

\$1.50

# *ANARCHY* a journal of DESIRE ARMED

Issue #18

DISARM AUTHORITY! ARM YOUR DESIRES!

March/April 1989

The October 17th  
PENTAGON ACTION  
An introduction to  
CRITICAL THEORY

The Papalagi;  
THE PLACES OF PSEUDO-LIFE  
Discussions, News, Letters, Reviews,  
Columns and more!



# Openers

## The anarchist scene

Labor of Ludd (POB 11492, Eugene, OR. 97440) has produced an amusing new poster, "THE MEDIUM IS THE MEDIUM; 'There is no equal.'" Send an SASE for a copy.

The Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade (BAD Brigade) (POB 1323, Cambridge, MA. 02238) has published a poster/leaflet on "Deregulating Drug Use; An anarchist perspective." Send an SASE for a copy.

Left Bank Distribution reports that Semiotext[e] USA (522 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, NYC, NY. 10027) "has been out of print for at least 6 months." And that apparently problems with printers have so far prevented its reprinting.

B. Diederich of Crypto Press (3751 Little Neck Pt. Rd., Virginia Beach, VA. 23452) is circulating his version of a "Platform drafting survey" through which he hopes "to find the most concrete positions that all anarchists can agree on...Comments, and suggested planks are welcome."

BobEE of Never Over Five (POB 4570, St. Louis, MO. 63108) is organizing an "early spring, Missouri anarchist gathering" in Ozark country down around Lester-ville, Mo. (a small town on the Black River). No date is set yet, but he's trying for "early March." Contact him for details.

At last, Kent Winslow's long-serialized autobiographical novel, *Dream World*, has been published in book form by The Match! (POB 4388, Tucson, AZ. 85722). The book is available from the publisher for \$8.00 postpaid, or \$7.00 each for two or more copies.

Bound Together Bookstore (1369 Haight St., San Francisco, CA. 94117) has recently received many copies of Charles Bufe's *An Understandable Guide to Music Theory* for its Prisoners Literature Project. Write for your free copy.

Peter Plate has had two new books published this year, *joaquin (in the fog)* and *black wheel of anger; (episodes in history, the ruins of a city)*. We'll try to review them for our next issue, but for now they are available from Autofiction Series (1844 Foothill Boulevard, Oakland, CA. 94606) and the author (537 Jones St. #8456, San Francisco, CA. 94102) respectively. No price is listed for *black wheel*, but *joaquin* is available for \$4.00.

A Distribution (396 7th St. #2, Jersey City, NJ 07302) has a new wholesale catalog out. However, due to its merger with the Libertarian Book Club mailorder service, all retail orders should now be sent to the Libertarian Book Club (339 Lafayette St., #202, NYC, NY. 10012), whose own catalog is now available for 50¢ in stamps.

## Strangling the independent press

On August 8th Attorney General Ed Meese III approved a joint-operating agreement (JOA) for Detroit dailies owned by the United States' two largest newspaper chains, Knight-Ridder and Gannett. Despite the fact that Reagan's own Antitrust Division and Meese's hand-picked administrative law judge had already declared legal objections, government approval was given for these two large daily papers (in the nation's fourth-largest newspaper market) to create a legal newspaper monopoly.

On the eve of the Republican convention and the presidential campaign, the

two chains with the largest number of endorsements to give, and the most control over the news we are allowed to see, used their economic and political (media) power to override all objections. They will now receive what will amount to a potentially billion-dollar perpetual subsidy (officially 100 years) and an effective monopoly over daily newspapers in Detroit. Using lobbyists like Clark Clifford, a former secretary of defense, and a big public relations firm, these newspaper chains succeeded in driving another nail into the casket of the so-called "free" press in this country.

Only New York is likely to retain any competitive daily newspapers for much longer. The few remaining U.S. cities with competitive dailies (Sacramento, Las

Vegas, Dallas, Denver, etc.) will be brought under enormous pressure to seek their own joint-operating agreements and the huge assured profits which go along with JOA monopoly status. Most U.S. cities already have newspaper monopolies, with either JOA agreements between dailies or the existence of single daily papers. And as the press monopoly continues to grow, we can only expect to see even more homogenous and less critical news reports in the future than we do now.

In addition, four U.S. Senators have already submitted a Senate amendment which would give JOA newspapers more power to destroy their only real local competitors--the alternative newsweeklies, community and suburban papers. Among other things, the amendment would allow

JOA papers to directly compete (using their grossly unfair advantage of the assured profits from their daily monopoly status) for the advertisers using alternative papers by starting up competitive "shoppers," etc.

For now, the U.S. government can continue celebrating what it's already known for decades, "the free press is dead!" "Long live the monopoly press!"

Source: The San Francisco Bay Guardian



# Openers

## Prison News

compiled by Project 1313  
(POB 1313, Lawrence, KS. 66044)

### Leonard Peltier Update

Apparently, all judicial avenues open to Peltier have been exhausted, since the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear his appeal for a new trial.

The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee's next three steps will be: 1) To ask for a congressional investigation of the counterinsurgency operation by the F.B.I. against the American Indian Movement and surrounding the case of Peltier, including the political use of the criminal justice system. 2) Part of the investigation, with the approval of Congressman Peter W. Rodino, chairman of the Judiciary Review Committee, is to be a request for a subpoena of the entire F.B.I. file, 6,000 pages in all, still being suppressed by the U.S. government. Presently the Defense Committee is asking for letters of support to go to appropriate officials. Write the International Office of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee for details: POB 583, Lawrence, KS. 66044. Checks for tax-deductible contributions can be made out to "The Cathedral of St. John the Divine" and sent to the Defense Committee. Please make note of the committee's new address in Lawrence, Kansas and not Kansas City.

### Prisoner Resources

#### Redbook Store/Prison Book Program

92 Green Street  
Jamaica Plains, MA. 02130

The Prison Book Program at the Redbook Store sends free reading material to prisoners all over the country. Since it is handled by a small group of people and they get many requests, they are often weeks behind. The books are all donated so they don't always have exactly the books requested. They suggest that requests be for certain kinds of reading, and they'll come as close as they can. The flip side of that is if you have books that you can donate, it helps them to do this work.

They are also encouraging others to set up similar programs. They offer a "How To Do It" pamphlet, available for free. There is great need for people to be going

into prisons or at least making contact with individual prisoners. In their own words:

"While supporting study groups and individual educational efforts is an important part of the project, perhaps as significant is its role in helping prisoners feel less abandoned by the outside world. It's often this kind of support that gives prisoners the strength to speak out for their rights while imprisoned."

Please support this program with donated books and consider setting up a similar program in your own area.

#### Books-For-Prisoners

Box A, 92 Pike St.  
Seattle, WA. 98101

The Books-For-Prisoners program also sends free books to prisoners. Like Redbook's program, B.F.P. depends on donated books. They ask for gay lit., civil rights lit., dictionaries, etc. Also, if you can donate time or money for postage, they ask that you contact them at the above address, or through Left Bank Books at 622-0195.

#### Survival Network Info. Center

Box 2576  
San Diego, CA. 92112

The anti-authoritarian tabloid **Bayou La Rose**, published by S.N.I.C., is going into its 11th year of publication. S.N.I.C. states its goals of support for human rights:

"S.N.I.C. is a clearinghouse of info. on international survival struggles. It is our aim to help build an international solidarity movement among the oppressed peoples."

The **Bayou's** pages include articles on labor struggles from South Africa to Eastern Europe; indigenous peoples' resistance to land grabs and cultural destruction from Indian Americans to Aboriginal Australians. **Bayou** has an extensive listing of networks, including the international anarchist press, various "I.W.W."-type workers organizations, prison support groups (esp. the Anarchist Black Cross groups and Native American cultural groups). S.N.I.C. asks for \$5 for a year's subscription (\$10 overseas).



**Bulldozer Group**  
POB 5052, Sta. A.  
Toronto, Ontario  
Canada

The **Marionette/Prison News Service**, double newsletter distributed by the Bulldozer Group, encourages readers to reprint and otherwise reuse their information. The **Marionette** chronicles the activities of the Federal Bureau of Prisons at the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion and beyond. Marion has been in a perpetual "lockdown" for 4 years. Lockdown means exactly that—continuous isolation in cells, with little if any time in recreation areas. In fact, some areas for group use such as cafeterias have been remodeled into more cells, indicating that the lockdown is intended to be permanent. This is the Fed's model of how a prison should be. While they claim that Marion only houses the most dangerous inmates, the records show otherwise. Prison officials from various state prison systems have been sighted touring Marion, presumably to learn how to set up a "control unit" prison in their own state. Dread stuff.

While Bulldozer Group distributes this newsletter, the editor writes from the inside of a U.S. prison. This is a very good newsletter, but all too brief. The group could use donations to expand its work.

#### Washington Prisoner/Family Support Group

POB 28227  
Seattle, WA. 98119

The W.P./F.S.G. has provided a support group for families and loved ones of prisoners in the Washington prison system. It works on issues including various inmate lawsuits, conditions and treatment inside prisons, transfers to out-of-state prisons and the Sentencing Reform Act (S.R.A.). The S.R.A. has restructured the sentencing procedure, at least on paper. It also abolishes the Parole Board! But that also remains on paper. The Board has found ways to justify its continued existence. W.P./F.S.G. formerly published a newsletter called **The Abolitionist**. It continues with its other work and asks for continued support.

#### Vultur

C.P. 95, Stn. Place d'Armes  
Montréal H2Y 3E9 Quebec  
Canada

**Vultur** is an irregular newsletter intended for prisoners and prisoner supporters.

### LIVE WILD OR DIE ...IT'S A CHOICE!

There's a new journal on the horizon, momentarily called **Live Wild or Die**. Rumor has it that it's being put out by a renegade group of ex-Stump Sucklers. Tired of "organizations" disguised as "movements," bored by "radical" journals which are edited so heavily that only the voice of a few is ever really heard, dumbfounded that the "avant garde of the environmental movement" has a political structure similar to any given capitalist government, and is slowly but surely giving in to mainstream pressures, this journal promises to make sure that the grassroots keeps sprouting new seeds, and that no one loses their sense of humor.

**Live Wild or Die** will have no editors and no leaders. It simply promises to be an open forum for the most radical, most fun-loving environmental subversives in the land.

If you have anything to contribute, or want a copy for yourself, write to the current contact, L.W.O.D., POB 2962, Bellingham, WA. 98227, or you can obtain copies from your local Earth First! contact person.

Remember, **Wilderness or Die**, it's a fact, not an organization.

### Mailing codes

For those who are interested in such things, if you received this issue of **Anarchy** by mail, there was likely a short code in the upper right corner of the mailing label. The code key follows:

"#17" indicates that you are a U.S. subscriber whose subscription will run out with this issue. Other numbers alone indicate that your subscription will end with that number or already has ended with that number. So, if your mailing code indicates that your subscription has ended with this issue, **now is the time to renew!**

"#P17" indicates that you are receiving a free prisoner's subscription, but that it will expire with the issue number indicated unless you contact us to "let us know that you wish to continue receiving **Anarchy**!"

"S17" indicates that you paid a little extra to receive your subscription in plain brown envelopes. The number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"Z17" indicates that you paid even more in order to receive your subscription by 1st class mail in plain brown envelopes. The number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"L17" indicates that you are a library/institutional subscriber. And once again, the num-

ber indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"F17" indicates that you are a subscriber living in another country besides the U.S. As usual, the number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"X" indicates that we exchange (or at least wish to exchange) with your periodical, and that you publish in the U.S. If we hear from you, we'll most likely continue sending **Anarchy**. If we don't, sooner or later (probably sooner) we'll stop sending it.

"F" indicates that you're lucky enough to be a friend who merits receiving **Anarchy** for free. You'll keep receiving **Anarchy** until your friendship runs out.

"FX" indicates that we exchange with your periodical (or wish to) and that you publish outside the U.S. Keep sending us your publication, and most likely we'll keep sending you ours, even if it drives both of us into bankruptcy.

"M10" indicates that for one reason or another we're sending you multiple copies of each issue of **Anarchy**—usually in the amount of the number following the "M." You might be a bookstore or distributor. You might just be a good friend or special contributor. If you get a bill with your multiple copies you're probably one of the former. If you don't get billed, consider yourself one of the latter!

## Anarchy #18

March/April 1989  
Press run: 5,000

Anarchy is a somewhat irregular (currently aiming at bimonthly) publication of the Columbia Anarchist League, an anti-profit organization of local anarchists dedicated to catalyzing the creation of a more libertarian world.

We sell no advertising, have no paid staff, and finance this journal entirely through donations and subscriptions.

**Subscriptions** are currently:

\$6.00 U.S./six issues for individuals in the U.S. (unwrapped, 3rd class)

\$9.00 U.S./six issues for individuals in Canada or Mexico, and for those individuals in the U.S. who want to receive their subscriptions in plain brown envelopes)

\$12.00 U.S./six issues for libraries and institutions (North America)

\$12.00 U.S./six issues for individuals (other continents by surface mail)

\$24.00 U.S./six issues for individuals (other continents by airmail)

Back issues are available postpaid for \$1.00 each in the U.S. (3rd Class mail), \$1.50 each in Mexico and Canada, and \$2.00 each elsewhere (by surface mail). Issues #1 & 2 (xeroxed) & #6 through #16 (originals) are currently available.

**PLEASE MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO THE "C.A.L."** And keep in mind that since we began sending out subscriptions in third-class bulk mailings, that YOU MUST SEND US CHANGE OF ADDRESS NOTICES **PROMPTLY** (this means at least 6 weeks before you move!) in order to receive your copies. The Post Office does not forward them! And we can't afford to send out extra copies.

Please send checks or money orders in U.S. dollars only. U.S., Mexican, Canadian or British paper currencies are also acceptable. For checks made out in foreign currencies, add at least U.S.\$5.00 for conversion. (It costs us at least that much.) Subscriptions are free to prisoners. Sustaining contributors donate \$30.00 to \$60.00 per 6 issues. Please address subscriptions, contributions, submissions and letters to:

**ANARCHY**  
c/o C.A.L.  
POB 1446  
Columbia, MO. 65205-1446  
U.S.A.

Occasionally we will exchange our mailing list with other publications and projects which we trust. Please notify us when subscribing if you do not want your address exchanged.

**Bulk copies** for resale in North America (at a newsstand price of \$1.50 each) are available at .90 each for 6 to 19 copies; .75 each for 20 to 39 copies; .60 each for 40 to 59 copies; and .50 each for 60 or more copies. For bulk orders for resale outside of North America, please contact us about rates. (Bulk copies for **free distribution ONLY** can generally be obtained for the price of postage and handling.)

For submissions, please enclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope with all articles, stories, photos, and graphic art if you wish to have them returned. Short news and comment articles which are used in the "The sad truth," "Radical news in review," and "International anarchist news" will be edited for brevity and style. Other submissions (features) will be edited only with the author's permission. Until we can afford to remunerate authors, photographers, and graphic artists for their published contributions we will give free subscriptions or other appropriate tokens of our appreciation.

**Editorial advisory group:** A. Hacker, Shagbark Hickory, Toni Otter, Diane Dekay, Badguy, Mikell Zhan, Avid Darkly, and Lev Chernyi.

The views expressed in the articles, graphics, letters, etc. published in **Anarchy** do not necessarily reflect the views of the Columbia Anarchist League, nor those of the editor(s).

Anticopyright—**Anarchy** may be reprinted at will for non-profit purposes, except in the case of individual articles, graphics and other contributions copyrighted by their creators or previous publishers.

## Radical news in review

by Paul Z. Simons

First of all I should say that the Pentagon action was one of the most poorly planned and executed exercises in dis-obedience that I've ever been to. From the start even that thin facade of calculation that cloaks most leftist actions was totally, completely and altogether lacking. The first real indication that I was heading into some kind of wierd nether-world of indecisive, fence-sitting, neo-liberals occurred when one of the CISPES [NOTE: a leftist group which supports the guerrilla struggle in El Salvador] organizers approached the New York group of anarchists and mumbled something about not having enough seats on the buses for everyone. This revelation, like the numerous other bits of good news that were to follow over the next two days, was greeted by the group with much righteous indignation and eye-rolling.

Now, it's no secret that CISPES offices around the country have been burglarized by the FBI, but after two days of incompetence, stupidity and a virtual stream of the lamest excuses ever heard by non-landlords, I have to conclude that the Feds are not only monitoring CISPES, but that they have completely infiltrated the organization and are currently planning all of its events.

I really don't want to go into all the sordid, ugly details of this, but in the interest of responsible (and fair) journalism I've drawn up a list of some of the most blatantly hair-raising and infuriating mistakes of the CISPES yo-yos.

1) No seats on the bus, & two and a half hours spent waiting for vans to take the anarchists from NYC to DC.

2) Thousands of copies of *Rage* [NOTE: an anarchist paper published in New York] conveniently left on the "seatless" bus with no way of finding out where the bus was parked in DC.

3) Anarchists and students housed in a community center miles from the main group with no shuttle service provided.

4) Serious problems with the "peace pigs" [NOTE: protest organizers and monitors] ugly and degrading scenes throughout the action (more on this later).

5) Contradictory and incorrect info on the pick-up spot for people going back to NY, and when we did find the bus, it was...

6) Right next to the FBI Building, a perfect little photo opportunity for the pinheads in shiny black shoes.

Through it all, however, the anarchists maintained a sense of calm and dignity though it was no secret that by the end of the day we were universally hated by the peaceniks, the liberals and the Marxists. In fact, the only people who seemed to appreciate the anarchist presence at the blockade were the police and the more radical student element, oddly for the same reason that the above-mentioned groups hated us--the anarchist idea of civil disobedience is a medium-intensity riot.

### The gathering of the tribe

We arrived in DC around 5 o'clock, and after finally tracking down our baggage which had been lost, we got together with the rest of the contingent. Now, I missed the Toronto anarchist gathering, so it was a real treat to meet up with people that I'd lost track of. There was hugging and kissing, then as is usual we settled into a review of what other people were doing. Two of the militants had just returned from Germany where they had participated in riots with the Autonomen, and there was a discussion of their tactics, particularly the elaborate intelligence network and medical services available during their actions.

The rest of the evening was spent finding food, finding the community center

## Report on the Oct. 17th Pentagon action or, How to be hated with dignity

that we were to sleep in and, of course, finding out what people wanted to do for the blockade. It was generally agreed that 1) affinity groups would be formed, 2) the use of paint bombs would be encouraged, 3) the contingent would stay together as much as possible, 4) a support group in case of arrests would be formed, 5) those arrested would practice jail solidarity, and 6) masks would be worn to protect the guilty. I crawled into my sleeping bag at about 1 o'clock wondering, like I always do the night before an action, if my next bed might not be in some rat-bastard jail.

The morning came fast and by 5:30 a.m. the community center was milling with protestors of various stripes. The students had been leery of planning any actions with the anarchists, so the two groups allowed each other as much room as possible giving the center an aura of a good-natured ambivalence. A single bus arrived at a quarter to six and it was off to Death Central, the five-sided bastion of Worldwide Murder, Inc. We arrived and set up two of the women from the New York group in the designated "legal" area to distribute the single bundle of *Rage*'s that had been salvaged. These two had, for a variety of reasons, decided to avoid the risk of arrest. Before continuing I should probably outline the general layout of the blockade. First, there were four designated areas: 1) next to the building itself was the "legal" area, where the folks who had no

from the media as possible, and finally 4) the "mobile tactics" area, that's where we were and it was essentially the rest of the parking lot including three car ramps that lead directly onto the grounds (again, the organizers obviously hoped that the anarchists would either be instantaneously arrested or simply disappear somewhere in the 7,000-automobile capacity asphalt Sahara).

### The un-arrest as tactic and mind-fuck

Initially, we made our way over to the students' area. They were chanting and kind of casting about for something to do. A few cars were harassed and the sound of drums and noisemakers grated into the still morning air. Then it happened. A Department of Defense bus came crawling into the empty lot. I remember standing next to an anarchist from Boulder, who looked at me through his bandanna/-mask-I could tell he was smiling as he said, "This is it."

"Yeah," I replied, "let's do it." A crowd of about 60 people moved around the bus chanting, making threatening gestures and generally being very ugly. The sound of sirens and the flash of red and blue is my next memory as three or four officers bolted out of a van and attempted to clear protestors from the front of the bus. They

scared and confused this poor bastard is one thing; the un-arrest is the refusal of authority made flesh. He realized in that instant that this group of howling anarchists and students had totally rejected his whole authoritarian act, the swagger, the uniform, the gun and baton meant nothing to these malcontents, or worse, they branded him as irrelevant. I sometimes think about that cop and wonder if he ever wakes up in the night screaming and soaked to the bone as he relives the nightmare of what truly free individuals think of him....

After several more un-arrests, and a well-aimed blood-red paint bomb that splattered on the front windshield of the bus the police realized that it was all over. They were outgunned and outnumbered, and in disgust they turned the bus around and sealed off the entrance, themselves, to all vehicular traffic. This was to happen two more times over the course of the morning and it points up the lack of foresight that went into police planning for the event. Which to my mind means one of two things, 1) poor police intelligence and/or zero infiltration of the more radical elements, or 2) gross underestimation of what a handful of the committed are capable of accomplishing. Either way there are lessons to be learned from the inaction/incompetence of the police. In the words of one of the militants, "I don't get it, there are no police here at all. Think of what we could've planned if we'd known." **ZANG!**

### "Peace-pig" frenzy

The action proceeded pretty loosely, an intersection was blocked, the police showed up, realized that there was nothing they could do and closed it down themselves. The first real problems came during the blockade of the third intersection. Again, another bus had been stopped right in the middle of the intersection.



Heading for a day's work at the mega-death machine.

Photos courtesy of Black Eye

intention of pressing their luck hung out, sang songs, handed out literature and were harangued by speakers about the evils of U.S. foreign policy and the "progress" and number of arrests, 2) the non-violent blockades, essentially around the roads and pedestrian entrances that were within spitting distance of the building, (virtually all the arrests were made in these areas), 3) the students' area, a corner vehicular entrance far from the building itself (the CISPES people obviously had little trust in an organization that would dare call itself the "Progressive Students Alliance," and they wanted to keep these king-hell Moscow-financed yahoos as far

made a fast grab for a comrade from Philly, and came up with an arm. Then the tug-o-war began. The people in back had his other arm and shoulder and in an instant he was free and on his way at a trot to the "legal" area to turn his jacket inside out. It was all over before the police could figure out what the hell was happening.

The un-arrest is one of the truly great mind-fuck techniques of this or any century. I was involved in the second un-arrest of the morning and I made sure to concentrate on the face of the police officer we were pulling against. It was a jigsaw mask of horror and surprise. And what

By this time we had moved away from the students and were on our own. The chanting and dancing in front of the bus was reaching orgiastic proportions when I turned around and started to get The Fear. We were surrounded by huge hulking brutes with facial hair and real short, mean-looking haircuts. Undercover police was my first thought. Then they joined in the chanting. Hmmmnn, not police, Vietnam Vets Against the War. From the first, I thought that these were the Storm Troops of the "peace pigs," but other anarchists viewed the group differently. When the going got tough, the Vets got chanting. And they were **always** there.



## Radical news in review

ferent story altogether. One young woman attempted to stop me from even entering the "legal" area to use the bathroom, probably out of fear that I'd start flinging shit at the crowd, or maybe lace the tabouli salad with LSD.

After a heated discussion concerning my peaceful intentions in the "legal" area, the pigs finally allowed me to use the facilities, grab a cup of tea and rest awhile. Then, as I was about to start handing out copies of *Rage*, two things occurred in rapid succession that indicated I should proceed to the front at all costs: 1) an announcement made on the loudspeaker to the effect that the people who started the fires should please put them out, and 2) a top organizer walked by me shouting shit into his walkie-talkie like "Get Out There And Do Something About Those Anarchist Fuckers!" Definitely Time To Go.

### I spell non-violence with a capital Wimp

The final action brought together the students, anarchists, police and the peace pigs in what one observer described as, "a rugby scrimmage with politics." The unsettling conclusion of the anarchist participation in the blockade unfolded around the mouth of a tunnel that leads directly under a major highway and into the Pentagon parking lot. Initially, this tunnel had been blockaded by non-violent demonstrators, but anarchists and students, seeing a struggle in the offing, both converged at once on the unsuspecting peaceheads and police. First a standing blockade of radicals linked arm-in-arm went around the seated demonstrators. Then the police who were inside the tunnel tried to push through. The standing blockade held firm and then it was our turn to push back at the police. A few fists were thrown under the linked arms by people standing behind the blockade. Two un-arrests followed and the police tried twice to clear the entire area only to be thrown off by the crowd and forced back into the tunnel. Then from about ten yards behind the action a peace pig with a megaphone began to lay down some ugly shit on the crowd like, "Those people interested in non-violent actions should proceed to the front of the Pentagon. Please do not use violence. Please ignore these protestors." Ugh, it was horrible, and no one listened. The crowd remained and supported us all the way. After a full twenty minutes of pushing, the police once again gave up and sealed the tunnel. Once again, they did our work for us.

After this action the contingent basically decided that enough was enough. Our luck had held through some pretty savage and unlawful activities, there had been no arrests, and we had, after all, accomplished what we had set out to do. Also, the police had begun to identify some of the



more militant individuals. People started to disperse in groups, some back to the community center to talk about the action and critique what had and had not been done, and others to do a little touring around DC before the bus ride back. In all, I think that the action had been successful, the anarchist presence had made a lot of the peaceheads rethink non-violence as an effective weapon, and we had impressed the students with the solidarity of the group and the tactic of the un-arrest. During the trip home, the New York group was snowed under with questions about anarchism and proposals by the students for future protests.

Ultimately, I think that there are strong arguments for a continued anarchist involvement in "single-issue" left demos and actions. As is obvious from the article, authoritarianism is as rife and pervasive in left-wing circles as it is in the dominant culture. This should surprise no one, but it does point up the need for participation. In addition, the opportunity to reduce "peace police," liberals and Marxists to screaming jelly by practicing what anarchism teaches should never be taken lightly.

\*Two militants were arrested later in the day. They were snagg'd letting the air out of the tires of a military vehicle after most of the contingent had dispersed.

This article was reprinted from *Black Eye* #4 (324 East 9th St., NYC, NY. 10003).



Marching onward for civil disobedience.

## This time we retaliate

Continued from page 17

ing police, but when we are attacked we will fight back regardless of anyone's so-called "authority."

An anarchist was thrown by a cop through a plate glass window; the cop was then thrown into the window by someone else. Police were attacked with fists and a 2"x4" in response to their attacks. When a cop slipped on the grass and fell while he was chasing someone, the boots went to him immediately while his hat was carried off as a "trophy." And, while people were being busted, probably for the first time in Toronto people came to their defense and tried to free them. This is a strong (and successful) act of solidarity that is lacking amongst most protestors, who would just as soon "not get involved" and let their friends be dragged off.

The police-instigated riot wound its way through downtown Toronto for a couple of hours until people organized themselves to march back up to Queen's Park where it was decided to end it. A total of 28 arrests were made while 3 police were sent to the hospital. On our end, one woman received injuries to her wrists when they were violently twisted during arrest and then had plastic handcuffs applied so tight that they cut off circulation. Many others received bruises and cuts but no one was seriously injured.

There are many important lessons to be learned from this demonstration. The first and most important is that we can take the level of resistance much higher than mainstream demos. As we increase the pressure, through organized acts of resistance to the state and police, our voices will be heard that much stronger. The anarchist demo in Toronto was by far the most effective we've heard of in the display of outrage against the U.S. massacre. Even in terms of media coverage, which liberals and pacifists hold so high on their agenda when considering "success" of a demo, anarchists created the widest coverage of any demo in Toronto.

Another important facet of the demo was the explicit anti-state and anti-police message throughout. If we are to realistically oppose the U.S. empire, we must oppose all government as they are all complicit in war crimes and atrocities. The nature of government is oppression and exploitation. And if we are to oppose government, then we must oppose their armed strongmen—from the army to the cops (uniformed or not). It is suicidal in the long run to make deals with the police during demonstrations. It compromises our integrity and effectiveness when what we seek to accomplish is drastic revolutionary change. No more deals with police, and no more deals with protest "leaders" who would sooner make deals with the cops than with activists. Repression on all levels must be opposed and fought and important steps in that direction were taken on July 4th.

Reprinted from *Ecomedia Bulletin* #30 (POB 915, Stn. F., Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2N9, Canada). This article was followed in the next issue by partial criticisms from other members of the Toronto Ecomedia collective.



A futile appeal to authority.

I heard other more ominous voices in the wind. The "peace pigs" began to murmur angrily about "these anarchists" and repeatedly one of the more vocal "pigs" urged calm and spoke into his walkie-talkie. The bus edged forward but the front row of blockaders held firm. A few police officers arrived and began to clear people from the front of the bus, though not attempting to arrest this time around. Then in the midst of it, a group torched the stars and stripes. The "peace pigs" went into a frenzy, radioing for commands, denouncing what was going on to any of the half dozen reporters that would listen and castigating the anarchists as troublemakers, creeps and "political cretins." More bad blood followed when the anarchists set aflame a black flag. Disgust turned to outright hostility and confusion while we chanted, "No symbols, No states!" The "pigs" were furious and we were soon being followed by perhaps two dozen of them. An effigy of Uncle Sam was burned, while the anarchists engaged in a mock ritual of praying to the flaming figure. It was all too much for the "peaceheads," and they began to pepper their epithets with thinly veiled threats of removing the entire contingent from the area, probably via chartered plane to Idaho.

At this point in time a comrade from New York and I decided to go see the two women that we had left in the "legal" area. As he and I were walking someone came up to us and said that we were being tailed. Turning slowly, we realized that four peace pigs were in fact following us very closely and speaking non-stop into their walkie-talkies. This is when I started to heat up. Denouncing us to the press (when in fact we had closed three of four vehicular entrances to the Pentagon—the stated purpose of the action) was one thing. Now, I'm used to being vilified by Democrats, Republicans, Marxists, La-Rouchites, in fact everybody, for my politics. One of the great rewards of being an anarchist is being able to heap insult and verbal abuse on idiots and to receive the same in kind. But when I'm followed because of some perceived threat to the sanctity of a peaceful protest, which is why they said they followed us, that's a dif-

# Alternative media review

## Alternative Press Review

compiled by Lev Chernyi

**THE ANIMALS' AGENDA** Vol. VIII, #9 & Vol. IX, #1 (POB 6809, Syracuse, NY. 13217) is a slick, advertising-laden, animal-rights monthly. Vol. VIII, #9 includes a "first-ever roundtable discussion" between defenders of Native American trapping and animal rightists—a very important dialogue to maintain and extend. Of especial interest are some of the statements by Bob Stevenson of the Aboriginal Trappers' Federation of Canada ("We don't consider animals people...We have a difference of value here in terms of priorities. We've often said it: God, man, animals. Okay?"), and by Alan Herscovici who has written a book defending native trapping called **Second Nature** ("What I've been able to understand is that if a person is going to take an animal for his needs, taking it in a respectful way, and is in a relationship with it, then there is no way to express an idea of cruelty in that context [in the Cree language].") Also of interest was that (despite his heavy-handed moralism) Patrice Greanville of **The Animals' Agenda** eventually commented that, "I would say that a majority of animal defenders have a tremendous amount of interest in seeing a reevaluation of the industrial system and the way we inflict our ways of production on the environment. But the issue of killing animals as a moral question has to be answered on its own terms." Greanville also makes a feeble attempt at tackling industrialism and overpopulation in his column, "Animal Intelligencer." Vol. IX, #1 includes an interview with the head of the Committee to Abolish Sport Hunting and an article on "The joy and tragedy of pigs." Subscriptions are \$18/year (12 issues).

