LAWNS (WHO JUST HAPPEN TO BE HERE AS I'M TYPING THIS) DO NOT KNOW WHEN THEY'LL PLAY AGAIN WITH THE STEPMOTHERS. EDDIE IS THE ONE STANDING BY A CONDOM MACHINE SOMEWHERE IN THESE PAGES. KICK

DEAR KICKBOY,
I JUST WANT TO TELL YOU THAT THE WHISKY'S FUCKED ME OVER FOR THE LAST TIME. I WENT TO SEE MAGAINE WITH MY NEW GIRLFRIEND GEMA - THIS CHICK'S GREAT - SHE'S 16 AND SHE OWNS A DRESS SHOP - HER FATHER BOUGHT IT FOR HER. I MEAN, HE OUGHT TO - HE'S BEEN PUCKING HER SINCE SHE WAS 13. SHE'S LIKE THE ULTIMATE COSTELLO FAN - WE'RE SITTING THERE, AND SHE SAYS LIKE, "WELL, SINCE I'M NOT DOING ANYTHING, I MIGHT AS WELL GO TO THE BATHROOM, SO I DON'T HAVE TO DO IT LATER." ANYWAY, HER DAD GIVES ME MONEY TO TAKE HER OUT, AND I CAN DRIVE HIS CAR, SO IT'S ALLRIGHT.

THE FIRST TIME WE WENT TO THE WHISKY WAS THE NIGHT ALL THE ASSHOLES WERE WATCHING THE SCREAMERS ON THEIR LITTLE TV'S - I WAS PUCKING PISSED! I MEAN, IS THIS WHAT THE SCREAMERS DO TO PEOPLE? BOWIE.

MAYBE GEMA SAID THAT THE REASON PEOPLE WERE WATCHING TV WAS BECAUSE THE BAND WASN'T LOUD ENOUGH. I SMOKE A JOINT (HIS) WITH ONE OF THE TV CAMERAMEN - THE ONE WITH THE PRIMP LIVES THE SHIRT. HE SAID IT WAS RELAXING TO WATCH THE CAMERA. IT WAS THE ONLY TIME HE COULD REALLY THINK ABOUT THINGS. THEN HE STARTED BRAGGING TO ME ABOUT HOW, WHEN HE WAS WORKING FOR KISSHERN, THEY USED TO MAKE HIM TAKE ACID TO DO THE DISCO SCENES - HE WAS SUCH

A FUSSTWOOT I SHOULD HAVE KICKED THE SHIT OUT OF HIM, BUT YOU KNOW IT'S HARD TO JUST DO IT - SOME PEO

PLE CAN JUST TURN IT ON WHEN THEY NEED IT... WHEN THEY NEED IT, THEY WALK AROUND A LITTLE TO GET REALY MAD, AND HAVE A FEW DRINKS. ANYWAY, GEMA SAID SHE LIKES THE GUITAR PLAYER WAS A FAG, AND I SAID THAT'S STUPID, THEY'RE JUST ENGLISH PROS, THEY CAN'T HELP THE WAY THEY LOOK. SO SHE SAID, "WELL, THEY WASN'T A FAG, BUT HE WAS UGLY, AND THAT'S JUST AS BAD. AND THEN I DID NOT DIE THE HORRIBLE DEATH OF BRUCE, I MEAN THE WHISKY DOESN'T NEED TO SELL ALL ITS LIQUOR OUT BY 9:30 EVERY NIGHT. SO WE BUZZED BEFORE THE SECOND HALF.

WELL, GEMA WAS HUNGRY, BUT I DID NOT DID THE JAPANESE RESTAURANT AT ALL. I MEAN, IT WAS DOWNTOWN, AND THIS OLD JAPANESE MAN SAT DOWN IN THE NEXT BOOTH, AND A LITTLE WHILE LATER A BUNCH OF JAPANESE PEOPLE STARTED RUNNING AROUND, AND THEY LAID THE MAN IN THE BOOTH DOWN ON THE FLOOR, THEN THIS HIGHER CAME ALONG AND TOOK TWO BIG LONG STEEL NEEDLES - LIKE A FOOT LONG- AND HE DROVE THEM INTO THE GUY'S CHEST, AND THE GUY SCREAMED AND THE BLACK GUY SAID HE WAS DEAD AND CLO

SE HIS EYES. WELL, MAYBE HE WAS A FAG, BUT I SHOULD - HOW DO I KNOW? I ADMIT WE WERE PRETTY PUCK BY THIS TIME, BUT I SAW IT HAPPEN, AND I JUST DIDN'T DIG THAT PLACE ANYMORE. SO WE PUT OUR FOOD IN SOME PLASTIC BAGS (GEMA ALWAYS CARRIES THEM IN HER TUM) AND WE SO WE WENT TO GINA'S PLACE, AND HER FATHER WAS DRUNK AND HE WAS SATING "GO AHEAD, AHEAD" YOU GOING TO PUCK HER? THAT'S ALL YOU KIDS EVER DO IS PUCK, ISN'T IT? WELL, HE IS A LAVER, AND AN ASSHOLE, AND IT SHOULDN'T HAVE BOTHERED ME, BUT I DIDN'T FEEL VERY GOOD BY THIS TIME. I MEAN I COULDN'T EVEN SIT DOWN. THE ONLY THING I COULD FIND ON TV WAS THIS UNDERSEA MOVIE - ALL IT WAS WAS FISH SWIMMING AROUND, AND I TURNED DOWN THE SOUND AND PUT ON THE SUICIDE ALBUM, AND I FELT BETTER. I HAD HEARD SOMEONE SAY IT WAS LIKE UNDERWATER MUSIC. BUT GEMA WAS MAD AT ME, SHE'S USED TO PEOPLE PAYING HER A LOT OF ATTENTION. I MEAN, MY OLD GIRLFRIEND, WHEN SHE STARTED TO CHIT I'D PUCK HER AND THEN SHE'D BE HAPPY, BUT THIS... WELL, I WASN'T IN THE MOOD TO TAKE IT, SO I SPLIT.

ANYWAY, KICK, DON'T TELL ME THERE'S SOMETHING WRONG WITH ME - I MEAN A LOT OF PEOPLE ARE PISSED AT THE WHISKY, AND I JUST DON'T HAVE TO GO THERE. I MEAN, IF THEY HAD BEEN DECENT THE EVENING WOULD HAVE GONE BETTER. SO PUCK ME, I'M NEVER GOING THERE AGAIN.... RED

HEY RED, SURE YOU'RE THERE KICK

ANNOUNCING THE FORMATION OF THREE GAYS, A MUSICAL MILITARY ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO THE TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF THE HETEROSEXUAL SOCIETY. WE ARE NOW ACCEPTING NEW MEMBERS. ALL DECISIONS MADE BY THE GAYS. WE ARE NOW ACCEPTING NEW MEMBERS. ALL DECISIONS MADE BY THE GAYS. WE ARE NOW ACCEPTING NEW MEMBERS. ALL DECISIONS MADE BY THE GAYS.

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2. Draw, write, or type anything you want inside the rectangle (use black ink for good reproduction).
3. Put your ad in an envelope and mail it to us with the money.

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I WANNA BEAT YOUR BRAINS OUT! DRUMMER-FOREVERLY MINK-
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I WANT TO TRADE LIVE TAPES
OF NEW WAVE, PUNK, AND ALL FORMS OF ROCK N ROLL. I HAVE A LARGE COLLECTION OF SOME OF THE BEST: CANADA, featuring many of your favorite PUNKISH bands: SCUMMER, BARNES, CLASH, BUSTERS, SCRAMMERS, CRAYTS, & PUNKIES.

WANT: Scrammers, X, Germs, Fear, Buzzcocks, UNITS, Ink Section, Cabaret Voltaire, Pereluvy, Camps, COTATIONS, NYC Wire, Blue Flag, DILLS, D.O.A., UXA, HUMAN HANDS, HEARTY BEATERS, FRUMP, PLUCK, CRIMES, ANY PUNK, ELECTRONIC, NO WAVE, COLD WAVE, ANYTHING I WILL TRADE OR BUY YOUR TAPE.
Wrote: Gary Indiana, Rt. 2 Box 118, Morrisville, NC 27560

HUMAN HANDS FANS!
Buttons & more!<

Fig.11

LOCAL SHIT (and gross riots options that have no other outlet in this paper of little social conscience)

Punk Violence is as we all know a grossly exaggerated media cliché that sells itself along with providing this to the gullible public but there is another type of violence plaguing the scene that is growing largely unchecked and unnoticed: the systematic violence on the part of blood-thirsty bourgeois at every major terrorist concert. Recently we witnessed it at the Santa Monica Civic (Burr-cocks), at the Palladium (Clash), and we screamed bloody murder in these very pages, which is about as effective as looking a thug with a leather. But bloody murder is what might just happen one of these nights unless some despicable tactics in vague row with certain promoters and hat owners are not denounced. Not long ago the same shit happened again during the Ramones concert at U.C.L.A. kids were pushed, trampled, kicked and chased left and right by security men like assassins for (punk) security. That particular command had replaced the usual U.C.L.A. security force for the night after one of the organizers had convinced everyone that Ramones crowds called for extra-special handling. Extra-special? It was, and their collective noses left marks everywhere. As nobody is going to come forth, apologize and promise to be more careful next time, may we suggest a less apathetic and resigned frame of mind on everybody's part if you insist on attending this type of show. Look for witnesses if nasty incidents occur, obtain the name of the security organization, the name of the uniformed agit, report it to the police if sufficiently serious, and once nothing will result report it to this paper, if we can find the blame on the most blatant govt squads it's always possible to — I did put them out of business — at least each concert goes better if the presence of particular future shows, and perhaps put pressure on the promoters, rather the unsuspecting sleep lying up at the house office or spot the fun with all-weather or underwear counter-attacks ("Warning — this concert may be hazardous to your health" banners pasted across street posters and billboards. But if you make your own little way in the hospital, get bitched up and bring the whole thing off you're as stupid as your assistant and you don't catch other "do you get the perfect relationship going."

Of course we're not saying it's all the white and good vibes game in the punk world, which do get broken and less occasionally meet faces, but it's really disconnected, realistic or catholic outbursts of no consequence. A few nights ago at the Hong Kong personalities, dressed and dressed, were exchanged between Kim Turner, so far away of the scene and this, bass player of the once again active Weirids. The Weirids had originally been scheduled for that night but pulled out in disagreement with the club's rising door price (the one drink coupon addition. We don't know what took place but when the Weirids in question tried to go in and catch the action, "things" took place at the door. We saw Kim and Willy bawling out clutching each other for every profitable woman and leaping into the charming entrance fountain. A reconciliation seemed out of the question. At the same Hong Kong a few thugs have lately been seen pressuring more peaceful elements, commenting on the appearance of the customers and listening to the music with their buttholes. It must be pointed out that the Hong Kong bourgeois have repeatedly proven themselves to be more decent tolerant and accepting than anyone should expect them to. The fact that they are regularly there and by now know their crowd pretty well is very helpful. It takes experience and observing

LOCAL

facilities to get a regular headbanger from a one-night stand to a punk binger, but it can prevent disastrous misunderstandings.

Before we leave the club world anyone interested in live music performed in halfway human surroundings should know that besides the 3 or 4 punk shows where we spend half of our conscious life in here are now others that regularly feature the best and the worst of what's going on. Besides the 3 or 4 punk shows where the bills have seemed more lively lately the King's Palace is becoming the home of the unsigned, unfashionable or unrecognizable. More bands for less money, and the free entertainment rags and their action-detecting scouts haven't found it yet, so you still can enjoy the music before the labor goes on. Finally the El Capitan/Elm Club is at it again on Thursday, the City was about to play there along with Middle Class and others, the beer is cheap (so far), the acoustics (so and it's hard to find have said many people who must have felt nervous cruising this part of town, so the stunning contingents are nowhere in sight.

Last month's news (well, sold rumors), Gaudin's, psychedelics peace on the Strip and home of the day-glo mutants may start again with its new music shows (Bugs, Go City's last and one or two others, already broke the ice these ones, this time on a more regular basis, Gato 4 before the pop bands do).

