

Towards a society based on mutual aid, voluntary cooperation & the liberation of desire

Number 22/Nov.-Dec. '89

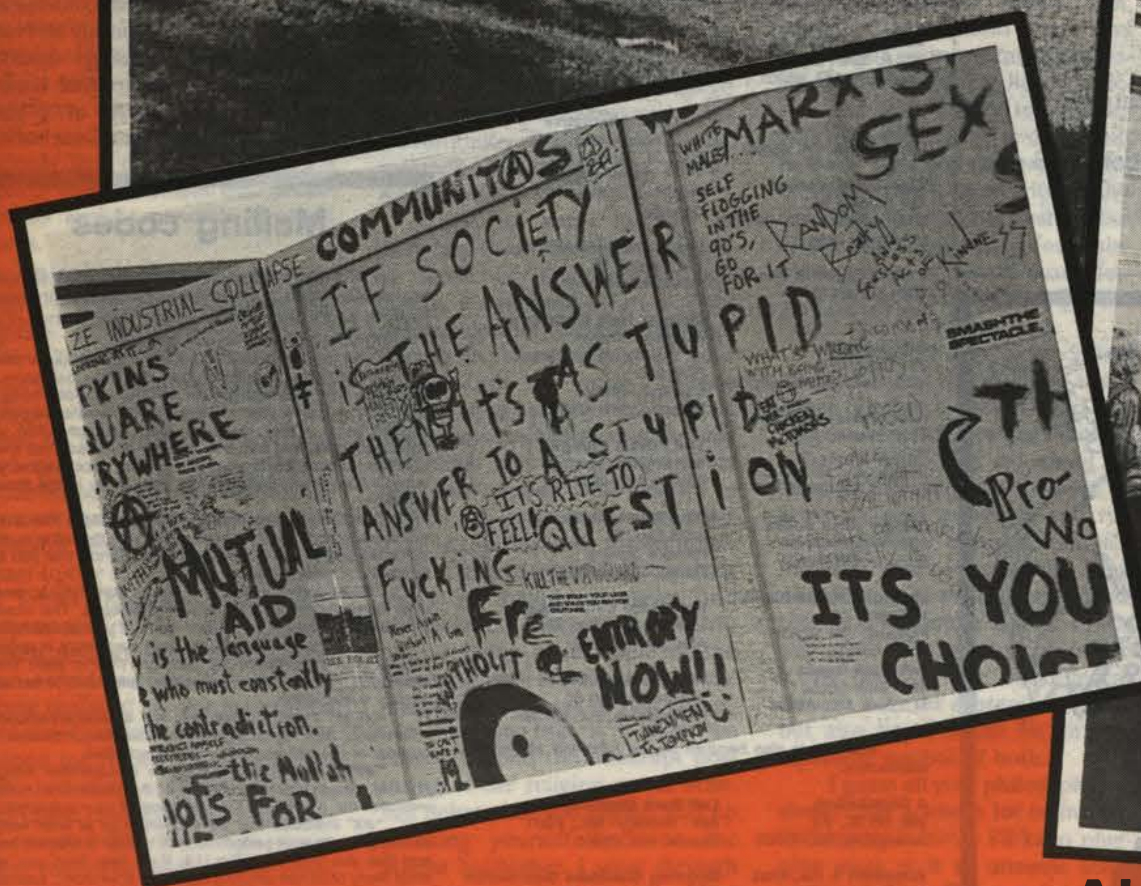
\$1.50

Anarchy

A journal of Desire Armed



Photos: Alison Gross



Without Borders 1989:
Reports from the San Francisco
anarchist gathering/festival

Also:

In the wake of the Exxon Valdez;
World capitalism and global ecocide
In search of the New Age;
The infinite egress of you

Disarm Authority! Arm Your Desires!

Discontents

2-3 Openers

Anarchy notes. p.2

Tiananmen is not so far away; A French response to the Chinese massacre, by *Interrogations*. p.3

4 Radical news in review

Soviets return to syndicalism. p.4

Illinois Earth First! arrests, by Orin Langelle. p.4

Radical actions around the world. p.4.

5-8 Alternative media review

Alternative press review, compiled by Lev Chernyi. p.5

The cocaine con-game, by Toni Otter. p.5

Male supremacy in space: Cecelia Holland's *Floating Worlds*, reviewed by Mikell Zhan. p.6

Converting anarchists: A review of *Anarchy & Ecstasy*, by Lev Chernyi. p.6

Radio anarchy: Liberating Paris' airwaves, by Alison Gross. p.7

Anarchist press review, compiled by Lev Chernyi. p.8

The anarchist scene. p.8

9 International anarchist news

Anarchy in the Soviet Union! p.9

State terror grips China; Resistance goes underground. p.9

10-21 Features

Without Borders 1989; Reports from the gathering and Day of Action: Without Borders was successful, by M. p.10

Rose Rants; A *Reclaiming* account, by Rose May Dants. p.11

The Day of Action, according to *Word of Dog*. p.11

The Revolution of Everyday Life, by Raoul Vaneigem: Introduction and first chapter, "The insignificant signified." p.12

In search of the New Age; The infinite egress of you, by Janos Nehek. p.14

Kids' sexuality, by K@n@l@t@t@t@n. p.17

In the wake of the Exxon Valdez; World capitalism and global ecocide, by Will Guest. p.18

22-23 Columns

A's for Attitude: The slut & the virgin. p.22

Feral Revolution: Whither now? Some thoughts on creating anarchy. p.22

Interrogations for the human community: On organization. p.23

24-32 Letters

Openers

Anarchy notes

Maybe the time has come to clarify some aspects of the purpose of this journal, at least as I see them. For those who've been involved in the last 20 year's rebirth of the North American anarchist movement the changes have been both remarkable and inspiring, as well as at the same time disappointing. Much the same could also be said for the simultaneous rebirth and resurgence of anarchist movements in other areas around the world. The contrast between the almost total isolation and demoralization of anarchists in the late '50s and early '60s with the current visibly growing movement is now undeniable even for those who wish it wasn't so. Not so long ago only a relative handful of anarchists continued a feeble struggle to maintain any sort of real presence and identity during the worldwide eclipse of anarchy as a historical movement. While now anarchists around the world are once again poised at the edges of the immense possibilities for genuine social change that have opened up since the '60s.

Yet, both theoretically and practically the anarchist movement is nearly as impoverished as all the other socio-political movements that clamor for converts and cadres. Most anarchists are too easily seduced by all the various traditional leftist myths. While many of the rest are mystified in their turn by self-destructively ultra-marginalist reactions to them. Still, it seems to be in-

creasingly obvious to a growing number of anarchists that this situation calls for a re-thinking of the entire anarchist project. We see this as both a positive sign, and as a central aspect of our intentions in publishing this journal.

My own personal vision for *Anarchy* involves using its pages to both re-think a genuinely radical critical theory of the person, society and nature, as well as to assist in the reinvention of a truly anarchic social practice. Because of this orientation, my overall perspective as it is expressed in this journal will remain highly critical towards the anarchist movement (and the other, even less-advanced social movements) because we not only can, we must do better if anarchy is ever going to present a serious alternative for more than those on the margins of society. As far as I am concerned, the pathos of self-congratulation can be left for those who have never really aspired to any genuinely radical social change in the first place--like the new-agers, the social democrats, and most of those who call themselves "greens." However, at the same time this does not mean that I think there is any future in merely cultivating contempt for everyone's (including our own) failures! Far from it. The point is to learn from our failures, not to denounce them from a position of feigned moral superiority.

At this point the question becomes one of whether enough of us are interested in pursuing this line of development? If so, I expect that the current levels of support for this journal (which remain somewhat dismal considering the potential) will increase dramatically in the upcoming months--especially as they stretch into the years ahead. With more solid support from the anarchist "community" *Anarchy* could begin to pay for itself by the end of the next year. And at that point we could pursue an expansion of the project: How many of us would like to see an exciting, well-produced, colorful and critical 48-page anarchist monthly in North America? What kind of effect could a 20,000 circulation anarchist journal have in encouraging the development of a more widespread and challenging anti-authoritar-

Anarchy distributors

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

Aardvark
17 N. 10th St.
Columbia, MO. 65201

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

Amok
859 N. Virgil
Los Angeles, CA. 90029

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

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

City Lights
261 Columbus
San Francisco, CA. 94133

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

Hungry Head Books
1241 Willamette St.
Eugene, OR. 97401

Laughing Horse Books
1322 NW 23
Portland, OR. 97201

Left Bank Books
399 North Euclid
St. Louis, MO. 63108

Left Bank Bookstore
92 Pike St.
Seattle, WA. 98101

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

Librairie Alternative Bookshop
2035 St. Laurent Blvd.
(2eme etage)
Montréal, Québec H2X 2T3
Canada

Living Batch Bookstore
106 Cornell SE.
Albuquerque, NM.