**UTNE READER** #31 & 32 (Box 1974, Marion, OH. 43305) claims to reprint "The Best of the Alternative Press," but issue #31 is worse than most. It does print a letter from Murray Bookchin objecting to Jay Walljasper's inane reporting of the controversy over "deep ecology" in the previous issue. And it includes the usual superficial analyses of its "In Brief" department, along with a section including some good, basic reprints on the problems of nuclear waste disposal. However, its cover stories on "Ethical business" are simply disgusting. It leads off with Marjorie Kelly's corporate ass-licking in "Revolution in the marketplace"—her last line is "It may be an unavoidable truth: Business is our last best hope." And it includes excerpts from such "alternative press" journals as **Left Business Observer**, **Business Ethics**, **Business Week**, and **Inc.**, with titles like Paul Hawken's nauseating, "Entrepreneurs: The real cultural revolutionaries." Issue #32 is somewhat better, with a well-done section on Tibet, a mediocre section on singles vs. couples (this section includes a couple moronic reprints from the noted "alternative" publication, **The Washington Post Magazine**), a defense of liberal ideology reprinted from **In These Times**, an ultimately disappointing critique of the "Drug Frenzy" reprinted from **Ms.** (urging the legalization and taxation of marijuana, and a continuing war on crack), and a section superficially critical of automobile culture's place in a capitalist world—don't look for any criticism of capitalism here!) Subscriptions are \$24/year (6 issues).

**GREEN SYNTHESIS** #29 (League for Ecological Democracy, POB 1858, San Pedro, CA. 90733), now "an official publication of the Green Committees of Correspondence," continues to improve its appearance with this issue. Unfortunately, it hasn't been any more able than others to **synthesize** the various incoherent fragments of the green "movement" into any kind of intelligible whole. Thus in this issue we're treated to Murray Bookchin's nicely done "A Reply to My Critics," juxtaposed (on the same page) with a sermon by Matthew Gilbert which claims that Charlene Spretnak's idiosyncratically defin-

ed "spirituality" is "what unites us as Greens." Also included is an "Introduction to the SPAKA Process" (SPAKA is green newspeak for "Strategy and Policy Approaches in Key Areas"). Subscriptions are \$10/2 years (8 issues).

**GNOSIS** #9 & 10 (POB 14217, San Francisco, CA. 94114-0217) is a "journal of the Western Inner Traditions." Issue #9 centers on the "northern mysteries: the Grail, runes, the Celts." Some of this material is fairly interesting if for no other reason than that it reflects a too often overlooked facet of the traditions which have shaped European-American culture. Of most interest to me was an essay by Edred Thorsson on "The Way of Woden; The Runic Mysteries of the Hidden God of the North." Issue #10 (marking an increase in size to 72 pages), focusses on the work of Carl Jung and his concept of the "unconscious." I've never been able to share in the widespread fascination Jung holds amongst spiritual circles, but this issue is a fairly good introduction to some of the major aspects of his writings and ideas (on symbols, the ego, archetypes and the occult), especially in their relation to spirituality. Subscriptions are \$15/year (4 issues).

### ALSO RECEIVED:

**11th Hour; Midwest Housing Newsletter** Vol. 3, 1988 (c/o Ann Arbor Tenants Union, 4001 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI. 48109) is newsletter for professional "organizers" of the social-work left which aims "to aid the development of a regional tenants movement...." No price listed.

**Discussion Bulletin** #32 (POB 1564, Grand Rapids, MI. 49501) continues its fairly open discussion of the theory and strategy of "anti-statist, non-market socialism," though the "anti-statism" is not necessarily meant in the way anarchists use the term, i.e. it includes the Marxist fairy-tale that the state apparatus can be captured in order to help it "wither away." This issue is notable for an interesting review of John Zerzan's **Questioning Technology**. Send a contribution for a copy.

**MSRRT Newsletter** Nov. '88, Dec. '88/-Jan. '89, & Feb. '89 (c/o Hennepin County Library Admin., 12601 Ridgedale Drive, Minnetonka, Minnesota 55343-5648) is a publication of the Minnesota Social Responsibilities Round Table listing local events and including short reviews of periodicals received. Send a \$4.45 SASE for a copy.

**Transnational Perspectives** Vol. 14, #2 (Case Postale 161, 1211 Geneva 16, Switzerland) "offers political analysis of the major trends in the world...and provides policy suggestions so that common interest may be more easily found." This issue centers on the concept of bioregionalism, featuring René Wadlow's essay, "Bioregions and Transnational Zones." Subscriptions are \$10/year (3 issues).

**Southern Libertarian Messenger** Vol. XVII, #7 (Rt. 10 Box 52A, Florence, SC. 29501) continues its love-affair with the so-called "Libertarian" Party as an incoherent mish-mash of articles, news shorts, ads and other pieces clipped from publications, leaflets, etc. Subscriptions are \$6/year (12 issues?).

**Ovo** #5 (Trevor Blake, POB 23061, Knoxville, TN. 37933-1061) is an interesting zine which features Trevor's blow-by-blow account of his trip to last year's Toronto anarchist gathering, including his arrest at the "day of action" following the downing of the Iranian air bus by the U.S. military. Copies are \$2.00.

**Decoder** Vol. 2 (Silvia Romanelli, via Serra Perno 61, 14033 Castell'Alfero (AT), Italy) is an 80-page Italian-language "magazine of (r)evolutions, subversive computers, conspiracy and much more...trying to create an alternative communication network...an archive of any kind of alternative knowledge/wisdom...." Send a contribution for a copy.

**S.E.T. Free** #26 (Society for the Eradication of Television, POB 1124, Albuquerque, NM. 87103) is a 4-page newsletter critical of television from different angles—mostly using various news clippings and short comments. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

**Books for a Better World** (1740 West Greenleaf Ave., Chicago, IL. 60626) is the latest booklist from the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, publishers of books on labor and distributors for books from other publishers (for example, the anarchist Freedom Press in England). Kerr also claims to have "over 100,000 out-of-print & rare labor & radical books, pamphlets & periodicals." Write for a free copy.

**The Primal Plunge Catalog** 1988-89 (107 Brighton Ave., Allston, MA. 02134) contains a good selection of fringe literary, punk, anarchist, and xerox art magazines, books and one-shots. Visit the shop when you're in Boston. Copies are \$1.

**The Nuclear Resister** #59 (POB 43383, Tucson, AZ. 85733) attempts "to provide comprehensive reporting on arrests for anti-nuclear civil resistance in the U.S. and Canada, with an emphasis on providing support for the women and men jailed for these actions." News in this issue includes protests of the Innu people of Labrador over fighter and bomber ranges imposed on their lands by the Canadian government and the refusal of the Catholic Church (in Omaha, Nebraska) to provide sanctuary for a protestor arrested for trespassing at Offutt Air Force Base. Subscriptions are \$15/year (8 issues).

**DSA Green News** Vol. 2, #4 (Chicago DSA, 1608 N. Milwaukee Rm. 40, Chicago, IL. 60647) is a little 4-page newsletter of the Democratic Socialist Alliance which focusses on recruiting new DSA members from the green movement. Like the (ex-)Trotskyists who put out **The Torch**, these people have apparently begun targeting anarchists (among others) in their latest recruiting efforts. According to the accompanying subscription solicitation letter, "DSA Greens see themselves as part of an international political tendency of environmentalists, feminists, anarchists and radicals of other stripes...and of socialists...." This issue consists of an essay entitled "Bookchinism: A Left Green Response," in which the editor variously lauds Bookchin's "prescience," criticizes his "polemic overkill," admonishes his "anti-spiritualism," and finally defends the "natural hierarchy" of leftism in both its theory and its practice. Unfortunately, the occasionally perceptive analyses involved in parts of this essay only make the basic DSA position of direct collaboration with one of the two major ruling political parties all the more disgusting. Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues).

**New Options** #54 & 55 (POB 19324, Washington, DC. 20036) is a new-ageist newsletter, focussing on problems with television advertising in issue #54 and "U.S.-Soviet Cooperation: After the Euphoria" in #55. Subscriptions are \$25/year (11 issues).

**Overthrow** Vol. 10, #2 (Canal St. Station, POB 392, NYC, NY. 10013) includes good coverage of "The Battle of Tompkins Square Park" in New York, an article on "Feminists imprisoned in West Germany; Modern witch-hunt ends in isolation cells," and lots of information on the current situation in Guatemala. Subscriptions are \$10/year (2-4 issues?).

**Pagans for Peace** #38 & 39 (POB 6531 Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X4 Canada) is a newsletter for politically-oriented pagans. Issue #38 includes a short description of a Calgary Alberta pagans' problems with the traditional symbolism of the pagan holidays due to its Hyperborean latitude. Issue #39 includes a concise denunciation of a "goody-goody" pagan resolution (circulated by Morning Glory Zell of the Church of All Worlds) declaring that pagans "do not advocate or condone criminal activities" including "child abuse, sexual abuse," or "substance abuse." Subscriptions are \$15/year (13 issues).

**The Marionette** #39 & 40/**Prison News Service** #15 & 16 (Bulldozer, POB 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1W4 Canada) is a combined publication including the latest news on the U.S. Federal Penitentiary at Marion Illinois (infamous for its ongoing 6-year lockdown and the prevalence of political prisoners singled out for incarceration there), and news and comment on the prison scene in general. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Grub** #70 (Dragonfly, Lake St. Peter, Ontario K0L 2K0, Canada) is a newsletter of the Bancroft Ontario alternative community—and seems to be somewhat oriented towards "new age" and spiritual themes. This issue contains several nicely done stories (best is

Laurie Ulster's "I'll Remember You") & comic, letters, news and comment. Subscriptions are \$12/year (4 issues).

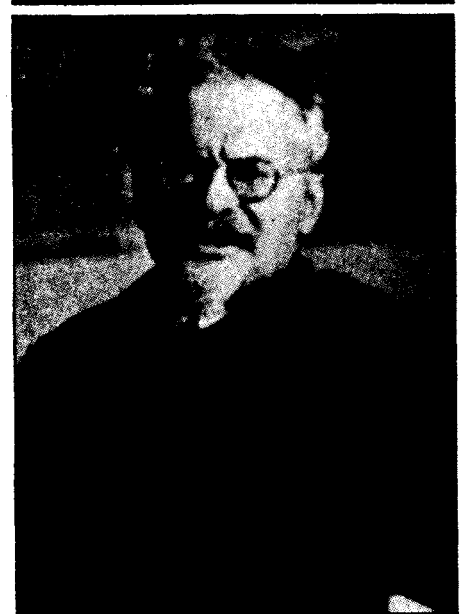
**Reclaiming Newsletter** #33 (POB 14404, San Francisco, CA. 94114) is published by a San Francisco Bay area collective "working to unify spirit and politics," whose "vision is rooted in the religion and magic of the Goddess—the Immanent Life Force." This issue includes a simple account of a children's solstice celebration, a somewhat eco-Malthusianesque argument against procreation (which never mentions such inconsequent realities as capitalism), and a truly bizarre essay on "Sexual & Ritual Abuse of Children" by Roy King (in many places this essay sounds more like a typical **Readers' Digest** disinformation attempt—e.g. "The statistics are that one in three women and one in six men suffered sexual abuse, usually incestuous, as children...the reality of ritual abuse, which parallels Nazism in horror...is also coming to light. It is widespread...and may be nationally organized!"). Also in this issue is an interesting account of an anti-AIDS "Needle exchange" direct action, many poems, a few reviews, and listings of Reclaiming classes and events. Subscriptions are \$6-\$25/year (4 issues).

**Institute for Social Ecology Newsletter** Vol. 7, #1 (POB 89, Plainfield, VT. 05667) contains news and announcements concerning institute activities past, present and future. This issue includes a short introduction (and bibliography) to the "social ecology/deep ecology" debate. Subscriptions are included in membership benefits. Memberships are apparently \$25.00-and-up/year.

**New Indicator** Vol. 14, #6 (U.C. San Diego, B-023, La Jolla, CA. 92093) is a biweekly, leftist student newspaper. This issue features an interesting story on the latest administration attempts to shut down a 10-year-old student owned and run food service on campus, the **Ché Café**. Subscriptions are \$8/year.

**Swellsville** #8 (POB 85334, Seattle, WA. 98145) is subtitled "A Critical Guide for Consumer Deviants" and that pretty well sums up this more-readable-than-average music fanzine. Not limited to any single genre, nor too narrow-minded in opinion, this is 112 pages of letters, columns, interviews and reviews covering Madonna through Sun Ra (both with positive write-ups), and Public Enemy through Sonny Rollins. Nicely done. Subscriptions are \$1.75 each/3-or-more-issues.

**Working Class Opposition** #75 & 76 (October Publications, 3309 1/2 Mission St. Suite 135, San Francisco, CA. 94110) is full of "orthodox Trotskyist" drivel from the International Workers Party (Fourth International). How we got on the mailing list of lobotomized creeps like these, I don't know. Subscriptions are \$8/year (12 issues).



Leon Trotsky, counter-revolutionary.

**Storm Warning!** #11 (c/o V.V.A.W.A.I., 4710 University Way NE., Suite 1612, Seattle, WA. 98105) is a newsletter published by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist. This issue is longer (20 pages) and more interesting than some of the previous issues, including: a denunciation of the recent U.S. downing of two Libyan aircraft, a story on dolphins and a sea lion that escaped from a U.S. Navy training program, an interesting article on "Male Bonding and the Army's Cunt Cap," news from Yesh Gvul concerning the refusal of many Israeli reservists to participate in the slaughter of Palestinians on the West

Continued on next page

## Alternative media review



Jeremy Rifkin reclines during a busy day.

### Time Wars

a review by Maria Mitchell

*Time Wars* by Jeremy Rifkin (Henry Holt, New York, 1987) 263pp. \$18.95.

Included with other book-jacket hymns to Jeremy Rifkin is Ralph Nader's promise that "**Time Wars** is a book you will read in a few hours but will reflect on for a lifetime." Rifkin's book had the opposite effect on me: it took weeks of determined slogging to reach the last chapters, whose new age rhapsodies destroyed, for me, any possibility of taking **Time Wars** seriously.

Like Nader in the 60s and early 70s, Rifkin the public man casts himself as David, and slings often-effective stones at the Goliaths of research and industry. Best known for his incessant battle against biotechnological research and development, Rifkin also aspires to the status of serious thinker. **Time Wars** purports to be a treatise on "the primary conflict in human history," the ongoing battle over competing temporal visions.

Assuming Rifkin actually wrote the book (and I believe he did; his energy level and volubility are exceptional), it's my opinion, based on his style alone, that he should leave the writing of philosophical treatises to the scholars. **Time Wars** (the title is a tipoff) combines prepackaged anthropology, history, sociology, and psychology into a pop-mélange with neither taste nor substance. Imagine a Western Civ textbook written by a *Newsweek* reporter, and you have Rifkin:

*"Yet the Church's condemnation was not enough to stem the tide of a burgeoning commercial revolution that was fast extending its reach over the length and breadth of the Holy Roman Empire."*

*"Armed with the new scientific method, the architects of the*

*Enlightenment headed toward the temporal horizon, determined to lead the way to an earthly paradise. René Descartes helped blaze the path to Eden by introducing mathematics into the new formula for the future."*

And so forth.

A reader who can put up with Rifkin's glib superficiality, and who is unfamiliar with the considerable historical and psychosocial literature on the politics of time and the idea of progress, might learn a few facts or concepts from **Time Wars**. But even these slim prospects fade in juxtaposition with Rifkin's read agenda, as revealed in the book's final and culminating chapters. I found myself reflecting (as Nader had promised I would) on Mark Twain's observation that the thirteenth chime of the clock is not only suspect in itself, but also casts grave doubts on the authenticity of the preceding twelve.

Rifkin reveals himself as the very model of a new age liberal, plumping for an "empathetic political order" where "the most inalienable of all rights is the right to share equally in time." "The revaluation of time," he affirms, "is a prerequisite to the revaluation of life."

I guess I shouldn't have been surprised, but the direction and extent of Rifkin's sellout, following 188 pages of critique of the concept and effects of time, took my breath away. When I was in college (back in the Jurassic era) and read Norman O. Brown's study of time in **Life Against Death**, I put away my wristwatch, and didn't wear it again for 25 years. For a tortured but fascinating Freudian perspective on time, pick up Brown; for a sedate, scholarly, but trenchant analysis, browse in Nisbet's **The Idea of Progress**; and for an incendiary and original anti-authoritarian critique, read John Zerzan's "Beginning of Time, End of Time," included in the **Elements of Refusal** collection published in 1988 by Left Bank Books. Don't waste your time on **Time Wars**.



### Agents of Repression

a review by Toni Otter

*Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* by Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall (South End Press: Boston, 1988) 509pp., \$15.00 paper.

Anarchists today would be foolish to forget, as authors Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall recall, that the FBI (then Bol) was instrumental in crushing the IWW, deporting Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, murdering Andrea Salsedo, Nicola Sacco, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, and "neutralizing" thousands of others. Since roughly 1915, the primary function of the FBI has been to destroy or discredit anyone considered an enemy or even a serious critic of the U.S. government. As anarchy grows, we can expect the FBI to ruin or kill as many of us as possible. As we choose wilderness, pleasure and cooperation, the FBI will fight back. People "will be targeted as subversives and traitors. False information concerning their personal and professional lives will be leaked. Jobs will be lost, careers shattered, families destroyed. Homes and offices will be broken into, files rifled and stolen, rooms bugged and phones tapped. Midnight raids will be conducted on spurious warrants. Passports will be revoked. IRS audits will be ordered.... Offices and domiciles will be firebombed. People will be accused, arrested, tried, convicted and sent to prison for crimes they never committed (and which may never have occurred at all). Others will be attacked and beaten, stabbed and otherwise maimed by 'patriotic' thugs on city streets, in alleyways and along lonely back country roads. Still others will be murdered 'by person or persons unknown.'" (*Agents of Repression*, pp. 387-8)

But this is, the authors note, "no more than normal operating procedures of the

FBI where 'politically objectionable' targets are concerned. The only real question is whether such atrocities will occur as part of a process which ultimately forces the Bureau to stop, or whether they are allowed to occur unhindered...." (p. 388)

Churchill and Vander Wall have written a readable, well-researched book. They remind us that Leonard Peltier and Geronimo Pratt, to name only two, are still in prison, that Cointelpro (systematic FBI campaigns against selected organizations and individuals) never really ended, and that the FBI is better funded than ever, with Puerto Ricans and those opposed to intervention in Central America, among others, receiving recent special repression. If you already know about the FBI, you can probably learn more by reading this book. If you think the FBI is your friend, or if your image of it is shaped by some of the Bureau's propaganda, such as the 1960s T.V. series "The FBI," every script for which was approved by FBI headquarters, then maybe this book will restore your vision. Whether you choose this book or other sources, it is important to understand how the FBI works. As the authors warn, "The only true alternatives are to abandon ourselves to the totality of a police state, or to move forward in conscious, active opposition to it." (p. 381)

A weakness of the book is the authors' solution to stopping the FBI. To their credit, they are unequivocal in opposing the FBI and suggest that a coalition of groups/individuals do just that. But the FBI is merely a symptom of an institution which has usurped or been given power. Abolish the FBI tomorrow and one still has the government/military-industrial complex/authoritarian paradigm which generated it. Sadly, there seems little enough opposition to the FBI, but even massive struggle against the FBI is pointless unless we simultaneously dismantle the structures for which the Bureau is merely a guard dog.

### Dream World

a review by Lev Chernyi

*Dream World* by Kent Winslow (The Match!, POB 3488, Tucson, AZ. 85722, 1988) 291pp. \$8.00.

Like a sojourn into the Arizona desert which provides the background setting for this story, Kent Winslow's autobiographical novel lets us feel the emotional isolation and emptiness the author experienced growing up and living in the southwest of the '50s, '60s and '70s. Alternately terrifying and funny, resigned and confrontational, the story of Winslow's life unfolds from his days under the total control of an abusive father to his bittersweet attempts at constructing a life for himself in a society crazed with political and religious superstition.

Who among us won't identify with the bewilderment of a young child kidnapped by his father, forced to live on the lam for an unending succession of brief periods in small towns, trapped amid the hypocrisies and compulsions of the bizarre Mormon cult? How many of us have suffered through episodes similar to Kent's squinting for want of the glasses he didn't know he needed, his punishments for reading the books—any books—he loved, or his beatings by a father desperate to hold on to any shreds of power and authority he could retain over his wife and son?

Forced into literal wage-slavery assisting his father run a small-town radio station, hiding his meager earnings so his

father wouldn't steal them back, and in plotting his escape to college, how could he know that once he had escaped the university would be a prison of its own? How could he know that, instead of the advertised intellectual enlightenment, the university—in its role as handmaiden to the corporate-political-military complex—would demand compulsory ROTC attendance with the constant threat of the Vietnam War draft hanging over his head?

Is it any wonder that these circumstances led to his involvement in the anti-war movement, and his eventual embrace of anarchism? Actually, it probably is, since most people never even made it to the point of active protest over the war, much less radical protest. As part of the same generation which learned about the distant possibilities for other ways of life during the social and political ferment of the late '60s, I haven't the slightest doubt that even then most people remained in the sure grip of all the myths of "normality"—like the "need" for authority, the "trustworthiness" of social institutions, and the "benevolence" of modern industrial capitalism. There certainly isn't much evidence to the contrary despite (or maybe because of) all the ridiculous rhetoric and naïve idealism that era is remembered for.

Kent's disillusioning experiences with the opportunism and stupidity of the political left have been shared by many other

Continued on next page

### Alternative press review

Continued from page 6

Bank, and excerpts from a diary of a GI who was killed in action in Vietnam in 1968. Subscriptions are \$8/year (10 issues).

**Factsheet Five** #29 (c/o Mike Gunderloy, 6 Arizona Ave., Rensselaer, NY. 12144-4502) continues to improve its presentation. This "zine of crosscurrents and cross-pollination" is now 92 pages packed with reviews of every alternative zine, tabloid, and one-shot you'd ever wished you'd never heard of—along with quite a few interesting gems scattered in their midst. For those who haven't yet seen a copy, this is a must read. Also includes book, poetry, music and software reviews, along with a couple regular columns. Subscriptions are \$2/issue (up to 5 issues) or \$11/6 issues.



## Alternative media review

# Anarchist Press Review

compiled by Lev Chernyi

**GREEN PERSPECTIVES #13** (POB 111, Burlington, VT. 05402) presents "The Response of the Hamburg Left" to the German Green Party's *Realo*-faction manifesto entitled "To Be or Not To Be," issued in June 1988. The *Realo* manifesto reveals the ugly manipulative, authoritarian and socially irresponsible impulses that almost always lie at the root of purely reformist, "lesser evil" politics. Because the vast majority of ecological activists in North America share the despicably "pragmatic" tendencies of the German *Realos*, the publication of this fairly lucid (though still ideological) response by two leaders of the "Hamburg left" of the Green Party is especially valuable for greens here. Subscriptions are \$10/10 issues.

**OPEN ROAD #23 & 24** (Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C. V6R 4G5, Canada) is an "Anarchist News Journal," featuring news of resistance from around the world. Issue #24 includes contributions to a discussion of the appropriateness of armed struggle as a tactic for anarchists, written in response to an article in #22 called "The Politics of Bombs." Subscriptions are "2 hours pay"/year.

**FIFTH ESTATE #330** (POB 02548, Detroit, MI. 48202) includes a report on the student movement in Korea by a North American visitor to the F.A.K.'s (Federation of Anarchists in Korea) recent International Seminar for World Peace, an evaluation of the *Intifada* in Palestine, and a couple articles from the more radical wing of (current and ex-) Earth Firsters. Also, of especial interest are Lynne Clive's response to E.B. Maple's evaluation of the FE's involvement in the Mobilization to save the Great Lakes (which appeared in

the previous issue), and Bob Brubaker's criticism of John Zerzan's essay "Agriculture, Essence of Civilization" (also published in the last issue). Lynne Clive criticizes factual errors and the overly simplistic "liberal/radical" dichotomy drawn by E.B. Maple in his more critical moments, however, her rectification in turn provides little additional (yet sorely needed) critical insight on the dilemmas FE people found themselves forced to deal with in the mobilization. Brubaker's response to Zerzan's critique of agriculture (as the foundation of civilization) counterpoises the centrality of the "symbolic" in "primitive" societies as a force which he believes kept agriculture within bounds. There is still a lot more that needs to be said on both of these topics. Subscriptions are still \$5.00/year (4 issues).

**LIBERTARIAN LABOR REVIEW #6** (POB 2824, Station A, Champaign, IL. 61820) is a "journal of anarcho-sindicalist ideas and discussion." This 48-page issue, markedly improved in both appearance and readability, includes international labor notes, an essay on "Anarcho-sindicalism and the environmental movement" by Jon Bekken, a couple of articles criticizing the opportunistic (and very uncritical) promotion of Earth First! in the I.W.W.'s (Industrial Workers of the World) *Industrial Worker*, and an interview with a member of the C.O.B. (Brazilian Workers Confederation) concerning its recent affiliation with the anarcho-sindicalist I.W.A./A.I.T. (International Workers Association). Subscriptions are \$5.00/year (2 issues).

**POSSESSED #2 & 3** (POB 20545, Seattle, WA. 98102) is a new, nicely done 24- to 32-page anarchist magazine. Issue #2 includes a re-print of Barbara Garson's "Who started pollution?," Bob Hopi's "The cult of politics; or, Why start another radical newspaper?," and Ben E. Factory's account of last year's "criminal trespass" trial for activists who occupied an abandoned hotel in downtown Seattle "to help stop homelessness, abandonment and demolition." Issue #3 includes a couple letters, C.W.'s excellent "Terrible Joy," and an account of an anti-skinhead rally organized by the United Front Against Fascism, "Socialists vs. skinheads; Fighting fire with fire." Both issues include "Ask Auntie Christ" comic strips by Julie Fox. Sample copies are \$1.00 each.

quite, faded out.

This is a book everyone should read. Many anarchists, I'm sure, have had similar types of experiences (though maybe not that many have suffered such concentrated ill luck), but few have bothered to record them as honestly and intimately. It would be quite valuable and instructive if a few more seasoned anarchist veterans would get around to writing up their own stories. We each can benefit from seeing how much our own experiences are mirrored in those of others who've survived to continue fighting.

In addition, this book gives added meaning and depth to a reading of *The Match!* Read critically, less as an ideological publication than as a personal document, *The Match!* imparts an indignant, yet almost cynical, attitude that can be an awfully refreshing alternative to the enormous mountains of religious, political, and business propaganda which assault us daily. It may not contain the perfect solutions to our predicament (no publication ever will), but it does mark a genuine effort at protest with an integrity of its own that cannot be completely denied.

### ALSO RECEIVED:

**Le Libertaire; Revue de Synthese Anarchiste #90** (25 rue Dumé d'aplemon, 76600 Le Havre-Routage 205, France) is a 4-page, monthly French-language "review of synthetic anarchism" (in the style of Voline's anarchist "synthesis") published by the Union des anarchistes. International subscriptions are 80F/year (10 issues).

**City Indians #1** (603 N. Chippewa, Apt. 103B, Anaheim, CA. 92801) is a new punk 'zine, heavy on vegetarianism and animal rights, with a little anarchy thrown in. Nicely done for a first-issue xeroxed 'zine. Send about \$.85 in stamps for a copy.

**Coming On Fall '88** (Queer Anarchist Network, POB 6705 Stn A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X5, Canada) is a compendium of poetry, graphics, reprints, etc. on sex, AIDS, faeries, feminism, pedophilia.... Of special note is the opening exchange of letters and replies concerning the transient banning of the first issue of the magazine (published with the title *Jerking Off*) from the shelves of the Montréal anarchist bookshop, Librairie Alternative. Send a donation for a copy.

**The Thought Vol.8, #9,11 & 12** (c/o The Philosophers Guild, POB 3092, Orange, CA. 92665) is a monthly publication "dedicated to freedom of thought and enlightenment." Of especial interest are an article in #9, "Talking to Ourselves," by Ben Price, and a reprint of Bob Black's "Lying in state--and elsewhere" and Avi Nafel's "So ya wanna be an outlaw" in #12. Subscriptions are \$10/year (12 issues).

**Black Eye #4** (324 E. 9th St., NYC, NY. 10003) is a relatively new pamphlet-sized journal emphasizing accounts of direct action-oriented activities. This issue includes accounts of a Philadelphia counter-demonstration (against a white supremacist demonstration that didn't take place), a critique of the New York Take Back the Parks Coalition, and several reports on the Oct. 17th Pentagon blockade (see "Report on the Oct. 17th Pentagon Action" and "My trip to Washington, DC." reprinted in this issue). Subscriptions are \$1/issue.

**Cultura Libertaria #14** (Asociacion Isaac Puente, Apartado 1687, Vitoria 01080, Spain) is the Spanish-language newsletter of the Isaac Puente Association's documentation center. This issue features a survey of the Spanish libertarian press in Vasco, La Rioja and Navarra. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**SRAF-Bulletin #105** (POB 11966, Salt Lake City, UT. 84147) is still plugging away printing a collage of mostly-incoherent letters. The only letter of much interest in this 12-page issue is from a "lesbian feminist" on abortion and pornography. The current editor thinks some feminists "are against porn...because it means that there are some single men who are not supporting real live women (w/marriage or dating)...." Subscriptions are \$3/6 issues.

**Trafik #29** (Eduardstrasse 40, D-4330 Mülheim 1, West Germany) is an 84-page German-language "International journal for libertarian culture and politics." This issue focusses on the "international practice of libertarian pedagogy," with articles on Walden (an "anarchist-pacifist" school in California), Spielbände in Germany, Summerhill in England, and L'Échappée Belle in France. Subscriptions are 30DM/5 issues.

**Black Rose Books Spring 1989** (3981 boul. St-Laurent 4th floor, Montréal, Québec H2W 1Y5, Canada) is the latest Black Rose catalog, featuring the latest books by Noam Chomsky, Murray Bookchin and George Woodcock. Write for a free copy.

**Guangara Libertaria Vol.9, #36** (c/o ISHSS, POB 1516 Riverside Station, Miami, FL. 33135) is a 32-page Spanish-language anarchist journal produced by Cuban exiles in the U.S. Send a donation for a copy.

**CNT #98 & 99** (CNT-AIT, Pza Tirso Molina No.5, Madrid 28012, Spain) is the Spanish-language "organ" of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor), the major anarchist-sindicalist confederation in Spain. North American subscriptions are 1,700 ptas./year (12 issues).

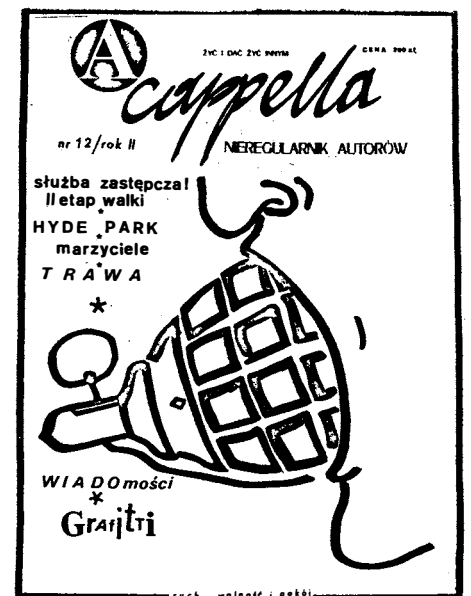
**Instead of @ Magazine #45** (POB 433, Willimantic, CT. 06226) leads off this 48-page issue with a eulogy to Peter Andruskiewicz, who recently died in prison at age 35 with "investigation pending" according to the authorities. The rest of the issue focusses on "what do anarchists do?" and a continuing discussion of religion (in which, among other

things, one contributor claims that "GOD IS ANARCHY"). Subscriptions are \$6.50/year (4 issues).