Speaking of pop bands, they may be proliferating at the rate of methedrine rabbits these days but other groups of master substance are also stopping up in the night. The Screws have played at King's Palace, are from one of the beach cities and

SHIT

had Hanking Jeffrey, the Beach writer with the least warped judgment, literally still drooling the next day. There has been one or two strange reports coming our way about another cult called the Slashers (no relation) but the most eagerly awaited debut we know it will take place at Club 88 when Castorion Squad opens for the 14 magazine benefit on December 4th. Originally an all girl band (or concept) it will appear that night with a couple of Mac Mura's in the line up, always eager to join any nasty sounding enterprise. Jit, go go dance for the Slags, is one of the touring band members. The No bit will most likely also include Catholic Discipline and their "unabashed punk rock" (most perceptive label of the year) thinks the best — L.A. Weekly score against the Bookends and the unrelatable Tap Taps. Jimmy's All Drunk Band, the first punk band of the year and next year too, and it's all for a good cause.

Another good cause that will have no heart untuned is an upcoming benefit concert by Pugs, Gears and Go (Go's to pull Margot (member of the Go Go's and Me of the party) out of hot waters. This money raised will pay the fee of the lawyer Margot had to hire after her recent bust at a Members' concert. The place: The Silverwood. The Victims, the technicians who serviced Margot of drinking drinks and fresh her out. The really best: the cops who waited for her outside (having been notified by the inside bitches). The outcome: a felony bust for drug possession (very amount of expensive substance more common than Sweet & Low). No jail or probation for the cocktail band but there is a slight money problem and what are benefits for? There are millions of good causes but the one that beats

them all is one's very own freedom. Which means your friends' freedom too. No date or place has been set, keep an eye open.

Some people may not think the upcoming movie "Crusing", a Freddie film dealing with gays and their lifestyle, is a good cause and deserves to be brought out at all, gay organizations are promising boycott and more, but the Germans are not impressed. Popularity has never been their guideline, and now they are about to contribute a couple of new original songs to the soundtrack of that controversial movie. The music is being produced by Jack Natche (Don Collins, not guitar) and will of course be available in records, tapes and cassette. Another version of "Crusing for a Guy" was submitted upon by Nervous Gender (minus Phono but with Gem Don Belles and band member Edward's wife) when they did a guest spot on Richard Mathis's Saturday night/Sunday morning hip music marathon on KPRC (with a huge for endangered liberals). Nervous Gender and friends used up their last dollars of salary in name-calling and dirty laundry writing. It involved the Slags, who happened to be listening, and especially singled out Cring (and the guitar player as a larger Phono sale were exchanged and things got pretty slimy. Whatever their reasons were, Nervous Gender (or the line up of that night) proved that they are justified in being nervous if they go on attacking up the collective atmosphere with infectious traps. We want to go into the "Gender" gang incidentally the Matter radio show on which this shoot-out took place is the most intelligent way to negotiate the delicate passage from Saturday night to the Day of Our Lord if you have conquered the primitive urge to sleep. You will hear music you love and music you know and about, gossip, program crashes and official apologies for the language used.

Another radio beachhead is developing on KCRW, 90.3 FM in Santa Monica, where on Sunday from noon to 2 you can hear some real reggae, everything from old ska classics to the latest "bassing" sensation, the two-deckers responsible for this know what they're talking about, don't impose their preferences and don't put any extra stress.

Before we're the last item of this note and colorful column, here is something to really get your teeth into. The Germans are looking for a catered event, all-terrained tastings please contact Mica at 820-0188, or 825-5211. What's so mean what kind of news is that? This was our taken community service item. Remember folks these pages are your pages, our duty is your pleasure, oh what a great happy family! (...)

Now for the last bit of shit to stick our noses in until next month, same place same time and slightly closer to the grave. The Angry Germans, those charmers featured in last issue, have gone too far. Accused Angry Rodney Rigenheimer who is suing them for everything they've got (a year's supply of dirty 1-shots?). Not only did the Germans wife and pursue a long attacking Rodney, but they have seized every opportunity to badmouth and even threaten him charges Angry Rodney. Not being the type to winnily add fuel to the fire we refrained from contacting the Germans and finding out about their strategy. It came out the thirty-witted, almost silent Germans' latest press communiqué stated that if Rodney is the prince of punk rock in L.A., it is time to baptize the prince. A sweet price no more. Passed On Rodney is pulling out the heavy artillery. We will keep you informed of course unless something better happens: the governor Brown truly decided to shut L.A. back up or the Press showing the (July) book in Big Youth and the rest of the headlines. So long rabies. Remember, if you don't make the news someone else will, and they won't waste halfway at good.



BLASPHEM 4

Fig.12



Abstract:

Punk rock is a musical subculture with numerous driving forces behind it. The countercultural values of the movement in addition to the demographics of its membership put it at odds against the larger parent culture of the United States. The tension that is created between the subculture and parent culture is evident through the symbolic language and imagery produced in Punk fanzines. Fanzines give a bottom-up view of the Punk rock movement in a unique way which allows for the observation of the created semiotic relationship and how it affects the daily lives of Punks living in the communities of study.

Ch.1 Introduction:

Punk Rock has been a popular musical genre in the Western world since the movement began in the 1960s. Its distinctive fast paced tempo, simple yet effective guitar attack, polarizing lyrics, and shocking wardrobe have captured the hearts and minds of its fans for decades. Punk is famous for not following established cultural norms and takes pride in pointing out perceived faults in modern society. The overarching label of Punk can only go so far in accurately describing its members. The many Punk scenes that were spawned in the early years of the cultural phenomenon are distinct from one another and bring localized values and objectives to each geographic scene. Tensions define and separate these geographic scenes from one another. The tensions that arise from Punk's promotion of local community building and individual empowerment; excessive elevation of agency, however, fosters intra- and inter-communal conflict. Punk can almost be defined as well on what it doesn't agree upon, as well as what it does. Punk communities have articulated the tensions integral to their collective identity through symbolism that marks and drives their actions. In this thesis I will review the scholarly literature concerning the Punk movement in order to present background information and context. Then, through a close examination of fanzines and concerts, I will compare two geographic regions: the LA/Southern California area and the Washington D.C. region during the "First Wave" of Punk (1975-1985). I argue that symbolic language, content, and art in Punk fanzines creates a semiotic system that simultaneously gives Punks an identity, and highlights socio-cultural tensions generated between Punks and larger society.

Ch.1 Literature Review:

There has been a fair amount of scholarly investigation into Punk and how this subculture has interacted with society at large. Four major themes emerge: the critique and rejection of popular culture and the music industry, the creation of a unique group identity which helps self-identify members, a do it yourself (DIY) ethos, and extreme political messaging and activism.

Punk Rock as a Subculture:

Punk rock and its adherents became an American subculture. Punks gather at their local meeting places and form a localized community, often known as a 'scene'. "Norms that arise specifically from a frustrating situation or from conflict between a group and larger society" form a 'subculture' (Yinger 627). A large part of what Punk's ethos is the frustration with society and the perceived evils and injustices that are a result of societal norms, and the desire to protest this. These frustrations bring together individuals who are acutely aware of these sentiments. Norms that were created within Punk communities are responses to the apparent ills of the parent culture. Many of these norms are considered taboo by the mainstream, such as overtly sexual or violent messages in songs and dress. Individual personalities, combined with the desire to counter mainstream influences, showcases what Yinger would call "one particular type of dynamic linkage between norms and personality: the creation of a series of inverse or counter values (opposed to those of the surrounding society) in face of serious frustration or conflict" (627). Individuals who help create these inverse values separate themselves from the parent culture either physically or ideologically. Subcultures such as Punk offer a new home for individuals who support the specific inverse values belonging to Punk. Punks have a sense of belonging to their subculture which trumps any sense of attachment to the parent culture.

Punk clearly fits the mold of a subculture; while a majority of its members come from the American working class, they reject that society, frustrated with societal values and practices at large. This in turn leads to behavior that explicitly opposes what is “politically correct,” and creates spaces where Punks can separate themselves from the larger society and converse with each other.

Community separation between Punk and Non-Punk:

Punk characteristics that openly distinguish and define its members highlight their differences from the mainstream and their similarities within the subgroup. Defining characteristics include clothing styles and the creation of local communities commonly known as ‘scenes’. Punks created these scenes as safe spaces for like-minded individuals to express themselves. The ‘home base’ of these scenes could be clubs, record stores, concert halls, or any other urban setting where local Punks congregate. These semi-private locations physically separated Punks from the larger community. Jesse Prinz in his 2014 work *The Aesthetics of Punk Rock* describes scene formation:

“Punk rockers often form closely knit communities. They revolve around “scenes,” which consist of local bands, clubs, and personalities. These communities are also exclusionary. The off-putting character of punk aesthetics serves as a filter, attracting those who feel marginalized and deterring those who wish to be conventional” (590).

Punks wanted physically to be left alone, so they didn’t mind being exclusive to a certain degree. By gathering in designated spaces and forming their own established rules and norms, they created spaces separate from the casual passerby. These scenes then grew into unique communities, shaped by individual characters who were allowed and accepted in these spaces.

Punk clubs, especially due to their emphasis on live music activities and patrons who did not fit into the mainstream were not the first to exhibit such behavior. These scenes recall the taxi-dance halls of 1930s Chicago which P.G. Cressey describes in his 1932 book *The Taxi-Dance Hall: A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life*:

“For those who attend the taxi-dance hall, even irregularly, it is a distinct social world, with its own ways of acting, talking, and thinking. It has its own vocabulary, its own activities and interests, its own conception of what is significant in life, and-to a certain extent-its own scheme of life” (32).

These aspects of community are even apparent to outsiders, as Cressey initially was when he sought to chronicle the lives of working-class club attendees who had set up their own communities. The paid dancers attached to these clubs and the patrons themselves are like Punk scenes because they created their own communities that centered around specific clubs with their own vernacular and operating procedure. The vernacular employed within these dance halls differed from other dance clubs in part due to the individuals who comprised most patrons. These communities developed in relative isolation from outside influences and focused on internal growth. The effects of this isolation gave rise to an insulated subculture that was distinctly separate from larger society, much like how Punks later designed their own vernacular and focused on the creation and maintenance of semi-private spaces.

Scholars such as Levine and Stumpf (1983) and Hebdige (2012) suggest that a common code or understanding of what was and what wasn't Punk existed as early as the mid to late 1970s. One of the early and longest enduring hubs of Punk in America was Los Angeles. In Los Angeles' scene's infancy, Levine and Stumpf wrote there existed an understanding of those

within the scene of what passed as Punk and what didn't, especially when it came to bands. Bands through their names, sound, and actions are labeled as either Punk or non-Punk by those within the community. Levine and Stumpf discovered that out of the LA Punk insiders who were asked to categorize a list of bands into either being Punk or non-Punk based off prior knowledge of the band (or the band name alone if prior knowledge didn't exist), there was a high level of consensus (69%) among the informants as to what bands were considered Punk or non-Punk (428). The level of agreement reached by those in the study who were not a part of the Punk scene in Southern California had much lower levels of agreement over which bands could be considered Punk, which suggests that outsiders did not have a good definition of Punk, but those who belonged to the movement had a well-defined idea of what Punk is based on agreed upon nomenclature. While names alone were helpful in identifying whether a band qualified as Punk, a band's live performances could further confirm or reverse such conclusions. Live shows were a band's way to appeal directly to their audience, and any serious bands had to earn their Punk label.