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

Revolution Books
14-B Eliot St.
Harvard Square
Cambridge, MA. 02138

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

Wooden Shoe Books
112 South 20th St.
Philadelphia, PA. 19103

Anarchy is also handled by the following wholesale distributors:

A Distribution
396 7th St., #2
Jersey City, NJ. 07302

Armadillo & Co., Dist.
928 California Ave.
Venice, CA. 90291

Don Olson Distribution
2645 18th Ave. South
Minneapolis, MN. 55407

The Homing Pigeon
Route 1, Box 813,
Elgin, TX. 78621

Left Bank Distribution
4241 Brooklyn NE., #201
Seattle, WA. 98105

Redwing Blackbird Distribution
POB 2042
Decatur, GA. 30031-2042

Tower Magazines
2550 Del Monte St.
West Sacramento, CA. 95691

Ubiquity Distributors, Inc.
607 Degraw St.
Brooklyn, NY. 11217

And outside North America:
AK Distribution
3 Balmoral Place
Stirling FK8 2RD
Scotland

Inquiries for sales or distribution to:
Anarchy, c/o C.A.L.
POB 1446
Columbia, MO. 65205-1446

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:

"#22" indicates that you are a U.S. subscriber whose subscription will run out with this issue, or that we're exchanging with your publication on a one-for-one basis, or that for some other reason we're sending you a copy of the current 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!

"#P22" 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*!

"#S22" 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.

"#Z22" 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.

"#L22" indicates that you are a library/institutional subscriber. And once again, the number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"#F22" 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 on a regular (all-for-all) basis, 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.

"#X22" indicates that we are exchanging with you on an issue-for-issue basis, and that you indeed have sent us a copy of your publication since our last issue was mailed 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!

"#C22" indicates that you've been a contributor to *Anarchy* at some point, and we're sending you free subscription ending with the issue number given.

For those whose mailing codes don't make sense by this schema, maybe we marked them wrong, maybe we forgot them, or just maybe you're not who you seem!

EXORCISM



ian struggle, and a more critical and explosive libertarian culture? We'll never know if we don't try.

In this issue

This issue has come to be dominated by pieces originating in the San Francisco Bay area. For reasons of space, we've had to postpone or cut other material we'd have liked to have been able to include this time around. Our cover, too, would have been done in San Francisco, if not for the recent California earthquake (a few days prior to our publishing date) which prevented its transfer from there to Missouri. Though we haven't yet been able to directly contact our friends and comrades there, we hope that the large anarchist/radical communities in the bay area have made it through the tremors unscathed. We dedicate this issue to them.

Our features in this issue begin with some eclectic coverage of this summer's San Francisco anarchist gathering, Without Borders, on page 10. On page 12 we are beginning a serialization of Raoul Vaneigem's explosive book, *The Revolution of Everyday Life* (originally published as *Traité de savoir-vivre à l'usage des jeunes générations*); we think this is a very important and timely serialization because twenty-five years have already passed since it was first published, leaving the new generation of radicals relatively unfamiliar with this seminal work, just as a resurgent anarchist movement has begun to gather steam in North America. Following this (on page 14) is an excellent investigation by Janos Nehek into the New Age phenomenon which has increasingly permeated even radical culture and politics in the last decade. And beginning on page 18, Will Guest provides an exhaustive overview of the current state of capitalism's global ecocide "In the wake of the Exxon Valdez," a highly important accomplishment in this age of "single-issue" environmentalism. And while we don't share some of Guest's more Marxist assumptions, this essay should be required reading for those genuinely interested in assessing the actual state of civilization's "progress" towards global breakdown.

Sustaining contributors

Once again we want to thank all our current sustaining contributors (as well as those who have sent us other contributions over our subscription rates) for their special contributions! It is contributions like these which make it possible for us to continue publishing by considerably lessening

our financial stresses. Our current sustainers include: S.H. of Spencerport, NY.; D.A. of Carbondale, IL.; L.C., T.O., A.H. & S.H. of Columbia, MO.; K.M. of Scarborough, Ontario; A.M. of Farmingdale, N.J.; C.Q. of Pawtucket, R.I.; A.H. of New Braunfels, TX.; D.S. in Ohio; A.G. of Paris, France; P.K. of Flagstaff, AZ.; D.D. of Orange City, FL. and E.H. of Providence, R.I. Thank you all for your special support! Sustaining contributors to *Anarchy* donate \$50 to \$100 per year—which includes a First Class subscription.

—Lev Chernyi

Tiananmen is not so far away A French response to the Chinese massacre

With great violence, the Chinese state is demonstrating today that it intends to rule over a population that it wants resigned and submissive. It is not hard to choose sides between the power which massacres, and the thousands of rebels who, in spite of everything, resist it. But such a choice doesn't make us take seriously the flood of crocodile tears unleashed by all the politicians who utter their laments at both official gatherings and press conferences.

One thing should be clear. Not a single state in the world—not even one of those whose leaders today presume to lecture on morality—would tolerate the profound challenges that the Chinese state has endured during recent weeks. Every single state, in a similar situation, would have launched its entire military arsenal. And first in line would be the French state, which is under the thumb of Mitterand, the former interior minister during the Algerian War. Don't forget that in 1968, the president of this French state—a certain DeGaulle—hurried off to Baden-Baden to garner support of the army in case it would be needed to put down the May troubles. And the leaders of the Ameri-

can and British states—experts in maintaining order both inside and outside their borders—are no better. Every state assassinates, either openly with its armies or covertly with its corps of secret service agents.

To subjugate, enslave, assassinate according to the needs of the state is not the prerogative of the Chinese state alone. Every democratic government has recourse to them when circumstances call for them. This puts the recent events in an even more tragic light since if the press reports are to be believed, the Chinese demonstrators actually were demanding more democracy.

To those who might happen to see this text, we would like to point out that there is no reason to exchange a single party of executioners for several rival parties where the executioners are dispersed among them and where each party defends the same basic values: enslavement to power, money and force. Don't let the politicians' pseudo-condemnations deceive you. They are condemning merely the too spectacular nature of the repression (which makes it hard for them to

Continued on page 5



Mud-people ooze through downtown San Francisco during one of the more primitive events played out while the Without Borders gathering took place this summer.

Photo: Lev Chernyi

Anarchy #22

November-December 1989

Press run: 5,000

Anarchy is a bimonthly publication of C.A.L. Press. 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 in the U.S. (unwrapped, 3rd Class bulk mail)

\$9.00 U.S./six issues in Canada or Mexico, and for those in the U.S. who want to receive their subscriptions in plain envelopes (3rd Class bulk mail)

\$12.00 U.S./six issues for our library/institutional rate—First Class subscriptions in plain envelopes in the U.S.

\$12.00 U.S./six issues for other continents by Surface mail

\$24.00 U.S./six issues for other continents by Airmail

Back issues are available postpaid for \$1.50 each in the U.S. by 3rd Class mail (\$2.00 each by First class), \$1.50 each in Mexico and Canada, and \$2.00 each to other continents by Surface mail or \$4.00 each by Airmail. Issues #1 & 2 (xeroxed) & #6 through our current issue (originals) are now available.

PLEASE MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO THE C.A.L. And keep in mind that, if your subscription is by Third-Class mail, YOU MUST SEND US CHANGE OF ADDRESS NOTICES PROMPTLY (this means at least 4 weeks before you move!) in order to be assured that you'll receive all your copies. The Post Office does not forward them! And we can't afford to freely 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. (If you must make out your check in a foreign currency, add U.S.\$5.00 for conversion.) Subscriptions are free to prisoners. Sustaining contributors donate \$50.00 to \$100.00 per year/(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.

U.S. subscribers, please allow 90 days for delivery if you are subscribing or ordering back issues at 3rd Class rates. Foreign subscribers, please allow adequate delivery time for Surface rate subscriptions (1 to 3 months).

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) are available at 40% discount for 6 to 19 copies; 50% discount for 20 to 59 copies; 60% discount for 60 to 99 copies; and 66% discount for 100 or more copies. Masthead returns are adequate. (An accelerated discount schedule is available for those who are willing to make whole copy returns: 60% for 40 to 59 copies, and 66% for 60 or more copies.) For bulk orders for resale outside of North America: 20% discount shipped by surface mail. Overseas Airmail terms: please enquire. (Bulk copies of selected back issues for **free distribution ONLY** [and marked as such] can generally be obtained for the price of postage and handling by contacting us. Currently, issues #16 & 19 are available.)

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 issues or subscriptions, or other appropriate tokens of our appreciation.