**The Monthly Meander [#1&2?]** (Ed Stamm, POB 1402, Lawrence, KS. 66044) is a 6-page "newsletter of evolutionary anarchists." The first issue includes an update on Avi Nafel and an article on religion and anarchy entitled "editor's drivel." The second issue includes letters from Mike Gunderloy of *Factsheet Five* and Ernest Mann of *Little Free Press*. Send an SASE for a copy.

**Centre Internationale de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme Bulletin #44** (Case Postale 51, CH-1211 Geneve 13, Switzerland) is the English, French, German and Italian-language publication of the CIRA archive in Geneva. It lists recent publications received and its lending policy. The annual fee for use of the library (including receipt of the bulletin) is 25 Swiss francs.

**LE #0; Brouillon pour une Critique Sociale Dec. '88** (C.D.L., Case Postale 5209, Succ."C", Montréal, H2X 3N2 Canada) is an attempt to initiate a French-language discussion among those who seek to make a radical break with contemporary society. This issue features a critique of nationalism, "Nation: iNo Pasaran!", and includes criticism of the P.L.O. as a pre-state, nationalist organization. The bulletin is free; send an SASE (Canadian stamp!) or a contribution for postage.



**@ Cappella Vol.2, #12** (Bekon Jankowski, Ul.Swierczewskiego 10/2, 81-831 Sopot, Poland) is the Polish-language journal of the anarchist Ruch Wolność i Pokój (Freedom and Peace group). This issue contains articles on the Hyde Park Festival, the recent END (European Nuclear Disarmament) conference, the history of the "@" symbol, an interview with Anna Lipińska, and other articles whose contents my complete lack of knowledge of the Polish language doesn't enable me to decipher. Copies are 200 zlotys. And I believe it's best not to include the name of the group or the journal on the envelope if you write to them.

**Interrogations pour la Communaute Humaine Dec.'88** (c/o I.S., B.P. 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12, France) is a French-language journal which has moved from ultra-left past to a perspective which embraces a critique of technology, leftism, and the state. This issue includes a critique of "health care" conceived as a commodity sold to consumers, a letter from Polish anarchists translated from the *Fifth Estate*, an essay on the nature of ecology, John Zerzan's review of Murray Bookchin's *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Civilization* translated from *Anarchy* #17, and "A critique of the proletariat." Sample copies are 10F plus postage.

**Disturb@nce #2** (POB 31261, 10035 Athens, Greece) is a 4-page Greek-language newspaper serving eastern Athens. See the articles on "The Greek anarchist movement" and "Athens under siege" in this issue for a greater indication of their outlook. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

**Life is Free #1** (c/o Wooden Shoe Books, 112 S. 20th St., Philadelphia, PA. 19103) is a brand new "@nacho-squatters" newsrag. This 8-page tabloid issue includes articles like "A New Tribalism," "A Stove for your Squat," "It's Time to Monkeywrench World Civilization" (though, this essay's hardly anarchist in inspiration--it's more reminiscent of the near-genocidal approach of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge), and a quick how-to-squat lowdown article. Send a contribution for a sample.

## Dream World

Continued from page 7

members of his generation. Unfortunately, while Kent found at least a partial alternative in his embrace of a libertarian vision (not of the bogus "Libertarian" Party variety), most of those disillusioned during this period merely retreated back to within the horizons of "official" reality. However uneasy their peace, their compromises and capitulations marked the receding waterlines of the anti-war movement as it ebbed in the Nixon era. Kent, like the other few isolated yet recalcitrant survivors from that experience chose to fight on despite the seemingly overwhelming odds.

From membership in a protest group, to local "leaflet king," to his unbending commitment to the "Project"--an anarchist bulletin, Kent never gave up on his vision of a different, better world. Despite the work of provocateurs and informants, despite police assaults and persecution, despite the shock of losing his wife to another woman, and all the subsequent disappointments of battles, friends and loves lost, his vision almost, but never



# International anarchist news



Athens police prepare to attack the demonstration.

## Letter from Greece

### Athens under siege

Athens "burned" for one more night on the 17th of November (the anniversary of the riot against the military regime back in 1973). At about 5:30 pm 5,000 anarchist comrades were gathered around the Polytechnic University. The 12,000 cops of Athens were ready, too. The demonstration against the U.S. Embassy started with about 200 to 250 thousand people (socialists, communists and anarchists). When the anarchist bloc of the demonstration passed beside the parliament some comrades started throwing stones at the building but nothing more happened there.

When we reached the U.S. Embassy, about 8:00 pm (the embassy isn't downtown, you have to walk for more than two hours to get there) we were about 3,000 in number (the other anarchists were too...lazy to continue for more than two hours). So, when we reached the embassy, some of us attacked the cops with stones and empty bottles. They answered with tear gas and we threw molotovs at them.

About 400 comrades invaded the two nearby blocks of flats. The people in them were very friendly, opening their doors and letting us in. They gave us lemons (for use against the tear gas). At the same time, down the street hundreds of comrades were fighting against the special anti-riot police (M.A.T.) using stones, empty bottles, sticks and molotovs. 17 comrades were arrested during that night. Two of them were sentenced (to 7 and 9 months in jail).

Anyway, there is also some good news. I don't remember if I mentioned this

case in my previous letter, but Vagelio Voglaji and Makis Bukuvalas are out of prison. They were both accused of being members of the armed group Anti-State Struggle. Now Makis and Vagelio (female) are free after 14 months in prison. Two more comrades are in jail for the same case: Clearchos Smirneos and Christofor Marinos.

About our group? Right now we are working for the creation of an anarchist club in our area (eastern Athens). We have already rented the place and in December we will call a two-day meeting. Today in Athens 3 more clubs exist. We also hope we will be able to organize a Pan Hellenic Anti-Election Campaign. The Elections will be held in June. I send you the second issue of **Disturbance**. I hope the map I'm sending you will help you.

That's all for now.

Anarchia ke zoi kato oli i strati  
(Anarchy and life/  
down with all the armies)  
**Disturb@nce**  
POB 31261  
10035, Athens  
Greece

### Anarchy in Burma?

Relying on Western media sources for information on anything is always distasteful. But when it comes to a popular uprising such as that occurring in Burma, it is doubly frustrating to have no independent sources within that country.

The mass media has been quick to announce the coming of "anarchy" to Burma in the wake of severe riots and insurrections all over the country. Even without considering the mysterious reports of black flags flying over the demonstrations (*Toronto Star*), it still seems there is more to the references to anarchy than the usual bluster.

The uprisings, according to all sources so far, seem to be genuinely self-directed activity on behalf of a large segment of the population. Without evidence of a recognizable leadership, people have taken to the streets demanding an end to the state socialist party rule. They have taken control of streets and neighborhoods and, despite bloody repression, seem to have massive popular sentiment behind them.

Stores have been looted and food distributed (*Toronto Star*). When a former army general attempted to direct the struggle, he was denounced and left behind. And the western media has been bewildered.

Continued on page 13

## The Greek anarchist movement

A report from Disturb@nce

1. **Athens**--the capitol, with 4 million people (the entire population of Greece is about 10 million) and 4 anarchist papers: **@gainst**, **@narchy**, **Disturb@nce** (eastern Athens), and **@utonomy Action** (western Athens). There is also **@narchos Review** (but it hasn't published a new issue for two years). The **@narchos** group does exist. There are three anarchist clubs and we hope that we will have two more soon. There are two bookshops: Free Press and Black Rose, and three publishing houses: Free Press, Diethnis Vivliothiki (International Library) and Autonomy Publications (it's a new one with only 15 titles). There are over 30 groups in Athens.

2. **Agrinio**--not a very big city--35,000 people. Tobacco industries. Two anarchist groups. An irregular review: **Libertarian Movement**.

3. **Patra**--the third largest Greek city. About 200,000 people. In Patra there is one of the most active anarchist groups. It is associated with the **@gainst** newspaper. At Patra was held the first Pan-Hellenic Anarchist Meeting with more than 2,000 participants (1986).

4. **Pyrgos**--130,000 population. This city was the anarchist center during the 19th century. Today the **Internationalist** paper comes out of Pyrgos.

5. The little island of **Ithaki**--the Commune of Sarakinio is there, a small alternative village. There is also the newspaper, **Infertile Line**.

6. The small town of **Amaliada**--near Pyrgos. Only 15,000 people. The paper **Scre@ming** was there. I don't know if this group exists today.

7. **Hania** (Crete)--40,000 people. One of the most active anarchist groups.

8. **Iraklio** (Crete)--the biggest city on Crete. At Iraklio there are some groups and comrades.

9. **Pethimno**--there are two groups there.

10. **Hios**--there is a university there. Some anarchist students.

11. **Volos**--there are a lot of industries in Volos. A group from Volos participated in the Patras conference.

12. **Larissa**--there are 2-3 active groups there.

13. **Salonica**--the second largest Greek city. About a million people, 6-7 groups up there. The paper **Outlaw**.

14. **Komotini**--about two years ago there was an anarchist group there publishing the **Spart@kos Review** (4 issues). The review doesn't exist but the group does.

15. **Nausa**--there are some anarchists there. A couple of anarchist groups. Most of them are farmworkers.

16. **Yannena**--in the spring of 1987 an anarchist magazine came out from there. I don't know if this group still exists.

17. **Lamia**--is a small city, about 25,000 people. There are 2-3 groups there.

18. **Kavalla**--there is a very active group up there. They have a club and they also participate in the **@gainst** newspaper.

19. **Alexantrapoli**--a town near the border between Greece and Turkey. There is a group there.

These are the most "active" cities. At other towns there are other groups, cells, or persons.



At the Polytechnic in Athens.

# ...Chicago '86...Minneapolis '87...Toronto '88...San Francisco '89...



The 1988 Toronto anarchist gathering demo heads for Queens Park after the action.

Photo by Alison Gross

by Lev Chernyi

Recent months have seen the proliferation of public disagreements concerning how, when and why the current series of annual anarchist gatherings in North America are being organized. Of course, controversy over any or everything is nothing new for anarchists. But from modest beginnings, the current questioning of goals, priorities and tactics seems to be on its way to becoming a continental discussion. And this is certainly an unusual scope for the anarchist movement, given its fragmented organization, its relatively narrow lines of communication, and its impoverished and mutually suspicious press.

Anarchist publications as divergent as *Ecomedia Bulletin*, *Instead of @ Magazine* and the *Fifth Estate* have addressed some of these controversies, while at the same time two questionnaires have been prepared and distributed widely, one by the organizers of the upcoming gathering in San Francisco (*Without Borders*), and one (endorsed by a number of people and groups) distributed by some of the organizers of the 1986 gathering in Chicago (*Another Heresy*). And, although it's impossible to completely pin down all of the current disagreements in any neat set of categories, they can be summarized (relatively well) under the categories of (1) tactical disagreements, (2) disagreements over the mechanics of the gathering's organization, (3) disagreements over who can participate, and (4) controversies concerning the overall organizational process.

## Tactics

Possibly the most emotional and vituperative of all is the controversy concerning the worth of the "days of action" that have followed the last three gatherings. Initiated (somewhat half-heartedly) by the Chicago gathering organizers, the "day of action" has now almost attained the status of a "tradition" in many people's minds after the last three years. Others

have labelled them "death-wish demos" or worse. Some look upon them as "really successful," while others think of them as "disasters." The vast extremes between these evaluations suggest that something more is at stake than simple variations in evaluation from otherwise similar perspectives.

At the extremes seem to be two different visions of what the anarchist movement is (and is capable of becoming). On the one side, some North American anarchists think heavily in terms of creating a street-oriented movement in the tradition of (if not modelled explicitly on) recent extra-parliamentary struggles elsewhere, especially in Europe. For these people, groups like the *Autonomen* in Germany and other autonomist currents are an inspiration. The European squatters' movements, the more radical of the direct-action struggles against nuclear power (e.g. Wackersdorff in Germany), and many of the struggles which have taken their flavor from the May 1968 events in France (i.e. from the *Internationale Situationniste* and the *Enragés*) give indications for one possible avenue of development here. These types of activity carry greater risk to participants than those envisioned by the more pacific elements of the anarchist movement (who are themselves not necessarily all, or even mostly, "pacifists" per se). But these risks are seen as a necessary part of the creation of any sort of mass movement capable of really contesting for (or "against," if you prefer) power. Such risks include not only those of arrest, injury, imprisonment and/or ultimately death. They also include greater risks of infiltration, provocation, entrapment and scapegoating by the cops and the mass media, as well as the internal risks of manipulation, the escalation of conflicts toward greater levels of violence (directed at us by authorities, and by us towards authorities), and ultimately the displacement of the struggle for anarchy with a relatively blind struggle against authority.

On the other side, any emphasis on street-fighting—and its inevitable accompaniment by an occasional flirtation with violence—is seen with extreme suspicion by anyone who's familiar with the disintegration of the "new left" and the subsequent fascination with vanguardist armed-

struggle "commandos" around the world. The street-naiveté of many (and possibly most) anarchists can easily allow a number of us to be reduced to the pawns of "anarchist" strategists intent on directing the "revolution" according to their own plans (and influenced by their own personal needs). Some who advocate the more pacifistic line do so because they think (rightly or wrongly) that the time is not yet appropriate in North America for a "higher" level of street activity. Others (including the outright pacifists) are opposed on principle. Thus there has been a rising demand by many who find themselves on this side of the fence to severely curtail, entirely redirect, or even to eliminate, the "day of action" from the San Francisco gathering this coming summer.

And, finally, a third group of voices has been raised from between the two extremes calling for a rethinking of the (implied) strategies and tactics evidenced in the first three "days of action." While not opposed to them, these people have been calling for an explicit debate concerning what it really is that we're trying to do with them and how we might make them more successful.

Whatever the ultimate outcome, the controversy is real, as is the need for widespread discussion. Those who advocate an increasingly militant street presence are unlikely to allow their wishes to be completely suppressed by those who would rather have a more nicely-packaged (and less threatening) movement. However, most anarchists probably fall between the stereotypical extremes painted above. And it is they who, through their own acts, will be the *de facto* arbiters of the whole question.

## Gathering mechanics

Some of the disagreements over the mechanics of the gatherings have concerned varying preferences for their frequency, their timing and their length. Some of the Chicago '86 organizers would prefer gatherings be organized every other year so that our resources wouldn't be stretched. However, even the results of their own survey show that there is strong support for annual gatherings. Some people would like to see the gatherings

scheduled at a regular time, or at their own favorite time each year. And some would like to see the gatherings lengthened for various reasons (there seems to be a fairly strong impulse among the San Francisco organizers to make this summer's gathering longer, possibly a week or 9 days).

And there have been other disagreements over the types of food to be served (vegetarian-only vs. vegetarian and meat-inclusive meals) and whether it's fair to expect cigarette-smokers to respect other peoples' desires for a (tobacco) smoke-free environment—especially indoors.

One of the more substantial controversies concerns the organization of gathering space and time. Some people are insistent that there only be a few "workshops" or discussion groups scheduled at a time so that they won't feel like they're missing out on so much (as though a few unwieldy groups of hundreds of people would be better than many smaller and more reasonably-sized groups). Others would like to control the choices of topics for "official" discussion and the choices of activities allowed "official" expression. As always, the problem here is *who* will define (and by what criteria) what is acceptable, and what is not, before the fact. It will be very important for the organizers to keep in mind that they are facilitating a meeting of a huge number of diverse people with a kaleidoscope of needs, desires and goals. Ultimately, the most flexible and dynamic organization of gathering space and time will prove most effective and successful.

## Who will participate?

Two controversies have been brewing for the last few years over the participation of spiritualists and Marxists in the gatherings. A number of the more traditionally-oriented atheist anarchists are upset to varying degrees by the recent increase in demonstrations of spirituality by some of those attending. (Even some less-traditional, but still atheist anarchists like myself are less than pleased.) This particular controversy seems to be focussed on pagans (and to a lesser degree, new ageists)—after all, so far as I know no one has yet suggested holding a Christian service at a gathering. And the problem is real; there are some who want to link certain spiritual traditions with anarchism, while there are others for whom religion is as disgusting as the state. This is not a likely situation for any easy compromises to be made, though neither has anyone (so far as I know) suggested that the religious be excluded. After all, there is a minority, though vocal, tradition that lends some degree of credibility to religious anarchists, even if a substantial number of anarchists (no longer a majority?) might otherwise consider the category to be an oxymoron. We can look forward to a continuing conflict over this issue at upcoming gatherings, since given the recent social trend for more and more ecological, feminist and cultural "radicals" to "find religion" (even if it is non-traditional—i.e. non-Christian for most of us), the anarchist movement is hardly likely to avoid its influence.

There have been recurring controversies regarding the participation of Marxists, and even Marxist-Leninists, in the gatherings. In Chicago this focussed on the manipulations of the R.C.P. (the self-proclaimed "Revolutionary Communist Party"). In Toronto the machinations of the R.S.L. ("Revolutionary Socialist League") came under scrutiny. As the *Another Heresy* survey suggested, there is much more widespread concern over the potential disruption which could be created by Marxists, than by the relatively harmless pagans. Of course, as long as they keep a low profile, there's no way individual

Continued on page 20



Collected by Eric Scheurmann  
Illustrations by Joost Swarte  
Translated by Martin Beumer

**Editor's introduction:** *The Papalagi* (with the 'g' pronounced as an 'h', or so I was told by the original English publishers, Real Free Press in Amsterdam) is a collection of speeches purportedly written by the South Pacific chief Tuivavii of Tiavea, and intended for his people. They first appeared in a German edition sometime in the early twenties, in a translation by his friend Eric Scheurmann (an anthropologist). A translation was published in Dutch in 1929, from which the English translation was then made in 1971. As becomes quickly apparent when one reads it, *The Papalagi* is a sort of critical reverse anthropology in which white European civilization is thoroughly dissected and evaluated with the puzzled contempt that it so well deserves from a "primitive" perspective.



h, my beloved brothers from the big sea, if I, your humble servant, would truthfully relate all I've seen in Europe, I would have to speak for hours. My words would have to be like a swift flowing stream, flowing on from morning till night and still the truth wouldn't be complete yet; because the life of the Papalagi is like the ocean, of which we also fail to discover beginning or end. It has as many waves as the great waters, it storms and churns, it laughs and dreams. As impossible it is to empty the sea with the hollow of your hand, so impossible it is for me to carry that big volume called Europe to you, inside my head.

But there's one thing that I won't forget to tell you; living in Europe without the places of pseudo-life and the "many papers" is just as unthinkable as a sea that has no water. When you would take away those two things from the Papalagi, he would be like the fish that is thrown on the beach by a wave, only able to twitch its fins but not to swim and move about like it's used to.

The places of pseudo-life! It's not easy to describe such a place to you, the kind of place a white man calls "cinema"; describe it in such a way as to give you a clear picture. In every village community, all over Europe, they have such a mysterious place, a place that already makes the children dream and fills their heads with passionate yearning.

The cinema is a big hut, bigger than the largest hut of a chief from Upolu, yes, much bigger. It's dark in there, even in the daytime, so dark that nobody can recognize his neighbor. When you enter you get blinded, and when you leave you get blinded even more. People tiptoe inside, searching, feeling their way inside along the wall, until a maiden comes with a spark of light in her hand and leads them to a place that is still unoccupied. Over there, one Papalagi hunkers next to the other, without seeing each other; a whole darkened room full of silent people. All those present sit on narrow planks, all planks facing one particular wall.

From the lower part of the wall a loud humming and blaring rises up, as if emerging from a deep ravine, and when your eyes get accustomed to the

# THE PAPALAGI

SPEECHES BY  
TUIVAVII OF TIAVEA  
A SAMOAN CHIEF



## THE PLACES OF PSEUDO-LIFE AND THE MANY PAPERS

dark, you can see a Papalagi fighting with a box. He beats his hands with outspread fingers, on the numerous black and white little tongues that cry out when they are hit, each with its own voice, resulting in the savage and disorderly noises of a village quarrel.

Such a racket has to drug and dupe our senses, so we will believe the things we see and not doubt the reality of the things happening. Right in front of us, a beam of light hits the wall as if the full moon shines upon it, and in that glare there are people appearing, real people that look and dress exactly like normal Papalagi. They move and walk around, they laugh and jump just like they do all over Europe. It's like the moon being mirrored in the lagoon. You may see the moon but in reality it is not there. That's how it is with these images. People move their lips and you would swear they were talking, but you cannot hear a syllable. It doesn't matter how hard you listen and that's how horrible it all is. You can't hear a thing. That's probably the reason for that Papalagi to beat on his box like he does. He wants to make the impression that you cannot hear those people because of the racket he makes. And that's why letters appear on the screen from time to time, letters showing what the Papalagi just said or is about to say.

But these people are still pseudo-people and not real ones. If you would try to grab them, you would find out

that they are entirely made out of light and impossible to get your hands on. The only reason for their existence lies in the fact that they show the Papalagi his own joy and sadness, his foolishness and weakness. This way he can get a close-up look of the prettiest men and women. They may be silent, but he can still see their movement and the lights in their eyes. He can imagine that they look at and speak with him.

The mightiest chiefs, that he could never expect to see, he now meets as if they were equals. He participates in dinner parties, fonos [feasts] and other festivities, seeming to be there in person, sharing the food and the feast. But he also sees how a Papalagi takes away the girl from her aiga [family]. Or he sees how a girl is untrue to a young man. He sees how a wild man grabs an alii [gentleman] by the throat, sees him pressing his fingers deeply into the neck and sees the eyes of the alii start popping out, until he's dead at last and the wild man pulls the round metal and the heavy papers out of the dead man's loincloth.

While their eyes see much delight and cruelty, the Papalagi have to remain seated very quietly, not allowed to scorn the girl that's unfaithful or come to the rescue of the rich alii. But that doesn't disturb the Papalagi, he just sits there watching, pleased and delighted as if he has no heart at all. He doesn't get furious or indignant. He looks at it as if he

is a different species altogether. Because the Papalagi that sit there watching are convinced that they are better than those they see in the beam of light, and that they would never perform foolish acts as there are shown to them. Their eyes stay glued to the wall, silent and without breathing and when they see a strong heart or a noble face, they imagine it to be their mirror image. They sit on their wooden planks as if frozen, staring at that smooth wall where nothing is alive but that deceptive beam of light, thrown at it by a magician through a narrow slit in the back wall, resulting in a spot where much pseudo-life can be seen.

It is a great joy for the Papalagi to absorb those deceptive pseudo-images. In the dark he can participate in the pseudo-life without being ashamed and without other people being able to see his eyes. The poor can play being rich and the rich can play being poor, the sick can imagine themselves to be healthy again and the weak ones can dream of strength. In the dark everybody can conquer and live with the things that he would never be able to attain in real life.

Getting absorbed in the pseudo-life has become a passion for the Papalagi. A passion grown so strong that they completely forget the real thing. That passion is a disease, because a healthy man wouldn't want to live in darkened rooms, but he would desire the real life, warm in the shining sun. As a result of this passion, many Papalagi are so mixed-up they cannot tell the real life from the surrogate anymore and they think themselves to be rich, when in fact in the real life they don't own a thing. Or they think themselves to be pretty, when they have ugly bodies, or they commit crimes that they would never have committed in real life. But now they commit those crimes because they cannot tell reality from fantasy anymore. You all know that state from the whites that have drunk too much European kava and then imagine that they are walking on waves.

The many papers also bring the Papalagi into a trance of a kind. What do I mean by that, "the many papers"? Try to imagine a mat of tapa, thin, white and folded, parted in the middle and folded again, closely covered with writing on all sides, very tightly; that's how the many papers look and the Papalagi call it "newspapers."

Inside those papers, the wisdom of the Papalagi is hidden. Every morning and every evening he has to sink his head into it, to have it refilled, to satisfy it and to make sure that there is a lot inside so that it will think well, the way a horse will run better when you feed it many bananas and its body is well filled. When the alii are still asleep on their mats, messengers are already traversing the land to distribute the many papers. It is the first thing he reaches out for when he has thrown slumber away from him. He sinks his eyes into the things told by the many papers and reads. All the Papalagi do that, they all read...they read what the big chiefs and speakers of Europe have said during their fonos. That is all carefully noted on mats, even when it is nonsense. The loincloths they wear are also described and the food ingested by the alii, the names of their horses and whether they had weak thoughts or elephantiasis ones.

The things they tell there, would sound something like this in our coun-

Continued on page 13

In the society of the spectacle we are not all expected to hold the same views. Indeed we are encouraged to have strong opinions about this or that particular issue. All that is required is that we remain passively receptive to the overall design.

Q1. The greatest danger facing the world is

malnutrition ☐

nuclear war ☐

communism ☐

capitalism ☐

indifference ☐

or .....

Single-issue politics is another way of diverting and recuperating opposition which threatens the spectacle. It does this in a number of ways. First it deals with the issue or problem in isolation. When one problem is separated from all the other problems, a solution really is impossible. The more campaigning on an issue there is, the narrower its perspectives become. Some people are active on two or three issues. As the perspective of each issue narrows, the contradictions turn into absurdities. Followers who point out these contradictions will be told to "decide on your priorities" or gently advised that "we can't change everything."

"Whilst everyone draws themselves up, allying themselves with this detail or that, the totality slips by, unheeded."

—Raoul Vaneigem

What single-issue politics does is attend to "symptoms" but not attack the "disease" itself. It presents such issues as nuclear war, racial and sexual discrimination, poverty, starvation, pornography, etc. as if they are aberrations or faults in the system. In reality such problems are the inevitable consequence of a social order based on exploitation and hierarchical power.

## An excerpt from Bigger cages, longer chains by Spectacular Times

at the feet of the very system which oppresses them.

"Complain all you want—but do as you are told!"

—Frederick the Great of Prussia

Far from damaging the system they actually legitimize it. By their petitioning they acknowledge the right of those in power to exercise that power as they choose.

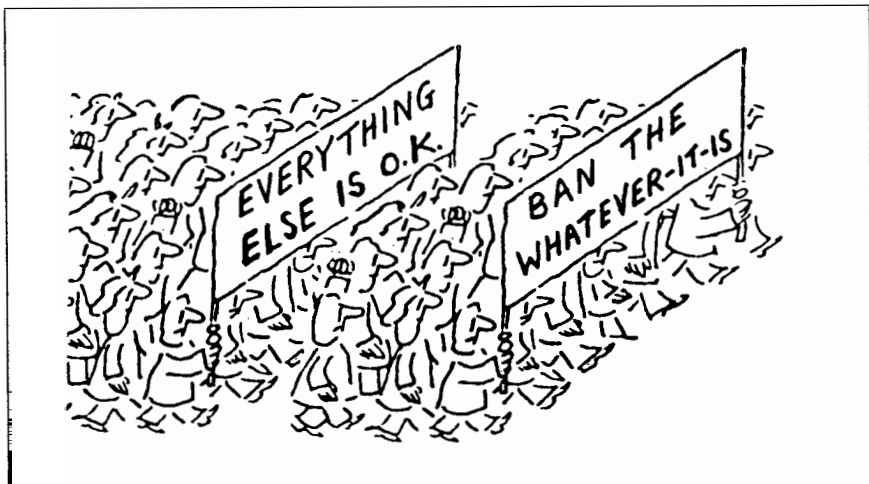
"We are the true patriots."

—Joan Ruddock, C.N.D.  
(Committee for Nuclear Disarmament)

"The 'Peace Movement' is growing, everyone seems to agree. Documentaries and movies with an anti-war message are being churned out by the score. People are marching for peace, wearing buttons for peace, holding rallies and 'die-ins' for peace. Unfortunately, for all the good it will do them, they may as well stick their foot up their arse for peace."

—Treason, Australia

A DIRECTORY OF  
CND  
MEMBERS' FIRMS **PEACE**  
concert



Single-issue campaigns are at their best when they begin. Their propaganda, in exposing the problem, educates and sometimes changes public attitudes. Unfortunately the only use such campaigns have for those they convince is to try to turn them into "supporters." This stage army is then organized into "showing its strength" at protest rallies or by signing petitions. This "strength" is used to add weight to a request for a change in the law or a change in policy by those in power. As such, single-issue campaigners lay their appeal for relief

There is currently a conference in Geneva to draw up a treaty outlawing methods of warfare which 'severely damage the environment'.



Christmas  
shopping  
at CND

This is a disciplined orderly law-abiding Picket

All joining this Picket are obliged:

Not to talk while singing, slogans and speeches are in process and to join with a full heart into the spirit of the Picket.

DO NOT leave the Picket without informing Security.

You must sign the Attendance Register.

Respond instantly to any request made to you by a Steward.

City of London Anti Apartheid Group have decided to request anyone not obeying these rules to LEAVE THE PICKET.

He said that CND was extremely sorry that "as a result of an accident a policeman was injured and we shall be sending a message of sympathy." Another get well message came from Mrs Glenys Kinnoch, who was among the demonstrators at Greenham on Sunday, and her husband Mr Neil Kinnoch, the Labour Party leader. The policeman, Inspector Michael Page, was said to be comfortable in hospital.

"...the new oppression in the rejection of the old. For though it denounces the morbid nature of repression it is only to encourage the sort of release which proves twice as profitable. It relieves the tension and fits you back in, at a profit."

—Raoul Vaneigem

Single-issue campaigns fragment the struggle for a sane, free world by containing each problem within its own isolated campaign. Dedication to the campaign is what is required, to concentrate energy—which otherwise might be expended in activities which really would change society—into campaigns for specific issues. Once confronted with concrete, moderate and "realistic" demands, the state can grant them, partially grant them, or stall indefinitely. Single-issue campaigns take the politics out of politics.

**Summer 1982: At the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament rally in Hyde Park the organizers gave the police permission to secretly film the demonstrators from the stage.**

Once a single-issue campaign has established itself it assumes the exclusive right to speak on the issue. What it says represents the lowest common denominator of opposition opinion. During its developing stage it tells its members that the campaign is nothing without them. Once it has assumed the right to represent the movement, it tells its individual members that they are nothing without it. No analysis or activity outside the legal pursuit of narrow, moderate goals is tolerated. From being a medium for the expression of dissent, the campaign becomes an institution for the regulation and control of dissent.

Anarchists  
told to  
stay away  
by CND



"Yes, it was all a jolly good experience. Everyone has committed themselves to paying a fine. And it was all achieved without the use of violence."

—Bruce Kent on the arrest of 750 C.N.D. members

**Amsterdam, 1980:** During the riots against the Royal Wedding, a group of pacifists protected riot cops who had been thrown from their horses from being attacked by those they had just beaten with their riot sticks. With such help the cops were able to re-mount and ride off to beat up other people.

"One can only empathize with individuals, motivated by a sincere desire for reform, who join ecology groups, consumer organizations, and alternative political parties. In any of these groups these individuals are directed by a firmly entrenched leadership through a maze of politically motivated compromises to an end that is sadly predictable: the indefinite postponement of profound social transformation, the enrichment of the careers of a few bureaucrats, and the permanent disillusionment of a number of intelligent individuals."

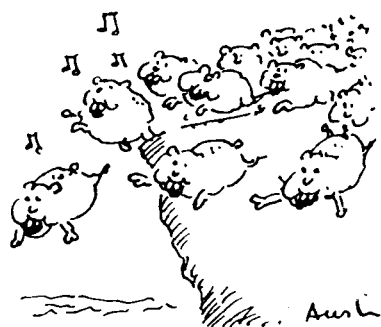
—Cronin/Seltzer, *Call It Sleep*

One protester, Jane Coker said: "They are taking advantage of the fact that we are non-violent to herd us up in metal pens and take our photographs against our will. They are infringing our civil liberties because they know we will not resist."

## PEACE SHOP

The police spokesman said: "We have excellent relations with the CND leaders, who have been appalled by these fringe groups hiding behind their banner".