Punk sought to create its own community and exclude those who didn't embrace the core ideals of a particular scene. The insult of being a 'poser', in essence, being 'fake,' was one of the worst possible labels attached to a person within these communities. The shock value generated by choice of dress and common affiliation with extreme political groups served as effective filters to potential members. These filters reinforced criteria that separated Punk from mainstream culture and defined 'In' group and 'Out' groups. While in many ways Punk was exclusive in that the uninformed could be scared off by the Punks themselves, within the communities, Punks were extremely inclusive and welcoming to members. Inside many clubs

informal or even formalized rules governed behavior inside the physical premises. Signs that prohibited certain kinds of bigoted behavior such as racist, sexist, or homophobic remarks, or even banned alcohol and drug use. Famous Punk clubs such as ABC No Rio (New York) and 924 Gilman (Berkeley) were the progressive model when it came to policing venues through a cooperative undertaking. These clubs believed in:

“To provide a safe atmosphere by confronting violence and oppressive behavior, and to involve each member of the Punk community directly, through a process of consensus-based decision-making[...] Each collective adopted an explicit policy against violence, racism, sexism, and homophobia, which was printed on their flyers and applied to the bands that they booked as well as audience members at their shows” (Barrett 27).

These are two examples of Punk clubs using a community-based approach to control behavior within a scene’s influence. Any individual or group who did not follow these rules would be forced to leave. In ways such as these, Punk communities maintained control over members and further divided themselves between adherents (In-group) and dissidents (Out-group).

Establishing cooperatives also ensured group participation and inclusion; welcoming physical spaces provided outlets for cooperation.

“Collectives such as cooperative bookstores, coffee shops, and grocery stores, were organized according to basic New Left principles: consensus-based decision-making, voluntary participation, and relatively horizontal leadership structures. They provided spaces where those working to create a society based on participatory democracy could actually experience it” (Barrett 25).

Horizontal leadership structures were a key characteristic of these operations and Communist influences are evident.

Weaponization of Semiotics and Slogans:

One of Punk's most recognizable traits is that its members often operated outside of the mainstream and embrace elements suspect or taboo to popular culture such as sexual messages and political incorrectness. Punks used certain symbols and motifs for their shock value and to further separate themselves: "Some wore symbols associated with fascism such as swastikas and iron crosses. Themes of bondage and sexual fetishism were effective devices selected by the punks to repulse and shock mainstream society" (Levine and Stumpf 422). Punk as a movement also championed the critique and at times complete rejection of mainstream culture. Punks represented a reflective subculture in the sense that they were not a part of the mainstream, yet took parts of the parent culture, used them for their own interests, and turned them back towards society. Along with symbols, everyday objects were weaponized for shock value and fashion. Dick Hebdige, in his greatly influential 1979 book *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, delves into punk and its fashion choices: "the most unremarkable and inappropriate items - a pin, a plastic clothes peg, a television component, a razor blade, a tampon - could be brought within the province of punk (un)fashion. Anything within or without reason could be turned into[...] confrontation dressing" (1260). Confrontation and statement-making were major goals of Punk; many of its members wanted to be noticed and heard, and fashion was an effective way to highlight differences between Punks and non-Punks. Deviant behavior exhibited by subcultures such as Punk are according to Levine and Stumpf (1983) a result of complex interactive processes between groups with differential access to power (419). Historically, most Punks were

working class individuals and young people, very different from the upper echelons of society who tended to be older, more financially stable, and socially conservative. Individuals who were sick of the society that they lived in, a capitalist society driven by profit and political correctness in America were drawn to Punk as an outlet for their frustrations, and weaponized sensory aspects of the subculture to strike back against traditional social norms. K.C. Dunn (2008) wrote that “punk offers the possibility for counter-hegemonic expression within systems of global communication. Punk has simultaneously worked within and against the hegemony of capitalist telecommunication networks, navigating an increasingly interconnected and mediated world”. Punk worked against popular culture while simultaneously creating spaces for themselves where they gathered to enjoy music and community at local record stores, bars, and concert venues. These separate spaces aided in the formation and proliferation of political agendas and actions unique to Punk.

Shared Politics of Punk Scenes:

Punks as a group often rallied behind a shared brand of politics. Political identities were an effective way to assemble adherents and weed out others. Punks could come from across the political spectrum, but most of the time left wing radicalism and punk rock went hand in hand. However, there are many extremist parts of Punk and clashes between Punks from differing political backgrounds occurred. “Others, like the white-power skinhead bands, went in for radical right-wing politics instead. It is sometimes disputed whether skinheads qualify as punks, since they had a separate look, separate music, and sometimes violently attacked people for being punk rock (O’Hara 1999), but the boundaries were fluid, and in many places, left-wing skinheads greatly outnumbered the right” (Prinz 585). This disparity between different Punk

groups with opposing ideologies sometimes gave rise to violence between these groups. The competition for influence and physical space within scenes were common triggers of Punk-on-Punk violence.

While political disagreements between Punk groups existed, Punks who shared political views interacted with the mainstream both as individuals and a collective. Punk rock in many ways is about criticizing the parent culture and the society that is supported by it and one of the ways that Punk interacts with the parent culture is through political demonstrations. Physical protest was a feature of some punk scenes, and a minority of Punks traveled across the nation to join protests. However, the creation of community run spaces was prominent in scenes all over the country. Horizontal leadership structures and the emphasis on consensus led to the creation of numerous privately owned but collectively run operations such as the aforementioned “ABC No Rio” and “924 Gilman Street”. With some exceptions, Punk lacked formal political institutions such as political parties, and scenes were extremely informal. Lyrics of Punk songs provided a visible statement of protest or change. This type of statement combined with speeches, multimedia creations, and participatory democracy were the primary vehicles that Punk used to publicize its beliefs. These modes of discourse differed from other political groups as formal action such as marches or physical protest was not as common. The majority of Punk’s ‘protest’ was constrained to these methods in contrast to political action groups such as SNCC or SCLC in the 1960s who routinely used non-violent protest methods such as marching, rallies, and sit-ins to make their voices heard. Punk preferred local activism and the creation of friendly spaces over highly visible physical protest. This has brought into question the role or efficacy of Punk’s protest methods. The difference in practice between Punk and other groups is clear,

however the long-term effectiveness of Punk's methods is not the focus of this paper. Certain bands were more known for attracting a politically active audience than others such as Black Flag, Minor Threat, and The Dead Kennedys.

Activism and Protest:

Activism offered a group activity in which everyone who was a part of the scene could participate.

"Punk's activist components are especially evident when examining the institutions and organizations that the movement has produced. In addition to highlighting the direct, participatory nature of DIY politics, an institutional focus also exposes several parallels between punk and its social movement predecessors. Most directly, punk can be linked to the New Left inspired organization of cooperative counter-institutions that began in the late 1960s" (Barrett 25).

Many scenes lacked a true leader, as many Punks set up and maintained a horizontal leadership structure in which everyone (theoretically) had an equal say and individual personalities could be tempered by the will of the group. Cooperation and the sharing of responsibility within these scenes were the result of this structure.

Communist and Anarchist factions thrived within Punk. The anarchy symbol, a stylized 'A' with a circle around it, was a common symbol on clothing and the walls of local venues. Anarchism, the desire for a freer society with little to no governmental control, was a common belief held by many punks which helped them identify themselves and protest against the parent culture. It is one of the most popular symbols in Punk, and the level of attachment to this symbol depended on an individual's personal beliefs. It ranged from simply a fashion statement to a political banner for polemic or protests. Many songs in Punk utilized the term

anarchy with one of the most famous songs being “Anarchy in the U.K.” by The Sex Pistols. Its lyrics argue that anarchy was the tool to enact social change; they lash out at the stifling society that Punks and everyone else were forced to live in, courtesy of the establishment. Specifically, “I am an antichrist/I am an anarchist/Don’t know what I want/But I know how to get it/ I wanna destroy passer by” show that the singer labels themselves as unconforming and is comfortable with using violence to enact change. Change in of itself is the goal and the detail of the change is secondary. Punk bands wanted to shock those who listened with threats that may or may not be fulfilled, and anarchy became a popular buzzword to frighten those in power. Otto Nomous wrote in *Race, Anarchy, and Punk Rock: The impact of cultural boundaries within the anarchist movement* (2001) that the majority of those who exhibit pro anarchist tendencies in America seem to overwhelmingly belong to ‘alternative subcultures’ with one of those being Punk rock (1). He also writes that “punk rock as a subculture has had a unique history of having a strong relationship with explicitly anarchist and anti-capitalist political content over the years[...] the correlation between the punk scene and the anarchist scene is hard to miss, especially at most anarchist gatherings and conferences” (1). Punks successfully blended the iconography and beliefs of anarchism into their dress and politics.

Do-It-Yourself and the Impact of Amateurism:

The Do-It-Yourself (DIY) ethos is an important theme that scholars have identified in Punk. DIY and the amateurism that it supports is a central aspect of Punk. Instead of relying on professional rock stars to create suitable music, Punk encouraged followers to create the music themselves. This was Punk’s primary weapon against the perceived excessive commercialization of the music industry and society at large. Major record labels prioritized profit generation and

tightly controlled the product that bands were allowed to produce due to the stipulations contained in their record deals. The lack of creative freedom led to Punk's championing of independent record labels which returned intellectual agency to the bands. Amateurism is Punk's direct response to the professionalism and greed that they encountered. DIY appeared in various forms in Punk besides music. Many outfits that were worn by Punk members were handmade and modified with the intent to show originality and individualism instead of conforming to major brands. The emphasis of self-determination and self-creation are examples of anarchist ideals at work. Instead of buying products created by large corporations, Punks rejected those corporations in favor of self-expression, much like how Punks rejected hierarchical governing structures in favor of self-determination. Jesse Prinz shows the influence of DIY on fashion and art creation:

“This practice of making your own clothing was just one manifestation of a broader do-it-yourself (or DIY) ethic. Many records are self-produced and independently released with limited pressings, especially outside Great Britain. Album art and concert flyers often consist of black and white photocopies. Photocopying is also used to create fanzines – fan made magazines – which use hand cropped photos, cluttered layouts, and haphazard typography. Glossy magazines are viewed with scorn, as are mainstream retail outlets that sell punk-inspired clothing. Bands are accused of selling out when they sign with major labels” (Prinz 587).

The emphasis on self and the ‘ugliness’ of non-professional products were paramount. Sloppiness and crassness were an aesthetic virtue, and many Punk scenes were influenced by Dada art, echoed in the unpolished and at times absurd artistic choices that came with the DIY aesthetic. Both Dada artists and Punk rock critiqued and rejected modern capitalism and

frequently affiliated themselves with far left or right politics. By creating Punk media, Punk subculture was able to intentionally transform themselves from consumers of mass media to agents of cultural production (K.C. Dunn 198). By stating that anyone could be Punk and that anyone could create, DIY empowered an entire generation of young people to express themselves and participate. This is the polar opposite of a phenomenon that was appearing in mainstream rock: that the most popular rock stars were elite and untouchable due to their success and artistic genius. Fashion and art created by members of these Punk scenes gave a powerful inside look into Punk culture.

Chapter 2 Methodology:

In order to investigate the characteristics of Punk rock, I reviewed scholarly articles in order to create a well-defined framework. That literature analyzed Punk rock through sociological, political, and anthropological lenses, which I used to examine the fundamentals of Punk rock and its place as a subculture in American society. Yet, Punk is an amorphous term, with many informal rules and regulations, and has undergone extensive change in its almost 50 years of existence. It is beyond the limitations of this thesis to categorize and document all unique or shared characteristics among the major scenes in the US for the last half century. It is still possible, however, to identify trends within chronological and geographic constraints, so my work has focused on the first 10 years of punk rock, specifically the mid-70s to the early to mid-80s in D.C. and L.A. This period was when Punk's "first wave" came into existence and started the Punk phenomenon. I have found that Punk and its members identify themselves as a subculture which is separate from mainstream culture. Through the creation of unique styles of dress, a separate musical genre, countercultural political views, and semi-private spaces, Punks

differentiate themselves from broader American culture. Scholars disagree whether Punk is a social phenomenon more focused on music and protest than a political movement built for creating change in local communities.