Editorial advisory group: A. Hacker, Shagbark Hickory, Toni Otter, 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 C.A.L., or those of the editorial staff.

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.

Anarchy is indexed in the **Alternative Press Index** (POB 33109, Baltimore, MD. 21218), and is a member of the **Anarchist Media Network**.

C.A.L. is a member of **COSMEP** (POB 703, S.F., CA. 94101), the International Association of Independent Publishers.

"The whirligig of time has its revenges."

—B.A.G. Fuller

ANARCHY CONTACT NETWORK?

We are beginning a listing of addresses of groups and individuals who would like to see the growth and development of a post-situationist, anti-ideological revolutionary tendency. The list will help enable those participating to make regional contacts and intercommunication links. If you'd like to see your address added to this listing please write:

Anarchy c/o C.A.L.
POB 1446

Columbia, MO. 65205-1446

(We are only compiling this list, we are not endorsing the positions of those who have asked to be listed.)

Craig Stuntz
531 Westchester Way
Birmingham, MI. 48009

Black Rose (Boston)
POB 2684
Jamaica Plain, MA. 02130

Barry Wright
Box 175
Green River, WY. 82935

Cinder Jackson
1646 Award
Ballwin, MO. 63021

James Garner
18218 Hwy 9
Boulder Creek, CA. 95006

Iowa City @AG
c/o 2307 Quad
Iowa City, IA. 52242

Autonomia
POB 4374
Albuquerque, NM. 87196

T.H. Metz
215 Ronalds #4
Iowa City, IA. 52245

John Rux
POB 7151
Atlanta, GA. 30357-0151

Karen Eliot
POB 3502
Madison, WI. 53704

Scott Henry
555 Peck Rd.
Spencerport, NY. 14559

Assn. for Ontological
Anarchy,
c/o Autonomia
Box 568
Brooklyn, NY. 11211

Ron Delahunt
POB 1184
Cambridge, MA. 02238

Lone Wolf Collective
Box 53246
D.C., 20009

Lynne Lopatin Dunn
8306 Lindley Ave. #2
Northridge, CA. 91325

Brendan Flanagan
2267 E. 8th St.
Chico, CA. 95928

Ethan Davidson
455 Eddy, #E1496
San Francisco, CA. 94109

B. Free
Black Oak
c/o M.P.O. Box 0187
Oberlin, OH. 44074

Patrick Shore #389640
Ellis II
Huntsville, TX. 77340

Bayou La Rose
c/o Arthur Miller
302 N. "J" St., Apt 3
Tacoma, WA. 98403

Radical news in review



Photo: Black Flag

Soviets return to syndicalism

Miners in the Ukraine and in Siberia returned to work, but not before winning major concessions. It was not just more money and better conditions they demanded, or even more control over their industry, but complete and direct control. It is a sign of the times that workers in the Soviet Union are now saying, as in the days of the revolution, that the central power must go. The miners in their demonstrations vocally pronounced that they wanted nothing less than "All power to the Soviets" (workers' councils). There are now reports that they seem to be achieving just that and that the strikes have unleashed a new wave of syndicalism and a desire for revolution.

The strikes that began in the Kuzbass coalfield of Siberia, with 79 mines closing down, involved over 140,000 miners. Within days of the strike in Siberia miners struck in the Donbass coalfield in the Ukraine and 50,000 miners walked out closing down 30 mines. Significantly, the Siberian strike saw workers in 17 regional factories coming out in solidarity and railworkers in the regions threatened to close the rail network. The main city of the region, Prokopyersk, was occupied by

over 50,000 miners and in the city of Mezhdurechensk a further 20,000 occupied the city center. The Siberian strikes amounted to nothing less than a regional general strike and in due course it became apparent that the action had become the biggest and most widespread strike in the history of the Soviet Union.

Naturally, the Politburo was extremely worried. Gorbachev tried at first to turn the strikes "on their head" by claiming they were a "test of perestroika," not against it but a necessary part of the reform process. He wanted the miners to go back and in return "they would be granted their demands." He said he was reluctant to use force but preferred persuasion. Gorbachev knew that if they didn't return the hardliners might use it against him and the reform process, but he also knew that to give in to the miners would be a mistake too. Promises had to be made to win the miners' support. But Gorbachev could not afford to give them what they really wanted. The miners were naturally cynical about any promises. They'd heard it all before and so they held on until they were certain that concessions were sufficient and binding. Gorbachev also knew that if

sufficient concessions were not implemented soon, the miners would strike again with the action escalating to other industries throughout the country. This is the political scenario that he feared the most—a workers' rebellion demanding far in excess of perestroika or glasnost. Gorbachev recognized, therefore, that the workers had to be contained if the process of transition from state capitalism to a more Westernized version is to be achieved. The workers certainly want the benefits of change—more consumer goods, etc., in preference to the repression of past decades—but they also recognize that perestroika is a codeword for austerity and in some cases widespread unemployment as the economy is restructured. Perestroika means higher productivity and lower wages. This is not a price Soviet workers are prepared to pay, even for "freedom."

The initial response of the Politburo to the strikes in Siberia was to offer immediately supplies of sugar, soap, meat, milk, tea, coffee and cocoa. This was an indication of how far downhill the miners living conditions had sunk. They are spending their lives working flat-out without reward; their working conditions are atrocious. Safety is non-existent—over the last ten years alone more than 10,000 miners in the Soviet Union have lost their lives because of accidents at work. Pay is abysmal and many miners are forced to live in cold hostels with no facilities. Yet they are perceived by the urbanites as being "well off."

The strikes sent shock waves throughout the Soviet Union. Support for the strikes by workers in other industries provided visions of perhaps another Solidarnosc, Soviet-style. The Supreme Soviet in an emergency debate on

the strikes heard from a deputy, representing one of the areas in Siberia where the miners live, that the miners were demanding a complete overhaul of the Soviet system and not just better pay and conditions. The deputy, from the Komo Autonomous Republic, told the body that the miners were demanding direct control by the Soviets, the direct election of workers' delegates, and the abolition of the Communist Party monopoly. In other words the miners were advocating real communism, or communism without the state. At the same time striking miners in the Donetsk Basin in the Ukraine put forward a list of thirty-six demands; these included wage increases of up to 20%, annual leave of 45 days, better health care and recognition of certain work-related illnesses, retirement after 20 years' work, improvement of housing, three-year maternity leave for women miners, compensation for miners killed at work, etc. As if that wasn't enough, it has been reported that miners from Chervonograd in the Ukraine are trying to set up an independent trade union which they wish to call Solidarity.

This is the reality of the situation that the Politburo faced. It wasn't just a strike, but a possible rebellion.

With the ending of the strike, big changes were initiated by the workers. The strike committees formed themselves into permanent organizations, called workers syndicates (the official unions were totally discredited—during the strike they represented management). The syndicates, according to some accounts, have begun to take over the running of the region, making government agencies and the party redundant.

Radical actions Around the world

Mass resistance to British poll tax has developed in England, Scotland and Wales. Nearly 4 months into attempts to collect the new poll tax has resulted in 25% refusal to pay in Scotland, along with many millions more in England and Wales. The poll tax—introduced to boost the power of the central government and to benefit big business and the rich—is in trouble. With tens of thousands still not registered in Scotland, it was estimated that there were 800,000 to 1 million non-payers in Scotland by mid-July. Many more are in arrears. Over 50% of Londoners had not registered by the 21 days deadline. In Lambeth 75% refused, and in Leeds 60% had not returned the forms by mid-July. Several Scottish Regional Councils (regional governments) have sent Sheriff's officers to seize the goods of people who haven't paid fines for non-registration, but anti-poll tax activists have resisted. **Glasgow:** Three hundred people gathered to greet the Sheriff's officers outside the home of Jeanette McGinn in Rutherglen on July 4th. When the state's lackeys didn't show,

the activists occupied the Sheriff's offices in the city center. **Aberdeen:** In late April 70 people drove Sheriff's officers from the home of a single parent. On June 14th police rescued Sheriff's officers surrounded by 100 protestors outside a flat in Victoria Rd. **Edinburgh:** In late April threats of massive resistance made at a mass delegation to a Council meeting forced Lothian Region to call off a planned warrant sale against John Holloway. On June 7th 40 anti-poll tax activists invaded Sheriff's offices Donald and Scott and auctioned off their possessions in an "anti-poll tax warrant sale." An important division has developed in the anti-poll tax movement, with the groups dominated by the left-wing parties aiming to convince Labour Party-led Councils not to implement the tax or to convince the trade union hierarchy to call industrial actions against the tax. While the other strand of the movement emphasizes the self-activity of working class people and aims to develop sufficient grass-roots resistance to make the tax impossible to administer. [See Counter Information #24/Aug.-Oct.'89 (Pigeonhole CI, c/o 11 Forth St., Edinburgh, Scotland).]