Apartheid to Hell!  
Botha's fascists to Hell!  
Release all our leaders  
'Cos they lead us so well!



"Here we go, here we go, here we go!"



## Larry Law an obituary

Larry Law, writer, publisher and anarchist, died in the early hours of Friday, 22nd of July 1988. He had gone to a doctor on Monday with a lump in his chest and was taken straight to a hospital. On Thursday he underwent an exploratory operation and died in his sleep a few hours later. He had cancer of the lower bowel.

Larry published the Spectacular Times series of pamphlets. The contents were an assembly of cleverly juxtaposed newspaper clippings (the more bizarre the better), quotations, and text written by Larry. As the title of the series suggests, Larry was writing in the situationist tradition, an attempt to bring revolutionary ideas up to date with changes in society. But whereas situationist writers Debord and Vaneigem read as if their writings were still in the original French and hadn't been translated into English, Larry wrote simply and clearly. Even the format of the Spectacular Times Pocketbooks, the small size and the way the clippings and quotations broke up the text, helped to make the ideas acceptable. As did Larry's strong sense of humour.

Production of the Pocketbooks (and other Spectacular Times titles) was by Liz

Swain, Larry's wife. She organized his funeral service. Liz says that you can get a Rent-a-Vicar, who never knew the dead person and of whose religion the dead person probably (and in Larry's case certainly) didn't believe a word, for just under twenty pounds. Instead of that farce, Larry's funeral had Liz and some of Larry's friends talk about him. One person read some of his writings. In between a tape recorder played some of Larry's favourite music and so the funeral was a celebration of who Larry was and what he did. It was an anarchist's funeral, which is what he had wanted.

Most people reading this won't have known Larry. I only knew Larry for the last four or five years of his life (he was born in 1945) and I shall remember him in many ways, but chiefly as one of the nicest people I knew. For those of you who didn't know him here is a short scene from his life. Liz says she only saw Larry do graffiti once (he was too much of a perfectionist to rush something off in a couple of minutes). At the Abiezer Coppe Free Festival in Reading, on a wall inside the building that had been squatted, he took two days to draw an enormous sunrise and across it he wrote: "Paradise Now. If Not You Then Who? If Not Here Then Where? If Not Now Then When?"

This obituary is reprinted from *Freedom* (84b Whitechapel High St., London E1 7QX, England).

## The Papalagi The places of the pseudo-life and the many papers

Continued from page 11

try: "The pule nuu [judge] of Matautu woke up this morning after a good night's sleep. He started the day by eating the taro that was left over from the previous day, after that, he went fishing and returned to his hut in the afternoon, there he lay down on his mat and recited and sung from the Bible till nightfall. His wife, Sina, first suckled her infant, then she took a bath and on her way home she found a pretty pua-flower which she stuck in her hair, then she continued on her way home. Et cetera...."

Everything that happens or occurs and the things people do or fail to do, is made public. Their good and bad thoughts and if they killed a chicken or a pig, or if they build a canoe. Nothing happens in their country that isn't immediately repeated by the many papers. The Papalagi call that "being well informed." They want to know everything exactly, everything that happens in their country. From dawn till dusk. They become angry when something escapes their attention. They soak up everything, even though all kinds of nasty and frightening things are mentioned, things better soon forgotten by a healthy mind. Exactly those horrible scenes in which people get hurt are reproduced more exact and in greater detail than the pleasant scenes as if it isn't better and more important to report the good things and not the bad ones.

When you read the paper, you don't have to go to Apolina, Manono or Savii to know what your friends are doing and what they are thinking and which parties they visited. He can remain on his mat quietly and the papers will tell him everything. That may all seem very nice and easy, but still is not the real thing. For when you meet your brother now, and you have both stuck your head in the many papers already, you have nothing new or interesting to tell the other. Because your heads now contain the same things. So you will both be silent or will repeat the things the paper told you already. It will always be stronger to be there in person, sharing the joys of feasting and the



mourning of grief, than to have it told to you through the words of a total stranger.

But, the greatest evil the papers work on our minds does not lie with their reporting but with their opinions; opinions on chiefs, on the chiefs of other countries, and opinions on other peoples' doings and what happens to them. The papers try to mould every head to one form, and that is opposed to my beliefs and my mind. They want everybody to share their head and their thoughts. And they know how to bring that about. When you have read the papers in the morning, then you know exactly what every Papalagi carries inside his head in the afternoon and what he's thinking about.

The paper also is a kind of machine, every day fabricating many thoughts, much more than a normal head can produce. But most of the time it makes weak thoughts, lacking pride and strength. They fill our heads with much food, but they don't make it strong. We could just as well fill up our heads with sand. The Papalagi fill their heads to the brim with such useless paper food. Even before he has thrown away the old one, he is already reading the next. His head is like a mangrove swamp, suffocating in its own mud, where nothing fresh and green grows, and only sulphurous fumes rise up and the biting mosquitos hum in circles overhead.

The places of pseudo-life and the many papers have made the Papalagi into what he is now, a weak and lost human being, who loves what is unreal, who cannot make the distinction anymore between fantasy and reality, who thinks that the reflection of the moon is the moon itself and the closely printed papers are life itself.

## Anarchy in Burma?

Continued from page 9

ed by the lack of any proposed candidate for leadership. Whether this is evidence of a general distrust for leaders, or simply a sign that the Burmese people are waiting for the "right one" is not clear, but at the moment it appears the "vanguard" is missing.

Meanwhile in Poland, officials cite "the spectre of anarchy" hanging over the country in the wake of last summer's Solidarity strikes. Although this is clearly a scare tactic employed by all states, real anarchy is one thing state socialists have long feared. That is, the real anarchy of peoples' self-directed activity, without need of vanguards and self-proclaimed leaders.

The media and state may want to play on the "chaos" angle and call it anarchy, but between the lines we can look to see the real elements of anarchy coming through wherever people act without bosses, leaders or outside direction.

Reprinted from: *Ecomedia Bulletin*  
POB 915, Station F  
Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2N9  
Canada

## Anarchy

A Journal of Desire Armed

We reject all ideology  
because we want to create  
a genuinely free alternative  
vision—a liberatory vision  
free from the constraints of  
our own human  
self-domestication.

Anarchy is for those who  
haven't given up on their most  
intimate and bold desires!

Sample copies are \$1.50 postpaid.  
Subscriptions (U.S., 3rd class)  
are \$6/6 issues. Make checks to C.A.L.

Anarchy  
c/o C.A.L.  
POB 1446  
Columbia, MO. 65205-1446

# An introduction to CRITICAL THEORY\*

by Lev Chernyi

*The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression [both in form and content] of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, hence the ideas of its dominance.*

--K. Marx and F. Engels, The German Ideology (1845)

*There they flaunt their sensitivity, ranting in private against theory as being something cold and abstract, and lauding "human relations."*

--Jeanne Charles, Arms and the Woman (1975)

*Man, your head is haunted; you have wheels in your head!*

--Max Stirner, The Ego and Its Own (1844)

Human life without theory is impossible. Between the conception of a desire and its satisfaction always stands the human activity necessary for the unification of that desire with its object. In every case this necessary activity has two coincident aspects--the **practical** and the **theoretical**. These aspects are **not** strictly separate and totally different; but rather they are intertwined and can be best conceived as simply crystallizations at different points of the same **unitary** human activity.

All practical activity (or at least that which occurs above the level of purely reflexive behavior) expresses theory. A trivial example might be: you can't go downtown without having some idea, or theory, of where downtown is.

All theoretical activity is at the same time practical. Even the most contemplative interpretation of the world has innumerable practical consequences--including for instance, and often most importantly, the adoption of a stance of passive suffering of the fortunes and misfortunes of that world.

Unavoidably, the conception of a theory **unrelated** to any practice, and of a practice **unrelated** to any theory is itself a theoretical construction which contains a very definite **relation** to practical activity. Theory is inseparable from practice just as the objectifications of theory are incon-

ceivable without the activity of their production and use.

## Schizoid self-theory: Ideology and common-sense

Yet, for many, if not most people, "theory" seems alien, because for all of us "theory" has usually meant having our thinking done for us by ideologues and authorities--by parents, priests, teachers, bosses, politicians, "experts," counselors, etc. As a result the theory we use in our everyday lives to realize our desires, our **self-theory**, has generally become artificially split into two fragments whose forms reinforce and reproduce each other.

On the one side we often appropriate, as if it is our own thought, an explicit and formal **ideology** (or fragments of various ideologies) we "believe in." This becomes what is for us our "**conscious**" theory. It tends to be abstract, idealist, and rigid. On the other hand, we allow the more immediately practical side of our self-theory to remain at a level of **unconscious** assimilation and use. It appears as such a "natural" expression of "the way things are" (i.e. as "common sense") that there seems to be no need to question its origins, its basis, or its relation to us. All too often this side of our self-theory is never consciously identified as theory at all.

The thought of most people oscillates between the two poles of this split in our thinking. The theory thus expressed can be classified according to the usual (or average) place it occupies on the continuum between the two poles. Some people tend to be more ideological in their thought. They attempt to situate themselves in some kind of more or less **theoretically coherent** relation with their world as a whole; but they usually attempt this by forcing their entire lives to revolve around some abstract "beliefs" (for a very few examples--Jesus freaks and all the more idiotic of the self-professed "Christians," Marxists (and especially members of all the putrid Leninist/Trotskyite/-

Maoist/etc. sects, and other cultists of all kinds).

Other people tend toward un-(self)conscious "self-expression;" they take the world as it superficially **appears** to them for granted as if it were a humanly unchangeable environment and try to get by on an absolute minimum of personal thought. They usually function almost entirely within terms of the images and slogans which are systematically force-fed to them by the mass media and all the dominant institutions whose propaganda seems so nearly inescapable (the churches, government, schools, corporations, etc.). When they **are** forced to think about their lives, their thinking always remains fragmentary and incoherent since they really have **no conscious idea** of where they stand in relation to the totality of society, its institutions, or their very world.

In the end, wherever a person's mode of thinking might be classified on this continuum, by default, one way or another, that person's thinking is largely done for him or her by others.

## Positive Theory

All the thoughts which unreflectively seem so "natural," all these beliefs, tend to express the **positive** needs, principles, and social relationships of the dominant modes of organization of our society **at the same time** as they tend to **deny** the subjective reality of those who hold them! As such they are essentially expressions of what can be called "positive theory" or "ideology."

**Positive theory** always expresses a defense (whether explicitly or implicitly) of our social alienation. In our present epoch it functions largely as a defense of the closest thing we have to a worldwide system of domination and exploitation--capitalism--by propagating justifications for most forms of hierarchical organization and commodity (buying & selling) relationships.

It assumes that the basic forms of the existing political-economy, and of social relationships in general, are purely "natural facts" rather than products of human social activity within a history which is subject to rationally determined changes. This assumption deforms all positive theory making it **ideological** in essence.

In our era ideology nearly always constitutes a theoretical acceptance at some level of the **logic of capital** (the alienation of our life-activity through its conversion to commodities which are bought and sold within a hierarchical social system). As such, ideological or positive theory can be characterized very simply as the form taken by capitalism in the realm of thought. It is as if capitalism were

\*By my use of the name "critical theory" here I do not mean to indicate only--or even primarily--the ideas of the Frankfurt School, which have unfortunately become overly identified in some peoples' thinking with the idea of critical theory per se.



## The dialectic of everyday life

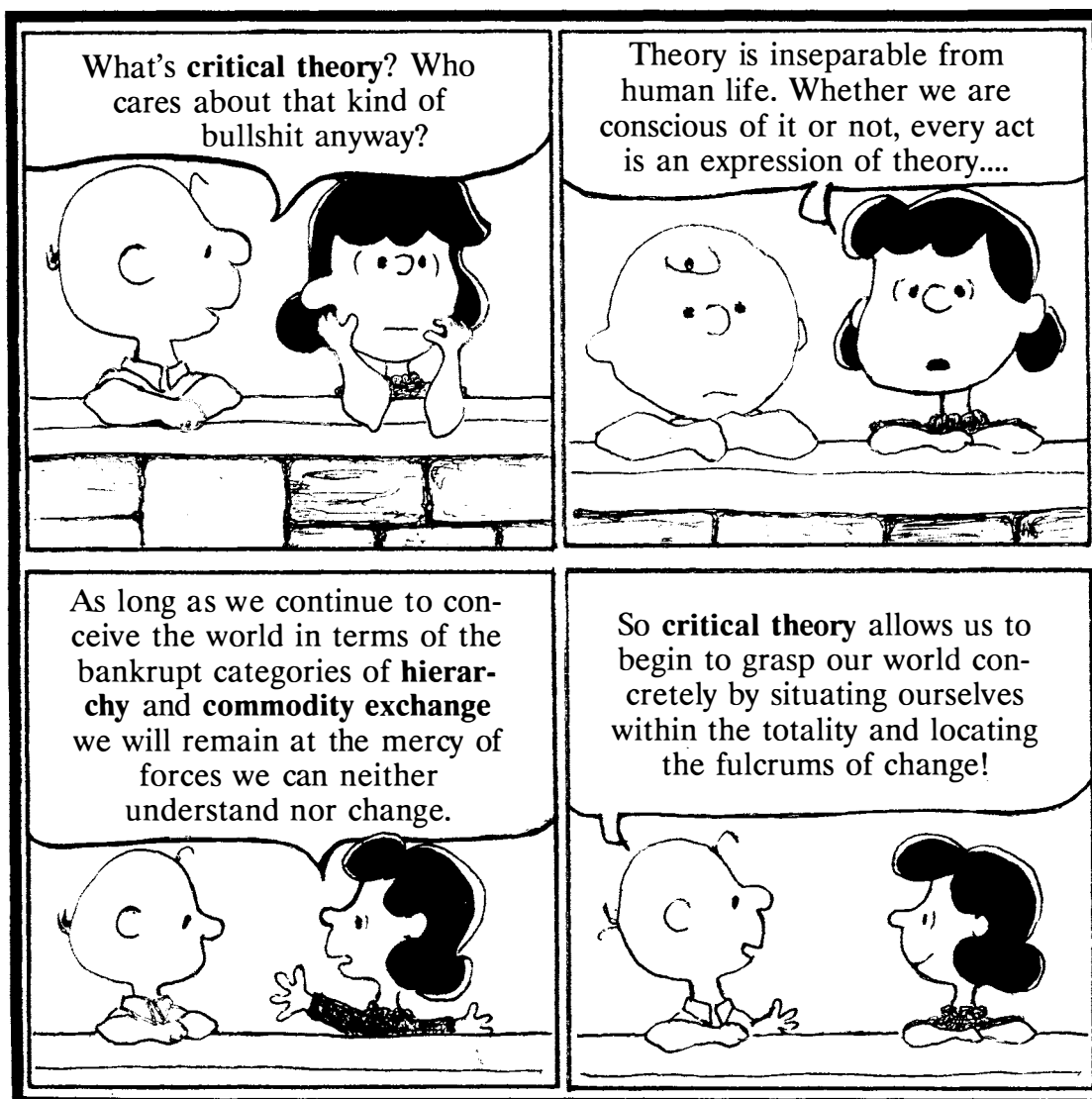
Today, as ever, any genuine theory of living, of authentic engagement in the social world, must begin with the subjective, with the point of view of the necessary subject of that life. Thus, any genuinely revolutionary theory must be at the same time self-theory—a theory of how to live everyday, of how to struggle with the reigning structures of misery and their deceptive appearances. This essay presents sketches of some of the key concepts necessary for such a theoretical and practical comprehension of the modern world. Most of these concepts are not "new." They can be found wherever people are attempting to grasp the nature of their world and change it. But the general use of these concepts is more often than not ambiguous, mystified, and deprived of any radical incisiveness. Because of this, these concepts need to be constantly rediscovered and reinvented in the dialectical movement of our everyday lives. Through such rediscovery and reinvention we can construct a living vocabulary of shared concepts with which we can collectively grasp our real conditions as they are lived, concepts which will arm our theory by increasing the precision of its aim and the power of its impact.

thinking up its own justifications through us. Indeed, it is as if the bodies of human beings were not only the tools and resources capitalism needs for the reproduction of its physical social relationships (corporations, the institutions of private property, cops, courts, laws, etc.), but it is as if our minds have largely become appendages of this system, also.

Because ideology is always the form taken by alienation in the realm of thought, the more alienated we are, the less we understand our real situations. The less we understand where we are and what we are really doing, the more we allow our lives to be determined and controlled by the dominant institutions, and the less we really do exist in any meaningful way as ourselves. And the less we assert our own autonomous existence, the more palpable an existence is taken on by capitalism, by the frozen images of our roles in all the various social hierarchies and transactions of commodity-exchange. It is as if all previous genuinely human communities have been invaded, taken-over by an alien race of body-snatchers, and been supplanted by an entirely different and vacantly hideous form of life.

### Mystified subjectivity

The schizoid split or separation involved in our self-theory (mentioned earlier) is actually a split in positivist self-theory. It is a reflection in thought of the basic split in our own daily life-activities between the more immediate personal reality we live and experience as our own every day, and the more abstract and alienating ideological reality which we have allowed ourselves to be enclosed within. It reflects the conflict between our most intimate and genuine desires, and the alienating social context which always seems to



confront them.

Instead of a transparent relation between an individual and her/his world in which the individual is a conscious subject with the world constituting the objects of desire, there is a mystified relationship. The actual social subject displaces his or her own desires with those of a theoretical abstraction which demands submission to its desires. And this abstraction is at the same time the projection of the real domination of the individual subject by capital onto the realm of myth, metaphor, or superstition. Without realizing it, human beings consent to being taken-over and used as the tools of God, or Progress, or Historical Necessity, or the Market, Authority, Democracy, the Dollar, etc. And for most people, this actually means allowing themselves to be torn in many different directions by several (or even scores of) different demands seemingly made by such abstractions. In such a situation can it really be any surprise that most people are so totally confused about nearly everything?

Positive or ideological theory includes all such theories of human activity in which ideas seemingly escape their real connection with the subjective human world from which they must arise and are instead perceived as purely "objective," ahistorical, and either of "higher" value than our own personal values, or else as "value-free" entities moving according to their own "laws." Inevitably, these ideological abstractions actually come to rest in an unconscious, unperceived, and mystified relationship with the world they are used to attempt to comprehend.

### Unitary thinking

The resolution to the dilemma posed by the split which accompanies all instances of positive theory is the dialectical path toward unitary thought—critical theory. Critical theory attempts

to restore the alienated, isolated individual to a position as a real social subject in the life of the world. It maintains a constant awareness of its own relation to its origins in individual subjectivity and to the object it wishes to comprehend.

In contrast to positive theory, which ignores or suppresses any awareness of its place in the class struggle, critical theory locates itself directly in the conflict as the theory of all the real elements of opposition to authority, alienation and exploitation. While positive theory arises from the nature of capitalist society as its positive expression, critical theory arises as its negative expression, the expression of all the forces working toward its supersession. This means that critical thought "is the function of neither the isolated individual nor of a sum total of individuals. Its subject is rather a definite individual in his real relation to other individuals and groups, in his conflict with a particular class, and finally, in the resultant web of relationships with the social totality and with nature. The subject is no mathematical point like the ego of bourgeois philosophy; his activity is the construction of the social present." (Max Horkheimer, *Critical Theory*, pp. 210)

Critical theory is thus not based upon any narrowly political, or economic, or any other fragmentary opposition to the status quo. Its basis is immanent in all human activity—within every individual and social group—since within every contradiction in every person and social group, capitalist society contains the seeds from which a rationally constructed, free human society could one day bloom.

First and foremost, critical theory is the unitary body of thought that we consciously construct for our own use. We construct it when we make an analysis of why our lives are the way they are, why the world is the way it is, and when we simultaneously develop a stra-

tegy and tactics of practice—of how to get what we really most desire for our lives.

Those who assume (usually unconsciously) the impossibility of realizing their life's desires, and thus of fighting for themselves, either end up fighting for alien ideals or causes (as if they were their own), or remain the relatively passive victims of the illusions and deceptions of others. The critical theorist "goes through a reversal of perspective on his life and the world. Nothing is true for him but his desires, his will to be. He refuses all ideology in his hatred for the miserable social relations in modern capitalist-global society. From this reversed perspective [it is easy to see] with a newly acquired clarity, the upside-down world of reification [the "thingification" of aspects of daily life], the inversion of subject and object, of abstract and concrete. It is the theatrical landscape of fetishized commodities, mental projections, separations, and ideologies: art, God, city planning, common sense, ethics, smile buttons, radio stations that say they love you, and detergents that have compassion for your hands." (Negation, *Self-Theory*, pp. 4-5)

When such a person can no longer go on living according to the dictates of such insanity, when every compulsory role becomes too absurd to perform, each constraint and alienation required by the hierarchical, capitalist organization of social relations is felt sharply as what it really is—a negation of personal subjectivity and life, as a situation that must be undermined and subverted. The critical theorist constantly feels the need to confront and change the system that destroys him or her each day.<sup>1</sup>

### Dialectical method

The method of critical theory is  
Continued on next page

## An introduction to Critical Theory

Continued from page 15

dialectical and contrary to the dualistic and one-sidedly analytic<sup>2</sup> methods of positive theory which always pose every problem (and thus their solutions) in terms of two abstractly separate and mutually exclusive choices. The philosophical basis of critical theory lies in a radical phenomenology and its origins from the fundamental "fact" of our lived experience, contrary to the ontological dualism<sup>3</sup> of all ideological theory.

Whereas positive theory must always remain dualistic, incorporating the division between individual subjects and their alienated social structures as a completely unquestioned and unconsciously held assumption, critical theory dialectically transcends all ontological dualism. For each abstract separation and dichotomy rigidly held by positive theory, critical theory attempts to show the real relatedness and unity of its elements--how one side of an abstract separation can never exist without the other. Thus, where positive theory holds that value and knowledge are always separate entities (and strives for "objectivity"), critical theory reveals that all knowledge is social and historical, and that it is always humanly generated for a purpose (or constellation of purposes), even if those purposes remain unclear to its creators. Critical theory reveals that value is always immanent in human knowledge. It demonstrates that there are inherent values in the choices of which questions to ask, how to frame them, the criteria for satisfactory answers, the range of acceptable methods for finding such answers, etc.

Where positive theory defends the notion that theory and practice are

essentially unrelated, critical theory maintains that the truth of a theory is never a mystical property that somehow inheres in it; truths must be proved in practice, i.e. they must be lived. Theory is not suprahistorical or suprasocial (some sort of pure knowledge "in itself"--simply to be cerebrally discovered or deduced by the theorist); rather, theory is always generated by a particular social subject from her or his practice. The practice of that subject is then influenced by the theory which has been generated, and a new round of development then ensues. There is a constant two-way, dialectical "feedback" that characterizes the acquisition and application of knowledge.

And where positive theory insists on the fragmentation, specialization and compartmentalization of knowledge, critical theory is always unitary. It picks out and employs all the most worthwhile formulations of ideologies (their partial truths) while rejecting any useless or irrelevant aspects along with the ideological core. The partial truths which are thus appropriated, along with other new observations, are then synthesized with the current body of one's critical self-theory to form a new totality. Critical theory is a continually evolving attempt at the conception of theoretical and practical unity. It is a dynamic totality under construction, always dialectically transcending (abolishing, yet preserving) itself.

Self-demystification and the construction of critical self-theory don't immediately eradicate one's alienation. After all, the "world" of alienation goes right on reproducing itself each day. But

it is a start on the road towards the collective self-activity required for that eradication.

Alienation must first be perceived and understood before anything very coherent can be done to eliminate it. This means that everyone must become his or her own theoretician. We must all cease to allow others to think for us. We must criticize all thought ruthlessly, especially our own. Instead of allowing the reference point for our lives to always be somewhere else, we must become the conscious centers of our own self-theories.

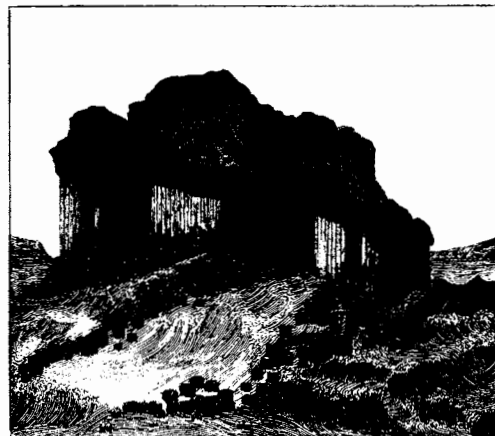
Once all the layers of ideological mystification are peeled off, we are laid bare to ourselves, and our relations to other people and to the universe can be made progressively more transparent. We can then see that all the unnecessary and mystifying abstractions were only projections of our own individual and social powers, our own alienated powers and the powers of other people just like us.

The only really critical theory exists where no morals, abstract ideals, or hidden constraints cloud the air. It facilitates our unity with others as individuals who are conscious of our desires, unwilling to give an inch to mystification and constraint, and unafraid to act freely in our own interests.

### Notes:

<sup>1</sup>Anyone who sets out to change the world soon finds that she or he can't accomplish much in isolation. The basic structures of our world that need to be changed are social--the organized relations of people to each other, as well as their material foundation (anchoring) in socially produced personality and character structures.

The only way they can be changed radically is through movements of common communication and committed, yet autonomous participation in the project of collective self-transformation and self-realization (or, in other words, through social revolu-



tion). For the critical theorist this is the only worthwhile meaning that a "political" orientation towards life can have. It is a realization that one can only change one's life radically by changing the nature of social life itself through the transformation of the world as a whole, which requires collective efforts. And one can only change the world as a whole beginning with one's own life, as well.

<sup>2</sup>The fetishization of analytic method always functions to conceal a dualist metaphysics. The mere act of conceptually breaking down (analyzing) specific processes and objects is not in itself the major problem here. It is the treatment of specific one-sidedly analytic methods as if they (and their hidden metaphysical assumptions) are the only or, most true methods of examining the fundamental nature of things that coincides with the demands of ideological theory.

For example, a rigid belief in the absolute truth of some type of mechanical, atomistic philosophy will usually accompany (no matter how much it may be denied) the fetishization of an analytic method focussing on the breaking down of objects into discrete parts which are then conceptually reunited by solely cause-effect relations. Another example might be the fixation on an analytic method based upon a "systems" orientation. In this case, the mechanism becomes somewhat more subtle, but a dualist metaphysics based upon the concepts of systems, feedback, and homeostasis (or levels of stability) takes the place of the atoms and cause-effect model with very similar end-results.

What happens in each case is that the conceptual metaphors used for analyses are reified--the metaphors come to be seen as the way-things-really-are, rather than as finite metaphors for describing our world which both reveal certain partial truths about it and at the same time impose certain partial falsifications.

The structures of different languages shape the range of possibilities for certain types of thought. English and the other Indo-European languages encourage "cause-effect" & "actor-action-receiver" thought patterns as a direct result of their "subject-verb-object" or "subject-object-verb" sentence patterns. In the same way, the types of analytical methods (in fact, based upon analytical metaphors) that we choose shape the range of possibilities we are able to use for understanding our world. Once we become fixated upon one method as the only correct method we lose the ability to distinguish what that method can reveal to us from what that particular method at the same time conceals from us. We end up directly confusing the metaphor for the structure of our world with predictably bizarre results in practice.

<sup>3</sup>Ontological dualism is the conception that existence is fundamentally dual, or split in two, in nature. It is the archetypal metaphysical conception that "Being" is fundamentally divided into two ultimate parts which can never be resolved into one. It is a necessary basis for all dogmatism and ideological theory. Unfortunately, most of the self-proclaimed "monistic" systems of thought which claim to have "overcome" dualism actually only transpose their metaphysical dualities onto a hidden level of theory. For example, every "monistic" religion conceals a duality of spirit (or its equivalent) and matter (and or its equivalent)--usually by attempting to completely suppress the material side of this duality (by proclaiming its complete non-existence or its "illusory" nature!), or by awkwardly attempting to marry the concepts of spirit and matter by subsuming them both under some other extremely abstract and artificial super-concept.

... Critical Theory was originally published as a pamphlet in April, 1980. It was revised September, 1988.





# ...Chicago '86...Minneapolis '87...Toronto '88...



A scene from the Toronto anarchist gathering "Day of Action."

Photo by Alison Gross

## This time we retaliate!

*"Usually they go limp, we pick them up and take them away. This is definitely new--running in the streets"*

--a Toronto cop

The July 4th action during last summer's Toronto anarchist gathering was the type of demonstration that one does not see very often in North American cities these days. What took place was the most realistic display of anger and outrage to hit the streets of Toronto for many years. The level of resistance far surpassed the anti-Summit demonstration two weeks previous, and exceeded everyone's idea of what would happen.

Consider the following: a continued political pressure is evident throughout the anarchist gathering from the media and police, who have set the stage for a news story which we wanted nothing to do with.

Police and immigration officials increase the pressure by laying petty harassment charges on anarchists, including five from the U.S. busted for supposedly lying to immigration at the border; two gatherers are issued jaywalking tickets; three cops enter a house illegally during a party and conduct a search without results.

All of these incidents of harassment plus their ever-noticeable presence at all events leads to an atmosphere of disgust for cops. On Sunday the news of the U.S. massacre of Iranian people [NOTE: when a U.S. missile shot down a civilian Iranian airliner] hit the gathering, and a discussion of the next day's actions happens. Consensus is reached to protest at the U.S. consulate, rather than the previously planned street festival in yuppie heaven, Yorkville, as anarchists are always ready to change plans as the situation requires it.

On Monday morning Toronto's pacifists gave themselves over to police

in front of the consulate in another show of futility, while everyone else waited until noon for the anarchists' demo (though to their credit the pacifists showed a great deal of solidarity with arrested anarchists later).

Being at a specifically anarchist demo is something really different. There are no boring liberal speeches, no calls to lobby your lackey in parliament, no protest police telling you to keep in line, and no meetings with police to "make sure everything goes according to plan." As anarchists we will take no part in the state's plans for how we protest. As we gathered outside the U.S. consulate on July 4, we were angry and not afraid to show it.

*"The information we had was that it was to be a peaceful demonstration."*

--Deputy Police Scum McCormack

When the police didn't allow us to rally in front of the consulate, we stayed on the island in the middle of the street. After a brief but noisy demo there, we moved south to the war memorial where several flags were torched. At this point the cops, not used to protestors showing their real feelings, began to provoke the crowd by pushing and shoving people, and ordering us off the streets. Naturally we took to the streets. Not only did we take to the streets, but we moved quickly (to avoid arrests) and most of us were masked to deter police photographers. In response to what the cops saw as an uncontrollable crowd, they began beating people with clubs and making arrests. Horses were used as weapons, as they have been used at previous demos, and people were being trampled and chased with them.

As anarchists we are not ones who initiate violence against anyone, included

Continued on page 5

## An open letter on the "Day of Action"

Howdy friends,

It was good to see your smiling faces again at the gathering in Toronto, some for the third year in a row. And for the third year in a row I got that same wild, high feeling from being together with hundreds of like-minded (& like-feeling) folks from all over the continent. But this time I left a little sad, because for the third year in a row we've made some of the same mistakes and instead of learning from them we're getting worse. The number of people busted at this year's Day of Action wasn't much more than previous years but this time a lot of people ended up in the hospital. And for what?

Collectively we seem to be under the spell of the idea that militancy equals correctness and the more militant we are the better. I've gotten used to hearing the desire to build a political movement based on love and respect for all of our fellow human beings dismissed as liberal hippie pacifism. So I watched a lot of things happen that I didn't like. I kept my mouth shut because deep down I wasn't really sure of my convictions and I didn't want to be a brake on the "movement" by infecting it with my doubts. I figured that pretty soon I'd just cut my ties with the anarchist milieu and let it go its own way. But after the Toronto gathering I've changed my mind. I'm sticking with this movement because here is the place I feel most comfortable, where I've met the people I feel best about working with, where I see the most potential for change in a positive direction. But we're starting to make some serious mistakes that I think we need to fix, and soon.