In the rest of this paper, I will explore specific scenes where Punk trends have uniquely manifested themselves. Because my research concerns places and people active in the 70s and 80s, records seldom survive for the daily life of these communities. They were thriving before the Internet, the communities were largely informal, and/or records of concert events, newsletters, speeches, and other documents either never existed, or have not been digitized and made available. Yet an important source survives: digitized archives of fanzines created by members of these communities largely during the “First Wave” of Punk rock in America. These “zines” (as they are called) give a grassroots look at scenes and the values held by their writers and presumably their readers. It is my belief that zines are an underutilized academic resource which oftentimes is only referenced in passing by Punk scholars, if at all. Punk is a movement largely made up of people who lack extensive academic backgrounds, and the literature most used to understand Punk is generated by academics who may or may not have direct ties to the movement. This threatens to mischaracterize the everyday experiences of Punks in favor of generalized academic arguments and conclusions which focus on Punk as a whole. By researching Punk zines, the practitioners of Punk comment and document their own experiences which gives a researcher a clearer picture of the inner workings of specific scenes. Many offer reviews of upcoming bands, albums, concert venues, and at times contain interviews that help researchers step into the shoes of a Punk in Southern California or Washington D.C. in the late 70s and early 80s. I am limited to zines that I can find online, but when I find ideas repeated

more than once either within a particular issue or between publications, that seems evidence of general trends at work across scenes. The Lit Review helped me identify general trends and traits, but zines provide a deeper dive into the people who made up those scenes.

Some zines better convey the culture of a scene than others. For Punks in Southern California, I have used the zines *Slash* and *Flipside*. For the Washington D.C. area: *Punk Planet*, *Brand New Age*, *Yet Another Unslanted Opinion*, and *Capitol Crisis*. All of the aforementioned zines were popular for their communities despite their small scale of production, and all intersect with (confirm or challenge) features of Punk identified by scholars.

There is evidence in the zines that Southern California and Washington D.C. experienced similar growing pains as they established themselves in their communities. Originally, I wanted to explore New York City's Punk culture through zines, as it was the first American city to host Punk shows and many of the first Punks in America were New Yorkers, but I have not been able to find enough zines from that area and time period to generate an informed analysis.

Punk zines reveal the inner workings of specific scenes and what was popular and challenging to its readers (Punks). Zines provided a monthly or quarterly update on the state of the scene, up-and-coming bands, and highlighted issues that the readers cared about. Enthusiasts and insiders created these zines, insider views to compare with the writings of scholars who covered the Punk movement. In the following chapters, I will analyze specific pages of influential zines created during the First Wave of Punk rock in Los Angeles and Washington D.C. and compare it to the scholarship of the literature review. While production methods, date of creation, and intended audiences differed among zine writers and scholars, both groups covered the same phenomenon: Punk rock in America.

Chapter 3 Analysis of Washington D.C. Scene:

Overview:

Washington D.C. has housed one of the most influential Punk scenes in America since Punk first made landfall in the United States in the 1970s. By 1980, Punk rock had firmly rooted in the city, especially among the hardcore Punk crowd. Several local bands who pioneered this new sound include Minor Threat, The Bad Brains, Fugazi, and State of Alert. Residents of the D.C. area had a ravenous appetite for Punk rock, as reflected in the number of bands, venues, radio stations, record labels, and fanzines. While some Punks wished to leave politics alone and focus on musical and personal expression, many Punks, and bands such as Minor Threat from the D.C. area were overtly political and used their perspective on living in America's capital to highlight injustices created by the Washington establishment. The first fanzine of note from this scene is *Capitol Crisis*.

Capitol Crisis:

Capitol Crisis was a Punk fanzine created by Xyra Harper, Tim Berard, and Steve Gillis in 1980. *Capitol Crisis* hailed from Arlington, Virginia, on the other side of the Potomac River from Washington D.C. *Capitol Crisis* was one of the more popular D.C. fanzines of the early 1980s and prominently featured the Do-It-Yourself mentality in their artistic style and content. The focus of these fanzines was not to make money or to create a polished and professional product. Fanzines such as this highlighted artistic expression, spread information, and added creative works to the Punk community. Zines such as *Capitol Crisis* offered a "free space for developing ideas and practices," (Triggs 70) and added intellectual infrastructure in which discourse could

take place. These zines were created by amateur journalists, cartoonists, and authors who supported Punk and, in many ways, contrasted with professional music journalism as zine creative standards were more relaxed than professional journals. Zines featured collage artwork of photos and cartoons, typewriter generated prose, and personal messages from authors giving updates for future issues. The publishers handed them out the zines along with partnering record stores and venues where they were available to anyone. While concrete circulation numbers don't exist, *Capitol Crisis* was well known to other fanzine editors in the area because *CC* was referenced by several D.C. zines. From my study of the Washington D.C. fanzine collections, I believe that *CC* was one of the best circulated D.C. zines of the 80s.

Capitol Crisis #1 Cover: (Intro to Zines and Intro to Punk Art):

Fig.1 shows the front cover of the first issue of *Capitol Crisis*, from November 1980. This cover is stylistically in step with the Punk genre with its grainy resolution, painted script to mimic graffiti, and motivational maxims. The person in military garb and a gas mask in the foreground draws in the reader while the three short statements preview the author's sentiments. The pictures and statements create an effective hook to persuade a potential reader to open the zine. Each statement serves a purpose and hints at the author's political views. The quote "Only YOU can determine the outcome of your own destiny" (CC #1, 1) is an appeal to Do-It-Yourself politics that aims to thrust agency into the readers hands instead of being complacent.

"The stripes on your clothes incriminate you" (CC #1, 1) is a reference to one's fashion choices and the idea that striped clothing makes a person appear rebellious. These two quotes complement each other as in order to take control of one's own destiny, one must stand against existing power structures and risk the label of rebel. This shows the power and consequences of

making choices for oneself. The line at the bottom of the page “This tabloid was not created equal” (CC #1 1) calls attention to social injustice and touts the intellectually free space that this zine created. Finally, the cost of this issue is \$0.25 which adjusting for inflation in 2022 would equate to \$0.85 (usinflationcalculator.com). The cost of this zine in 1980 was on the cheaper side as during the 1980s newspapers nationwide started to raise their prices with many Sunday issues rising to as much as \$1.00 an issue. *CC* was roughly published once a month and its price was much cheaper than a Sunday newspaper. The audience of zines such as *CC* largely consisted of youths who had significantly lower levels of income compared to an older audience who consumed newspapers, and the price of *CC* ensures it is accessible to its audience.

Capitol Crisis #1 Page Two: (Mission Statement, Role of a Fanzine)

Fig.2 outlines the mission statement of the author and introduces the organization of the publication. The first paragraph shows a self-awareness of Punk subculture; and the second paragraph showcases the need for a community voice and further exploration of this club phenomenon. The need for free thought and change is explicit in the third paragraph and while the author previously wrote that the zine itself isn’t overtly political, expression protected by the First Amendment featured in this zine often is political in nature. The text states if more people read thought provoking alternative literature such as this, then the positive change or “rebellion” described by the author could take place: “Rebellion induces thought and change which, given a cause, can become positive and viable. We must evolve and be open to change, and not be dictated to by the commercial music industry and commercial media” (CC #1, 2). This line

continues the ideas first introduced on the cover about taking control of one's own destiny and inciting change.

Scholars such as K.C. Dunn and Dawson Barrett wrote about the cooperative nature of many punk organizations and how they often featured horizontal leadership structures. Evidence that *CC* fit this mold can be found in the line "There is no room for competitiveness between staff members: only the mutual desire to create something of interest to ourselves and those of you out there who share our musical taste and empathize with our views" (*CC* #1, 2). The desire to create and educate were at the forefront of this publication. The organization and content of this zine is typical for this genre; it contains album reviews, venue reviews, news, interviews, and games or cartoons. In the latter part of this issue the author's informal language and style can be seen more clearly. The second page was much more formal, which emphasizes the seriousness of the editors in their desire to create a fulfilling zine. The rest of the zine is extremely informal and almost conversational, as self-stylized industry "experts" record events and make their opinions known. *CC* also adds "standard" magazine/newspaper features such as crosswords, cartoons, letters to the editor, and gossip and advice columns. Such standard fare provides a familiarity to new readers and adds ways to interact with the zine's readership. Zines such as *CC* often prioritized creating a sense of community; fostering dialogue between readers and writers did exactly that.

Capitol Crisis #1 Page 3: (Venue review and identification of communal spaces)

Fig.3 contains concert venue reviews and gives advice to readers on whether these venues are worth a visit. The author shows knowledge of the local scene and has an informed opinion on how the club is operated and what bands are normally booked at these clubs. The clubs listed

here are smaller clubs, and there is an emphasis on cost effectiveness and types of people who frequent these clubs. This is one of the hallmarks of Punk zines in the sense that their most important news and information caters to the geographic area of the publication. Stories and information that have the highest priority are the ones that are local. A national music magazine often covers an entire country and sticks to well established or famous bands and concerts with an occasional piece on ‘up and coming’ bands. These ‘up and coming’ bands have a much larger following than a band covered in the average Punk zine. The Punk zine is the opposite as they dig up the “underground” bands of the local scene and bring them to the spotlight. This is another example of community building through zines as readers can find a new way to connect with each other through shared readership and by recognizing certain spaces as welcoming. The identification of friendly physical spaces encourages Punks to congregate at these sites. This aids in an increase in cohesion and shared identity by providing outlets for like-minded individuals to spend time together.

Brand New Age #2 Page 14: (beauty, satire, political conflict):

Fig.4 is a page from *Brand New Age*, DC Punk Archive and the Rachel Sangers Collection. This is the 14th page from the second issue of *Brand New Age* which was created in Arlington, Virginia in 1982 by Mike Ross, Stafford Mather, and Bob Davis. This is a one-page recurring comic, and the one in this issue outlines conflicts that some Punks faced in the 1980s. This comic is satirical and derides the infighting between Marxists, Skinheads, and so called “mainstream” Punks. This gives a unique snapshot into group identity in the Punk scene and falls in line with scholarly literature describing the role of fashion in identity among Punks. Hair was an important part of the Punk style and depending on your hairstyle it could mean that you self-

identified with a particular subculture e.g., shaved heads being indicative that someone is a “skinhead”. There are also references to conflicts between Skinheads and Punks which have been documented in other publications. There historically has been a sizable far Left group of Punks, but this comic importantly points out that Punks can be both followers of Far Left or Right politics even if they don’t acknowledge each other as Punk.

Self-identification is crucial for subcultures along with the power to label other groups as different. However, it is important to note the satire in this comic as the author believes that political conflicts are sometimes deliberately created to justify a position or to gain favor. Inter-group conflicts existed between Punk groups, but their prevalence and consequences are not clear. There is a high level of self-awareness in these zines, as the journalism in these works goes beyond solely reporting news or creating reviews. While authors might have differing political beliefs or agendas for their zines, all showcase a recognition of the Punk community and its different aspects. It is important to show that there are Punks who disagree with each other on a variety of issues such as politics, or lifestyle choices such as vegetarianism. There is not a single national consciousness of what the typical Punk is, but there are boundaries that have been drawn to differentiate what Punk is not.

The art itself in this comic is extremely stylized and the characters drawn have exaggerated features and are conventionally unattractive. Punk’s standards of beauty and the disregard for mainstream ideas of beauty are showcased here. Being “ugly” has more weight than attempting to draw the author's own definition of a beautiful character. This page is an expository dialectic centered around beauty and political affiliations within Punk.

Yet Another Unslanted Opinion #1 pg.8: (Political Action):

This zine was created by Brian Gathy, Frank Charron, and Sean Lesner in Burke, Virginia in 1985. This zine focuses less on album and venue reviews than other zines such as *Brand New Age* or *Capitol Crisis*, and instead features reader-provided columns, letters, and interviews with prominent figures in the Washington D.C. Punk community. This zine is a part of the DC Punk Archive and the Cynthia Uleman Collection.