The continuing movement to stop the Detroit trash incinerator reached a high point on June 3rd when over 500 people

Continued on next page

Illinois Earth First! arrests

As a black and red anarchist flag waved in the breeze, three Earth Firsters were arrested on September 28. They were blockading a logging road leading to the Red Ribbon Trail of the Trail of Tears State Forest in southern Illinois which is being clear-cut by the East Perry Lumber Company of Missouri. The Red Ribbon Trail Three face fines of \$1,000 and sentences of 364 days in prison if convicted on charges of criminal trespassing on state-supported property—a class A misdemeanor.

The action included two simultaneous blockades, drumming, singing, howling and proper heckling by the Red Ribbon Trail Defense Team which consisted mainly of members of southern Illinois Earth First! (EF!) and Big River EF!, as well as other assorted anarchists. Also featured was extreme paranoia by the Illinois Department of Conservation (D.O.C.), state and Union County police, and loggers who thought other folks were in the back-country doing illegal things.

Starting at 5am, the Red Ribbon Trail Defense Team secured the first gate with bodies, banners and a car. Shortly thereafter, the second entrance (a mile away) was blockaded when a defender fastened himself to the gate with a kryptonite lock around his neck.

The second gate provided most of the tension. Shortly after daybreak, two loggers showed up armed with threats. Mark Lewis, with the D.O.C., arrived and said, "We can just tie a chain around his ankles, hook it up to the bumper of the truck, and pull him out." After awhile, he added, "Just kidding." He then led the loggers away. Later a roar was heard down the gravel road to the blockade. It was a logging skidder barreling toward the second barricade. The skidder stopped about 100 feet from the blockade and a police car pulled

around it.

Sheriff Dillon (Matt or Bob?) wanted to know the name of the person with the lock around his neck and was told it was Mark Frech, Jr. (Mark Frech is the director of the D.O.C.). After much discussion between the defenders and Dillon, Dillon told them, "We see your point, but two wrongs don't make a right. You have to take it to court." A defender retorted, "They wouldn't let us try to get a Temporary Restraining Order unless we could come up with a \$10,000 bond..." Dillon threatened arrest, but gave the defenders more time. As he backed off, the skidder operator tried to start his machine. It failed to start. War whoops and wolf howls came from the blockaders.

After a long wait, and after the arrival of a swarm of state and county police and armed D.O.C. agents, Dillon said there would be no more time for discussion. State police said they were prepared to cut the kryptonite lock. Barricade defenders demanded that an ambulance be present before any attempt was made to torch the lock, but the authorities refused. Finally, the defender was unlocked after Sheriff Dillon promised there would be no arrests if the gate would be freed.

"Greed wins again," shouted one of the defenders. She added, "It's all about money and that's why they win." Dillon said, "This isn't the Soviet Union. This is America." To which she replied, "That's why we're doing this; because this is America!"

After defenders regrouped at the other blockade site, police officers moved in and arrested three Red Ribbon Trail Defense Team members who refused to move and sat linked arm in arm. As the law led them away, the rest of the Team sang, "They'll be a rapin' and a scrapin' when they come...."

—Orin Langelie

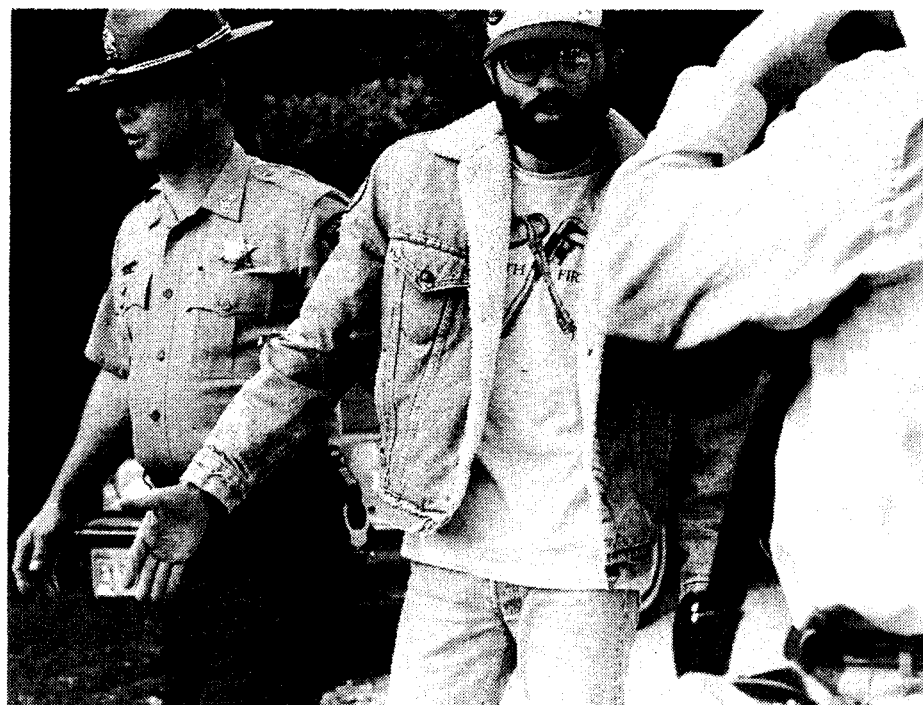


Photo: Orin Langelie

One of the three people arrested from among the Red Ribbon Trail Defense Team being escorted away by an Illinois State Trooper. Logging was shut down for half the day by the blockades.

Alternative media review

Alternative press review

compiled by Lev Chernyi

FACTSHEET FIVE #31 (c/o Mike Gunderloy, 6 Arizona Ave., Rensselaer, NY. 12144-4502) is a "zine of crosscurrents and cross-pollination," now 118 pages packed with short reviews of every alternative zine, tabloid, and one-shot he can get his hands on—including quite a few interesting gems scattered in their midst. For those who haven't yet seen a copy, this is a must read. Every issue seems to include ever more book, poetry, music, t-shirt, game, mail-art and now pamphlet and video reviews, along with a few regular columns by Anni Ackner, Kerry Thornley and Garry De-Young. In addition, this issue includes separate sections on "animal rights" & "skatezines," a section on zines of "pagans and fellow travelers" (33 zines listed here!), an even longer section on comics, and an interesting essay on "Xerografica" (or xerox "street art") by Stephen Perkins. Subscriptions are \$2/issue (up to 5 issues) or \$11/year (6 issues).

GNOSIS #13/Fall '89 (POB 14217, San Francisco, CA. 94114-0217) is a well-produced "Journal of the Western Inner Traditions." This issue on "The Goddess" includes an exchange on "The cult of personality and the perennial philosophy" between Robin Waterfield and Peter Lamborn Wilson, overviews entitled "Sophia: Goddess of Wisdom" by Caitlin Matthews and "The Goddess Emerging" by De-Anna Alba, "Images of goddess" by D. Jean Collins, and many other pieces covering other aspects of this subject. Subscriptions are \$15/year (4 issues).

TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES Vol.14, #3/1988, Vol.15, #1/89 & #2/89 (Case

Radical actions

Around the world
Continued from page 4

turned out to protest the existence of the \$438 million pollution machine. After gathering for a noon rally called by W.E.A.V.E. (Womyn Empowered Against Violence to the Environment), the demonstrators marched to the incinerator gates and blocked two of them with their bodies and trash from a nearby junkpile. Twenty-five were arrested on various charges of blockading entrances, trespassing and attempting to free others being arrested, but all were released within a few hours. The incinerator opened officially July 1st, set to burn 3,600 tons of garbage daily, releasing millions of pounds of toxins every year into the atmosphere, ground and Great Lakes water system. [See Fifth Estate #332/Summer '89 (POB 02548, Detroit, MI. 48202) for details.]

Mass actions involving 5,000 people took place at the gates of the Nevada Test Site on the grounds of Newe Segobia, the Western Shoshone Nation. Violating Shoshone land "rights" and the 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley, the Nevada Test Site was created in 1951 by order of mass-murderer Harry S. Truman. The ensemble of actions, called Reclaim the Test Site II by the American Peace Test (A.P.T.) organizers, allowed some room for autonomous activities by affinity groups, though the pacifist ideology of the A.P.T. organizers left only a highly restricted field of possible actions. In all there were 1,551 arrests, overwhelming the local law enforcement agencies. [See Fifth Estate #332/Summer '89 (POB 02548, Detroit, MI. 48202) for details.]