Like it or not, we're developing traditions. A "Day of Action" has become an important part of our gather-

ings. I think this is a good thing, and it's absolutely essential that we take our ideas out of our stuffy meeting rooms and our little magazines and into the streets. But I also think that it's absolutely essential that we do this in a way that will show that we're offering a real alternative to this culture of things and death and not just a black-wrapped version of the Same Old Shit. We need to take to the streets in a way that helps break the cycle of violence of this culture rather than just perpetuate it.

Our street actions as they have happened for the last three years are incomprehensible to most of the people watching, they scare a lot of people, and they create perfect opportunities for the cops to act like cops. Instead I think we need to create situations that invite regular folks to participate and understand what's going on, and situations that make it impossible for the cops to get away with acting like cops. I think we use the streets best by living in them rather than by fighting in them. Like Julian Beck says, "You have to act everything with such conviction that the truth force and the love force and the life force are irresistible to all the other performers on the stage with us, so that we draw them into the magic ritual of turning the wheel and of restoring the earth to its joyous state of creative change...When the people (from behind their windows) see us as we amble down the street they know who we are, they recognize our archetypal stride, they know we are the enemy of their state, they know we are the incubi of their unconscious, we are the meat of their dreams, we are the lickers of their spirit, we wrestle with their immaterial form, they know their state is Strong and Brittle and Weak, and they know the tribe is weak and small and un-

Continued on page 20

# Biocentrism vs. the critique of ideology

## Introduction

This discussion of biocentrism began with the publication of "A note on biocentrism" in *Anarchy* #16 (Summer, 1988) in which I criticized its adherents' ideological attempts to theorize and evaluate the world from the imagined perspective of Nature, while denying the inalienable centrality of our own human perspectives. This note was followed (in *Anarchy* #17) by a response from Lone Wolf Circles, "The freedom of biocentrism: A poem," with a further short response from me entitled "If nature abhors ideologies...biocentrism is no exception."

The current round of polemic begins with a critical letter from Feral Faun responding to Lone Wolf's "The freedom of biocentrism." It continues with Lone Wolf's essay "Earth jazz" and concludes with another response from me. (For those interested in the origins of this discussion, back issues of *Anarchy* are available for \$1.00 each in the U.S., \$1.50 each in Canada and Mexico, and \$2.00 each elsewhere.)

## Not guilty

Hello,

I find it strange that the proponents of biocentrism seem to need to support their perspective by creating a dichotomy between biocentrism and anthropocentrism, leaving the impression that these are our only choices. It clearly reflects the simplistic idea that there are only two sides to every question—a very civilized idea. But, more significantly, the assumed dichotomy is based on a fundamental falsehood. It is not possible for an individual to truly know the perspective of all of humanity (anthropocentrism), let alone the perspective of all of the natural world (biocentrism), and to claim to do so is extremely arrogant. The most we can do is have a perspective that we think reflects that of all of humanity or that of all of the natural world. And I think the pursuit of a perspective that we think is wider than our own individual perspective is not only self-deceptive, but very possibly dangerous.

Any perspective we hold is an outgrowth of our individual needs, desires and experiences, and of our social conditioning. Lone Wolf Circles poem makes this quite clear. The voice of his desires sings forth its cry to break free—to go wild. But his social conditioning cannot accept this total abandon, and the strident voice of moralism and ideology try to justify it with "higher values" and so undermine it and further reinforce Lone Wolf's domestication. These two voices are so clear in Lone Wolf's poem-

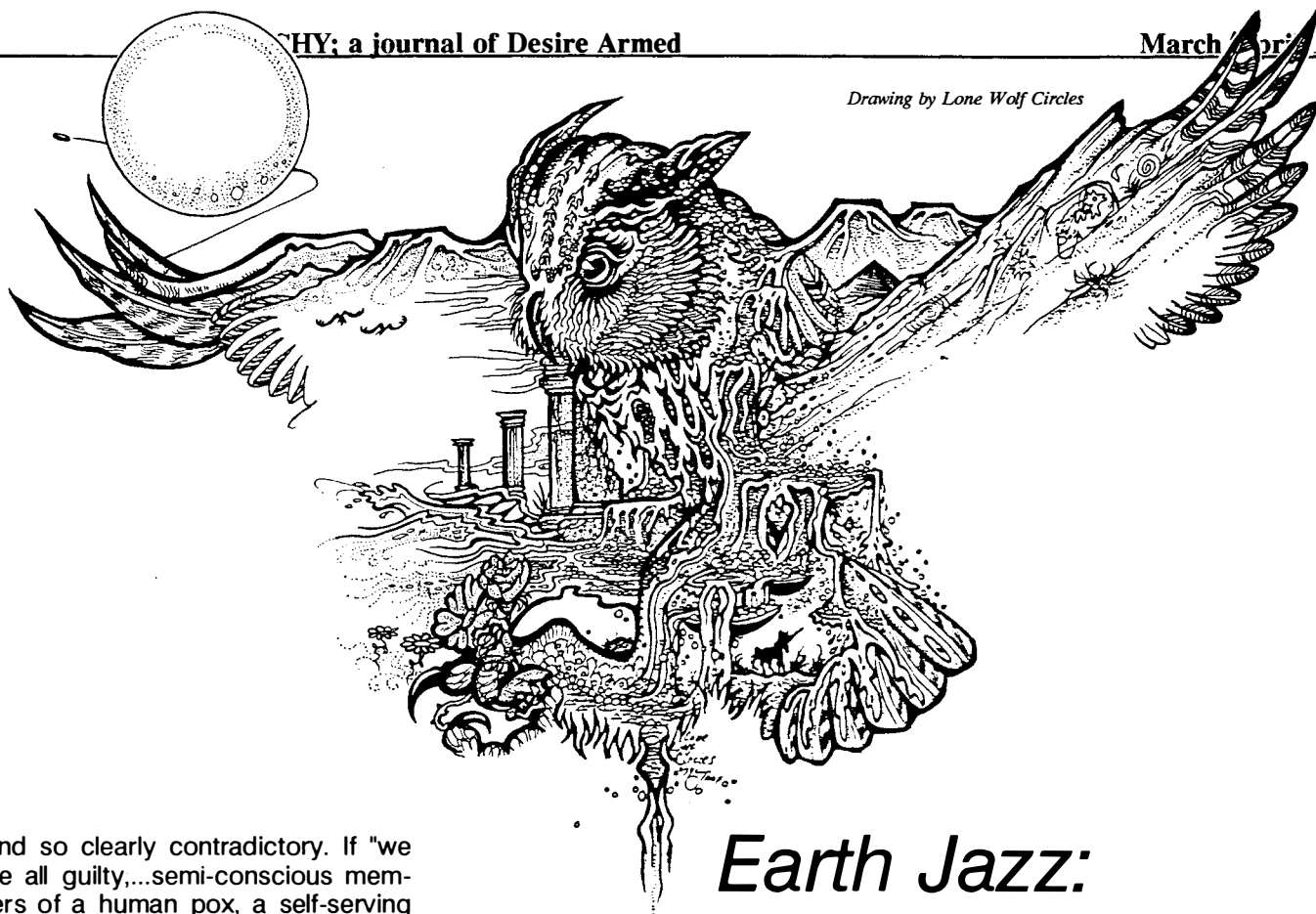
-and so clearly contradictory. If "we are all guilty,...semi-conscious members of a human pox, a self-serving species...", then how can we trust ourselves to "dance the explosive moment, explore our true natural selves"? Which is it? Are we a miserable disease upon the face of the earth or are we beings whose wildness has been repressed, but who are capable of breaking free and creating a life of wonder and ecstatic union with other wild beings for ourselves? It can't be both.

I am not guilty. I am not part of a human pox. I am a victim of a social system that steals my wildness from me just as it destroys wildness in the world. I won't pretend that my fight against this destructive social system springs from some knowledge of the perspective of the entire social world—a perspective I couldn't possibly have. I fight to liberate my own wildness, to break free of the domestication that has imprisoned me. I have no need for any "higher values" to justify this struggle. My desire to break free is reason enough.

Lone Wolf, along with other biocentrists, is fooling himself. Like every other being, Lone Wolf is self-centered—what he does, feels and thinks grows out of his own life experiences, not out of a knowledge of the perspective of the entire natural world. His experiences include the process of domestication, of social conditioning. By declaring his perspective to be that of "a unified natural world", that of "global objectivity", by assuming that he can be anything other than self-centered, he allows himself to avoid a careful examination of his view. So he can blind himself to the truth that guilt and moralism, "higher values" and the concept of the sacred are all tools that civilization uses in the process of our domestication. If we are to go wild, we need to lay these things aside.

Lone Wolf truly sings when he cries out for his own wildness and against his own domestication, but when he starts claiming to speak for the whole natural world, I hear the strident voice of the moralistic preacher crying for a new form of domestication.

For the end of all domestication and the freeing of our wildness,  
Feral Faun  
Eugene, OR.



Drawing by Lone Wolf Circles

## Earth Jazz: Bear scat and deep ecology licks (More poet-tree)

by Lone Wolf Circles

"I think that if it came to a war between bears and humans, I'd have to side with the bears."

--John Muir

The difference between academics and action, between theory and practice, is best read in trail sign. The shit of the great Grizzly is piled firm, woven together with tendon and fur, scented with sexual and territorial implication. Bits of teeth and bone nestle next to the undigestible parts of root and berry, a diary of survival, a map of its travels. By comparison, human waste is sterile and nutritionally bankrupt, poor food for the plants it will never reach anyway, piped away in gallons of chemically-treated water. It is toxic, refined, formless—a product of our regimented and monotonous lifestyles, bereft of the blood and thorns of direct, passionate experience. You know, "theoretical" shit....

"Don't let the system fool ya',  
I'll only try to rule ya'.  
You need the poet,  
And you know it."

--Bruce Cockburn

It will be Pan, not Logos, who teaches us about raw, lustful freedom, and the will-of-the-land.

Biocentric deep ecology is not an ideology. It is the wordless planetary perspective, danced out on the precarious, feathered edge of serpent fate.

Biocentric activists have not "turned their backs on the past hundred-fifty years' developments in revolutionary thought." It is understandably the backside of an active movement (or evolving consciousness) that history sees. We are too easily trapped in our revolving squirrel-cage dialogue, running in place. Too easily lost to swirling distraction, blinding cerebral dust-clouds kicked up by the various risk-takers at the forefront of change.

There are larger developmental trends deserving of your attention, including an evolutionary ferment and artistic pattern of

diversification going back a minimum three and a half billion years. It's not a matter of the role of ecological awareness within formulative anarchy, but rather, the valuable role of anarchist models in our retribalization and ecological resistance. Social models are powerless in a deadened world, irrelevant in a dead one.

Once-governor of California Jerry Brown asked poet Gary Snyder why he was always "going against the flow." Gary explained how civilization is like a swirling back-eddy of a river, spinning in place for a mere (geologically-speaking) tens of thousands of years before rejoining the flow.

Revolution is more than making waves, it is realizing your place in the cleansing flood. Revolution means more than social change, it is re-evolution: our conscious participation as agents of change.

Don't confuse spirituality with religion. Myth taps the power of a shared subconscious, a genetic memory. It can be used either to validate our natural interaction and personal growth, or as a tool of continued repression. Why disarm ourselves of this useful force, when the opposition employs it so well? Are we that concerned about appearing pragmatic, "grown-up," scientifically correct? Myth defies reductionist thought and processes. A change in spiritual models or icons is empty without a corresponding shift in body "realpolitik," but beware...no social change can last without an attendant evolution of spiritual consciousness and the myths through which we teach them.

We speak of inherent "worth" rather than standardized and legitimized "values." Yet I'm guilty, as you accuse, of being a "moralist," if that's what it's called when one gives "standing to the trees," speaks for the voiceless plants and animals who have no newsletter, decries the rape of the Earth. Is the desire to help someone no greater than the desire to hurt them? The desire to defend the natural world against all odds no "higher" than the desire to constrain, demean, and destroy it? The bleak and violent history of civilized humanity is all a product of **someone's** "armed desire."

"Surely there is no greater task than to prevent the destruction of the Earth and the misery and meaninglessness of modern-day human life."

--Ann Hansen ("Vancouver 5")

The yearnings of the spiritual warrior



are feared by the "spiritual community," and denigrated by every academic theorist. Yet they reflect the desires of the living planet body as a **whole**, in all its varied manifestations. Replacement of the reductionist value system and the overall paradigm requires first changing the way we experience, the variety of our experience, and the way we "live" the world.

This is not, as you say, a "limiting belief." The biocentric (or "ecocentric") view is all-encompassing, unlimited, complete and yet ever-changing. Indeed, a **sacred** flux. Earth-warriors defend the integrity of the whole, as measured not by left-brain analysis but by the heart. We are not indoctrinated with planetary consciousness, but discover it through our repressed intuition, instinct, and extraordinary experience: revelation!

In this case, the term "higher" refers not to a moralistic stratification, but a natural process of expanding past our perceived limits, both those enforced by government/culture and those that are self-imposed. To understand "higher," don't think in relationship to tall buildings, imagine an arduous walk, unassisted and unencumbered by mechanical aids, to the loftiest mountain or ridge around. Catching our breath, there is nothing above us but sky, and below us we see a diverse and mobile tapestry, divergent and dissimilar elements of life interacting, forming a complete "gestalt," a symbiotic whole. Such a climb is never easy, the struggle to see the greater, natural patterns that include humans but are not orchestrated by them. "Higher" is the perspective of the raptors, scaling the cloudbanks and thermals. They float above the frantic and often frustrated ministrations of humanity, quietly apart, and yet contiguous, connected, through luminous fibers of spirit and the metamorphic reabsorption we call "mortality." The ultimate freedom is a voluntary dance in the greater flow.

"Why expect the impossible from us?" We develop greater abilities and new insights in response to natural demands beyond our normal abilities. Evolution is the painful process of exceeding the "possible."

The Alaskan timberwolf is endangered even there by loss of crucial habitat, aerial shootings and poison. It stares down from the lonely, clearcut hills, at the cities gaudy sleep. Below her a pack of genetically deformed descendants gather, leaping their chain-link fences, chewing through their ropes, nudging a window open to escape for the few hours before dawn, canned food and a master's orders. Like humans with their fraternities and football games, the dogs stage a tribute to their lost wildness, stalk cats and garbage cans in a pallid re-enactment of the primal hunt. The timberwolf does not envy their playful rebellion or their masters' pronounced comfort. She turns away from the neon panorama and howls. Her song emanates the palpable taste of wild. She conforms only to those rituals and instincts which encourage the consummation of wildness. Not a howl of loneliness, but a celebration of unhobbled life. Party'n!

The **outlaw** howl. Not "against law," but "out-of-law," beyond law.

*"Badge? Badge? We don't need no stinking badge!"*  
(from **The Good, the Bad, & the Ugly**)

Even the most justifiable legislation, such as protection of wilderness or laws against rape, are sick substitutes for the sacred, primal world-view. One no longer rapes a victim we recognize as a **part** of ourselves, nor damages the planet once we realize we are an integral part of it: the Earth's consciousness.

Environmental activists risking more than their theories (like "Stumps Suck!," "Live Wild or Die," "Sea Shepherd Society," "Earth First!," or the "Bonnie Abzug Feminist Garden Party") see themselves as an inseparable part of the Earth, and defend it out of this expanded sense of **self-defense**.

What promises this global awareness, biocentric perspective, sacred world-view, regained personal worth? The collapse of patriarchal civilization, the abandonment or implosion of oppressive technology. There is no "appropriate technology." It has bastardized craft, devalued and debased human time and experience, removed us yet another step from the raw materials that make up our worldly existence. The cure is deliberate and conscious primitivity, a primal reclamation of our wildest, awake selves. The awakeness gifted by those dangerous carnivores which will evolve to stalk our descendants, fill the niche of the vanquished lions and grizzly bears.

There is no stand-in for human adventure on the stage of life. There is no substitute for catastrophe....

The shamanic world-view is neither moralist nor New Age. It is primordial-awakeness, detached passion, and awe.

*"First you must love your body, in games in wild places, in bodies of others. Then you must enter the 'world of men' and learn all worldly ways. You must sicken. You must return to your Mother and notice how quiet the house is. Then return to the world that is not 'man' that you may finally walk in the 'world of man,' speaking"*

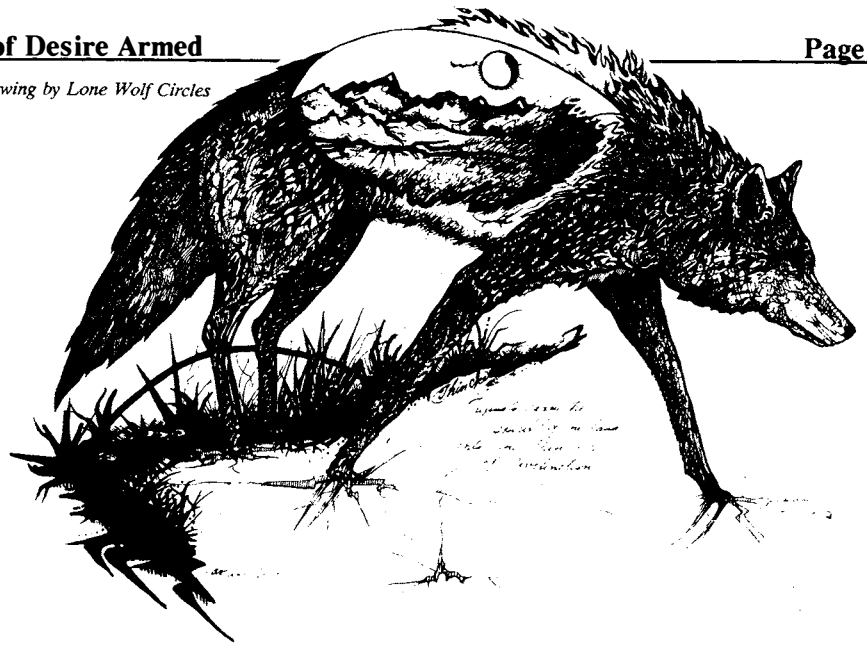
--Lew Welch

"Speaking," like scat on the trail, of a "realer" world, a revolutionary imperative! Earth Jazz!!

### Postscript:

I agree with Feral Faun that one is not simultaneously a "guilty pox" and a wild,

Drawing by Lone Wolf Circles



### Thin Ice

"Trying to carry the spirit of the land  
onto the Thin Ice of civilization..."

natural, responsible ("able to respond") warrior. Doing less than our dangerous, most extreme best to overcome oppression is to exacerbate the problem. To live the wild, explosive moment, to resist with every disgusted, raging, loving fiber of our being is to become an anti-body, an antitoxin, co-enzymes catalyzing an uncontrollable metamorphosis. Don't saddle yourself with the demands of heartless logos and dispassionate, rationalist myopia. You do yourself an injustice--**every-one** can step "outside" their sterile certainty, experience global patterns and natural

intent. Sweat, suffer, love, go without, exceed your imaginary limits, scare yourself, climb a mountain and stay...and stay...and stay.... The spirit of coyotes and grizzlies empowers you. Think and act as they do, to be free.

And Lev, if it wouldn't violate your personal liberty I'd be a **real** friend, & drag your naked ass out into the desert for a month. I'd feed us ants and cactus water. I **swear** you'd have a "vision"!

Tough love,  
Lone Wolf

## Biocentrism: Shackler of Desire

A reply by Lev Chernyi

The insistent, but empty, claim that "biocentric deep ecology is **not** an ideology," only betrays Lone Wolf Circles' thorough inability--through all his semi-poetic, semi-incoherent prolixity--to satisfactorily answer my original criticisms voiced in **Anarchy** #16: (1) biocentrism is an **ideology** (a system of false consciousness involving an alienation and misplacement of human subjectivity in my usage of the term) which demands that we look at the world from an idealized and abstract perspective--that of an imagined "Nature" as a whole--as if we could somehow actually do this in reality and not just in our imaginations, and (2) what we really need is a theoretical and practical alternative to **all** ideologies, an alternative through which we can each embrace nature from our own unalienated human perspectives.

Unfortunately, it seems unlikely to dawn any time soon in Lone Wolf's "right brain" (to use his preferred terminology--certainly not mine) that he is the very person his most convincing and coherent arguments are aimed against! The nature of the overly rationalized and excessively spectral excretions of ideological reason that he continues to spew out--the inflexible ideological dogma of biocentrism--cannot be obscured by his recourse to pseudo-scatology, grandiose imagery, natural metaphors and defense of myth. Like any other true-believer, Lone Wolf is unable to step back and examine his beliefs from any other perspective than that of their **servant**. Having jettisoned his abilities to think

critically **for himself**, he's reduced to repeating his biocentric pledge of allegiance while demanding that we too stand up and salute his sacred green flag.

The "wordless planetary perspective" may not be an ideology when it truly **is** the wordless perspective of the planet, itself, whatever that may be. But it is pure arrogance, as Feral Faun has already said, to think that we humans could ever even imagine anything more than a feeble approximation of such a "planetary perspective."

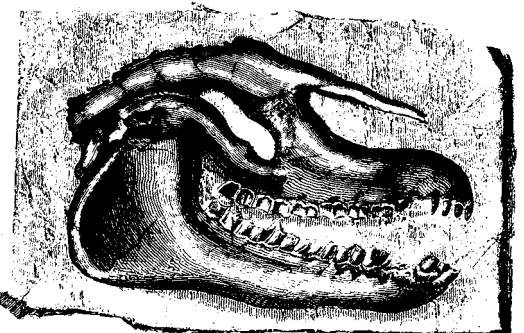
So go ahead Lone Wolf and tell us once again that human beings **really can** see the world from this imagined perspective. But while you're at it, don't you think that it would be even niftier if we all got even more ethereal about it and looked at the world even "higher" perspectives? Why not from "the wordless, solar perspective"! Or how about "the wordless galactic perspective," or even the speechless universal perspective?"

For someone who claims to desire to defend nature and wilderness, Lone Wolf seems awfully insistent that human animals adopt his no less highly imaginary biocentric ideology as gospel truth. But nature is **not** a god. It is **not** something to be worshipped, nor is it something for us to serve. And his missionary consciousness is as highly suspect to those who do love nature as the genocidal zeal of the Christian missionaries who helped with the colonization and rape of this once "new world."

The choice of myth, religion and

morality over the finite and self-critical expression of desire, only betrays a complete misunderstanding of the real nature of our predicament. The history of civilization has for the most part been the product of repressed and alienated desire. Civilization has been one long experiment in sexual repression, institutional alienation and the elaboration of complex hierarchies and political authority carried out largely under the banner of "higher values"--God, Spirit, and Morality, the very icons to which Lone Wolf would demand we re-submit ourselves!

To think that "the awakeness gifted by those dangerous carnivores which will evolve to stalk our descendants," or even that of present-day wolves and other predators depends upon their acceptance of biocentric ideology is simply ludicrous. Why should human animals be any different? Any true "reclamation of our wildest, awake selves" will necessarily cut through the sophistries of religion and morality, leaving us truly lean and dangerous, understanding and feeling, passionate and free.



# San Francisco '89... What do we do now?



At the U.S. Consulate in Toronto, forced behind barricades.

Alison Gross

## Current controversies

Continued from page 10

Marxists could be stopped from participating even if most anarchists attending wanted to do so. But it is possible to continue putting pressure on any Marxist group-members that attend who openly attempt to recruit or manipulate people. Despite the fact that there are many, many anarchists who have been influenced by Marx and Marxists (both positively and negatively), possibly a majority of anarchists remain extremely leery of getting burnt by them **once again**. Thus, any Marxists who want to participate fully in the anarchist movement will have to rigorously prove their adherence to anarchist values and sensibilities if they want to avoid taking a hell-of-a-lot of heat.

### The organizing process

Serious questions regarding organizing processes have arisen with two different focusses--the organization of the gatherings themselves, and the organization of the Mayday Network which has grown out of the gatherings. The organization of successive gatherings has, since Chicago's, been initiated at each previous gathering by those who attend the organizational meeting. Such a process doesn't necessarily lend itself to a thorough consideration of all the factors some would like to see included in the site selection process. So far, this has resulted in three consecutive gatherings in a fairly small strip of the northern U.S. and southern Canada, making hard for many anarchists from the coasts and from the southern U.S. to attend. However, this problem seems to have been half remedied with the selection of San Francisco for the 1989 gathering. And as long as a group from the east coast or the southern U.S. comes forward in San Francisco with realistic resources to pull off the next one, we can fully expect that we'll be meeting there in 1990.

There have also been concerns about the lack of sufficient participation by people from other parts of the continent in the planning process for the gatherings, resulting in a lack of accountability of organizers to the movement as a whole. At this point

there is a traditional pre-gathering planning meeting held elsewhere prior to the actual event. This time it took place in early January in Philadelphia, though so far we have yet to receive any word on the decisions of this planning conference. There have also been concerns voiced that the actual organizers in Minneapolis and Toronto didn't do sufficient informational mailings, and that it wasn't always clear how decisions were made, nor who made them. The San Francisco organizers are aware of some of these criticisms and are trying to alleviate these problems.

The Mayday Network was created by people attending the Chicago '86 gathering as a tool to enable the fragmented and scattered North American anarchist movement to create and maintain closer contacts in order to facilitate possibilities for working together on a broader basis. Since its start, however, there have been consistent pressures from some quarters (most notably people from Back Room Anarchist Books in Minneapolis) to endorse more and more traditionally leftist modes of operation. These have included a project to send a work brigade to Nicaragua, as well as a push for the network to adopt a much more centralized and more easily-manipulable structure. One example of the likely type of outcome if these pressures are successful is the recent publication (by a small number of Mayday Network members using the facilities of the Revolutionary Socialist League) of the one-shot(?) newspaper **Rage! in the name of the Mayday Network as a whole**. If this sort of misrepresentation isn't stopped immediately, we'll likely see more and more bold attempts at manipulation and cooptation ensue.



Mounted cops attack during the Monday "Day of Action" demo.

Alison Gross

## An open letter on the "Day of Action"

Continued from page 17

breakable."

What I'm trying to get at with all that is that if we take to the street with the idea of fighting the state **on its own terms** we will lose because there are more of them than us, they have more and bigger weapons, they know how to use them better than we do, and they **feel much better** than most of us do about using them. We need to develop a sort of tao of street action, to create situations in which the state's violence and power can be deflected back against itself. To take an example I heard from Toronto, when the cops chasing people in the street trip over their own heavy leather combat boots, we win--but when we surround the fallen cop and kick him unconscious while he's down, then we all lose. And if we take joy in anyone's suffering, as I heard so many people do when hearing about the cops injured in the demo in Toronto, then we have no business trying to build a new society because it will just end up being as cruel and violent as the old one.

No revolution in history has succeeded as long as the army and police have remained solidly in support of the existing government. The only way for us to achieve revolutionary change in this society is for us to erode the support for the state **within the ranks of the army and police**. Calling cops pigs and fighting them in the street is not the way to work toward that goal. Instead of denying the humanity of the cops called out against us we need to **affirm** that humanity to such a degree that we drive a wedge between them and their state so that when the time comes for real action they won't be able to obey the orders to tear gas us and club us into submission but instead will **join us**.

I think most of us take for granted the level of civil order we enjoy in Canada and the United States. We don't have to worry about being gunned down in the street for our political activities, although our friends in Minneapolis are starting to get used to having their windows broken. I understand and in no

way want to downplay the fact that the civil order here rests upon and hides the disorder that our governments inflict on much of the rest of the world. But the breakdown of civil order here doesn't necessarily lead in the direction of freedom and justice for the people our governments exploit. Political violence here seems much more likely to play directly into the hands of those who believe that order depends on the force of the state. In a climate of political disorder they will be able to strengthen that force and use it against us. I also am well aware that in any time of revolutionary change there will be upheaval. But that upheaval will lead toward positive change only if libertarian ideas have taken root in the minds and hearts of a great many people. That hasn't happened yet in North America. Making it happen is our job. Until then if the civil order collapses chaos is much more likely to result than anarchy. And if chaos comes, an authoritarian, statist, fascist solution will not be far behind.

I think there's a crucial distinction between chaos and anarchy, and the Toronto demo was a good example of the former. The direction the group took at any given moment was in the hands of whoever happened to be in front, or whoever insinuated themselves into the front. And so we wandered essentially without direction for several hours until we were surrounded in the park. Next time I strongly suggest that if we have a group action in the street that maps be handed out just beforehand--as was done very well in Minneapolis last year--so that folks know where they're going once they get started. I'd like to see affinity groups organized before the street action. If we are all in groups of 10-12 people then we'll each have 9-11 people looking after us, we'll know who (if anyone) has gotten busted, we'll be able to disperse more safely, and everyone will have a good chance of knowing someone at the demo who knows what's going on (I'm assuming that at least one in every 10-12 of us will know what's happening, but maybe that's expecting too much...).

OK, that's what I think. I don't pretend to have all the answers, just lots of questions. I'm sure there will be quite a few of us that disagree with the ideas I've offered above--like they say, 4 anarchists, 5 opinions--but I hope that if we start discussing our differences now, then by the time of the San Francisco gathering we'll be more clear on what we expect from each other and maybe we can avoid making some of the same mistakes for the fourth year in a row. I'm looking forward to seeing you next summer....

love,

Boog

POB 1313

Lawrence, KS. 66044



# DISCUSSION: Anarchy & religion



## ANARCHY & RELIGION —the dialogue continues

### Introduction

The letters which follow continue a discussion which began in *Anarchy* #15. The relation of anarchy to religion has been disputed for as long as the anarchist movement has existed. Michael Bakunin's pyrotechnic denunciations of God and religion in the last century were nearly contemporary with Leo Tolstoy's anarchic Christianity. The often uncompromising atheism of the Spanish anarchist revolutionaries (who had to face all the pressures of a Catholic state religion allied with the Spanish fascists) can be contrasted with some of the more religious of the pacifist anarchists here in the U.S. like Ammon Hennoc, and Dorothy Day with her Catholic Worker Movement.

Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that historically the religious strands of thought and action which have sought to penetrate the anarchist movement have always and nearly everywhere been in the minority when they haven't simply been non-existent. And to this day it would seem fairly obvious that most anarchists worldwide remain atheists, with many still claiming, as did Fred Woodworth (in his essay which opened this discussion), that a special relationship exists between atheism and anarchy.

Yet, as Jay Kinney attempted to indicate in his essays which followed, there is a very real sense in which many of the struggles between atheism and religion seem to resemble the skirmishes of two lumbering battleships squared off with their big guns firing, but for some reason always missing any of their most vital targets. There is a real sense in which all the usual arguments made from both sides of the divide have only proved their impotence, if not their irrelevance. For too long the religion-vs.-atheism debate has been stuck in a nearly frozen embrace of mutually ineffectual critique, each side trying to knock over the other's illusions which at the same time desperately trying to preserve its own behind defenses of dogma, narrow-mindedness and fear of the unknown.

It's time we moved beyond such bankrupt posturing. It's time we embarked on our own voyages of genuine self-reflection and self-discovery in order to at last find what lies over the horizons which have been too long concealed by these mutual evasions. For just as the "Cold War" between "Democratic Capitalism" and "Marxist Communism" serves to collusively hide the more central struggles between authority and anarchy, the lumbering religious and atheist orthodoxies hide the more genuine struggles between frozen, reified, ideological thought and our impulses to live freely and fully.

For those with the curiosity and courage to explore this new terrain the rewards are potentially immense. For those too afraid to step out from behind their dogmatic defenses and impenetrable evasions of communication, these arguments will remain only misunderstood threats to business-as-usual. Readers are invited to continue this discussion in our upcoming issues.