Fig.5 and the one after it comprise a newsletter written by Mark Andersen, a co-founder of Positive Force DC and a member of a Washington D.C. nonprofit called Washington Peace Center. This letter encapsulates common Punk themes of dissatisfaction about the status quo, and one's agency and obligation to change the world for the better. Punk decries inaction and marks those who ignore the world's problems as guilty by association. The first paragraph sarcastically describes Generation X as those who complicitly allow the United States to be at the forefront of global atrocities, and who are only concerned with carving out a comfortable lifestyle. These Gen X'ers become the "Good Americans who play follow the leader straight into the mushroom cloud" (Yet Another Unslanted Opinion 8) and therefore are obstacles to reform. The second paragraph states that there are individuals who do not agree with America's larger policies (e.g., members of the Punk community or antiwar activists), and their voices of dissent are being drowned out among the over-the-top blind patriotism exhibited by most Americans. The parent culture forces its values and narrative on all Americans and ignores dissidents. This letter is a call to mobilize America's youth. The author pointedly does not describe this movement as a "recreation of the '60s", but rather a distinctly separate answer to the evolving global problems of the 1980s.

The third and fourth paragraphs address the desire of the American establishment and (popular culture) to silence dissent and tell concerned youth to shut up and accept mainstream American values. The fourth paragraph also talks about how dissent towards mainstream policies is considered an attack on the status quo and therefore threaten the establishment. As far as Punk is concerned, this sentiment is not necessarily detrimental to the movement. Punk thrives upon challenging established norms and threatening the same establishment which fears Punk (youth) retaliation and corruptions of character. The conflict that is generated is an opportunity for Punks to make their mark on the world. The letter again expresses its dissatisfaction with the trend of “putting blinders on” when a global problem rears its ugly head, and the unfortunate advocacy of “business as usual” which stifles youth voices and distracts potential reformers from facing the problems of today. The problem for Punks arises when the establishment either through action or expectation censors youth voices. Instead of listening to a progressive younger generation, those in power (in this case Washington politicians) ignore the reforms or negative attention produced by youths.

Pop culture, celebrities, and fashion become coping mechanisms that blind people to the real political problems of the day. It works as a sedative for those who refuse to acknowledge the problems of the day, which Punks both blame the establishment for creating these problems, and wider culture for providing the distractions. Consumerism occupies the minds of Americans who care more about purchasing a new TV than confronting the challenges presented by globalism. The final paragraph again uses appeals to convince the reader they themselves have the power to change the popular narrative, and to make their voices heard. This entire page leads up to the bottom of the next page which gives details of upcoming events in the D.C. area in the summer

that are organized in part by Positive Force and the Peace Center. The newsletter stresses the need for political action, and subsequently gives readers opportunities to act. The establishment believes in “business as usual” which means if change is to happen, motivated youths will have to do it themselves (DIY). This zine was likely limited to the Washington D.C. metropolitan area, so most readers would have been near the planned events. The editorial speaks to the local youth who make up *Yet Another Unslanted Opinion*’s readership.

Yet Another Unslanted Opinion pg.9:

Fig.6 is a continuation of the previous page and ties off the section. A June 11th event protests current Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger of the Reagan administration. Weinberger oversaw a massive increase in defense spending and was a highly visible member of the American military machine. Many Punks viewed America’s runaway defense spending as escalating Cold War tensions instead of providing added protection against the USSR (which was one rationale of the Reagan administration). This march took place just a year before the Iran-Contra scandal, which led to the indictment of several members of Reagan’s administration, including Secretary Weinberger, and which served to confirm America’s warmongering agenda.

The next event is a Rock Against Racism/Reagan concert, continuing the prominent “Rock Against Reagan” concerts during the 1984 Presidential race which sought to show public displeasure with Reagan and advocate for his opponent Walter Mondale. Many Punks despised Reagan and D.C. Punks used their proximity to the seat of the federal government to add visibility to their organized events. Finally, an August event commemorates the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, to honor the victims and warn against future use of nuclear weapons. All these activities are in the author’s view viable activities that could comprise a

larger wave of youth activism, and something to turn the tide against American ignorance. The newsletter concludes with contact information for The Peace Center and their supporting magazine “Off Center”. Due in part to the not-for-profit nature of Punk zines and an emphasis on cooperation, the readers of *Yet Another Unslanted Opinion* learn about another publication espousing sympathetic values. Professional media seldom carries advertisements for competing publications; this is yet another way in which Punk zines forwent the trend of competitiveness and zero-sum capitalism that is exemplified in almost every industry in America. The D.C. Punk scene and its zines carry a highly visible political tone, in part due to their geographic location. Punks across America largely disliked both federal and local governmental control, however many Punks by virtue of being mostly youths with little income didn’t possess the necessary funds to make cross-country trips to support political action. This problem was largely solved in the D.C. metro area because mobilized youths were much closer to Washington and the culture of political activism that resided in the city. This made local zines attractive locations for organizations such as The Peace Center to drum up in person support.

WDC Period Vol.1 #16 pg.42: (Religion)

WDC Period was a zine created by Gordon Gordon, John Labovitz, Tim Winciski, and Dan Snoke in Washington D.C. in 1987. This zine heavily featured reader submitted works and local band interviews. While the content of each volume varied based on what was submitted by readers during each production cycle, ultimately it was the editor’s final decision on what to publish. Therefore, it can be inferred that the publishers wouldn’t include anything that they vehemently disagreed with, and all parts of the publication can ultimately be tied to the creators and publisher’s viewpoints and agenda for the zine. Fig.7 was a column on page 42 written by

Bob Black and concerns the state of religious criticism and the role of Church and State in America.

This column responds to the New Right of the 1980s, which featured a revival of religious conservatism and the championing of “family values”. This wave of conservatism was a marked departure from the previous two decades of secularization in schools and government and featured the advancement of reproductive and minority rights. The columnist decries the seeming political ineptitude of leftists and liberals which pave the way for the “theocratic New Order” championed by religious conservatives in general and (inferred through the author’s writings) by Republicans particularly. Black writes those religious conservatives now dictate the narrative as leftists have been relegated to being “reactionaries” and politically fractured and the Left’s activism of the 1960s has officially lost its original purpose and agency. The decade between the 60s and the present 80s did not help the perceived need to critique and limit popular religion’s hold on society as “A media-manufactured white ethnic “hardhat” fad espoused by some opportunistic intellectuals further insulated popular piety from the criticism and contempt it deserved” which in turn allowed, in the author’s viewpoint, an assault on reproductive rights. No effective counter to this occurred as Black believes that “The Left proved useless. It was busy disintegrating into countless special interest groups, each aspiring to the envied position of victim-group which the black has assumed with such seeming success.”

This dissatisfaction with current politics and the tug of war over which values would become mainstream is a callback to the early years of Punk rock in the late 1970s. To claim that the only reason why Punk was created was to comment on religious matters would be false, but it is an interesting insight into one of the reasons why many Punks were disenchanted with popular

culture and sought to unite under an alternative label and culture. Liberals failed to voice their disagreement and were relegated to the notion that “A liberal is a guy who leaves the room when an argument turns into a fight[...] The New Agers syncretized the worst mushminded, narcissistic, and accommodationist currents of the Counterculture (the New Left at play) into a new religion of resignation”. It is Black’s view that liberals lost their resolve and resigned themselves to avoiding confrontation and accepting everything as truth. Black uses controversial leaders who had distinct religious backgrounds such as Francisco Franco and Ayatollah Khomeini to show that “always and everywhere the religious fanatics have been the (throat) cutting edge of reaction”. Black also likens the New Right’s use of technology fueled propaganda as something that Joseph Goebbels would have approved of. All names were infamous, cited effectively to demonize the other side (conservatives). Black contrasts this with the notion that no effective leader has united the New Left in the same way religious conservatives have been brought together. This is in Black’s eyes another failure of liberal politics.

Black highlights the different viewpoints of liberals and conservatives regarding what is taught in compulsory school curricula. Creationism versus evolution is a flashpoint, and Black writes that conservatives are left wondering why sexual education is allowed in schools and prayer is not. Black’s viewpoint of the role of religion becomes clear in the last column of his writings as he describes “Religion always represents the permanent possibility of repression. God, the ultimate patriarch and absolute authority, strives to consolidate His dictatorship”. Black believes that religion can be used in a positive manner on an individual basis but rejects the notion that it should be used as a model for society as a whole. He concludes that “Not just

religious cranks meddling in politics, but *religion* and *politics* themselves pose the permanent problem of [...] the eternal alliance of Throne and Altar”. Black believes that Church and State should have nothing to do with each other. He also believes that to prevent America from being turned into a theocracy by religious conservatives, the abolition of both Church and State are necessary due to their inherent tendency to authoritarianism.

While explicit discussion of the complexities and pitfalls of religion is not necessarily Punk per se, the attitude of refusing to support and be a part of overarching religious/political structures is Punk. The refusal to be controlled by an omnipresent construct (religion) and the institutions that it creates (e.g., the Church) are classic anarchical tropes. When Black voices his frustration about individuals from a similar background such as his (liberals) refusing to entertain confrontation and healthy discourse, another familiar Punk trope is exposed. Punk strives for and in many ways invites controversy and confrontation. Identifying a perceived flaw in society and challenging its role in the parent culture is a hallmark of Punk, and often that action is manifested in the content and presentation within the zines themselves.

However, it must be noted that Black uses language and references that are far too complex for the average reader of a Punk zine fully to understand. Teenagers and young adults are not knowledgeable about the Enlightened Humanistic thinkers that Black references repeatedly in his opinion piece. The target audience for this zine lacks prerequisite knowledge required to fully understand the last twenty years of political discourse and expression that Black discusses, simply because these events would have occurred before many reader’s births. If they never learned about it in school or independent study, subsequently the younger readers of *WDC* would never have known about these events and therefore lack the knowledge base to understand

this article. Black has an academic background and is a professional writer, this automatically sets him apart from the target audience of *WDC*. There is a level of assumed superiority in this piece and despite its seemingly Punk solution seems out of place with the rest of this zine's content. Zines are often informal to the extreme, so this piece stands out even more due to its academic prose.

The piece produces an interesting juxtaposition with the ad for cross jewelry in the top left corner of the page. Black readily critiques mass religion and its shallowness in the 1980s, the opposite message of what the ad is pushing. The ad for products by J.B. Creations highlights the power of prayer and offers readers a way to become closer to God through an expensive personal religious item. The 14k gold option for the cross is \$84.95 and the 18k gold option retails for \$124.95 with a much cheaper sterling silver price of \$24.95. These prices in 1987 would equate to \$212.16, \$312.06, and \$62.31 in 2022 ([usinflationcalculator.com](https://www.usinflationcalculator.com)) and this is almost guaranteed to be well out of the price range of *WDC*'s readership and dwarfs the zine's cost of \$1.00 which would be just \$2.50 in today's dollars. The ad's placement suggests that it is not meant to be taken seriously at face value and serves an almost comedic purpose. The ultimate reason for this ad being in the zine will never be discovered, but it fits well with the theme of religious critique which is the main focus of this page and the tension that is created for the reader. One of Punk's main ways of critiquing mainstream culture is finding hypocrisy or absurdity in central institutions and symbols and exposing them. Popular piety is attacked by Black's opinion piece and set adjacent to an ad which offers expensive iconographic jewelry (crosses). The main symbol of the conservative right is a consumer good for sale while its leaders threaten the advancements that the progressives won in the previous two decades. The

sincerity and legitimacy of religion is reduced by portraying religion's effects as harmful and surface level. Simultaneously, the prose of Black's piece is beyond the abilities of most Punks, and the symbol of the dominant religion of America is out of the price range of the readers.

Chapter 4 Los Angeles Punk Scene Case Study:

Overview:

Los Angeles was like Washington D.C., New York City, Detroit, Houston, and several other cities in that it housed a blossoming and vibrant Punk community with influential bands and venues. Los Angeles was an early destination of major foreign Punk bands such as the Clash and the Sex Pistols. While most local bands never made it outside of Southern California, The Runaways, Black Flag, NOFX, and China White became nationally recognized. The smaller bands either flamed out early or maintained a rabid underground fan base and shunned corporate labels in order to maintain an artistically genuine sound. Many local bands had neither the fanbase nor desire to join the corporate side of music ("sell out"), and stayed true to "traditional" Punk values of creating music for enjoyment and for the benefit of the Punk community. Bands who got a major label contract were often accused of prioritizing profit over artistic sincerity, and the same fans who supported these bands in their early years began to look upon them with disgust and a sense of betrayal (Slash 10,6).