Tiananmen

Continued from page 3

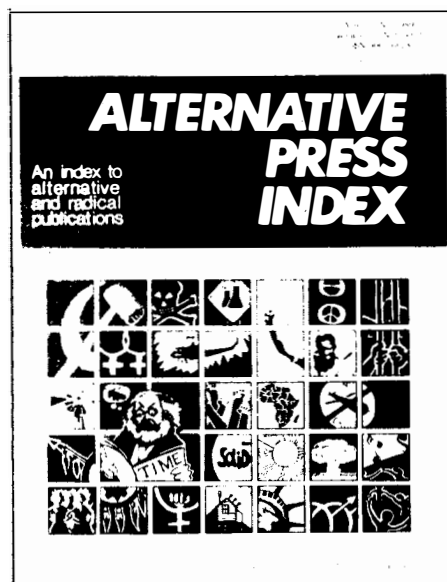
calmly carry on their own business) as well as the Chinese state's inefficiency in quickly restoring order. Fundamentally, they are in firm solidarity with their Chinese counterparts.

Neither you nor we can expect anything from the parties of these states. It is in opposition to them that we have to invent new relationships between beings freed from the mediations of money and power. We seek a human community where the very words of dictatorship or democracy would be no more than painful memories.

It is tragic to see the repression in China serve to promote the careers of politicians who are ready and willing tomorrow to take their turn at executing. The only true solidarity with the Peking insurgents would be a world-wide refusal of resignation to authority.

Communication from: Interrogations, c/o I.S., BP 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12, France.

Postale 161, 1211 Geneva 16, Switzerland) is a fairly class-blind journal of academically-oriented, liberal/pacifist idealism which bills itself as "a positive, independent voice of analysis and policy-making—a journal devoted to compassion in action." Issue #3 features Marek Thee on "The Third Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly devoted to disarmament; Between armaments and disarmament," Willis Harman's "The quest for security viewed as a whole-system problem" (in which he advocates a "paradigm shift" as the "holistic" solution, as though questions of domination and social alienation could be purely secondary to his new-ageist conception of "mind"), "Children of Gaia" by Mark Brahm and Gandhi's swadeshi [self-reliance] and health care: Observations from India and Indonesia." Issue #1 on "Culture: The forbidden agenda of world politics" features W. Basil McDermott on "The forbidden agenda," Ruth Anshen's "A cultural Magna Carta," a blind paean to the Maronite Christians in "Maronite culture, Lebanon and the Arab world" by Antoine Abraham and "Liberation theology and the politics of transformation: A review essay" by Winston Langley. Issue #2 on "Legal structures for peace" features "An overview of the World Court" by Lori Damrosch, Frederic Kirgis, Jr. on "Alternative dispute resolution in international law," "International law, selfhood and the prevention of genocide" by Louis Beres, and "Improving U.N. peacekeeping" by Ronald Glossop. Subscriptions are \$10/year (3 issues).



ALTERNATIVE PRESS INDEX Vol.21, #2/April-June '89 (Alternative Press Center, POB 33109, Baltimore, MD. 21218) is a 106-page, perfect-bound, library-style index to a wide range of alternative and radical periodicals, including anarchic efforts like the Fifth Estate, Kick It Over, Earth First!, Open Road, Our Generation, The Raven, and Social Anarchism—and with this issue the index has begun including Anarchy in its listings (all the way from Anarchy #14 to #19 in this one). Subscriptions are \$30/year (4 issues) for individuals & movement groups, \$110/year for libraries.

NUDE & NATURAL Vol.9, #1/June '89 (The Naturists, Inc., POB 132, Oshkosh, WI. 54902), formerly *Clothed with the Sun*, is a hefty, 112-page full-color magazine pitched to the "clothes-optional" crowd. This fascinating issue includes "The N word," Betty Lesley's "Video: how will they see us on TV?," "Privacy for naturist homes," "Naturism for the kids" and "When is nude lewd?" Subscriptions are \$25/year (4 issues).

ALSO RECEIVED:

Pagans for Peace #41/Sept.1989 A.D.A. (POB 86134, North Vancouver, B.C. V7L 4J5, Canada) is an 8-page newsletter for socially-activist pagans. This issue has smaller, but more readable, print than is usual. It includes information on the relocation of the newsletter to the Canadian west coast, a naively moralistic piece entitled "A few thoughts on ethics" and several interesting letters and reviews. Subscriptions are \$15/year (13 issues).

The Southern Libertarian Messenger Vol. XVIII, #1/May '89 (Rt.10 Box 52A, Florence, SC. 29501) is a 14-page, photocopied right-wing "libertarian" publication made up largely of news clippings and promotional material for the misnamed "Libertarian Party." This issue includes a somewhat incoherent Christian anti-communist's letter on South Africa, an article entitled "Bipartisan fascism: Anti-drug bill passes" by Ronald Tobin (editor of *The Thought*), a disgusting piece of businessman's ass-licking entitled "James Dole: The best type of American businessman" by Robert Brakeman, and an article discussing U.S. educational and S.A.T. score statistics. Subscriptions are \$6/year (12 issues).

New Options #60/June '89 (POB 19324, Washington, DC. 20036) remains an 8-page monthly newsletter devoted to recycling a motley assemblage of old liberal, green, "libertarian" capitalist and "new age" ideas dressed up in "post-leftist," "post-liberal" fashions. This issue features a personal account by the editor (Mark Satin) of this summer's 2nd "national U.S. Green gathering" in Eugene, Oregon, complete with his own interpretations of what the greens need to do to create a "permanent, competent political organization" that will project our values into the mainstream. Subscriptions are still an outrageous \$25/year (11 issues).

Reclaiming Newsletter #36/Autumn '89 (POB 14404, San Francisco, CA. 94114) is a 36-page pagan newsletter "working to unify spirit and politics." This issue features a pagan's view of this summer's S.F. anarchist gathering entitled "Rose Rants" by Rose Dants, "Magical ethics or magic users with ethics? Part II" by Rita Rippetoe, and a description of the Vancouver Witch Camp by Cybele. Subscriptions are \$6-\$25/year (4 issues).

Free Press Network Vol.8, #4/Sept.-Oct. '89 (POB 15548, Columbus, OH. 43215) is an 8-page newsletter of the Free Press Association, "an international network of reporters, editors, publishers, broadcasters and free-lance writers committed to 'questioning authority' from a human-rights perspective." This issue includes details on the F.P.A.'s October "Free Media, Free Minds" conference and a couple editorials on the current anti-flag-burning hysteria in Washington, D.C. Subscriptions are included with membership in the F.P.A. at \$25/year (4 issues).

Campus Review Vol.5, #6/Sept. & #7/Oct. '89 (336 S. Clinton, Suite 16, Iowa City, IA. 52240) is a scurrilous, right-wing college student tabloid. Issue #6 contains more of the same old reactionary shit dished up in previous issues—rampant homophobia, anti-feminism, attacks on civil liberties, etc. Issue #7 surprisingly presents a few arguments for the legalization/decriminalization of marijuana mixed in with the other usual stupidities this review is known for. Subscription information not given.

The Nuclear Resister #65/Sept. '89 (POB 43383, Tucson, AZ. 85733) is an 8-page tabloid providing comprehensive coverage of arrests for anti-nuclear civil resistance in the U.S. and Canada. This issue includes information on the Thames River Plowshares symbolic action protesting the presence of a Trident submarine at the Naval Underwater Systems Center, the jailing of five Innu people for "trespassing" on a NATO runway, and a protest at the Air Force Association's annual arms bazaar in Washington, D.C. Subscriptions are \$15/year (8 issues).

Mondo 2000 #7/Fall '89 (POB 10171, Berkeley, CA. 94709-5171) is the slick, 164-page successor to *Reality Hackers*. This issue focusses on Cyberpunks, including pieces on Todd Rundgren, Tim Leary, William Gibson, Robert Anton Wilson, Bruce Sterling, John Shirley, etc. This slippery magazine seems to center on the superficial, but voyeuristically ecstatic, vision of new-age advertising hype obscenely coupled with the (self-identified) leading edge of the technological illusion. Punk, hippies, hackers, cyberpunks, PCs, fringe "science" & downright pseudoscience, video, CDs and conspiracy theory all combine to create the publishers version of a hyper-hip consumer's wet-dream. Subscriptions are \$24/6 issues.

Grub #72 (c/o Dragonfly, Lake St. Peter, Ontario K0L 2K0, Canada) is a 44-page community paper of the Bancroft, Ontario area. This issue includes "Nasssty things that bother me II" by Kenny and a few stories—"Claudia's Place" by Richard Walker, "El Chihuahua El Pacifico, Pt.3" by D.L. Jaffray, and "The Shower" by Kathleen Munnely. Subscriptions are \$12/year (4 issues).