### The root of religion

Dear Lev,

I've been reading through the last few issues of *Anarchy* and find it all rather interesting, but especially the dialogue about religion.

I like being radical, in going to the roots which is why I'm a farmer, but also in regards to language. I consider myself a pagan which originally meant non-Christian peasant, but I don't subscribe to any one set of beliefs because philosophically I'm a sceptic. The dialogue between you and Jay is important because it could help readers question their own beliefs and attempt to justify those beliefs to themselves and the libertarian project on the whole. My own efforts to figure out reality and my place in it have led me to do some writings which appeared in *Grub* [Editorial note: see the "Alternative Press Review" in this issue] as a serial some years ago. I've been wanting to pull them into a pamphlet but have yet to find a good juxtaposition of metaphors to weave into an introductory parable.

The root of the word "religion" is to bind together, to unite and I take that to mean that religion is a set of beliefs and moral principles that situates a people in the universe and to each other, it defines how they are "bound." Every culture has a religion and every person has a structure of beliefs derived from religion on which they base their actions. We have one, we white males living in this modern Western industrial civilization. It's called science, a set of beliefs that includes Cartesian thinking, mechanism, rationalism, phenomenology, psychology, etc. That's why I consider atheism as being a basically untenable position because those people who profess to adhere to no creed still have faith that atoms, photons, radio waves, gravity and many other unseen "superhuman powers" are the constituents of our reality. You state that your own world view is based on what you have experienced, but one does not experience gravity, merely its effects. Ever since that apple fell on Newton's head, that is the term that this culture uses to describe the power that he observed. When you speak of alienation from the real world, remember that language itself is probably the primary reification of our actual felt experience.

Even as a sceptic, there are certain tenets that I accept as "real" because the vast majority of people I encounter also accept them. They are premises from which I can dialogue with others and create meaningful discussions even though each person has their own interpretation of the premises and can derive their own conclusions. It's part of the binding together function that religion serves, a degree of commonality above the level of language. Thus, religion is more than just a personal attribute, it is a cultural mode that is manifested at the individual level.

So, sure I'll accept science as a plausible explanation of this universe and I'll accept history as a reasonable account of the human story and I'll accept that the modern communication system gives us a picture of the world as it mostly is, just like I'll accept as fact that there is someone in Columbia called Lev Chernyi, even though I have no experiential proof of that except a copy of a magazine. I'd like to ground this discussion in those beliefs.

The history of science is that as a religion it had to deal with opposition from the Catholic Church, competition from other schools of thought such as alchemy and was accessory to the final destruction of Europe's native religion. From Christianity it inherited humanity's separation from nature but took out the middle man and any notion of spirit or purpose. A theory that the universe was made of atoms was just what the bourgeoisie needed to help break up the human community into individual units of production and consumption. Where Christianity was imperialism in religion, science is imperialism in knowledge and just as the Christians won adherents by baptism, science claims believers with literacy. Whether Catholicism or capitalism, the goal remains to expand endlessly by the accumulation of souls, bodies and mind, an imperialism that in our age bears the pseudonym of progress.

The main problem with science as a religion is that it admits to no morality of its own. Its only morality is that of its masters. Whether these masters are members of the Dutch Reformed Church that institutionalizes racism in South Africa or fundamentalists in the highest ranks of the American government who expect Armageddon, they all get their sense of values from Christianity. For them technology, the application of the scientific religion is a tool to be used for their own ends as defined by the misogynist, necrophiliac

religion that had hegemony over Western culture previously. By pretending to be value-free, science allows those old values to hold sway. Is it any wonder that we are now plagued with nuclear weapons, the greenhouse effect, toxic waste dumps, dying oceans, etc., etc., ad nauseam?

Lev, you castigate religion as being dualistic when it divides the world into sacred and profane but does not science make the distinction as well but rename it subjectivity and objectivity?

In summation, I believe that science is a religion and one that people will have to choose over Christianity. Are we patriotic citizens of God-fearing nations or organisms within a biosphere, to put it simplistically? The result of that choice determines our values and our responsibilities to ourselves and the environment. I suppose "spirit" is some sort of manifestation of that connectedness to all things but if we don't make that connection on the material plane, that's all we're going to be. I believe that it is possible, that we and this planet do have a future.

Peace,

S.V., Lake St. Peter, Ontario, Canada

### Lev responds:

### Neither science nor religion!

I'm happy that you've taken the time to write in response to the discussion of anarchy and religion in our previous issues, but once again, I'm perplexed at the almost complete lack of reference in your letter to what has already been said in *Anarchy* #15 and #16. At this point I can only conjecture that there is some sort of (to use the language of electronics) short-circuiting which seems to occur in many people's minds when they turn their thoughts to questions relating to religion. This short-circuiting seems to mean that any genuinely new perspectives or observations are unconsciously ignored and suppressed in favor of people's unquestioned prejudices, regardless of how limited or bizarre these prejudices may be.

To begin with, you attempt (as seems to be the most common evasive strategy of those who are defending religion in these pages) to redefine religion in yet another manner! Without any reference to the previous arguments about such a strategy between Jay and I, you seem to think that this is a completely legitimate tactic of polemic. I, on the other hand, find it quite annoying that you don't at least qualify your definition with some sort of argument. I really meant it when I argued with Jay that if people are going to publicly discuss the meaning, practice and value of religion in relation to anarchy, that we should make some sort of good-faith effort to both clearly define what it is we are talking about and, most importantly, use the definition which is most commonly accepted by all the people we are talking to. It just plain makes no sense to me for each person to choose his or her own private definition, yet proceed to argue as if everyone was talking about the same thing. There is something ludicrous to me about the fact that this keeps happening!

If you want to use another definition of religion, please tell everyone why it makes sense to use a definition that most people would not recognize as an accurate one, why the use of such a definition doesn't merely constitute an attempt at an evasion of the critique of religion I original-

Continued on next page

# DISCUSSION: Anarchy & religion

## Neither science nor religion!

Continued from page 21

ly argued for, and **why** it makes sense to continue fighting the traditional **atheism/-religion** battle when I suggested that we attempt to go beyond the usual impoverished categories of this perennial dispute.

Beyond all this, I don't really understand why you bother to call yourself a "sceptic" at all, since your scepticism seems to serve merely as a superficial justification for proceeding to plunge headlong into the murky waters of belief, anyway. Does it really matter what the root of the word "religion" is? Do we worry about assigning the meanings of other words only to their supposed root meanings? Such an exercise would only lead us on to ridiculous confusions if it were a common practice. Consider the resulting mess of miscommunication if everyone had to deny the commonly accepted meanings of words in favor of etymologically researched meanings. Would this mean that all cognates would have to have the exact same meanings? Only scholars and bookworms would any longer be able to carry on coherent conversations! Would this make any sense?

Certainly, at times the meanings of word roots can help illuminate some of the murkier connotations of concepts like religion, but they are never a substitute for the currently accepted denotative meanings. And, anyway, besides this, your etymological research seems to me to be a bit lacking. The sources I've checked seem to be in agreement that, though the root of the word religion may have meant "to bind together," this meaning probably referred to people being bound to their **beliefs**, and not to other people, and certainly not to nature! This alternative would seem to be much more consistent with the connotations of fanaticism, dogma and superstition which commonly accompany the phenomena of religious belief. Thus, not only is your use of the supposed meaning of the word root of "religion" as a guide to its definition quite suspect, but the very meaning of the word root is far from clear, itself.

So, when you continue on from these highly dubious assumptions, it is not surprising that your conclusions seem to vary widely from both common sense and from any genuinely critical perspective. Certainly, an argument can be made that in many ways science is like certain religions, but it is far from clear that science should be classified as one, especially when we consider that very few people would ever be likely to agree with such an assertion. And why is it that in your estimation only "white males living in this modern Western industrial civilization" believe in this alleged scientific "religion"? Does the culture of women and non-whites vary so widely? Even your characterization of science is dubious. That it should be a "set of beliefs that includes Cartesian thinking, mechanism, rationalism, phenomenology, psychology, etc." is not necessarily clear (except for the fact that the science of psychology is obviously a part of science in general). Science is a highly complex phenomenon whose relation to Cartesian thinking, mechanism, rationalism, and especially phenomenology, is far from simple.

Thus, while your observation that "those people who profess to adhere to no creed still have faith that atoms, photons, radio waves, gravity and many other unseen 'superhuman powers' are the constituents of our reality," might have some force were it more qualified, as it stands it is most certainly untrue in my case (which I assume is the case it is primarily aimed at) since I simply don't "believe" in these things in the sense you imply. And neither would many people



Photo by A. Hacker

think of atoms or radio waves as "superhuman powers," anyway. As non-human phenomena, perhaps! This is an exceedingly weak (really non-existent) argument for the implausibility of an atheist perspective, since nothing involved in the denial of belief in gods and religion necessarily implies the belief in any certain scientific concepts, regardless of the fact that **some** (or even **most**) self-defined atheists would, indeed, also admit to a belief in "science."

Stripped of useless baggage like your highly questionable classification of science as a religion, your arguments regarding the history of science and its usefulness to the bourgeoisie possess more lucidity. Though your concern that science "admits to no morality of its own" is hardly a concern of mine (since I would contend that all morality is alienating), it does show an appreciation for the ideological smokescreen provided by the thin pretense of "value-freedom" maintained by its apologists. And certainly, your observation that "science make[s] a dualistic distinction as well but rename[s] it subjectivity and objectivity" makes a worthwhile point. But you would be wrong to think I'd disagree with you here.

As far as I can see, the **real** choice is not over whether we should believe in an ideological science or a traditional religion, it is whether we need to believe in any fetishized system of thought at all. I would contend that only when we reject religion and ideology will we truly be able to live our own lives and pursue our own desires in a world without symbolic illusions and enchanted fetishes. At best, religion is an attempt to unify life by way of imagining that life is irreducibly split into two realms—the sacred and the profane, the divine and the mundane, etc. For those of us interested in overcoming the social alienations prevalent in the modern world, wouldn't it make just a little more sense to reject this type of dualism and begin from a perspective of the lived unity of our everyday, preconceptual experience?

## The in-betweens

Dear Lev,

I'm not debating nor do I care whether or not it is valid to carry on a dialogue on Anarchy vs. Religion. I have been following these discussions from the beginning and have concluded the reason why this debate even exists is because there are those in-between-people who want to adopt only the political philosophical aspect of anarchy but also want to have the freedom to

"believe." But, and here is the clincher, these in-between-people will not face the **fact** there is a clear undisputable distinction between the two. These individuals can be analytical in developing avenues to getting around the definitions of Anarchy & Religion but, all said and done, whether it's in 50 words or 50X10<sup>23</sup> words, this undeniable **fact** remains: Anarchy is the rejection of **all** forms of control and authority. By definition alone this must include religion since religion adheres to the spiritual or emotional control of a superpower, whether it be nature, or a superbeing, a God.

I'm sure we have all heard people on one occasion or another saying, "I'm sort of an anarchist because my ideas are closer to that than anything else." This is absurd! How can anyone be sort of something. It would be equally absurd for a person to say I'm sort of a Catholic/Baptist. These two theological doctrines are just as dichotomous as Anarchy & Religion. They differ so vastly it would be equivalent to trying to force a mouse to mate with a bull. These in-between-people need to face up to the **fact** to be a 100% anarchist they will have to reject religion.

From this discussion, thus far, most people would assume I have made this distinction and classify myself as an anarchist. Not so! I used to call myself a Christian anarchist but as I continue to educate myself I have discerned the difference between the two and have come to the ungainsayable conclusion a person cannot be both **anarchist** and **religious**. Therefore, I am now calling myself "neither" and to be true to the definitions of Anarchy & Religion I find myself in a state of desideratum. At this point I have to classify myself as "undecided" as all the in-between-people should do since the "I'm sort of" category is ludicrous.

This is very frustrating for me. I can understand the turmoil these in-between-people are facing. Personally I "believe" in the God concept but also feel I have 99% control over my life. It's that 1% that I can't let loose. Why? I don't feel this is due to (as you stated, Lev, in your introduction to Feral Faun's "The Quest for the Spiritual" in **Anarchy** #17, para.3) **narrow-mindedness**. Since I am at this moment writing this letter and am open to further thought. Nor can I quite agree it's **due to illusions behind defenses of**

**dogma**. To say this is to state personal religious belief is an erroneous perception of reality. This **could** be true but no one really knows for sure. There just isn't any refutable evidence to disclaim Her/His/or Its existence. However, perhaps the reason I can't let loose of God is because of the last point you mentioned, "**the fear of the unknown**." I can't help to wonder if this isn't true for all of us in-between-people.

Sincerely,  
Mikell Zahn,  
Columbia, MO.

## Anarchy distributors

Anarchy can be found at the following bookshops and stores. We urge you to check out the listings for your area.

**Aardvarx**  
17 N. 10th St.  
Columbia, MO.  
[on the downtown loop]

**Salt of the Earth Records**  
207 S. Ninth St.  
Columbia, MO. 65201

**Blacklist Mailorder**  
181 Shipley St.  
San Francisco, CA. 94107  
(mailorder only)

**Bound Together Books**  
1369 Haight St.  
San Francisco, CA. 94117

**Bread & Roses Coffeehouse**  
426 East 31st  
Baltimore, MD

**Fifth Estate Bookstore**  
4632 Second Ave.  
Detroit, MI.  
[hours vary, so call first  
@ (313) 831-6800]

**Laughing Horse Books**  
1322 NW 23  
Portland, OR. 97201

**Leftbank Books**  
92 Pike St.  
Seattle, WA. 98101

**Left Hand Books & Records**  
1200 Pearl, Lower Level  
Boulder, CO. 80302

**Memory Hole Bookshop**  
A/K/A Alternative Information Network  
POB 906, University Station  
Syracuse, NY. 13210

**The Primal Plunge**  
107 Brighton Ave.  
Allston, MA. 02134

**Salt of the Earth Books**  
2128 Central Ave. SE.  
Albuquerque, NM.

**Living Batch Bookstore**  
106 Cornell SE.  
Albuquerque, NM.

**Amok**  
859 N. Virgil  
Los Angeles, CA. 90029

**Hungry Head Books**  
588 East 11th  
Eugene, OR. 97401

Anarchy is also handled by the following distributors:

**Don Olson Distribution**  
Minneapolis, MN.

**Into the Night: News**  
Brooklyn, NY.

**Ubiquity Distributors, Inc.**  
Brooklyn, NY.

**A Distribution**  
Jersey City, NJ.



# Columns

## Interrogations for the Human Community On Unions

### Introduction

This is the first of a series of short essays we are reprinting from the French journal *Interrogations* (c/o I.S., B.P. 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12, France)—formerly *L'Insecurite Sociale*. "On Unions" originally appeared in Series 2, #3 of *L'Insecurite Sociale*.

Although we don't consider ourselves, nor do we ever call ourselves "communists" (as do the members of the *Interrogations* group), we do share many aspects of the perspective explored in this series of essays, and believe that they are all well worth considering for those interested in the questions raised by the project of social liberation. It is worthwhile to keep in mind that, as one member of the group has mentioned to us, these essays don't all "necessarily represent exactly what we think presently, but [they're] moments of our evolution." He also writes, "Concerning the use of the word 'communist,' we think it's more common in France than in the States. Certainly, it is also related with the ultra-left past of most of us. Conversely, it could be easier for American people to use the label 'anarchist' than for French people, as traditionally the French anarchist movement is both reformist and sectarian. We are not too much interested in labels, but by the content of the analyses, refusals,... and by the attempt to develop a global criticism of this world."

—Lev Chernyi

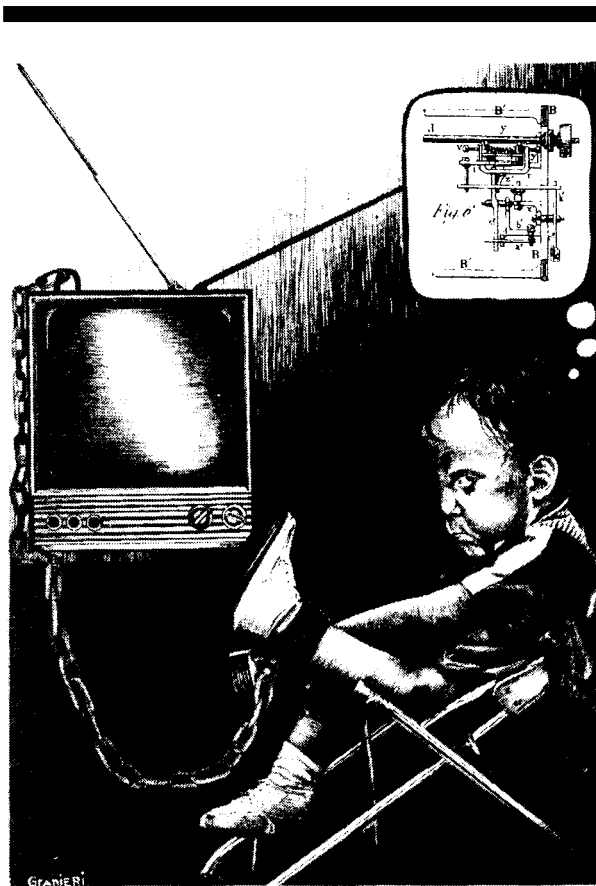
As permanent organizations, the function of unions is based on the sale and determination of the price of labor power, or wages. From their first appearance unions have attempted to be recognized as institutions of negotiation and representation, and the evolution of capitalism has led to its acceptance of syndicalism [i.e. unionism]. If at times they have played a combative role at the period of their conception, the unions have since become instruments of class collaboration. They guarantee businesses' profits, property (state or private) and values (professionalism, defense of family, nationalism, etc....) which allow this society to continue to exist. As capitalist institutions, the unions participate in the management and structuring of wage labor within its various categories (state, mixed, etc.). They have enthusiastically contributed to the "national effort" during every capitalist war, have helped to send the workers to the battle front, and have maintained workplace discipline behind the lines. The unions manage and regulate the labor market for the needs of capital, play an ideological role, and exercise a day-to-day control over the workers to the point of physical violence. Within and outside the workplace, syndicalism is a pillar of the capitalist system.

Capitalism as a social system based on division and competition provokes confrontations between the ruling classes within given geographical perimeters. Because the economic and political goals of union bureaucracies appear different from other capitalist tendencies, the latter see them as competitors and oppose them. The confrontation between managers of exploitation enables the unions to conserve an image of organizations that fight against the system. This image hides their active and direct participation in the rationalization of the system of exploitation itself, and makes it appear normal: this is what they are paid to do (in France, for example, the unions receive money from the state to train their militants who are given time, positions of power and "facilities"). This does not imply an absence of "union struggles." Channelled and programmed conflicts are entirely beneficial to the social partners: unions that sell labor power and the bosses who buy it.

In peoples' struggles in the past, and in some which are taking place today, organizations such as workers' councils, strike committees controlled by the workers themselves and sovereign general assemblies have appeared in a more or less concrete manner representing a process of workers' autonomy with respect to other social classes, the state, and institutions. As opposed to ultra-leftists who consider that a communist revolution is unrelated to organizational

forms, and that councils, parties and unions are ultimately the same things, it is our opinion that the question of revolution is also one of the organizational forms it will take, and that structures which intend to manage the state and the workers cannot contribute to the latter's emancipation. The widespread formation of structures which refuse the division of tasks, in which the communities in struggle intend to hold on to the power to make decisions, will be important expressions of new relations between human beings. With this in mind, it is not our belief that communists should presently mechanically support past organizational structures by proposing, for example, that workers organize in councils as opposed to parties or unions. If the past can furnish elements of comprehension, it does not provide a manual for the future. Concerning the question at hand, these elements are clear-cut: it is up to the movement to create its own structures, it is not the opposite. To advocate the creation of a mass organization in the present situation, even if it is called a "council," would only amount to another structure.

What characterizes the present period, amongst other factors, is that a tangible workers' milieu in which ideas of revolt are circulating no longer exists and that there is an absence of proposals to use the accumulated experience to create another society. Nothing in the present workers' situation, in the workplace or elsewhere, represents positive elements of rupture which could lead to self-emancipation. Proletarian autonomy is still on the agenda, a tendency which it is important to support but one that will only be put into practice if a widespread break with the present order exists.



## The Nihilist's Dictionary

by John Zerzan

**Tech-nol-o-gy** (tek-nol'e-je)n. According to Webster's: industrial or applied science. In reality: the ensemble of division of labor/production/industrialism and its impact on us and on nature. Technology is the sum of mediations between us and the natural world and the sum of those separations mediating us from each other. It is all the drudgery and toxicity required to produce and reproduce the stage of hyper-alienation we languish in. It is the texture and the form of domination at any given stage of hierarchy and commodification.

Those who still say that technology is "neutral,"

"merely a tool," have not yet begun to consider what is involved. Jünger, Adorno and Horkheimer, Ellul and a few others over the past decades—not to mention the crushing, all but unavoidable truth of technology in its global and personal toll—have led to a deeper approach to the topic. Thirty-five years ago the esteemed philosopher Jaspers wrote that "Technology is only a means, in itself neither good nor evil. Everything depends upon what man makes of it, for what purpose it serves him, under what conditions he places it." The archaic sexism aside, such superficial faith in specialization and technical progress is increasingly seen as ludicrous. Infinitely more on target was Marcuse when he suggested in 1964 that "the very concept of technical reason is perhaps ideological. Not only the application of technology, but technology itself is domination... methodical, scientific, calculated, calculating control." Today we experience that control as a steady reduction of our contact with the living world, a speeded-up Information Age emptiness drained by computerization and poisoned by the dead, domesticating imperialism of high-tech method. Never before have people been so infantilized, made so dependent on the machine for everything; as the earth rapidly approaches its extinction due to technology, our souls are shrunk and flattened by its pervasive rule. Any sense of wholeness and freedom can only return via the undoing of the massive division of labor at the heart of technological progress. This is the liberatory project in all its depth.

Of course, the popular literature does not yet reflect a critical awareness of what technology is. Some works completely embrace the direction we are being taken, such as McCorduck's *Machines Who Think* and Simons' *Are Computers Alive?*, to mention a couple of the more horrendous. Other, even more recent books seem to offer a judgement that finally flies in the face of mass pro-tech propaganda, but fail dismally as they reach their conclusions. Murphy, Mickunas and Pilotta edited *The Underside of High-Tech: Technology and the Deformation of Human Sensibilities*, whose ferocious title is completely undercut by an ending that says technology will become human as soon as we change our assumptions about it! Very similar is Siegel and Markoff's *The High Cost of High Tech*; after chapters detailing the various levels of technological debilitation, we once again learn that it's all just a question of attitude: "We must, as a society, understand the full impact of high technology if we are to shape it into a tool for enhancing human comfort, freedom and peace." This kind of cowardice and/or dishonesty owes only in part to the fact that major publishing corporations do not wish to publicize fundamentally radical ideas.

The above-remarked flight into idealism is not a new tactic of avoidance. Martin Heidegger, considered by some the most original and deep thinker of this century, saw the individual becoming only so much raw material for the limitless expansion of industrial technology. Incredibly, his solution was to find in the Nazi movement the essential "encounter between global technology and modern man." Behind the rhetoric of National Socialism, unfortunately, was only an acceleration of technique, even into the sphere of genocide as a problem of industrial production. For the Nazis and the gullible, it was, again a question of how technology is understood ideally, not as it really is. In 1940 the General Inspector for the German Road System put it this way: "Concrete and stone are material things. Man gives them form and spirit. National Socialist technology possesses in all material achievement ideal content."

The bizarre case of Heidegger should be a reminder to all that good intentions can go wildly astray without a willingness to face technology and its systematic nature as part of practical social reality. Heidegger feared the political consequences of really looking at technology critically; his apolitical theorizing thus constituted a part of the most monstrous development of modernity, despite his intention.

Earth First! claims to put nature first, to be above all petty "politics." But it could well be that behind the macho swagger of a Dave Foreman (and the "deep ecology" theorists who also warn against radicals) is a failure of nerve like Heidegger's and the consequence, conceivably, could be similar.

## Columns

### A's for Attitude by L. Fulltime

## Emotional Commodities

People often seek self-identification in some commodity; these commodities are often thought of as material goods. What is often not realized is that other people can be reduced to the position of emotional commodity. Self-realization, personal advancement, the control of numerous aspects of one's life and projection can rely on someone else's relation to you; in extreme cases we find a reliance on a god, mentor or political leader. These are only the most blatant results of the social authority that we see from day to day. In normal cases, people merely seek to augment whatever they see fit (i.e. financial position, community esteem, fame, self-esteem, etc.) through either an individual or community. The use of people as economic commodity can be seen as an extensively developed manifestation of this same behavior.

The nature of the commodity is the nature of public approval; the commodity increases your worth in the opinion of a commoditized public. Let's not think that the main commodities in life are material possessions, because more often than not they're not. While some may encounter pressure to own a new car or nice clothes, these commodities are just stepping stones to the real obscure object of desire: a person who will be thoroughly impressed. The more of them you accumulate, the better off you seem to be. Thus all circles utilize a combination of various types of commodities: the celebrity set have their Ferraris and beautiful women (a must-have accessory), the suburban housewife has the landscaped lawn and the lawyer husband, the academics have their leather-bound books and impressionable students, mothers have their well-behaved children, the anarchists have their arrest sheets or complete works of Bakunin, the majority of homeless people have neither diamond rings nor avant-garde artist friends, so they usually impress no one, etc. *ad infinitum*. Their purpose is your gain, for the approval of a public or yourself.

The inter-reliance of people must exist for the collective welfare of the earth and the emotional development of its inhabitants. Other people do in fact benefit other people; solidarity can create successful projects, good friendships can create happiness and a positive outlook. Even the sternest individualists cannot claim to live independently of others. (I bet they didn't even make their own clothes.) But often inter-relations take on an air of competition, commodification, hierarchization and so forth. Here are some examples of how inter-relations get out of hand in our day to day life and in the political life of any population.

1. **Competition.** Competition is not really a game of checkers. In games we win and lose and an equilibrium is established. And even if we don't win, we realize it's just a game. Competition is about having to win the respect of others. Having respect should naturally just be the case to begin with. Competition is about being so desperate for a commodity, you

would tread on others to get it. Competition ranges in its extremes as to how it effects other people, but most often somebody is left in the dirt. And while ideological and economic competition has caused many a war, competition for love has caused quite a few murders also.

2. **Parasitism,** or using other people. Voluntary participation is a must in a non-hierarchical society. Therefore, forcing a person to engage in their own economic or emotional usage by another, or denying them knowledge of one's intent (manipulation) denies their voluntarism. This rings of authority. On a large scale basis we see the capitalist economically blackmailing the worker; in tenth grade I saw Judy let Bob take her out every night because nobody else would, and watched Bob get thrown out once Joe took her out.

3. **Privatization.** Taking exclusive rights to any commodity. Husbands and wives agree to privatization in the form of monogamy thus agreeing that their sexual organs are commodities. The agreement is often the result of sexual blackmail. Capitalists enforce privatization, setting up innumerable forms of enterprises as their own, entitling them to employ others to support the weight of their economic and power interests. Governments desire privatization and take exclusive rights to the people contained within their borders. Thus people become a political commodity.

4. **Power and authority.** All the above basically have to do with power and authority in the first place. One's power and authority in one's self is the only one that does not threaten to perpetuate the system of hierarchical relations.

### The return of The Badguy Report

## Festivity and Delight: Two Confrontations

### Sleepless Frenzy

Seven years ago, **Sweetboy** and I started a radio show, **Sleepless Frenzy**, on a listener-sponsored community radio station, **KOPN**. The show, we agreed, would feature music by obscure groups on small record labels, with an emphasis on punk and experimental music. I was interested in digging up and presenting the growing number of brashly anti-authoritarian radical bands who were developing dense and confusing rhythms, chants, and screams, cathartic and desperate. The blackest wit and some of the most subversive and intelligent lyrics ever unleashed were rendered by the likes of **Crass**, **Poison Girls**, **Fela Kuti**, **Savant**, **Ludus**, **The Avengers**, **Bad Brains** and **Zounds**--and hundreds more.

The authenticity of these creative works demanded something more than a progressive rock deejay with a jiveass delivery. I created "**Badguy**" out of the alienation and nihilistic desire of my own life. Neither radio star nor punk poseur, **Badguy** was alternately real, surreal and hyperreal--mostly hyperreal. "Yeah, this is funny and outrageous and terrible at the same time. So being cool and cocky won't do. Take action! Empower yourself!" was what **Badguy** tried to say.

Once I announced that New York City had completely burned down to the ground earlier that day, but that it was not being reported on the news because of a media cover-up. The listener could laugh while readily acknowledging that we know little more than the controlling institutions choose to let us know. On **Sleepless Frenzy** black absurdist humor would drift into genuine anger and concern. Contempt for the audience would turn into the feeling that there was hope for our collective self-empowerment. Intense industrial noise would be abruptly replaced by uplifting Afro-beat riffs. To provoke a liberating range of thought and feeling while calling everything into question was the aim of this creative totality.

Without ever planning to, the reach of **Sleepless Frenzy** went beyond what went on on the air. Listeners began coming up to the show, sometimes to talk on the air, sometimes to hang out in the big room adjacent to the studio. For awhile the show became a gathering place for the community of young punks and a place to find out the latest going-ons of local bands like **Lost Cause** (later known as **Causes of Tragedy**) and **Litter of Democracy** (later reformed as **First Bank of Christ**). It also became a forum where news of the harassment of punks by police could be spread. Some of these incidents included: routine stopping and questioning of adolescents with punk haircuts, the chasing of **Litter of Democracy** from a downtown pocket park where they had plugged in for an impromptu gig, and a visit by the Secret Service to the home of a publisher of **Misery** fanzine for distributing an issue which included the epithet, "Fuck you Reagan! You will die!" On **Sleepless**

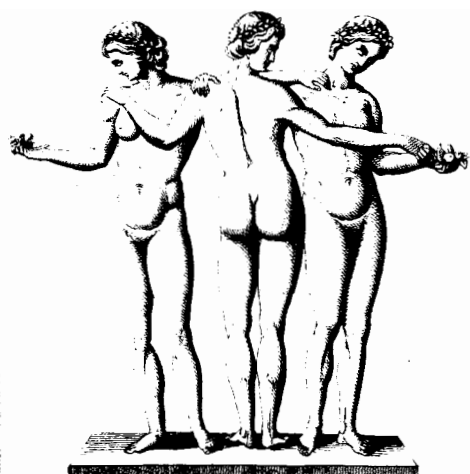
**Frenzy**, we encouraged minors to stand up for their rights. (When the police repeatedly demanded that **Rusty System** tell them his name, over and over he insisted, "it's John F. Kennedy!")

Meanwhile, as a growing number of programmers began to play punk music at **KOPN**, the management became increasingly alarmed at the autonomy and daring of the volunteer boardshifters. Harassment of programmers increased consciousness of the autocratic and arbitrary nature of the decision-making at what was supposed to be a community radio station. This awareness came to a head with the attempted suppression of a show **Francis Baumli** had planned on the topic of the penis. Issues arising out of the confrontation over this incident led me to write a freedom of expression policy which was unanimously adopted at the all-station meeting and by the board of directors.

For all the public disagreements I had with program director **Bill Wax**, I will give him credit for acknowledging that the autonomy of radio programmers deserved respect and for attempting to work out mutually acceptable solutions to conflicts when possible. The same could not be said for **Barry Brenesal** or **Sonny Rawls**, who later took over control of programming decisions. Without ever discussing the matter with me, **Barry** distributed a falsified transcript of one of my monologues to the Board of Directors. Although he never admitted it, what angered him was the fact that I had made fun of his pompous and self-righteous manner and of his suggestion made in a newspaper interview that music programmers would no longer be allowed to voice their opinions on social issues. **Barry** insisted that I not mention anything about staff or programmers at **KOPN** nor could I comment on station policy. He then attempted to impose a kind of martial law on the station insisting that he had the right to unilaterally decree policy.