The Los Angeles Punk scene comprised an amorphous mass of backgrounds, perspectives, and tastes. The Hollywood scene tended to be populated by older Punks who often clashed artistically and intellectually with the more hardcore suburban/beach Punks. The 1980s saw a rise in the amount of violence and clashes with police and extremist Punks such as

skinheads during concerts and at specific clubs and venues. Southern California Punk was anything but united, especially with the existence of multiple scenes within Los Angeles itself.

Los Angeles also had an enthusiastic and dedicated community of zine authors and publishers. In Los Angeles, *Slash* and *Flipside* enjoyed a large and consistent following, by Punk zine standards. Many small zines never made it past a handful of publications and a few hundred copies in their print runs. However, *Slash* was able to produce 29 issues over the course of three years and *Flipside* steadily created content from 1977 to 2000 in print and video format.

Slash Vol.1 No.1 Pg.3:

Slash magazine was created by Steven Samiof, Melanie Nissen, and Claude “Kickboy Face” Bessy in 1977 and ran for three years before the main contributors of the zine left to focus on other projects such as Slash Records, a local Punk label founded by some of the main *Slash* contributors. *Slash* chronicled the advent of Punk rock in America, and its first few issues highlight the new movement and its position with respect to established music such as Disco music and what is known today as “Classic Rock”. *Slash* sold for a reasonable fifty cents in 1977 which in 2022 dollars would equate to \$2.34 ([usinflationcalculator.com](https://www.usinflationcalculator.com)) for a 20-page magazine.

In Fig.8 the debut editorial starts with a reference to Disco being one of the main genres of music popular with Los Angeles residents. *Slash* records the first rumblings of fringe music fans who were disillusioned both with Disco and professional rock stars’ sound and culture. *Slash* concludes that Punks appeared to be responsible for an increasing amount of violence at shows. *Slash* alludes to a radically different style of dress featured by these Punks such as “slashed clothing, repulsive make-up, and bondage paraphernalia” which is not considered

fashionable by non-Punks. The zine describes this as “an English phenomenon” to take root in Los Angeles and “a possible rebirth of true rebel music,” a welcome change from the stagnant pop and rock genres that had a stranglehold on music for the previous decade or more. *Slash*’s mission is like many Punk zines in the sense that it prioritizes the desire to document (or grow) the emerging Punk scene.

Slash shares commonly held views of Punks such as that the music of the last several years was too theoretical and elitist which made it less relatable to the average fan. The non-stop recording and publishing of boring “concept albums, their cosmic discoveries and their pseudo-philosophical inanities” further distanced rock from Punk crowds. The editorial also underlines the age difference between Punks and Classic Rock fans. It was a stated objective to drive the old rich rockers to retirement homes in Florida while the young Punks grabbed the spotlight. Punks (youths) drew lines between themselves and the larger (adult) rock crowd. The editorial stakes a Punk ethos claim with a quote from popular British Punk band The Clash: “NO ELVIS, BEATLES OR ROLLING STONES IN 1977!”. In this first volume the writers clearly state who they are and what they believe in.

Early in 1977 there were few American-grown Punk bands as influential or as popular as the British bands. This is part of the reason why British bands initially received a sizable amount of coverage by these zines compared to local bands. The gradual increase of coverage (in later issues) of local bands and the subsequent reduction of foreign coverage shows the growth of the Los Angeles scene.

Slash Vol.1 No.3 Pg.3:

Fig.9 is an editorial that focuses on the dynamic between young Punks rejecting mainstream rock and its commercialism and elitism. *Slash* identifies the new Punk movement as rejecting previously established norms and values and the potential conflict that it generates “There is nothing more puzzling to a generation than the emergence of a new movement which openly rejects what everyone had come to think of as reliable’ ‘new” values”. Punks view the music of the previous decades as stale, recycled, and too profit oriented and the original spirit of rebellion that rock and other genres had previously exhibited at one point is now dead and firmly a part of the establishment. The fans of rock over the past decade who are already out of touch with the youth are described as just in their thirties which suggests an age ceiling for a typical Punk fan in Los Angeles being their late twenties. *Slash* likens the treatment that rock fans gave Punks as a cyclical phenomenon, as the 50s initially labeled Elvis as non-music and the 60s labeling the Rolling Stones or The Pretty Things as deviant. The music and values which belonged to the new music wave did not match up with the previous (dominant) generation’s definition of music and culture. The new music wave was subsequently attacked for not being “real” music and its members were treated as outcasts by older music generations. *Slash* believes that Punk is experiencing the same cyclical treatment.

Slash describes rock as creating a polemic narrative around Punk and refusing to accept its legitimacy because “What they are doing is brutally, forcefully shattering our ideas of what modern popular music is like” and therefore refuse to understand Punk’s deeper meanings and instead ridicule the opposing values that Punks possess. For example, many rock fans and musicians prided themselves on technical proficiency and professionalism while Punk prioritized amateurism. *Slash* writes that this is one of many fundamental disagreements between the two

crowds. *Slash* takes its turn in criticizing media competitors in the last two paragraphs as certain zines attempt to bridge mainstream and underground music which in *Slash*'s view results in a confusing mess for readers. *Slash* asserts the idea that mainstream rock and Punk cannot mix or coexist, and that Punk has in fact accelerated the death spiral of rock. There is zero compromise suggested by *Slash* between rock and Punk, this tension is prominent in Punk throughout the chronological scope of this paper. This edition was published in August '77, at the beginning of the Punk rock phenomena. Punk's many disagreements and conflicts with the rock industry and its fans was apparent from the earliest writings of this scene.

Slash Vol.2 No.10 Pg.6:

Fig.10 contains an edition of *Slash* published in November 1979 with a price of \$1.00 (\$3.91) (usinflationcalculator.com); by then, the publication was in full swing documenting and sharing what was by now a developed Punk movement in Los Angeles. This 40-page publication suggested the growth of this monthly zine and its depth and size set it apart from many zines which usually hovered in the 15–20-page range. This edition features a staggering 8 band interviews along with several opinion pieces, album reviews, and comics. *Slash* has a level of professionalism not seen in most zines. Most publications were run by two or three people at maximum, *Slash* had five principal editors/contributors along with an additional 9 contributors in this edition. It also has several more ads than many zines and its format is much cleaner in its typeset and art than many other zines. In a way, *Slash* toes the line between professionalism and the Do-It-Yourself ethic as it conducts what it considers to be serious journalism while keeping Punk values at its heart. The letters to the editor section, which occupies most of page six, helps wrangle *Slash* back into the crass and amateurish lens that is more typical of Punk. One of the

main editors, Claude “Kickboy” Bessy, responds to reader’s letters in a much more confrontational and direct way which clashes with professional journalism’s ethical norms. Kickboy maintains a small and rather informal gap between readers and editors which would not be possible in a strictly professional music magazine.

The first letter on the top left of the page is from the leader of a band called The Stepmothers, who in the leader’s eyes received less than flattering coverage in the previous month’s issue. The letter includes several threats and insults to the editors and an invitation to meet up and fight somewhere in Los Angeles before ending with a facetious sign off “Love, Steve Jones”. Even though there was no direct reply to this particular reader, it suggests the willingness of the editors to accept and showcase negative criticism and multiple views about their work and leave it to the rest of the readers to form their own opinions about the matter. Conflict and confrontation were major themes in this zine and simultaneously created interest in the publication and offered opportunities for editors and members of the community to air grievances or opinions. The letters to the editors’ sections in zines such as *Slash* offered a sounding board for community matters and served the readership as a sort of pre-Internet forum. *Slash*’s vulgar and direct replies echoed the language which the readers used themselves. Profanity is thoroughly laced throughout the letters and replies and reads as an in-person argument that has been transcribed onto paper. The letter itself contains explicit language and the choice to include it in this month’s issue was not open to most newspapers or magazines. Professional journalism largely relies on corporate advertisement and the explicit language featured in every page of *Slash* creates an environment unsuitable for most companies' ads. Punks, and subsequently the editors of *Slash* did not feel it necessary to censor their language or

content, which automatically made them an unlikely partner for large companies. Instead, the ads featured in *Slash* are largely small businesses, local bands, or personals. Punk content scares off the establishment due to its message and art and allows for small groups or individuals to control the space. This contrasts to professional journalism which routinely features major companies, sometimes giving a single company a full-page ad that was paid for, or whole sections of ads and specials. Due to professional norms and regulations, newspapers or magazines feature much ‘cleaner’ language which would not offend potential readers or produce negative views of companies who take up ad space in the publication.

The second letter of note is located on the bottom left of the page and extends to the top of the middle column. In this letter a reader named The Queen Mother disputes factual information about the concert that one of the writers Chris D. reviewed and criticizes a band member for seemingly having to step in and play the bass as a part of an emergency and commenting that the band in question was too inebriated to put together a coherent performance. The Queen Mother decries a seeming lack of professionalism exhibited by the band members during the concert. Kickboy responds with clarification and several insults and defends one of the band members (De De) for not being an expert on the bass while filling in for an unknown reason. Kickboy then writes that the original reviewer Chris D. thinks that Queen Mother is “a heartless and cynical motherfuck” and afraid to take their own chances and show artistic bravery like De De displayed during the concert. Kickboy believes artistic bravery and solving problems on-the-fly is more important to a show than being a technically proficient performer. Kickboy adds his own insults as well before signing off with “keep in touch”. This letter showcases the willingness to defend one’s work and even goes so far as to attack the reader for being a bad

person all the while leaving the door open for further discourse/readership with the humorous “keep in touch” line. This exchange further dismantles the barrier between reader and writer as many Punk acts intentionally shrugged off the untouchable rockstar persona and encouraged genuine interaction with fans. Punks (bands, editors, fans, etc.) were open to criticism by the community, but simultaneously were defended by that same community.

The next letter of note is directly under the previous one, where a reader by the name of Adam Hazard decries what in his eyes is the replication of elitism and commercialism with some of the nationally recognized Punk bands now charging unreasonable admission prices. Hazard labels The Dils, Mutants, Dead Kennedys, and Screemers who all charged \$8 (\$31.26) (using inflationcalculator.com) at a venue in New York and compares it to a Dils quote in another influential LA Punk zine *Flipside* as saying the band would boycott the popular Hollywood venue Whisky a Go Go for charging \$5 (\$19.54) for tickets. Hazard is frustrated and grapples with one of the core conflicts of Punk rock for bands which is the tug of war between the desire to become commercially profitable and staying true to Punk values of accessibility and the prioritization of local hometown crowds instead of national venues. Hazard then writes that these bands should remember who supported them initially and that by raising their prices the target audience shifts from genuine Punks to rich people who do not embrace the core values of the movement. Kickboy responds by asserting that the bands themselves should have the chance to clear the air themselves before true judgment can be passed. *Slash* serves as a locus of communication among the various members of the scene and provides the opportunity for dialogue for members of the community who might not have that same chance in person. The

Punks represented in this letter remain acutely aware of the level of accessibility that bands and clubs offer and call the community to attention when unreasonable conditions are encountered.

The last two letters talk about the raucous nature of Punk crowds and the types of activities that band members and audience members sometimes display. There are multiple references to drug use and violence at these concerts, and more criticism of The Whisky which seems to be a popular, yet polarizing venue among the Punk crowds. Drug use is a divisive topic in the Punk community, as many members indulged in alcohol and illegal drugs at concerts and daily life, while many Punks made efforts to live a ‘clean’ life free of drugs or alcohol. The straight-edge movement would pick up steam in the early 1980s as a response, which championed a life free of drugs and alcohol, with a large portion of the straight-edge crowd going further and refusing to eat meat or wear animal products. The disagreements and conflicts that drug use brought to concerts led many clubs to ban alcohol sales and drug use within the premises. The rest of the final letter devolves into anecdotal rambling to which Kickboy writes a sarcastic reply which marks the end of this month’s letters section. The editors have a unique relationship with the audience that helps reinforce the sense of community even though those same members can have radically different views on the same subjects. The letters section serves as a print forum where the average reader can both make themselves heard and learn more about the personal views of the editors and fellow readers. Newspapers had letters to the editor sections, but this version takes the informal angle to the extreme and helps soften up the more professional journalism (band interviews) that marks the rest of the edition.