The New Catalyst #15/Fall '89 (POB 99, Lillooet, B.C. V0K 1V0, Canada) is a 32-page tabloid, "rural-based review of art and opinion." This issue's theme is "Small is vital: The fourth world," featuring Bill Mollison's curious "Strategies for an alternative nation," news of "The Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en test case," Charles Gray's interesting "Living on the world equity budget" (\$1,500/year) and Jennifer Sells "Sustainable development...or sustaining development?" Subscriptions are \$10/year (4 issues).

FANZINES:

System Opposed #3 (POB 1857, Tustin, CA. 92680) is a 28-page "opposing viewpoints fanzine." This issue includes letters, interviews with bands like Apocalypse & Fags Without AIDS, "animal rights" stuff, and fanzine reviews. Send a 45¢ SASE for a copy.

M.A.S. #9/Summer '89 (POB 8722, Minneapolis, MN.

55408) is the final issue of this 52-page zine centering on coverage of the Minneapolis alternative scene. In its place will be a new zine (*Profane Existence*) with expanded coverage of anarchist news and activities. The last issue of *M.A.S.* includes a few letters, columns, an "Ecomedia News" section (covering recent anti-fascist demos in West Berlin, the rise of racist/fascist groups and ideas in North America and Europe, May Day news, the imposition of a new "Poll Tax" in Great Britain, etc.), an interview with a "Pro-choice activist," a reprint of the "Report on the April N.O.W. March in D.C." from *Anarchy* #19, a reprint of a "Letter from Polish anarchists" from *On Gogol Boulevard*, interviews with bands (Doom, Cribdeath, Sofa Head, etc.), a few scene reports & "Noise reviews." Send \$2 for a copy of this last issue.

OTHER SMALL PUBLICATIONS:

Tribal Notes Feb. & May '89 (Cliff Bennett, RR2 Hawkestone, Ontario L0L 1T0, Canada) is a 10-page compilation of poetry and letters. Send a contribution for a copy.

Current #1/Summer '89 (Big River EFL, POB 189, Pacific, MO. 63069) is a brand new 8-page Earth First! newsletter presumably aimed at those in the Mississippi River region. This issue includes news on a banner hanging last June bringing attention to threatened "Forest 44," a brief interview with Dave Foreman (on the background of the recent arrests of him and three other EFLers on conspiracy charges), and a reprint of an article on George Bush's "Clean air act" by Orin Langlell. Subscriptions are \$3/year (4 issues).

The Psycho-History Editorial #13-15 (1315 Pine St., Calistoga, CA. 94515) is a series of single page essays whose motto is "The motto of man is to unsettle the ant line." Send an SASE for a sample.

The Rat Race Record #5/Summer '89 (POB 1611, Union, NJ. 07083) is a 20-page magazine with short, light-weight articles on "Plastic: The problem to our answers," "Pawns of the federal prison system," and "Discovering the human aura." Subscriptions are \$4/year (4 issues).

MSRRT Newsletter Vol.2, #8/Oct. '89 (4645 Columbus Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN. 55407) is an 18-page listing of publications received by the Minneapolis Social Responsibilities Round Table of the Minnesota Library Association. Send a 65¢ SASE for a sample.

Little Free Press #69 (2714 1st Avenue S., Minneapolis, MN. 55408) is a little 4-page rant about personal freedom Ernest Mann-style. More interesting, because more personally revealing than his usual efforts, this issue is entitled "Creating my own utopia." However, he also reveals that his "personal utopia" has become boring! Send an SASE for a sample.

The Sad Truth

The cocaine con-game

People in the U.S. (even the straight press) have no trouble understanding that Ayatollah Khomeini deflected attention from his internal tyranny in Iran by various techniques, including perpetuation of the Iran-Iraq war. Tragically, however, George Bush, a former C.I.A. director up to his neck in the Contra guns-for-drugs affair, still seems to have credibility when he calls for more counter-insurgency in South America. It's one of the oldest Machiavellian tricks in the book: play upon a popular issue like drug abuse to get more money for guns with which to continue domination at home and abroad.

Tax dollars for helicopters, transport planes, and other weapons in Colombia will create, if possible, an outcome favorable to U.S. business interests. There is a power struggle among the ruling elite in Colombia, and Bush and company want to be on the winning side. Despite all the hysteria about a war on drugs, the only war will be on the people and environment of Colombia. Neither flow of cocaine nor drug lords will be stopped. (To actually end the drug trade would require social changes that would only be retarded by military "assistance.") If U.S. aid is successful in capitalist terms, the smaller cocaine companies will be liquidated while the larger ones will consolidate. Certain drug lords and officials will die, and the ones remaining will deal cocaine, money, and power in a better-organized manner, more discreetly disposed toward international, especially U.S., banks. In short, if one looks at the atrocities perpetrated by U.S. sponsored regimes in Guatemala and El Salvador, to name only two examples, one has a good view of what George Bush has in store for Colombia.

The flow of cocaine from Colombia will cease only when multinational corporations, banks, the Colombian government and drug lords no longer control Colombia. If the peasants of South America, or North America, controlled their own land, there would be no cocaine trade as we know it. But the rich in Colombia have driven people from the land. In general, if people find work at all they are wage slaves in factories or on plantations. Growing coca, beef, bananas or flowers, all for export, is often the difference between life and death for poor Colombians. Attempting to eradicate coca growth without destroying the dominant power structure will only mean killing many peasants who now grow coca for the drug lords in order to eat, or forcing them into the ranks of Colombia's landless and malnourished. Cocaine would continue to reach the U.S. because it is very profitable for some people and effectively anesthetizes potentially

Continued on page 8

Alternative media review

Converting anarchists

A review of *Anarchy & Ecstasy*
by Lev Chernyi

Anarchy and Ecstasy: Visions of Halcyon Days by John Moore (Aporia Press, 308 Camberwell New Road, London SE5, U.K.) 44pp. pamphlet, £2.00 paper.

This small volume of essays by John Moore, misleadingly entitled *Anarchy and Ecstasy*, has less to do with anarchy as a path to ecstatic experience than it does with defending a highly idealized vision of spirituality. Consisting of five essays covering somewhat complementary thematic content, the pamphlet as a whole essentially argues, not that through anarchy people can more readily experience ecstasy, but rather that anarchists ought to embrace spirituality in order to experience a peculiarly "spiritual" form of ecstasy.

In the first essay, "Towards a cultural ecology of anarchy," Moore employs a somewhat awkward literary device (an analysis of Milton's *Paradise Lost*) in order to recast the terms of what have traditionally been considered dualistic conflicts--between God and Devil, Good and Evil, etc.--into those of a "cuneal" or "inverted triangle." Through this recasting Moore does provide us with a somewhat expanded perspective on one of the central paradigms of our alienated culture. By including a third term under dualistic conflicts to complete his inverted triangle of "control, counter-control and the controlled" (for example, the struggle of God and Devil for control of Humanity), he does make somewhat clearer that these archetypal

dualities are nearly always conceived as terms of power over us rather than metaphorical expressions of our own alienated powers. But beyond this minor re-conceptualization, his "heretical reading of *Paradise Lost*" leads directly to an ill-conceived attempt to convert anarchists to his conception of Zen "spirituality."

It is instructive to look at his "argument" on this point, both because those searching for religious converts have increasingly targeted radical circles in the last decade, and because Moore seems to be a bit more aware of the problematic nature of religion than most others involved in this ideological crusade. This sophistication does allow Moore to reject "God as a political construct" which "can and should be utterly repudiated" (p.9). But despite his protests that he is interested in a purely anti-political and anti-ideological examination of anarchy, he immediately plunges back into one of the most clichéd mind-traps dug by religious ideologues--the assertion that "Religious" issues constitute a vacuum at the center of anarchism which limits its appeal and cogency." (p.10) For those who haven't already fallen for religious mystifications, arguments like this read just as stupidly and illogically as if, for example, a nationalist ideologue would write that "Nationalist issues constitute a vacuum at the center of anarchism"! In other words, by presenting a completely spurious and unquestioned assertion of a need for religion, or the nation-state, or anything else as a prem-



Photo by Mikell Zhan

Obscure Anarchist Books

Male supremacy in space Cecelia Holland's *Floating Worlds* reviewed by Mikell Zhan

Floating Worlds by Cecelia Holland (Sphere Books, 30-32 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8JL, England, 1978. Reprinted 1984) 542 pp. £2.50 paper.