**Sonny** kicked me off the air for opening my show with the line, "I'll start this show when I'm good and ready! What do you think this is a conventional radio station!" He insisted that I make it clear to the listeners at the onset of the following show that I would not deviate from the tightly clock-bound format of conventional radio, and that I would make no suggestions about the type of radio station I thought **KOPN** might be. He also said that he had been told that I often ridiculed mainstream bands on my show and that I would no longer be allowed to do so.

This kind of censorship, which was completely arbitrary and not based on any pre-existing station policy had a chilling effect on my instinctually-based spontaneous artistry and on the candidness which was at the heart of **Sleepless Frenzy**.... Even though the show had been irreparably damaged by **Barry** and **Sonny**, I was determined to persist in the face of their attempts to get rid of me--and I did. Today I look back at the first four years of **Sleepless Frenzy** as a tribute to the power of rebellion and imagination. It



© 1988, d. d.



## Columns

was a time of living on the edge which will come again in some other form.



### Shantytown

In the fall of 1986, I joined the **Shantytown Activists**. Two days earlier a small group of people, mostly students at the **University of Missouri**, had erected several shanties of cardboard and scrap wood in the quadrangle adjacent to the main entrance to **Jesse Hall**, the university administration building. The shantytown was built as a symbol of the poverty and dehumanization which occurs under South Africa's system of forced racial segregation and oppression called apartheid. The **University of Missouri** had \$130 million invested in corporations doing business in South Africa.

The night I joined the **Shantytown Activists**, the campus police came and ordered us to leave the shanties or face arrest. Seventeen people were arrested that night and the shanties were torn down by the cops. A few days later the shanties were rebuilt. The police didn't make arrests, but they ordered that no campfires be built and that no food be kept in the shanties. It was hard to be comfortable and at home without heat or provisions. Although no one ever brought the issue up at our meetings, there seemed to be little support among Shantytowners to defy the police order.

As the months progressed, Shantytown became a base for educating the community about the terror of the South African state as well as the institutionalized racism of the **University of Missouri**. In face-to-face talks many passersby said, "I agree with your goals, but this is the wrong way to go about it." During the first semester, shanties were destroyed several times by students. Two students, who in one attack injured a man lying in a shanty, were apprehended by our group and turned over to the police. The courts eventually made them pay a small fine, which was less than the medical bills paid by their victim.

In January, **Duane Stucky**, acting Chancellor, tried to impose an *ex post facto* policy which prohibited the construction of structures in the quadrangle. Our defiance of this policy resulted in 41 arrests.

These arrests made it clearer than ever that the university would rather deny freedom of speech than tolerate the public embarrassment of dissent over its support for apartheid. The focus now shifted somewhat as the issue of the right of Shantytown to continue to exist as a symbol of the opposition increased public outcry. A demonstration to protest the university's actions drew the largest public turnout to that date, getting almost as much front-page coverage in the state's metro dailies as the arrests themselves had.

In the aftermath of this demonstration, the university allowed the shanties to be rebuilt in the quad. However, the administration announced that it would not bring charges against anyone who attacked or destroyed the shanties. Conservative and racist students obliged the university by repeatedly attacking and destroying the shanties in the months that followed.

Later in the semester, the **Shantytown Activists** received an award for their efforts from the local black community. Still the university refused to budge on the issue of divestment. Progress continued to be made nonetheless. As a result of the publicity generated by our confrontations, the state legislature passed a bill requiring the State of Missouri to divest its stock in corporations operating in South Africa. Since the university's budget is separate from the state budget, the legislation did not apply to the investment portfolio of the **University of Missouri**. But the contrast between the responsible action of the state legislature and the irresponsible inaction of the university's board of curators gave us additional leverage.

In October 1987, the first anniversary of Shantytown was marked with the largest campus political rally of the decade. It was a nicely orchestrated old-fashioned civil rights rally with a black choir and some rousing speakers. By this time, the university had already dropped all of the charges against all but one of the persons arrested, but continued to press the charge against **Kathy Benson** as a test case of its policy prohibiting the construction of shanties. Shortly thereafter the court dismissed the charge against her noting that the policy violated her first amendment rights. Finally, fourteen months after the first shanties were erected, the board of curators voted for a policy of divestment of stocks of corporations which owned facilities in South Africa.

### More Playing for Keeps

The stories of **Sleepless Frenzy** and **Shantytown** make me feel proud that I was able to join with others in refusing to "go along to get along" at a time when so many others seemed to give up. Almost no one really believes that the current political system is

likely to bring about any meaningful change. The change it sanctions maintains or increases the power of the powerful or cuts their losses.

Successful confrontation wins concessions which otherwise are unlikely to be achieved. Yet confrontations, even when they are not successful in achieving their stated demands can be effective in making clear to a lot of people ways in which the civil rhetoric of freedom and happiness is used to maintain social and political arrangements of intolerance and misery.

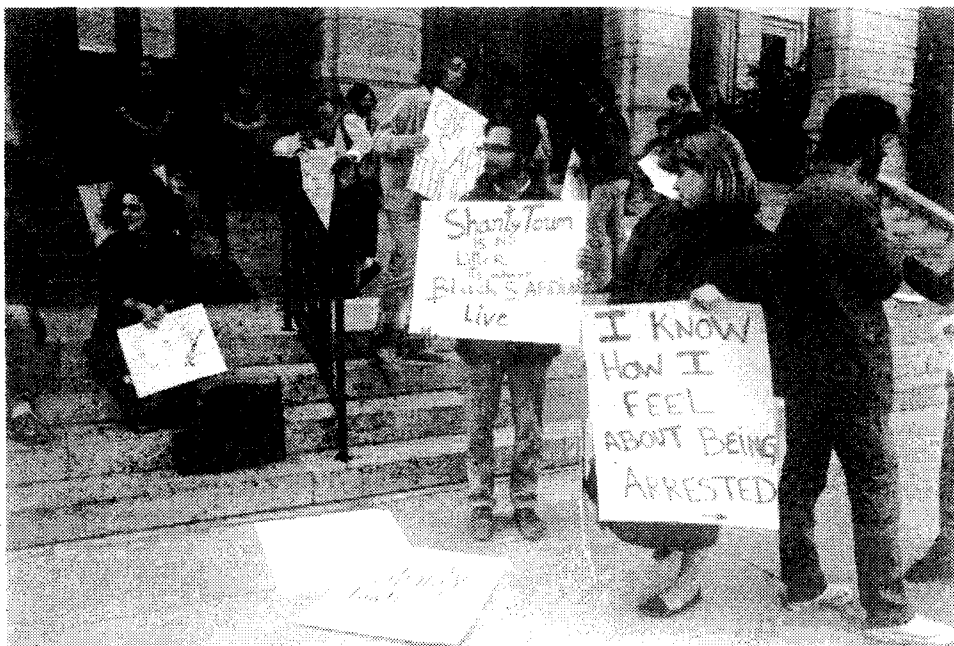
I don't want to belabor the details of this dynamic with respect to **KOPN** or the **University of Missouri**, but I will share a few impressions. The alternative community encompasses a broad spectrum of people—most are, at best, condescendingly tolerant of radicals. When controversy arises, these folks try in any way they can, to suppress the questions raised and the people raising them. I could substantiate this observation with a litany of (legal) things I wasn't allowed to say on the radio, of things I couldn't offer for sale at the food co-op, and of nasty stratagems employed by persons who called themselves pacifists, feminists, New-Ageists or realists to disparage the motives and deny the personhood of those who upset preconceived ideas of the way things were supposed to be. In short, the Columbia "counterculture" often dealt with dissenters in the same way that the university dealt with Shantytowners—they tried their darnedest to shut us up.

Even among those who offer sympathy and support for radical challenges, one is likely to find a disconcerting number of persons who are dispositionally squeamish about getting anyone upset or having to take a stand when negative consequences might ensue. Among the people involved with the **Shantytown Activists** there were quite a few who opposed any further confrontations after the initial arrest of 17 of our friends. They argued that rebuilding the shanties would only result in more arrests and we had enough shit to deal with already without provoking more. Had we listened to these cautionary pleas, we would have played right into the university's hands and the pressure (which eventually resulted in concessions regarding divestment and freedom of protest) could not have been brought to bear.

A large group of people has a hard time agreeing on much of anything—much less on strong confrontational action. That is why **Shantytown Activists** no longer exists today. The long tedious meetings and acrimonious disagreements sapped the community and camaraderie which was born of common purpose and daring. A series of affinity groups, each consisting of no more than six to eight persons, none of whom could presume to speak for **Shantytown Activists** as a whole, would have hung together better. Small cohesive groups are better able to plan and carry out confrontational actions, and give people a sense of responsibility and control over what happens. The university would never have known exactly who would strike where, when, or how. Those who wanted to defy the police order by bringing food, starting campfires and creating a festive air could do so without implicating the more timid. The large number of people and ideas which tried to act as one organization named **Shantytown Activists** created an impossible situation which drove most of our numbers away and the rest of us nuts.

How can we break the rules, and expose the polite veneer of public life? Working within the bounds tolerated by the authorities leads to rote demonstrations, petition drives and electioneering. This stuff goes nowhere year after year. By speaking bluntly and acting defiantly, we experience our competence and creative will to break through the empty gestures and representations to which conventional reformists, even in their opposition, pledge allegiance.

As my friend **Pam** sings, "we are a powerful people," and these tales have been told as reminders of how we can gather our forces at unlikely times and in unlikely places. These were heady moments of remarkably pleasurable struggle and triumph, yet they were also necessarily passing events and partial manifestations. They are perhaps best realized as preparations for the coming destruction of capitalism, patriarchy and the totality of domination called civilization. Let's get ready and go!



Shantytown demonstration photos by B.T.

# Letters

We would like to encourage readers to write us in order to continue this dialogue both with those who are sympathetic and those who are critical of anarchist theory and practice. All letters to **Anarchy** will be printed with the author's initials only, unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used, or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous, or the name already appears in the paper--as in the case of an author of an article in **Anarchy**.

We will edit letters that are redundant, overly long, unreadable or excessively boring. Please limit length to two single-spaced, typewritten pages. Address your letters to **Anarchy**, c/o C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446. We look forward to hearing from you!

## All my life

Dear C.A.L.,

To whom it may concern.

I'm doing time in the Illinois Dept. of Corrections. And would like to have a subscription to **Anarchy**.

This newsletter is new to me. I think it's the best paper I've seen. I have been an anarchist all my life. That's why I'm doing time. I chose to rebel against all authority. The government sucks. And so does that law. There's one law, that's self-preservation. America is not the land of free. Think about it. We have to pay taxes; we have to have a license to drive. We have to register for the draft. So what is freedom?

Sincerely,  
W.B., Hillsboro, IL.

## Dynamite!

Dear Lev, Columbia Anarchists,

Hello, So many thanks to you for the copy of **Dynamite!** you sent this last spring. It was at least as good as I had expected.

As you will see, I have enclosed a check for...a copy of Fredy Perlman's **Against History, Against Leviathan**.

Thanks also for the leaflets you enclosed. They were fantastic. I would like to ask you about the July 1986 catalogue from **New Anarchist Review** in the U.K. which you sent. There were some really exceptional books listed there. Can you get all those books or would it be better to contact them directly? I would like to know because many of these books I haven't seen anywhere else.

I was also particularly fascinated by the Scottish newsletter **Counter-Information**. The blurb which talked about John Ball's resistance to the Poll tax in 1381. I am extremely interested in these earlier revolutionaries who held anarchist beliefs that preceeded the 19th century--where we are apt to place the origins of anarchism, communism and socialism. The English Diggers of 1649, Wat Tyler's (and John Ball's) Rebellion of 1381, Germany's Peasant Wars, Guillaume Cale and the French Jacquerie of 1358 are a few names I've heard. It's very difficult to find information on this subject. I've read that Fredy Perlman's book is an anarchist perspective of Western Civilization. Perhaps it covers some of this material. Even if it does not, I am sure that it will give me a good understanding of the nature of oppression and liberation movements throughout history.

What projects have the Columbia Anarchists been working on lately? Did you go to Toronto, Atlanta or New Orleans this sum-

mer? I, personally, made it to Atlanta and joined in some of the actions there. I also met many people who were in Toronto. Even though it seemed to get messy at the end, I've heard mostly good reports.

Well, this is all for now. I'll be hearing from you soon.  
S., Austin, Texas

of which we will send a free specimen copy to anyone who requests one, by letter to Freedom, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, England.

And I hope you will decide to publish a lot more of my stuff.

May you prosper,  
Donald Room, London, England

[Editorial note: We are genuinely sorry that in the rush of last-minute layout, we neglected to credit this comic. We do encourage anyone with a sense of humor to pick up a copy of the excellent **Wildcat Anarchist Comics** from us here at the Columbia Anarchist League (POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446)-please make any checks to "C.A.L." It is also available from Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co. (1740 W. Greenleaf Ave., Chicago, IL. 60626) and from anarchist distributors and bookstores.]

more as they become available every couple months or so. We aren't allowed to have cash or money orders in this kennel, so I hope you will accept this humble offering as my way of supporting your magazine, which in my opinion is the best one in print.

Thank you very much for your time, energy, and support!

Sincerely @,  
K.M., Tehachapi, CA.

## Technology is natural

Dear C.A.L.,

In any reformulation of the basic conceptions of anarchism, especially in the light of the anti-technological perspective adopted by so much of the anarchist current, the following should be taken into consideration:

1) Technology was created by

of people would STARVE.

8) Power and authority pre-date industry.

9) The abolition of technology requires the abolition of science.

10) The abolition of science requires a) the liquidation of scientists, and b) generalized brainwashing (the liquidation of empirical thought).

11) Brainwashing and murder are expressions of power and authority.

Desire Desired,  
J.P., Chelmsford, MA.

## Lev responds

This isn't a very subtle argument for technology. I suggest that you look over your points and think a little more about the absurdity of some of these contentions. As with most sorts of possible directions for social change, the progressive reduction of our dependence on "technology" can be approached in two ways--the authoritarian or the libertarian. No anarchists that I know of have advocated any sort of generalized abolition of technology **against the wills** of the populace. I'd like to see you take this small fact into account in your syllogistic "reasoning."

## Networking interest

Dear C.A.L.,

I really liked the issues of **Anarchy** I got at the Toronto Convention, so am subscribing. I noticed in your winter issue a call for regional groups interested in networking. I'm a member of Black Rose (Boston), a small anarchist collective looking to increase our activities & membership. Please include us in your list & send info. on anything you know of in our area (we're just now at the stage of increasing contacts with previously unknown area anarchists...).

I thought the issue on @ & religion was superb: it's too rare to find well thought out analyses without diatribe! I'd also like to see an issue on the use/misuse of technology (so, maybe I'll write something up!).

Please send a copy of **As We See It!** if it's still available. Also a current booklist. I've included a small donation for postage or whatever.

Hope to hear from you soon!  
L.H., Boston, MA.

## Enough Subscriptions

Dear C.A.L.,

Thanks for the complimentary issue of **Anarchy; a journal of Desire Armed**, No. 14, Summer 1987--which I received some time ago by now. Sorry to take so long to get a note off to you. But my personal interests have to wait from time to time--and now is one of those times. Unfortunately! I also liked your C.A.L. leaflet, **As We See It!**, giving the point of view of the Columbia Anarchist League. Parts of **Anarchy** that I especially liked are, "Radical News in Review," and "International Anarchy News." I also found your "Anarchy in Greece: Part I" interesting as



## Wildcat Comics

To the editors of **Anarchy**,  
Dear comrades,

I am flattered and delighted that you reproduce one of my comic strips on pages 2 and 3 of your Summer 1988 issue. The only thing that might have made me even happier is if you had stated the source, which is **Wildcat Anarchist Comics** published by Freedom Press, London. The U.S. distributors are the Charles H. Kerr Company of Chicago and A Distribution, New York, and I think the U.S. price is \$4.50. **Wildcat** appears in every issue of **Freedom**,

## Free copies

Dear Mr. Chernyi,

Thank you for being so kind as to continue sending me free copies of your fine publication. I am currently being warehoused at the California Correctional Institute at Tehachapi in California, and you can probably guess that all of us here don't have too much coming our way, so support from you good folks out there in the free world has quite an impact.

Enclosed is six dollars in postage stamps to help defray the costs of publishing or at least mailing your publication to us; I'll send

wo/man to increase his/her chance of survival.

2) The will to survive is natural.

3) Nature is the only "authority" which **forces** wo/man to develop technology in order to increase his/her chance of survival.

4) To go "back to nature" is to decrease wo/man's chance of survival.

5) To go "back to nature" is **unnatural**.

6) If industry were abolished, there would be no machinery to use in agriculture.

7) If machinery were no longer used in agriculture, billions





well. In general, I liked the whole paper! I would like to be able to read "Part II" when it becomes available, but I'm sorry I don't want to subscribe to *Anarchy* right now because I have enough subscriptions to keep me busy. I also make time for lots of reading (books) about aspects of our current world events--mostly radical political stuff (left wing of course). So I'm really busy as it is.

However, I'm not too busy to read your next article on "Anarchy in Greece: Part II." Nor, am I too busy to look at any book lists that you may have available for readers--that is, if you get involved in that sort of thing. I'm interested in learning more about anarchy's ideas--both past and present. I have an M.A. degree in philosophy so ideas and theory are, naturally, interesting to me. You mention the Columbia Community Grocery (1100 Locust Street) in *Anarchy* No. 14: do they send out interesting book lists? Anyway, if you do get involved in mail order book selling, please put me on your mailing list and send me a copy--put me on your mailing list anyway. Also let me know when *Anarchy* No. 15 comes out so I can buy it and finish "Anarchy in Greece: Part II."

On a personal note, I couldn't say, right now, that I'm an anarchist myself, or that I'm interested in holding such a position(s). But I am interested in the history of Anarchism as well as its current happenings. Although I am of the 60s generation, I must confess that *Anarchy* is something I have only recently become aware of. Marx, et al, I have been aware of--as most people are these days, in some capacity anyway. That is, most people have at least heard of them whether in a negative or positive fashion. How many people really claim to understand their ideas is of course another matter all together. But, as far as *Anarchy* is concerned, I had not even heard of it until very recently. So the whole thing is new to me. Although I have known of Emma Goldman (is it spelled right?) as a person, I never connected her with the movement of Anarchy. At any rate, publications like yours can be interesting and helpful because you publish lots of stuff that is just not available most places these days.

Again, thanks a lot! I'm always glad to hear of folks' scenes in a place I know nothing about. I never would have thought Columbia, MO. had such folks as yourselves. Best of luck to ya all!

Sincerely,  
C.B., Columbia, MD.(Maryland)

**[Editorial note: Glad you "liked" our paper--though it's too bad you don't like it enough to subscribe.**

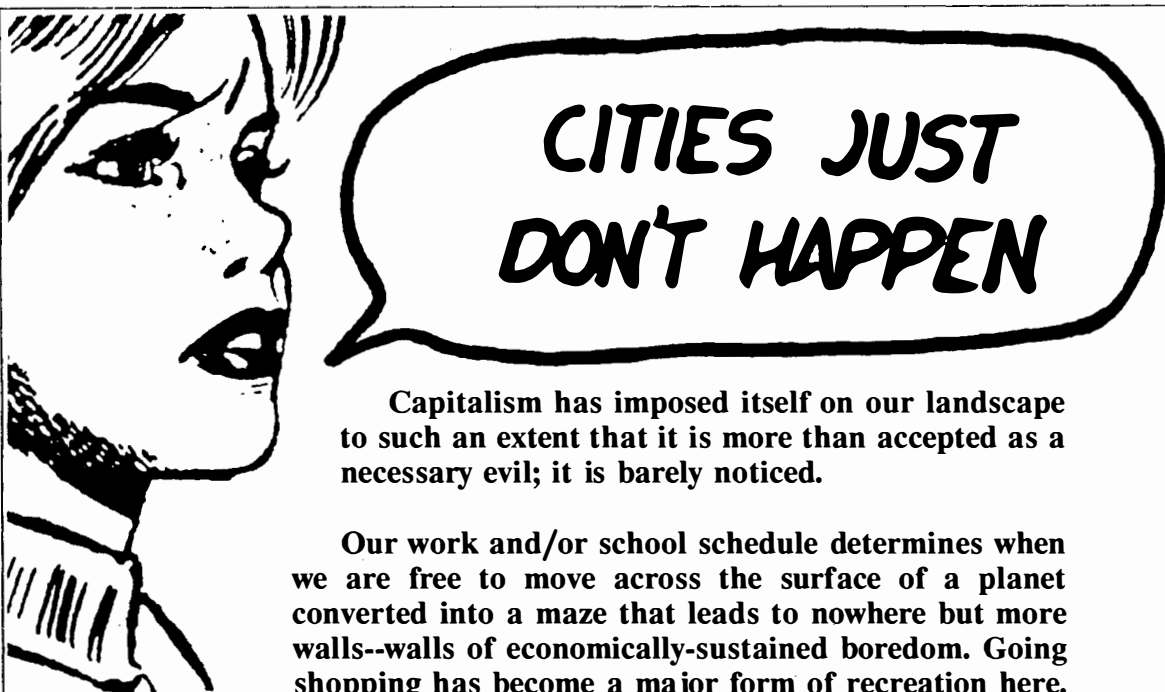
**For current booklists or catalogs of anarchist and related periodicals & publications for sale by mail, check out:**

**A Distribution**, 396 7th St., #2, Jersey City, NJ. 07302 (anarchist books & periodicals)

**Bound Together Books**, 1369 Haight St., San Francisco, CA. 94117 (anarchist books & periodicals)

**Blacklist Mailorder**, 181 Shipley St., San Francisco, CA. 94107 (anarchist/punk recordings & periodicals)

**Libertarian Book Club**, 339



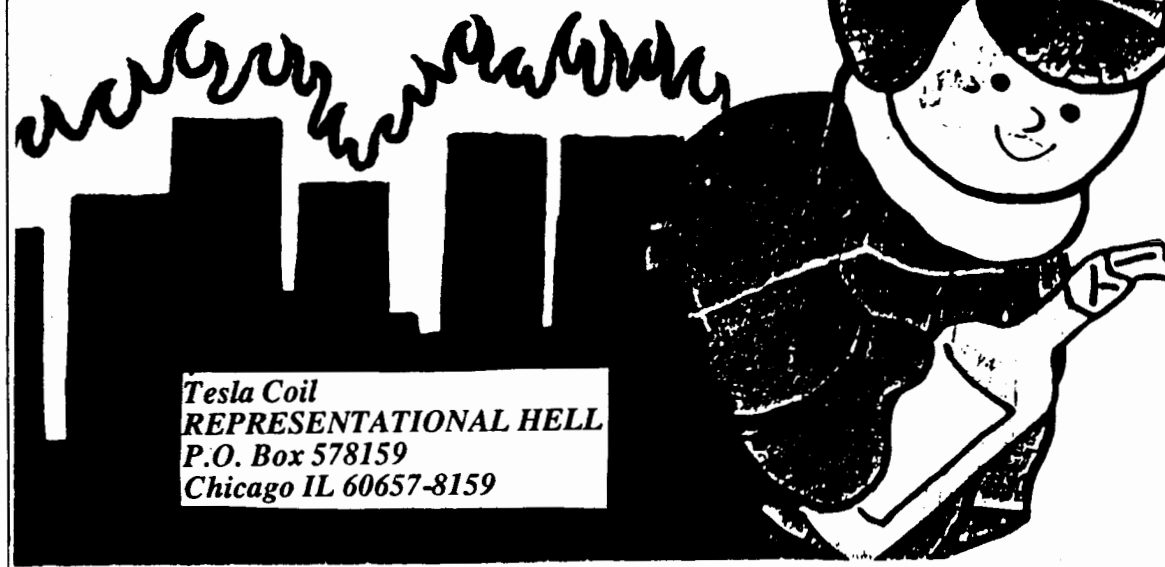
Capitalism has imposed itself on our landscape to such an extent that it is more than accepted as a necessary evil; it is barely noticed.

Our work and/or school schedule determines when we are free to move across the surface of a planet converted into a maze that leads to nowhere but more walls--walls of economically-sustained boredom. Going shopping has become a major form of recreation here.

Buy a meal at a restaurant, rent time with a movie to sit and watch, and when you have tired of the pastimes arranged for you, you may return to your slice of property and prepare for another day of fulfilling your societal obligations.

Advanced industrial civilization does not require blatantly repressive government. The cities we inhabit are themselves repressive. Once the stores have closed there is nothing for you to do but get in trouble.

The effects are so entrenched they are integral with the cause, and thus it is not misguided to act upon them. We need to ask questions of our desire and we can not let our imaginations be stifled by the apparent fixity of our environment.



Lafayette St., Rm. 202, New York City, NY. 10012 (anarchist books & periodicals)

**Left Bank Distribution**, 5241 University Way, NE., Seattle, WA. 98101 (anarchist books & periodicals)

**Anok**, POB 875112, Los Angeles, CA. 90087 (wide range of unusual books, including some anarchist material)

**Lamparics Unlimited**, POB 1197, Port Townsend, WA. 98368 (a few anarchist titles among a wide range of "libertarian"-oriented books)

(If I left out your favorite mail-order source for anarchist books (etc.), please let me know and I'll include their addresses in future issues of *Anarchy*.)

Currently, *Anarchy* has only a short mailorder booklist available, though we have many titles in stock. When we have time to com-

pile a more up-to-date list, we'll let our readers know.]

### Don't understand

Dear C.A.L.,

Someone just convinced me that I really don't understand the current state of anarchy, or even its modern definitions. Will you send me your publication? I mean *Anarchy*. Thanks.

Sincerely,  
A.W., Overland Park, KS.

### Lansing anarchists

Hola Lev Chernyi and C.A.L.,

So where ya at? We've been waiting with outstretched hands and open mouths and slightly dilated pupils for the next issue of *Anarchy*. You folks have surely

one of the best publications going and we are worried you might have given up the ghost. Here's a pittance to defer printing/mailling costs. If you need some distributors we'll help you out as best we can. (We could move twenty copies with relative ease.)

So how are things in MO.? We read with interest your article about gathering the local alternative community in Columbia. Any luck? We have been attempting similar endeavors here in Lansing, with dubious success. Can't even pull all the anachos together sometimes. We are ourselves only a small fraction of the local A-team. Our syndicalist tendencies and our call for organization in general rub some people the wrong way. There is a strong tendency among some modern anarchists to reject all organization as authoritarian. This, I think, reflects

a current in American anarchism that flows from the spring of Josiah Warren and Benjamin Tucker, via Thoreau with a hardy dose of Stirner thrown in for flavor. We see this as a dead-end direction, a direction anarchism has followed in the U.S. since the late sixties and early seventies, since in fact the split between the cultural hippies and the Vulgar Marxists. By rejecting organization we reject the possibility of actually doing anything and ignore the potential of our times.

Anarchist thought and the Anarchist voice have never been more needed than they are right now. Not since the turn of the century has industrial civilization been in such a flux. We now have a real chance to Destroy Power, to decentralize authority, to make a real change. But only by gathering our resources and focussing our energy can we make it happen. We don't need central committees and national leaders to do this, but we do need to know about each other, what we're doing and how we can assist each other, before we can even begin.

Since I think (hope) we've already sent you the latest issue of *The Seditonist*, here's a few examples of the other things we distribute. As some of the flyers indicate, we are still trying to agitate in the automotive industry, as well as trying to help organize local fast-food workers and part-time staffers and student workers at the local community college (who are represented by either of the two full-time unions) and, of course, we paste up flyers on the many kiosks in the downtown area. When it finally stops snowing and the weather gets warmer (probably around July) we'll expand our outdoor activities even further. We are planning some kind of mass meeting of all local anarchist elements to form some kind of local organization that everyone can feel comfortable with. Hopefully we can pull that off before the gathering in Toronto and at least send some people or some cash in that direction. In any case, we would appreciate any advice, suggestions, or words of wisdom you might offer. A first suggestion we have for the body of local anarchy is the publication of a larger circulation newsletter/paper (*The Seditonist* only prints 150 copies per press run) and the coordination of larger outdoor demonstrations. There have been some local anarchists who believe working with more traditional socialist groups might be a way of generating larger turnouts at demonstrations. I think we should think long and hard on this, given that most of the other local groups are Marxian or liberal-left in orientation. Limited co-operation with Marxists might be expedient, but I fear in the end we would regret any association with such authoritarians and reformists.

The whole anarchist movement seems spread out so thin over this great country. We here in Lansing sometimes feel isolated and cut-off. Our closest neighbors are the people at *Fifth Estate* in Detroit, yet we feel separated from them by trivialities more than distance. We share much in common with Fulani and crew, but we feel amazed at their disregard

Continued on next page

# Letters



## Lansing anarchists continued

(apparent disregard) for the struggle of working people. Their erstwhile solution for the problems facing working men and women seems to be "stop working." The alternative to slugging it out in the workplace for most of us is welfare and ADC, which equates to total dependence on the State. Surely the very nature of work itself will change in the future, but some of us have to live those changes now. If the people on the bottom, the poorly paid workers and the unemployed, can't count on help from anarchists, who can they get help from? The communists? The Socialist Workers Party? Those people at the **Fifth Estate** should surely realize this. Tribal fetishism, egoistic anarchism, and general crankiness just ain't gonna cut it. Neither will syndicalism alone, neither will anything **alone**. We have to combine our resources and our ideas. The **Fifth Estate** people have obviously a great wish to aid humanity and end oppression. I admire greatly the work they have done in Detroit and the work they continue to do. We at the A.L.L. [Editor's note: **Anarchist Labor League**] draw much inspiration from their energy. We accept that people who think like they do will definitely be needed in the anarchist society, we only wish they would be a little more tolerant of other people's beliefs.

As luck would have it the afternoon mail has brought me the new issue of the **Fifth Estate**. Is that Karma or what? I guess I'll sit down and read the latest news and disputes. Keep well brother Lev, and send us the new **Anarchy** when it is hatched.

For the Free Society,  
M.K., for the Anarchist  
Labor League  
Lansing, MI.

## Isolated & depressed

Dear C.A.L./**Anarchy**,

Hello out there from an isolated and depressed young anarchist! I'm writing this from a suburb of Hell, I mean Los Angeles, and you would (probably not!) be surprised how isolated you can be here in a "center of western culture." Anyway, I really enjoy your mag, never even heard about it until you sent me a free copy(?) but it is very nifty! Especially like the lettercol and the articles on the Papalagi, but I could go on and on....

I am looking for more support, people to meet and talk with that share a similar world-view...it is hard not knowing more than a few people who even know what anarchism **is** and don't freak out when you answer their request for a label...but your paper, and other @ press helps, and hopefully I will meet more like-minded people...hopefully(!!!) I will be moving too, to northern California, out of this monolithic morass of a technomedia nightmare, and maybe can find a sense of community somewhere down the road...

Could you be so kind as to send me a few **As we see it!** pamphlets, for me, and one or two for a couple of punk anarchist friends who would like to know more

about anarchy but don't know where to start.... I am afraid I'm not much help, not articulate or knowledgeable myself. I've enclosed an SASE...thanks very much, and keep up the communication!

peace and anarchy,  
A.F., Cerritos, CA.

## Mexican anarchists

Compañeros at **Anarchy**,

I write in Spanish, since I can translate English well, but writing it is not easy.

First, I received numbers 15

& 16 of **Anarchy**. I suppose you encountered/found our address in the magazine **Testimonios**. Number 5 will soon come out with a Bookchin pamphlet and a supplement on the 20 years since the world-wide 1968 adventure/events. I'm sending it soon.