Slash Vol.2 #11 pg.4:

Fig.11 is an edition of *Slash* published in December 1979. Its editorial concerns the state of club violence at Punk shows and the duty that the community has to uphold peace and look out for one another. While the column starts out by stating that Punk violence is largely a sensationalized concept, there is a real danger to concert goers in the Los Angeles area in the form of “the systematic violence on the part of blood-thirsty bouncers at every major fashionable concert”. In this column, *Slash* expands upon the idea that while occasionally individual members of concert crowds might become problematic enough to receive rough treatment from club bouncers, most incidents are instigated by power hungry and violence seeking bouncers. Instead of allowing this behavior to continue, *Slash* proposes steps that concert goers should enact in order to change the recent narrative of overly aggressive security details.

“Look for witnesses if nasty incidents occur, obtain the name of the security organization, the name or number of the uniformed ape, report it to the police if sufficiently serious and since nothing will result report it to this paper, if we can focus the blame on the most blatant goon squads it's always possible to - if not put them out of business - at least warn concert-goers beforehand of their presence at particular future shows”

Slash contends that these steps are necessary in order to pressure concert organizers to either relax their conduct policies or to not hire certain individuals or organizations for private security for future shows. This is an example of DIY at work in the form of self-care, and it requires that individuals take action themselves instead of hoping that the flawed system of violent bouncers fixes itself. *Slash* believes in and champions the power of individual and communal action in the idea that the best way to enact change is to do it yourself. Individuals seeking change quickly turns into the community as a whole mobilizing around a particular issue. *Slash* again reinforces

the notion that silence (inaction) will not solve these problems in stating that “But if you make your quiet little way to the hospital, get stitched up and shrug the whole thing off you’re as stupid as your assailant and you [deserve] each other ‘cos you have the perfect relationship going”. The burden is firmly put on the concert goers (Punk community) to change the reality of these concerts and to not suffer in silence. Instead of naively hoping for a spontaneous change of heart from the concert organizers, *Slash* believes that Punks should stand up for themselves and be agents of change. Silence solves nothing, and discourse resulting in action is the preferred method of revising one’s community.

This column also comments upon the state of “Punk spaces” in Los Angeles, and the fact that by December 1979 more locations are opening to the Punk community in addition to the early adopters of this sound and communal phenomena. *Slash* writes that “besides the 3 or 4 punk/new wave meccas we spend half of our conscious life in there are now others that regularly feature the best and worst of what’s going on” and names specific venues such as Blackie’s on La Brea, King’s Palace, Gazarri’s, and the El Capulin/Anticlub which now cater to the Punk crowd. It can be argued that Punk rock in Los Angeles by the end of 1979 became an established scene as the city unofficially opened to this community via clubs adjusting to the Punk crowd. The fight against regulation/moderation and the professional music industry is a chief issue among L.A. Punks. Punk acts who still embraced their roots such as The Weirdos fought against management over raising entry and drink prices in order to keep their shows accessible to everyone in true Punk fashion. There also was an attempt to keep spaces free of corporate influence as venues such as King’s Palace being lauded for being a haven for the “unsigned, unfashionable, or unsignable” and featuring “more bands for less money”. *Slash* suggests that

Punks should savor places such as these before record labels become aware of them and corporatize them. This column also references the fact that “beach satellites” of Punk have been popping up and producing their own Punk acts which points to the proliferation of the Punk sound from Los Angeles to the surrounding area of Southern California (and Northern California).

Another part of this column concerns the plight of Margot, who is a member of the Go Go’s who recently found herself in legal trouble which was largely attributed to overzealous concert security which resulted in a felony drug charge. Individual concerts often have charity aspects to them, and a benefit concert produced and performed by Plugz, Gears, and Go Go’s is broadcasted by *Slash* in order to help Margot with legal fees associated with her arrest. The DIY ethos appears again in this zine as Punks in their own way provide their own legal defense and support. The Punk community routinely exhibits behavior patterns which prioritize the wellbeing of community members, and the examples in this column being standing up to dangerous bouncers and keeping members out of jail “There are millions of good causes but one that beats them all is one’s very own freedom. Which means your friends’ freedom too”. Whether it is due to anarchical leanings, or the emphasis on individuality, Punks hold freedom as one of their top values. Freedom from incarceration is an example of this in practice. This speaks to the insular nature of the Los Angeles Punk community where assistance is sought from within instead of more traditional sources which would be outside the community.

The final part of the column talks about a new movie called “Cruising” which was produced by William Friedkin, a successful filmmaker who earlier in the decade directed critically acclaimed movies such as *The French Connection* (1971) and *The Exorcist* (1973).

Cruising which featured A-list actors such as Al Pacino, took place in the New York area and concerned the leather scene of the 1970s and indirectly the gay community. Gay clubs in 1970s New York would frequently feature patrons wearing leather outfits, and those same patrons tended to use leather products for bondage purposes as well. This film was subject to protest by gay rights activists, and subject to local boycotts due to its perceived negative and stereotypical portrayal of the gay community. *Slash* comments about the resulting backlash and its implications for the L.A. scene. The Los Angeles connection to the film comes in the form of local Punk band The Germs providing most of the soundtrack for the movie. This seeming contradiction of local groups protesting the movie while a local band is featured on a major movie release highlights the at times fractured nature of the Los Angeles Punk community. While still belonging to the overarching umbrella of Punk rock, individual political beliefs and values can vary widely within the same scene. *Slash* writes that The Germs do not care for popularity and suggests that providing a soundtrack for this movie is a part of their creative mission. This is an interesting take because by contributing to a major film, The Germs have the potential to gain attention from a national audience despite seemingly cold responses from their home base of Los Angeles. This endeavor had the potential for a positive net gain of fans where a national audience could replace and increase, and fans lost by the band among Los Angeles Punks. Whether or not this decision really was due to their creative mission instead of aspirations for popularity is not apparent in this column. However, it is important to note the willingness of Punk bands listed in this column who have the capacity to stand up for their local fans (The Weirdos protesting ticket prices) or to potentially alienate parts of their local fan bases in the name of creative freedom (The Germs contributing to *Cruising*'s soundtrack).

The final line of this editorial reads: “Remember, if you don’t make the news someone else will, and they won’t taste halfway as good”. This line references the idea that in order to control a narrative (whether it concerns Punk), one must be the one producing it. The editors of *Slash* are insiders to the community, and they produce what they believe is an accurate portrayal of the daily lives of L.A. Punks. In *Slash*’s third edition on page three (Fig.9) the editorial claims that Punk and rock spheres cannot intersect, either through shared zine publications or physically occupying the same space. It functions as a jab at other local zines who attempt to bridge an impassable gap between the two groups, and the subsequent journalism that is produced is subpar compared to *Slash*. This statement from an earlier zine is echoed in this closing line as *Slash* (Punks) believe that their experiences and their narratives are the only ones that count. It is the belief of *Slash* that publications who are not immersed in Punk culture or knowledgeable about Punks cannot capture the community as well as they can. The Do-It-Yourself ethos is at work in these pages, as it is up to the knowledgeable and active Punk to create responsible literature about Punk itself.

Flipside Video Zine #1 1984:

Flipside was a fanzine created in 1977 in Whittier, California by five high school friends: Al Kowalewski, Patrick DiPuccio (Pooch), Larry Lash (Steven Shoemaker), Tory, and X-8 (Sam Diaz). *Flipside* began its life like many other Punk zines in that it started as a small project that was kept alive through the hard work of the creators, but where *Flipside* distinguished itself from the myriad of small zines published in this area in the late 70s was the fact that it eventually grew into a widely spread publication that in the 80s had reached over 6,500 copies per print run with

sales being recorded in 12 states and four countries overall with additional printing done for European consumption in Germany (*Flipside* 16,2). From 1979 to 1989 the zine was co-owned and co-edited by Hudley “Hud” Flipside (Holly Duvall Cornell) and starting in 1984 *Flipside* expanded into video zines which documented live performances of bands that were frequently featured in *Flipside* such as Social Distortion, The Vandals, Black Flag, 100 Flowers, and Toy Dolls. In their first video zine the hour plus long project contained performances from Social Distortion, Vandals, Sin 34, Black Flag, RF7, D.I., T.S.O.L., Descendents, MDC, Circle Jerks, Husker Du, and Youth Brigade. The video zine gives a dynamic viewpoint of the bands featured, and further expands on showcasing the actual realities of a concert in a way that print struggles to capture. While there is much less social commentary on the part of *Flipside* which would be typical of a print production, the content in this video zine vitally documents the live actions and performances of the bands. This video constitutes Fig.12.

Timestamp: <https://youtu.be/oZfoyzZ-TW0?t=128>

The first band covered in this video zine is Social Distortion which hailed from Fullerton, California and was a staple of the Southern California scene. Starting at 2:07 the band begins to play the intro to one of their songs until the 2:41 mark. The intro has elements of surf rock with a slower tempo which matches the introduction given by a Flipside employee which describes the band members as active participants in the California surf scene. Later in the song at the 2:42 mark the song in typical Punk fashion immediately switches to a sharper and focused attack which introduces the lyrical start of the song. The audio quality leaves listeners with something to be desired as the vocals are not discernable from the background music, however the yelled harmonies by the drummer and others and the flat vocals from the lead singer better resemble the

hardcore scene of the 80s. The song including its intro lasts from 2:07-6:53 which is a 4 minute and 46 second run which is long for a Punk song of this era. The abrupt end to the song after the final repeated chord progression is another hallmark of Punk rock and helps keep the audience on edge and attentive. The style exhibited by these band members largely falls into the broad umbrella of Punk aesthetic as the lead singer has dyed black hair spiked upwards with a significant amount of hair product and sports a singular earring. He is also wearing black, a color while not unique to Punk, was a common Punk fashion trend of the day. The abbreviated guitar solo in the middle of the song also fits into the larger narrative of Punk where many acts shunned excessively long and technical guitar solos in favor of simplicity.

Timestamp:<https://youtu.be/oZfoyzZ-TW0?t=415>

The second band that is featured in this zine is The Vandals who appear at the 6:55 mark. This scene which runs until the 8:50 mark showcases The Vandals at one of their concerts. The lead singer has bleached blonde hair which again is typical of 80s Punk fashion, and the rest of the band members wear mismatching clothing which is most likely due to personal preference and style (and emphasizes individuality). This scene shows a more stereotypical picture of a Punk concert as the lead singer mostly chants the same two lines while being backed musically by the rest of the band members. After listening to the rough audio quality of the video the singer appears to be chanting a message which appears to be among the lines of disparaging remarks aimed at the government. The crowd is seemingly enticed into a fever pitch, and several audience members throughout the clip attempt to get on stage while occasionally being tossed back into the crowd by venue security. The singer is unfazed at the crowd of people physically surrounding him on stage and continues his anti-government rant. The singer eventually makes a

rude hand gesture to the crowd, and the song again immediately is cut off. Instead of following traditional musical avenues on how to end a song such as a decrescendo or the finishing of a chord progression, many Punk songs such as this kill the sound abruptly. The Vandals are featured again, as the video shows them as guests on a radio show where the members comment upon a new movie coming out called “Suburbia” which allegedly is supposed to portray youth struggles in the Punk community. The Vandals state in the video that they both acted in the movie and contributed songs for it. The movie was written and directed by Penelope Spheeris and produced by Roger Corman. The film’s plot concerns young fans of Punk rock who run away from their homes in the suburbs in order to fully embrace the Punk lifestyle. The Vandals say that the movie has its own positives and negatives and may only be a subpar representation of Punk culture, but they endorse it anyways. The desire for greater publicity appears to trump the band’s desire for a thematically accurate movie.