About 4000 years into the future Earth exists peacefully without a government. There are no police, no armies, no churches and no laws. Everyone takes care of her/his own. Because Earth is the only non-military world it is considered to be a neutral planet. A shaky alliance exists between the population of anarchist Earth and the other "middle planets," fascist Mars and the military dictatorship of Luna. These three planets are threatened by a race of male supremacist mutants called Syths. The Syths live in bubble-like cities that float in the gases around the outer planets of Saturn and Uranus. Cecelia Holland's main focus in *Floating Worlds* is on the interplanetary struggle between the Syth Empire and the military middle planets. Earth is caught between the two factions as she tries to mediate a truce. Eventually, Earth's involvement results in military occupation by the Syths.

Holland's central character is Paula Mendoza, a spunky, Earth-born anarchist. In the beginning of the book Paula's character earns our respect. She is introduced as an intelligent woman who is evolving in her personal and political growth. On a street corner, somewhere in New York City, Paula and her lover Tony converse with a streetside painter. The artist, knowing that Tony is a dedicated writer, asks

Paula if she is a writer too. Paula shakes her head "no" and says "I'm-----" Not knowing what to say next she pauses. Tony slightly laughs and tells the painter, "We haven't figured out yet what Paula is." Paula is like many women. She possesses talents and interests but she is not sure where she fits in society's scheme of things. In today's culture Paula would be viewed as ineffectual, capricious and lackadaisical. But in this futuristic anarchist society people have the freedom to live their lives in a way that best complements their needs and desires. Paula wants to have time to read and play her flute. We get the feeling a life's career isn't important to her. She feels comfortable going from job to job, working when she wants and not working when she wants.

One unemployed day Paula decides to interview for a diplomatic position with the Committee for the Revolution, a six-member board of anarchists who negotiate treaties and run errands for the rest of the middle planets. On the surface, Paula applies because she thinks she will find it amusing to answer tongue-in-cheek to the Committee's solemn, stupid questions. However, she subsequently gives the appearance her main motivation for applying comes from her love for anarchy. When she explains her application, she says, "Because the Committee has forgotten its purpose. It was formed for the sake of revolution. Now it is just a vestigial government. I wanted the chance to tell you you've failed."

Yet Paula gets the diplomatic position--because she is the only person outside its ranks that the Committee knows of who speaks the Syth language. With misgivings, she goes to work helping the Committee negotiate a treaty between Mars and the piratical Syths. But when she leaves Earth on this mission, she also leaves her anarchist ideals. She jumps on a power train of influence and prestige amongst the "women oppressors" of the Syth worlds.

She turns from rebel to rubble when she falls in love with a Syth warlord known as Saba and joins his harem. Like all Syth men Saba believes women are not of much use and that their prime function is centered somewhere much lower than their minds. When Saba's sexual attraction wears off, he continues to tolerate her presence on Uranus and Saturn only because her keen diplomacy helps him devise a shrewd and unexpected plan to obtain military domination of the solar system.

Despite her understanding of the Syth's male supremacy, Paula has a child with Saba and allows herself to become an inexhaustible victim of his physical and sexual abuse. She submits to his "masculine ideology" (a term that radical feminist Susan Brownmiller uses for rape), because she comes to believe that by doing so she can gain interplanetary influence that will make her a power in her own right. Yet Paula finds that when she doesn't submit her body or obey the male Syths' commands she is beaten with a belt, raped, and on occasion her flesh is torn by the Syths' heavy black claws.

The portrayal of Syth women is a graphic illustration of Kate Millet's description of the position of all women in her book *Sexual Politics*, which appeared only a few years before *Floating Worlds*. They are simply "programmed to a caste-like status that is maintained through force or

ideological conditioning." They are veiled and sequestered, physically and sexually abused. In this situation the only meaningful relationship that Paula develops is with Illy, another of Saba's wives. As their sexual and emotional relationship develops Illy, especially, finds satisfaction from a relationship that offers the nurturing, support, trust and sexual pleasure which she doesn't get from Saba.

One morning after the two women make love they spend time comparing their lesbian relationship to their heterosexual ones. Paula tries to get Illy to realize that the way Syth culture is devised, heterosexuality is used as the prime factor in Syth women's oppression. Illy's eyes are opened, but perhaps due to fear for her life she accepts her social conditioning and encourages Paula not to be disobedient. She maintains her role and accepts that her life, services and children all belong to Syth men.

Holland wrote *Floating Worlds* in 1975, a time in U.S. history when radical feminist theory and the lesbian movement were gaining importance and recognition. Whether it was intentional or not there are overtones of radical feminist analysis in Paula's characterizations. They are the only aspect of this book I can recommend. However, because one minute her main character reflects the liberated woman and the next the submissive slave, we find Paula's life and adventures end up as nothing more than a space soap opera.

Cecelia Holland is an established author of historical fiction. With *Floating Worlds* she ventured, for the first time, into the realm of science fiction. What starts out promisingly, rapidly degenerates into an incomprehensible jumble of inconsistent and shallow characterizations. The overall result for the reader is a floating head from the many drifting pages of pure boredom.

Alternative media review

ise, an ideologue can attempt to justify just about any ideology in existence. The sad thing is that so many unhappy, but unquestioning, people fall for variations on this kind of non-argument, leaving them just as confused and unhappy as they attempt to remold their lives as pious devotees or model patriots. Yet this is invariably the type of "argument" made by ideologues, because they have nothing to sell but an ideological simulation of rebellion, fulfillment or happiness—or of life itself—to their alienated marks.

This abandonment of critical rationality for ideological cliché leaves Moore's subsequent rehabilitation of Zen Buddhism as convincing as a TV evangelist's sermon attacking greed. Despite my own affinities for certain aspects of Zen, I have a hard time convincing myself that cadres of Zazen practitioners are likely to be any challenge to the state outside of a science-fiction (or would it be an ideological-fiction?) novel. Zen koans can be thought-provoking, entertaining, or even successful at spurring people to momentarily drop some of their mystifications, but as a form of Zen practice it is hard to argue that they have ever led to a resurgence of anarchy anywhere in the world. And as for the mentor-neophyte relationship Moore extols, the forms of power and the potential for abuse this type of relationship contains hardly recommend it as a form of anarchist practice. Indeed, one would seem to have an easier time arguing the opposite case.

Unfortunately, Moore's other essays possess as little cogency as his first. In his "On Ecdysis" (the shedding of an outer layer of skin), Moore argues from *Genesis* that when God clothed Adam and Eve "with coats made from animal skins," this "incident establishes that God, not Cain, committed the primal murder." And through a tortuous argument (reminiscent of religious Scholasticism) he makes a case for the practice of spontaneous nudity as one element of a process leading "to the elimination of the entire control complex." (p.18)

In "Bewilderness" Moore coins a neologism to describe the experiencing of "sacred wilderness." Yet, the question of why anyone not already constrained by spiritual mystification would want to experience a problematically "sacred" wilderness, as opposed to wilderness itself (without any prior, imposed interpretations) is not considered. Surely, the direct experience of wilderness is potentially ecstatic. And the verb "bewilder" (literally, to lose in "pathless places" according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*) is an ambiguous term which may well be used positively in situations when one wants to be open to experiencing pathless wilderness. But, once again, why does Moore think all his otiose spiritual interpretations must be imposed on this experience? It's awfully tempting to suspect that such screens of religious verbiage are erected precisely to avoid the potentially bewildering actuality of lived experiences which escape the confines of ideological categorization.

"Eversion mysteries," possibly the most interesting and practical essay of the bunch, "enumerate(s) the elements of an 'ideal' Mystery rite." (p.28) Though when Moore's reconstruction is divested of its, once again, superfluous or contradictory religious elements, it is easier to understand how the practice of various combinations of communal intoxication, ritual ceremony and wild communal abandon can lead to the eruption of desire and the collapse of bodily or social repressions—at least on a temporary basis. Of course, this will not necessarily lead people to embrace anarchy as Moore suggests, but it can at the least be enjoyable! Moore's prescriptions for a contemporary recreation of the old Mysteries include: purga-

tions (fasting, immersion/submersion), sleeplessness, satire (play, fantasy, ridicule, celebration), dance, labyrinthine structures (caves, woods at night), hallucinogens and exercises in breath control (poetry, chants, song). The use of some or all of these practices in an experience of metaphorical death and rebirth can indeed lead to forms of ecstasy, revelation or regeneration. As, Moore argues, "Through the *gestalt* of these techniques and experiences, individuals are possessed by the wilderness in almost every aspect of their persons." (p.30) And that is certainly one of many possible valid ways of putting it.