It would interest us to appear in the anti-authoritarian directory like this:

Jorge Robles  
Sabino 208-15 col.  
Sta. Ma. La Ribera  
Mexico D.F. cp 06400  
Mexico

And with the same address as **Revista Testimonios**, please list

the punk-oriented collective "**Against/Violence**."

Good health and have fun,  
Jorge Robles,  
Mexico City, Mexico

## Cell-bound

Dear **Anarchy**,

As my address indicates, I am a prisoner in Michigan. Here at Jackson Prison the emphasis is on "control." Consequently most people are cell-bound most of every day, there is no library to speak of, a few tattered soft-cover novels

and lots of mainstream comic books and magazines like **People**.

So I am writing to try and talk you into a free subscription. My aim is to take advantage of the dearth of reading material and allow the men in here to educate themselves by reading material such as **Anarchy**. I realize the cost of maintaining your press is limiting and if a subscription is prohibitive send back issues, or copies of other magazines you may have accumulated that speak to the social alternatives. The only thing I can do in return is guarantee distribution like you have never seen before!



The separation of seeing from doing:

It's what divides his actions from his desires, his daily life from Nature.

We manufacture an endless stream of images to keep him distracted, lest he catch on and rebel.

We'll allow him to see whatever he wants. So he'll do whatever we want. His continued passivity is our only security from the rage he must suppress to survive.

But, with enough time and work, he'll come to accept simulated life as if it were the real thing. He'll be just fine.

You see, to make society work requires an image for people to love.

**YOU KNOW WHO WE ARE.**





In Michigan the state is building Control Units, prisons designed to isolate and mind-bend prisoners. These places are sometimes referred to as super-max. The public is deceived into thinking these places are necessary to hold the "worst of the worst." Actually they house primarily jail-house lawyers and imprisoned political activists. The state cages are modelled after a federal plan so I suspect this is a national trend...is this going on down there?

Hope to hear from you on my request for reading material.

In solidarity,  
J.R., Jackson, MI.

[Editorial note: We do send six-issue subscriptions to prisoners for free and they can be renewed on request.]

### Iowa City anarchists

Dear Anarchy,

I just got ahold of my first *Anarchy* (#16) recently and enjoyed it immensely. It was comforting to encounter something like this when I was trying to sort out a lot of the contradictions I encountered while dealing w/the left. I also noticed that you were printing up an anarchy contact network. Myself and others just recently formed the Iowa City anarchist affinity group (@AG!) here at the University of Iowa, and would like to be included. Thanks loads, and keep up the good work.

Iowa City @AG  
c/o Derek Cadwell  
2307 Quat  
Iowa City, IA. 52242

(at least till the end of this year)  
P.s. Couldja possibly send me a copy of *As We See It*? Or copies? I can always get rid of them.

[Editorial note: Single copies of *As We See It* are available from us by sending an SASE (self-addressed, stamped envelope). Multiple copies (in relatively small numbers) can also be had by sending us enough to pay for postage and envelope.]

### Anarchist communities?

Dear whoever-is-reading-this,

Hello & greetings. I shall simply say that I'd like to try a copy of your zine called *Anarchy*. If the subject matter follows the name it's bound to be good. Enclosed is \$1. If you need more \$ for shipping, or if the price has gone up, I'd be glad to pay. Meanwhile, please, I'd love to sample your latest edition.

In addition, I wonder if you have any info. on anarchist communities. I'm interested in any & all, wherever they exist. Thanks in advance for both zine & info., if you have any. I congratulate you on a zine devoted to such a worthy cause.

Y.R.  
POB 97  
Graton, CA. 95444

[Readers, can anyone help with information on anarchist communities? At this point, the few small anarchist communities I'm aware of aren't exactly looking for publicity. Whereas, most of the more public "intentional com-

munities" that I know of aren't exactly "anarchist," though they often include a few anarchists for leavening--e.g. East Wind Community (Box 6-B2, Tecumseh, MO. 65760) in southern Missouri]

### Wild nature

I'm very impressed with the first issue I've seen of *Anarchy*. Your great motto ("Disarm....") and adversarial article on Biocentrism inspired the enclosed essay-poem, submitted for publication along with some graphics you can use. [Editorial note: the essay-poem was published in our last issue under the title "The Freedom of Biocentrism"] Hopefully this earns a sub. in trade. I hope my piece generates a furthering of controversy and, like yours, stirs the revolutionary fires. Let's get Grizzlies on the front-lines, rattlers in the Capitol, give standing to the trees. Wild nature joins our wild natures in the celebration of spontaneity, diversity, and revolt.

Adelante!  
Lone Wolf Circles  
POB 652  
Reserve, NM. 87830

Editorial note: Lone Wolf's tapes, Full Circle; The Vision of Lone Wolf Circles and Tierra Primera! The Deep Ecology Medicine Shows, are available from the above address at \$10 each postpaid.

### Meaningful friendship

To whom it may concern,

I am presently an inmate of an Arizona state prison. On October 20, 1988, I received a copy of your newspaper for the first time. It was a pleasant surprise, and I wasn't sure how I got on your mailing list until I talked to my friend.... I'm very grateful to have received a copy of your journal. It surprised me to see such a professional, profound, and enlightening journal. (I'm new to the realms of anarchy, so please excuse my naiveté.)

I must say, I like your journal a lot, and if at all possible, I would like to be put on your mailing list as a regular. (I am an "indigent" inmate--because they won't let me work here in maximum security--so I am unable to pay for a subscription at this time.) I'm trying to familiarize myself with anarchy and its many facets, and I have mountains left to learn about the separate arguments. However, as I'm sure many of you will agree with, anarchy begins with an individual's realization that statists are doing too many goddamned things wrong, and I have done that quite thoroughly.

I hope this is the beginning of a long and meaningful friendship between you and I, C.A.L., and I will be looking forward to each new issue of your journal. I am thankful to...you for letting me read; a copy. If you have any other literature or information pamphlets about your organization that you'd care to send me, I would be grateful. Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter. I hope to be hearing from you soon.

## OUR APPEARANCE OF CAREFUL MANAGEMENT



IS REALLY  
ONLY  
THE  
CAREFUL  
MANAGEMENT  
OF  
APPEARANCES.

U.S. FOREST SERVICE:  
DEFORESTATION  
IN DISGUISE.



MJ, POB 2962, Bellingham, WA. 98227

Best wishes and good luck with your continued success, and that's from the heart.

Sincerely,  
R.K., Florence, AZ.

### What's happening?

Dear C.A.L.,

Could you put [us] on your subscription list? I would like some back issues if you have them (I hope so) and also *As we see it*!

I went thru Columbia this spring and your newsstand was gone! What's happening in that town anyway? First the employment dries up & now the culture.

S., Jeffersonville, GA.  
Ps. I would pass out several of each issue in my travels if it were possible. I found the *As we see it*! to be well written & informative, as soon as I passed it on, I wished I had it again.

### Ideological taste

Lev, et al(?),

Enjoyed #17. When I saw "The Papalagi" I did a double-take. Wasn't that in *The Match*!?

Your response to Lone Wolf Circles is a good example of how your ideological (i.e. rhetorical) thinking contrasts with L.W.C.'s

lyricism which you brand as a defense of biocentrist ideology.

Just because you claim to be anti-ideological doesn't make you so. Same w/L.W.C. Just because it's to be a lyrical defense of biocentrism doesn't make it so.

You're much more ideological-rhetorical in your anti-ideology rant than L.W.C. is in his supposed defense of ideology--in this case, biocentrism.

You're the ideologue. L.W.C.'s a poet.

I've been thinking this too long not to mention it--your anti-ideology rants taste like ideology, Lev.

B.W., Atlanta, GA.

### Lev replies

First off, no, "The Papalagi" has never been in *The Match*! We've been reprinting it for several years now, but I've never seen any of the speeches published in any other anarchist paper anywhere. You probably just don't remember that you've been seeing it all along in *Anarchy*.

Secondly, I'm glad that you enjoyed #17" enough to re-subscribe, despite the fact that you obviously don't like my rhetorical style! However, I would prefer if you were more accurate in your

expression of dislike and didn't try to label me as an "ideologue" just because you don't like my style of writing and expressing myself. I realize that it's always tempting to throw back people's own critical expressions into their faces when one is displeased with them. (On the assumption that, if they don't like something, they probably won't like being accused of it themselves!) But there's something ludicrous in accusing me of being "ideological" just because you don't like the doggedness of my criticisms of ideology! Why not admit that what you really don't like is my relentless criticism of things you'd rather not see criticized?

### Inspired

Friends,

Here is some cash to support yr. journal. I picked up #15 & #16 in Toronto and was well inspired by both, particularly liked the "Porn & pleasure" by P.W. and some of Ken K.'s thoughts on religion and this world.

I don't want to be subscribed because I'll be moving soon and I know not where to, but please do send me a copy of *As we see it*!

Wishing you well,  
S.A., Ann Arbor, MI.

# Letters

## Deeply appreciated

To whom it may concern,

As I am (unfortunately) a prisoner I would appreciate it very much if you'd enroll me as a subscriber to your *Anarchy* publication free of charge, as offered therein.

I received a sample copy (#17) of your publication so please start me going with #18 onward. And considering the fact I am where I am (Nevada State Penitentiary-Max) I think it best (but not necessary) if such was sent to me in the manner the sample was (plain brown envelope). You can believe also that you'll be receiving a donation in my name as soon as I am able. For your publication is deeply appreciated by me, let alone something I think in itself well worthwhile and deserving of such.

I cannot begin herein to tell you just how much your publication is in fact appreciated by me as one armed with desire. Especially considering the fact I'm incarcerated (illegally) here within the belly of the beast. But I would think the future holds further communications between us.

Keep it going my brothers/sisters in arms. And I myself will continue to mold my ideals to the liberation of thought and belief from the sway of all authority. And I thank you for availing your publication free of charge to beings such as I (prisoner).

Sincerely,  
J.K., Carson City, NV.

## Egg cracked

Friends,

Thanks for *Anarchy*! #17. I like the new format.

I am honored you reprinted my essay on voting on page 9. I'd long wondered how to crack this egg and am glad you ran my piece. And you printed an article by one of my best friends, Feral Faun, too! So perhaps I'm biased in liking this issue so much. But I do notice more and more examples of Lev responding or replying or explaining when perhaps things should be left to stand on their own. Care to comment? Naw, just kidding....

Trevor, Knoxville, TN.  
Ps. J. Zerzan's "nice" was addressed 50 years ago as "kindness" by the surrealists. Yes, I still flog that dead horse. I see it alive in @, sometimes...I need to write a primer on surrealism specifically for anarchists.

## Dream World

Howdy Lev,

Okay, I'll mail off 10 copies of *Dream World*....

Hope you'll be able to review the book, too. [NOTE: See the review on page 7 of this issue.] As you'll see when the volumes arrive, this is a 100% anti-establishment effort--to the point where I've even refused to cooperate with this ISBN bullshit (international standard book number). And already I'm getting snotty refusals from libraries who are telling me that no way can my book circulate without an ISBN. If you ask me, anybody who has that much power

has power that I don't like, and it needs to be resisted. So anyhow, I'm depending TOTALLY on the Anarchist movement and its associated periodicals for publicity and distribution. There is not one single aboveground outlet carrying this book. I didn't work on this for 12 years just to have some dipshits with degrees in "library science" dictate to me how I'll set up and market my book.

I think this is an interesting book, though, and it is produced in an attractive and professional

as an Anarchist, said a few words in favor of organization, and then had someone point out to you that the government is an organization, too, and how could you support "governmentalism"? See, what you'd say here is just what I'm saying about my position on science: I'm in favor of the method, and I think that as opposed to mysticism it is truly the one and only way to set up an Anarchistic and decent society. But I'm not in favor of any authoritarian variety of so-called science, nor am I in

conferences with "pagan" workshops, etc.

But what the hell--I just realized I can't even convince some Anarchists that the ISBN is a potential form of authoritarianism (a friend of mine writes to say that a woman librarian she knows, who is also a playwright, having done a play about Emma Goldman, prissily refused to put *Dream World* in "her" library because of no ISBN). If Anarchists can't even see how that is dangerous power, I guess something even more abstract, like

soon as I have a chance to re-read the whole thing...I think it is in many ways a wonderfully written story. And you can expect a fairly positive review from me.

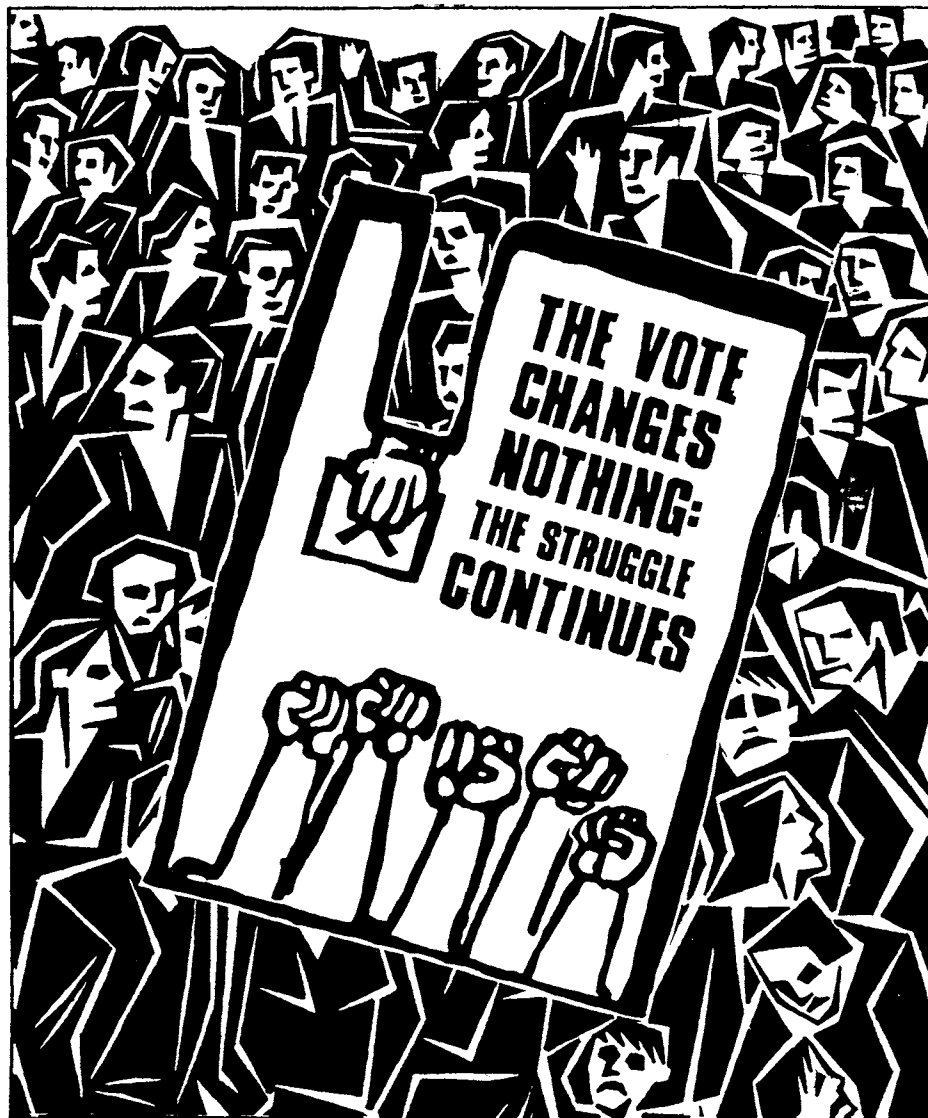
I hope you haven't taken too much offense at my descriptions of *The Match!* in *Anarchy*. I didn't intend to put you down in the review. I was merely pointing out aspects of the paper that I have trouble swallowing--and certainly not condemning the paper because of them. The anarchist "movement" is small and weak enough that I see no sense in going out of my way to antagonize anyone who is contributing to it, though, at the same time I don't intend to muzzle my personal opinions regarding what I see (although I have to admit that some people at times think I'm trying to be antagonistic when I think I'm not).

I believe your efforts deserve a great deal of respect. At the same time I disagree with a fair number of things you say. But I don't think we need to agree on everything to respect each other's efforts. *Freedom* (London) and *The Match!* were the first two anarchist papers I ever ran into (I think I first saw *The Match!* mentioned in *Freedom*, in fact). Both papers convinced me (along with the rapidly devoured sequence of library books I borrowed on the subject) that anarchy was an idea worth serious consideration at a time in my life when I had pretty much decided that there were probably no such ideas around. Since then I've followed your paper fairly loyally, despite the fact that my own development has meant that I've been drifting off in a somewhat different direction.

I think it's fair to say that if I'd never run into *The Match!* (and the works of Paul Goodman, also), that it's likely I wouldn't have followed up on my anarchist tendencies to the point I actually did, because I would have probably despaired even more (than I did) over the possibilities of finding and getting involved with other anarchists. Certainly, your own voice has been one of the (several) inspirations for the creation of our paper. And seeing how much one person has accomplished, helped encourage me to devote a considerable amount of my life to the project of establishing a paper here in Missouri.

I hope you realize that I wasn't calling you a "right-winger" in my review. Just because some of the things you write "have an affinity with" some of the themes emphasized at times by the political right, doesn't make you a "right-winger" in my eyes. It's just that some anarchists have criticized *The Match!* for being too right-wing, and I was mainly pointing out to them (and others who might share this opinion) that often they carry around too much left-wing baggage (for my taste, at least). And for that matter, the same thing might be said about most of the anarchist publications currently in existence.

As far as your "Paeans to science" are concerned, I didn't mean to imply that you supported "modern governmental 'science.'" I was speaking of your devotion to the truth of the scientific method. I just don't agree



REPRINTED FROM: *Rebel Worker* (POB 92, Broadway 2007, Sydney, Australia)

manner. If as the libraries are telling me, it "simply cannot circulate"--not even among people who are relatively disenchanted with standard authoritarian culture--then our movement is so ineffective that we all may as well just quit.

However, so far I have to say that response is good, and at least among the readers of *The Match!*, *Dream World* is finding an enthusiastic audience. Not bad for an old "right-winger" eh? (Yeah, I read your recent review of *The Match!* [NOTE: See the "Anarchist press review" in *Anarchy* #17, page 9], and when I came to that part I just was shaking my head. Man, I don't know how anybody could hate right-wing crap any more than me, but if that's your opinion, I guess it's your opinion. My "paeans" aren't to modern governmental "science," but to the scientific METHOD, i.e., a manner of investigating problems through the formation of hypotheses, searching for data and then seeing what reality supports. You make it sound like I am in favor of some mob of pentagon white-coats questing for ever-smaller microchips in order to put laser cannons in space. That's a perversion of science, in my view. Or, Lev, to put it another way, suppose you,

favor of authoritarian organization. Your remark thus falls into the same category of misjudgment as that of the detractors of Anarchism who always say that we're against "society."

I guess I better not even get into the response I'd like to make to the point about rationalism that you made except to say, yep, I am sure in favor of rationality as opposed to astrology, say, or some kind of goddism or magic. This "spiritual questing" stuff is all very well when you want to sound "open" and "tolerant," but the simple fact, there are NO spirits and there is nothing "out there" past the human mind. We can love and appreciate beauty, we can feel in awe of the grandeur of nature, but to start calling that anything "spiritual" is a hideous mistake, because it gets you sliding into using the terminology of the Swaggarts and Reagans. Think about that, will you? As editor of an Anarchistic journal, you're going to run into lots of this bogus new-age muddy thinking, and if you aren't careful, the sheer weight of all the nuts and goofs out there will start you thinking that maybe they have something and they're partially right. Next thing you know you'll be in there with the idiots who are starting to show up at Anarchist

the insidious stuff about "god" being "the wind" or something, is even less likely to be seen for what it is by them.

Whether I can convince some of these people or not, at least I know that, barring accident or disease, I'll be around after they're not (the average life of mystics in the Anarchist movement is about two years), so I'll still be placing these idiocies in their proper perspective and blasting "spiritual" nonsense long after all the others have gone the same direction that Jay Kinney did. And have you seen his magazine by the way? That should tell you something extremely important about what that soft, "spiritual" crap inevitably implies.

Enough already. Please don't forget to send the money for the package of *Dream Worlds*. Thanks for your interest in the book, and for your ongoing efforts in behalf of Anarchism as you see it.

Best wishes,  
Fred Woodworth, Tucson, AZ.

## Lev responds

Thanks for sending off the copies of *Dream World*...Yes I do intend to review the book as





# Letters

with you that it is "the one and only way we human beings have of acquiring knowledge." Certainly, it's an important and highly effective form of ordering and evaluating a certain range of theory about our world. But I don't believe in most of the pre-suppositions which are usually pinned to it. There is a whole realm of existence and knowledge that I see as being more fundamental and more important that is usually negated by people's too-thorough belief in science. There are various adjectives or names that can be associated with this more fundamental level of knowledge—intuitive, pre-linguistic, symbolic, phenomenal, etc.—but they each fail to capture more than a fragment of what I'm talking about. What it basically comes down to is that, as I see it, each of us possesses our own inalienable perspective on our own perceptual/conceptual/experiential world. (Max Stirner said as much in his own words in *The Ego and Its Own*.) And this personal level of knowledge of our personal worlds and personal desires is **far more important and far more significant** than the level of intersubjective knowledge dominated by science and religion.

Maybe I'm wrong, but I have an abiding conviction that if more people could only trust their most intimate (and most real) perceptions and feelings and thoughts at this fundamental level, then they wouldn't be so easily confused by all the conflicting claims of all the various scientific, religious, political and other authorities to have cornered the market on the "Truth." In other words, I think that the most important truths are personal in nature, and that as long as the scientific method is first evaluated from and subordinated to these personal truths, it is possibly the second-most-important form of knowledge (depending on what any particular person really wants to do).

If you've read any of my contributions to the "Anarchy & religion" discussion in the last couple issues of *Anarchy*, you know that I have no sympathy with religion or spiritualism per se (though I can sometimes find value in certain aspects of them that can be detached from the more essentially-religious aspects). But you probably just think that what I've said here is mere gobbledygook. And that's precisely where we disagree, as I see it.

I do hope you can thus see that your comparison of my criticisms of science with some people's equation of all organization with authoritarian organization is erroneous. This is because I don't condemn science per se, I only wish to cut its claim to being the "Truth" down to size by subordinating it to what I see as the more fundamental personal truths that each of us live and experience in our own lives (even if we don't consciously realize it) every day. (I also think that mysticism of some sorts can have its valid place, though not as any kind of claim to knowledge of the same sort as science is.)

I basically agree with you that "there are NO spirits," except, I would say, as ghosts in

people's imaginations, or like Stirner would say, as "wheels in people's heads"! As far as I can see the only valid use of the concept involves its employment as a synonym for "essence," and then only when it is understood as an abstract essence and not an absolute.

I'm sorry to see that the ISBN system has such a heavy grip on the library system. I figured that libraries would be a little more open than the commercial book distribution system to non-ISBN publishing.

I hope the response to *Dream World* turns out well. I think the book deserves widespread distribution, and I'll do my part to help.

## Left limping

Well Lev,

Gotcher—Paper—Anarchism  
You screwed up the Miguel poem  
Left it limping—Ah well—  
You do publish "everything"—  
Anyway—Am pissed off at

Isms

And Ologies—

What does it take to  
High tech communicate  
"See" to it that  
Plastic bullets &  
Tear Gass—Won't Destroy  
Our Children—  
Time/Space—Pomposities—  
Not With Standing  
Quantum Theory—Deals with  
"It" nicely—  
Beyond  
Ego-I Am

"They" Are  
If I came  
ness- I saw  
I  
Nonetheless Conquered—(it)

Has Happened?  
For Non "It" Ness  
I? will stand—  
C.M., Eugene, OR.

## Red Dragon

Dear Friends,

Many greetings. Thank you very much for the latest issue of *Anarchy*. As always I enjoyed it a great deal. I was very pleased that you are going to start a special section dealing with prisoners and prison. As the ultimate form of social control and its most blatant exhibition of brutality and repression prisons need more coverage, especially by the alternative media. Part of the effectiveness of prison as a tool of fear is that little is known about them by people on the outside except for the horror stories that are portrayed in the bourgeois media. If you are serious in your opposition to imperialism, the state, etc. prison is a reality you have to be willing to face.

I am enclosing a copy of the *Red Dragon* brochure we've done up. Is it possible for you to give this a short blurb or something in the next issue of *Anarchy*? In any case we would welcome your thoughts on this and appreciate it if you can reproduce/distribute it so that people can get ahold of it and hopefully give us some feedback.

I'm also enclosing an interesting article on prison experiments

that appeared in *Science for the People* last month. With concerns about vivisection and such people should be aware of what's being done to humans inside prisons.

Also, who submitted the "Factories don't burn down by themselves..." poster?

It's been with mild interest that I have read the articles dealing on religion. It seems that too much importance is being given to religion as such, it's a bankrupt force and I don't think it's worth giving it the legitimacy of debate, too. The bottom line when dealing with these religious fanatic types is that their whole dogma rests on blind faith, that's it. They can't "Prove" the existence of their god one way or the other. The tenets of Judeo-Christian dogma are the suppression and feelings of guilt for pleasure and free-thinking. The Catholic missionaries unleashed in the Americas when the Spaniards arrived are the best example of Christianity at its best. Instead of engaging in sterile debate about religion and such, perhaps more should be done to combat these Christian missionaries that are serving as reactionary agents and aiding in the oppression of native people in Latin America and other nations right now. Or expose the pope's bullshit, repression in Poland is terrible but it's OK in Chile or El Salvador, as someone put it: "The only god the pope worships is the god of U.S. imperialism."

Well, that's it for now. Again, thanks for the subscription.

In struggle,  
P.W., Monroe, WA.

[Note: Information on the Red Dragon project appears below. The creators of the "Factories..." poster wish to remain anonymous. As ever, 6-issue subscriptions to *Anarchy* are free to prisoners.]

## The RED DRAGON Newsletter

Dear Comrades:  
...Here at the Washington State Reformatory in Monroe, Washington, there is a group of prisoners preparing to republish the quarterly *Red Dragon* journal, a newsletter of prison news and analysis from a Marxist perspective. The paper will con-

tain analysis, tactical and strategic, on various forms of struggle, including armed struggle. We hope to initiate and maintain discussion and debate over these types of struggles, why some have failed and others have achieved their objectives. It will also contain information of an internationalist nature, of struggles and conditions in prisons around the world.

We plan to publish our first edition in August, 1989. As an initial base of contributors and readers we count on approximately 150 political prisoners and Prisoners of War in prisons around the United States (these comrades are prisoners because of acts of armed struggle undertaken against the state for political reasons)....

For more information or to answer any questions you may have please contact Edward A. Mead #251397 or Paul Wright #930783, at POB 777, Monroe, WA. 98272....

In Struggle and Solidarity,  
Ed Mead/Paul Wright

## Propaganda methods

Dear Anarchy,

I'm sure that many readers have used and continue to use their own individual ways to spread the ideas of anarchy, so as a contribution to these methods I include my latest plotting.

If you're ever by a military

recruiting rack, booth, etc., or have a chance to get a hold of many military propaganda pamphlets, do so. Take these and include your own pamphlet. Write out something that you want people, Non-"converted" people to see concerning the philosophy of obedience that the military encourages, as well as the domination and state terrorism it is directly assisting. Find a copier, or someone to copy them for you, fold and insert so it can't be seen from the outside, and put them back in the same rack or in different places where people will pick them up. In this manner, someone who picks up and opens military propaganda will be exposed to a countering viewpoint. In addition to being able to "preach to the non-converted," you may even piss off the local recruiting officer. If you want to remain anonymous even in location, use a dark marker to mark out the recruiter's name and area.

If any readers would take the time to send in their own methods of subversion, it would most likely be appreciated and could possibly be practiced on a wider scale than their own. With a combination of non-violent methods, we could spread our ideas and have fun at the same time.

@,  
S.S., Illinois

## Democracy Without Liberty

A man in a plastic Panama hat  
Said, "Step right up to where it's at!  
First you register, then you vote.  
That's called freedom." End of quote.

Then he showed me rows of chains  
And said to pick one, for my pains.  
"These chains have names," explained the gent,  
"Conscription, Taxes, Interest, Rent  
And Blue Nose Laws, by Jove, by heck--  
A choke-chain collar for every neck.  
In this free land you get to choose  
Which chains you'll wear, and even whose.  
Chained at the ankle or the wrist  
Don't fume with rage and shake your fist.  
Wait four more years and then go vote  
To be penned up next time like a goat."

by Kerry "Star Witness" Thornley





**THE STORY**  
of  
**Fiona Flaghead**

FIONA, RELAXING AT HOME AFTER A NORMAL WORKAHOLIC DAY.

**DAY 193 WORLD CRISIS**

ALL U.S. OLYMPIC CONTENDERS JOIN ARMY'S NEW "SPECIAL FORCES"

due to failure of X-mas to boost the economy, U.S. goes to war!

price of gold - \$1262 an oz!

Women will be drafted.  
"I'm so glad to be equal" says feminist.  
"Well it did get us out of the depression" says oil company.  
Your Oil Company Needs It's Profits!

DO NOT ENTER  
RESTRICTED ZONE  
OVERLOAD  
BEEP! EMERGENCY  
IT'S A CRISIS CRISIS  
MY ZIONIAN BRAZZLWSKI WEARS SHIRTS  
MY CUNT TREE ANAFAGISTANITULLAH VIETNAM, YA KNOW  
PROPAGANDA PROGRAMMER

**INSIDE FIONA'S HEAD**

I CAN'T TAKE IT ANYMORE, PLEASE FRANK HELP ME - EVERY THING'S FALLING FLAT - I CAN'T KEEP IT UP ANY MORE GIVE ME A PERMANENT WAVE!

WHY-SURE THING, FIONA!

LOGIC HAS NOT BEEN THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN IRAN

Oh Say Can You See...

THANK UNCLE SAM!  
And don't forget Fiona, to take advantage of this week's special offer in **PARADE MAGAZINE!**

FRANK REYNOLDS-ABC NEWS

OH THANKS FRANK, I FEEL BETTER ALREADY!

OH BOY!

**parade**

GOOD NEWS!  
**NO CRISIS FOR CAPITALISM**

Betty Ford, a former cancer victim knows the importance of "GOOD NEWS"

UNDERSTAND ANYTHING WITHOUT THINKING ABOUT IT!  
INCLUDES PATENTED WORD PROCESSOR

DELUXE FULL GLOBE ILLUMINATION LENS FOCUSES ON ANY WORLD TROUBLE SPOT TO GIVE INSTANT CLARIFICATION. NO MORE BOTHERSOME AMBIGUITIES, CONTRADICTIONS - SIMPLY SNAP ON OVER EXISTING TV TUBE

ONLY \$199.95

EXAMPLE: IRAN? SIMPLE! WE NEED OIL AND WE DESERVE IT 'CAUSE WE'RE THE BEST- DEFENDERS OF FREEDOM, REPOSITORY OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION, ETC...

GLOBE ILLUMINATOR  
U.S. SWINDLE IND.

YES, FIONA'S FINALLY ON HER WAY TO EXPERIENCING REAL HAPPINESS AND SECURITY WITH HER GLOBE ILLUMINATOR

POP!

WHAT A BLISSFUL SIGHT!

EVERYONE KNOWS AMERICANS GET THE BEST NUTRITION IN THE WORLD

BUT ONE DAY, WHILE WATCHING A PBS DOCUMENTARY...

SMALL CRACK IN FIONA'S SCREEN

HA!

THIS GIRL'S A REAL ROMANTIC TO BE CONTINUED?

C.A.L.  
POB 1446  
Columbia, MO. 65205-1446  
U.S.A.

Bulk Rate  
U.S. Postage  
PAID  
Columbia, MO.  
Permit No. 345