Timestamp:<https://youtu.be/oZfoyzZ-TW0?t=1218>

Black Flag makes its appearance in this zine at the 20:20 mark and features the band performing two songs. The first song is very short and only lasts to the 21:50 mark which includes the intro and features an air-raid siren sounding crescendo from the guitars and a buildup from the drummer. The band then uses cues set by the group to immediately shift into the vocal portion of the song and singer Henry Rollins sings in an aggressive manner without his shirt. His actions feature exaggerated and aggressive body language that combines with the music to create a threatening stage presence. Many Punks favored threatening songs or actions in conjunction with threatening behavior. The off-putting nature of Black Flag’s act likely would be perceived as problematic by non-Punks, however the Punk crowd at the concert embraces the

band. After the 21:50 mark the video jumps to a later song at the same concert with the camera angle showing the tightly packed front rows of the standing room only concert venue. The fans that are closest to the stage are repeatedly shoved off by a venue worker if they try to take the stage. The music is slower than the previous song and the guitars follow a simple three chord progression, the vocals are mostly in tune with the music, but retains a shouted quality that suggests an intentional lack of polish. Overtly professional or studio-quality sound is not present at this concert. The song ends at the 23:20 mark with the crowd seemingly clamoring for more.

These video clips help viewers understand the energy and atmosphere of mid 80s hardcore punk in the Southern California area which features at times rabid crowds and performers, and a seeming lack of control. Actions such as those exhibited in the clips form an alternative narrative to what *Slash* references as bouncers becoming too rough with a mostly innocent crowd. Crowd members in these clips are repeatedly shoved off the stage and a mosh pit of sorts forms directly in front of the stage where presumably the most dedicated fans inhabit. The potential for violence is apparent when certain acts are on the stage. The Vandals and Black Flag worked their crowds into a frenzy while Social Distortion seemed to either be playing alone in a sound check or performing less provocative songs. Just like how individual political or moral beliefs varied depending on the musical group, the concert culture appears to follow the band's lead. Spontaneous acts of violence were the result of individual actions or group conflict within the crowd. While certain clubs had rules governing bigoted behavior, physical confrontations still occurred at clubs and concerts in part due to drug use and a band's failing to curb violence during shows.

Chapter 5 Conclusion:

Punk rock can be described as a social movement, a political movement, a musical movement, a youth movement, or any combination of these descriptions in addition to others. What Punk is and what it means or stands for varies depending on each individual's experience or knowledge. In order to make sense of this movement, there has been a sizable amount of research conducted by academics in order to better understand and define this phenomenon. Many of these studies and papers were written from an outsider's perspective, or several years after the author's involvement in Punk activities, which potentially creates an alternative narrative. There is the academic narrative about what Punk is and how it has interacted with its parent culture according to sociological theories and political involvement, but this narrative can turn away from the realities of what Punk is for many participants. The academic narrative at times threatens to oversimplify and generalize in order to present a uniform and coherent argument. This creates the potential to ignore the conflicts and contradictions which Punk can exhibit. Punk primarily is made up of people, particularly those of the "rank and file" or working class, which produces a different reality and world view compared to the academically trained researchers whose daily lives can differ drastically from the Punks of their studies. While academic training is helpful in order to understand contextual evidence concerning history or larger society, it can fall short of comprehensive understanding of a niche subculture which rejects many of the mainstream institutions on which academia is built. An individual's background and training or lack thereof affects their knowledge and point of view.

Academic research about Punk, and zines created by Punks, for the movement, are created in dissimilar and opposing conditions. Academic research draws upon prior scholarly works, often uses technical language and theories to explain phenomena, is peer reviewed by

other academics, and published in journals primarily geared towards an academic audience. The research produced is of high quality and technically sound. Academic research's strengths concerning Punk scholarship lies in its ability to utilize knowledge produced by multiple disciplines and present its observations and theories in a clear manner. Academia's ability to take a bird's eye view of social phenomena, and the academic's backgrounds themselves, while helpful in the creation of scholarly literature, also present obstacles that can obscure the reality of what it is like to live within this subculture. Scholarly agreed upon definitions of the central tenets of Punk, and its role in larger society are valuable insights, however the experiences of those who make up the movement deserve exploration as well. Punk zines allow readers and researchers alike to experience the "boots on the ground" realities that Punks face within a particular scene. These zines are created by individuals who are fully immersed in the local scene and invite contributions from members of the community. The result is an avenue for the growth of the scene, and an important primary source. While academic articles represent the professional side of intellectual exploration, zines are the amateur's way of creating meaningful literature. The individuals who create zines and contribute material, apart from guest editorialists such as Bob Black, lack academic backgrounds. The content in these zines attacks the wealthy, influential, or educated institutions that prop up mainstream society. Academia contains more similarities with the institutions under fire than the individuals who make up the Punk movement. Punk zines retain the intellectual focus on the people who were a part of the movement, and chronicled current events without the need to reference earlier works, or the need to fit their findings within a larger theoretical framework. Zines cut out unnecessary tropes and sought to provide readers with a no-nonsense account of the state of Punk in a particular area.

Punk zines allow researchers to understand the dynamics of an individual scene. The themes and patterns that arise from the zines first and foremost are indicative of the local scene, but many basic themes can be used to describe Punks in general as well, especially if there is repetition among zines. The level of political activity, value sets unique to a scene, fashion trends, etc. of a particular scene can be understood by reading zines. Zines allow researchers to identify unique characteristics of a scene. Through an analysis of zine content, one is able to compare and contrast the values of the Washington D.C. and Los Angeles scenes. There is evidence that these two scenes had different values and ambitions. This breaks down the myth in part created by academia of the existence of the universal Punk. Scenes across America valued similar concepts such as the Do-It-Yourself ethos, confrontation, and local community building, however, how they conducted themselves in pursuit of their goals differs from scene to scene.

The concept of DIY is prevalent in both D.C. and L.A., they manifest themselves in similar and different ways. Both scenes featured DIY fashion, bands and fans would make their own clothes or perform significant alterations by hand. This is a response to the overreliance on consumer goods, and the desire to create a style that was unique to the individual, therefore setting them apart from larger society. Anything that was mass produced was automatically less desirable than clothes or other products made by hand on a smaller scale. Ripped clothes, Anarchy A's, leather, razor blades, dyed hair, and mismatching clothing were all styles that could be found in both scenes. DIY appears in both scenes in the way of local space being carved out in an urban environment for the purpose of creating safe physical spaces for Punks. Within zines venue reviews can be found, which listed friendly and economic options for the curious Punk to attend. *Capitol Crisis* listed 9:30, Psychadelly, Bayou, The Chancery, and One Flight Up

as D.C. clubs who at least moderately catered to the Punk crowd at the time of publication. *Slash* identified Blackie's on La Brea, King's Palace, Gazarri's, and the El Capulin/Anticlub as welcoming spaces for Punk concerts. Whether Punks themselves founded the clubs, or Punks gradually started to make up most of these crowds, all required that Punks physically travel to these spaces, and zines aided in the identification and advertisement of these local spaces.

Washington D.C. and Los Angeles differ in what role activism played within the scene. The D.C. scene was extremely politically active, with organizations such as The Washington Peace center buying space in zines in order to recruit readers in supporting protests or marches in America's capital. Punks were fed up with the poor decision making and ignorance of the establishment and used their D.C.'s geographic location to their advantage. The D.C. zines have a more overt political tone than Los Angeles zines. DIY activism in D.C. was more likely to result in participation in formal marches or protests, while activism in Los Angeles focused on the creation of safe spaces, and the policing of the local scene. Members of both scenes had to participate in order to make necessary changes. In the case of L.A., the remedy for violence at shows due to conflicts with security resided in individual Punks refusing to suffer in silence and acting against management or bouncers. Waiting for a third party to fix the problem was not an option, and Punks had to actively protect and advocate for their space.

Zines from both scenes showed the conflicts that occupied the minds of Punks within the scene. Members were treated as outcasts, dangerous, and felt as if their voices were being intentionally ignored. *Slash* wrote of the conflict between Punks and classic rock fans and likened both fan bases as oil and water. There was no middle ground to be found between Punks and the rock industry, and the lack of compromise showed a doubling down of values by Punks

instead of adjusting to fit in larger society. *Slash* explored the reasons why Punk music was not seen as legitimate in the eyes of rock fans who valued professionalism and technical prowess. D.C. zines such as *Yet Another Unslanted Opinion* highlighted conflict in its political form. D.C. Punks refused to have their voices drowned out by the geriatric Washington establishment and subsequently took to the streets in protest. Confrontational language is seen in practically every zine page in D.C. and L.A. The coarse and direct language employed by authors was direct and effective in portraying their message. There are few hidden theories or metaphors in these zines, the language cuts through any implied meaning, and clearly states the author's views. Argumentation is necessary in order to start a discourse on possible remedies. Punks through their actions caught the attention of the parent culture and provided a space for potential reform. Both scenes relied on conflict as opportunities to be heard and influence their communities. Zines show how tension between Punks and society applies to the rank-and-file members of the Punk community.

The authors of these zines and the interviews they conducted with local bands, the letters to the editor from readers, and editorials written by authors and contributors all paint a picture of that month of Punk activities in any scene. It is a compilation of what Punk meant to those individuals and groups which also created a guidepost for readers to become aware about updates and the current state of the movement. The desire to inform, document, and comment on developing topics were some of the chief contributions of these zines to their readers. Academic papers also followed these principles, but oftentimes achieved these goals in different ways and drew different conclusions. The crass amateurism and informality that is exhibited in zine pages are not appropriate for any other publication type, particularly academic journals. The blistering

polemic at times showcased between zine authors and angry readers or individuals who were seen as threats to the Punk community are shown in an organic setting which academic writing fails to replicate. Because most academics were not part of the Punk community as it was a new and developing concept, they often are left with an outsider's perspective instead of these zine writers who were fully immersed in the movement, and through their efforts created representative primary documents. Zines return human appeals and stories to the Punk movement instead of focusing on theoretical concepts. While academic papers at times utilized analytical techniques such as case studies, interviews, or experiments, most of the writing seems to focus on academic implications of the Punk movement instead of the realities that someone would face as part of this movement. Zines also highlight contradictions and discontinuities within local scenes which reflects the human nature of this movement. Academic writing might have a clean and continuous narrative, but the everyday life of Punks is more complicated.

The research conducted in the paper aims to further explore the role of zines and their reflection of the symbols in Punk subculture as seen through a participant's lens. These writers were embedded in their communities and had intimate knowledge of their location and produced content that reflected this knowledge. Zines show how important Punk concepts such as anarchism and DIY play into daily life. Protesting government policies, forming community legal defenses, and setting up cooperatively led venues are all real examples of Punks acting upon the tensions between them and society. These actions are motivated by the Punk concepts that are reported and explored within the zines. Local issues are at the forefront in these zines and show real reactions and remedies to the conflict generated between Punk and society. Some Punks wanted to be left alone in order to enjoy their music and community in relative peace,

other Punks viewed societal backlash as a challenge and worked to change their communities for the better. Zines give concrete examples of actions taken by the community in response to conflict. This differs from academia which instead largely explains past actions and fits its subsequent explanation into an academic framework. Zines are an underutilized source for the study of Punk culture in America. More attention should be brought to the realities of everyday Punk life, and the zines are a gateway to furthering our understanding of an extremely prominent subculture in America. While there are references to zines in academic works, a thorough content analysis of them is largely lacking in the literature and can provide an informed look into how a particular city's Punk subculture developed over time. Larger projects could analyze multiple scenes within a geographic region such as the West Coast or the Northeast of America to explore possible regional continuities or discontinuities. Future projects could also attempt to analyze every single zine publication within a particular scene to explore the viability of zines or developing criteria to decide what made any individual zine more popular than others. Other projects could compare early Punk zines (70s and 80s) with the newer zines of the 90s and 00s and trace thematic progression. Punk continues to this day to influence society and evolve as a movement and genre.

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