Moore's final essay on "Culture and anarchy" is probably the most disappointing of the lot. After a promising introduction in which he argues that anarchists have for the most part been too concerned with the politics of social transformation and not enough concerned with visions of a culture of anarchy, he launches into an unlikely theory that the catastrophe of civilization was a direct result of the last Ice Age. Even his prose takes a turn toward the bizarre when he says that every human society no matter how libertarian, has been "to varying degrees contaminated by an immemorial sociopathic virus, a contagion so insidious and entrenched that it poisons even the most benign or revolutionary disposition." (p.35) Yet it turns out his actual concern is to argue that meat-inclusive diets are the original sin which separated us from paradise! According to his suspect anthropology, the original human primates were all frugivorous (and ethical frugivores at that!), with their culture centered on orchards. How-



Photo: Alison Gross

A woman reads a copy of the double-issue of *Anarchy* (#20/21)—distributed freely at the San Francisco gathering this summer—while sitting below part of the "wall of anarchy" effusively decorated with graffiti during the festivities.

ever, these frugivorous primates were "subjugated by marauding bands of hierarchical, patriarchal militarists" (p.37) whose own mutant culture was a product of "extreme emergency measures to ensure survival" (p.35) precipitated by the last Ice Age.

As with Moore's non-argument for spirituality, it's hard to believe that this type of nearly baseless speculation resulted from any search for, in this case, prehistorical truths. Rather, it seems to quite transparently serve the ideological concerns of the author in the form of a con-

venient vegetarian morality tale. Like most religious and ideological "thinking," the result is not concerned with what really might have happened to human communities in actuality, as much as it is concerned with how it **should** have happened in order to preserve the pre-ordained religious or ideological prejudices intact. Unfortunately, we're still waiting for a more convincing, non-ideological account of the origins of alienation and civilization. We can be fairly sure that it won't come from the pen of any true believers.

Radio Anarchy: Liberating Paris' Airwaves by Alison

Media have been bought and sold; consumerism has conquered the senses; art has become a commodity. Of course we adapt, our eyes become blind to the ads that clutter the magazines and newspapers, the "pubs" [commercials] at the cinema are just another form of entertainment and the pushing-porno billboards only shock for a second.

How many times have you turned on a radio station in time to catch a tune you actually like, and they don't announce the title or the singer's name? How many times have you wanted to throw the radio against the wall to stop the bla bla?

There are only a few stations in Paris that offer consistently interesting music, and Bart Plantenga, a disc jockey from New York City's WFMU, found only one that wasn't either pre-programmed or rigidly formatted. He found, what else, the "voice without masters," Radio Libertaire, the anarchist radio station in Paris.

Radio Libertaire is run by volunteers and, while most radio stations limit their policies by the need to turn a buck, Radio Libertaire encourages an open critique of contemporary society and culture, and the core of their "policy" is to give people a voice who haven't had a voice. There are programs dealing with nuclear risks, on international relations, local issues and the arts.

Plantenga has taken advantage of this policy and jumped into a spot at 4:30 on Tuesday afternoons. It's called "Wreck This Mess." The show consists of little talking and a variety of music, but not in the French sense of *variété*. His playlist for one program started with Diamanda Galas, the Ventures, and Edith Piaf, and ended with Johnny Osbourne, James

Brown, and Dada Frolic doing "Bongo Warble."

The purpose of good radio, according to Plantenga, is to hear music you don't have an opportunity to hear elsewhere. It's even okay as background music, but with a nudge here and there. Poet and novelist, Plantenga's written a tract titled, "Radio is not good." It's a weapon for the eternally inarticulate, untouchable, disaffected or unemployed...A big box booming grabs attention the way a biker's flatulent Harley does. The decibel level and size of the box is directly proportional to their level of desperation. It's a back window way into our commodified caste system, if only for a moment's few bars assuring its owner stares that prove he's no ghost."

He fled New York City's hectic pace to finish his novel, *Confessions of a Beer Mystic*, and is working on another. He just arrived in September so his French is a little rough, but it doesn't detract from his show. The program guide labels him as "Radical music from New York and the East Coast." His is not a talk show. He handles all the controls himself, along with the phone and the music, and mainly uses his voice to identify his selections as he puts it, "to make it human...." He says "The French are serious, and they like conversation. So on French radio you get one song and lots of talk."

The talk at Radio Libertaire that one hears is, of course, not government-sponsored. They're listener-supported and like WFMU, they don't schedule programs around typical working hours (why encourage it?). That means no traffic reports, weather reports for what-to-wear, or easy listening music in the morning.

"It's funny, the dichotomy between

Parisians and New Yorkers. There was never enough politics in the U.S., and there's too much here.

The Fédération Anarchiste basically offers information that can't be found elsewhere. Their weekly newspaper, *Le Monde Libertaire*, offers critical news stories on items that get less, if any attention in the capitalist-regulated dailies. The bookstore offers a comprehensive collection of anarchist and socialist literature, including comics, records, periodicals and bumper stickers. And, of course, the radio station offers programs from political theory to bottleneck blues.

The station can be tuned in at 89.4, at the "ghetto" end of the dial, where "they cram all the little guys." Not being hooked into the money machine has other drawbacks. As a volunteer at a station that doesn't encourage middle-of-the-road music, Plantenga solicits tapes for Wreck This Mess from listeners and friends, and just about everybody. He has also persuaded some record stores to record music for him to provide the diversity required to shake up a sophisticated audience. Plantenga said that in New York, "you can't really shake anyone up anymore, but here you can because everyone's still got expectations to shake." Not that he's out to smash the state, just trying to change the "Muzak from sea to shining plea" to "something hot-wired to jump-start my heart."

Radio Libertaire can be contacted at 145, rue Amelot, 75011, Paris, France.

Anarchy A Journal of Desire Armed

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

Alternative media review

DEMOLITION DERBY #1/undated (C.P. 1554, Succ. B, Montréal, Québec, Canada H3B 3L2) is an exciting new 32-page tabloid, billed as "a journal of revolutionary theory and analysis which will be published on an irregular basis, whenever it comes together." (The publisher says the next issue may be out in another year.) This issue begins with John Zerzan's fascinating new essay on "Tonality and the totality" (in which he argues that harmony is an ideological category and that the development of Western tonality has involved the domestication of the polyphony of independent voices), an excellent essay on "Questioning ecology" (a critique of green politics) translated from the French journal *Interrogations*, and a very problematic (though interesting) essay translated from the French *L'Unique et Son Ombre* entitled "What is society." Other articles include a report on the arrests of anarchists Alfredo Bonanno and Giuseppe Stasi this last February following a robbery of a jeweller's shop in Italy, a reprint of John Zerzan's review of Murray Bookchin's *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship* (which originally appeared in *Anarchy*) and some comments on "The local libertarian municipalism scene" in Montréal. This is followed by a long and involved (but very interesting) critique of aspects of anarcho-syndicalism (including the accusations of Chaz Bufe, the Workers Solidarity Alliance & its paper *Ideas & Action*, the Industrial Workers of the World, and *Reality Now*) by Michael William entitled "The «Bufe-ooneries» continue." Feral Faun's "Feral revolution: Rebelling against our domestication," and a translation of "The nation: ¡No pasaran!" from *Brouillon Pour une Critique Sociale* round out the issue. This paper is free, but send cash for postage (I'd suggest \$1 or \$2) or a large SASE (for Canadians)—no checks—for a sample copy. (We also have a very limited number of copies still available through *Anarchy*—just send us something for postage while they last.)

BRAND #25 to 29 (Box 15015, S-104 65 Stockholm, Sweden) "is the only anarchist monthly magazine in Sweden...you can read about things that the remaining press ignores: squatting, direct action, sabotage, the international resistance,

The Sad Truth

The cocaine con-game

Continued from page 5

volatile social-change elements in the U.S.

Besides killing and dislocating thousands of indigenous people, U.S. dollars to Colombia will also, as in El Salvador, defoliate tropical forest. Coca grows well amidst the forest. Defoliants will affect not only coca but surrounding flora, fauna and human populations, resulting in a legacy of birth defects, cancer, increased poverty, erosion and general catastrophe.

If an Indian uprising won't stimulate patriotic fervor and support for calvary or local police, then an anarchist or communist scare may suffice. If these fail, one may conjure up terrorists, illegal aliens, or a jihad against the very drug trade which is a vital part of business-as-usual for key elements of the White House, C.I.A., armed forces, D.E.A. (Drug Enforcement Agency) and capitalist elite. Every government needs an Enemy to distract people from the fact that every government and its police force are a criminal protection racket. Government is a lucrative con game, and when people tire of being led or driven, they will begin to determine their own lives. The pimps of the Medellín Cartel, the U.S. and Colombian governments and the military would face the rage of the repressed in the streets if they did not turn popular discontent toward the "criminal," the foreigner, the scapegoat. George Bush much prefers we support a war for banking interests in Colombia, and that we see "drugs" as the enemy—rather than capitalism, industrial civilization and fascists like Bush himself.

—Toni Otter

Anarchist Press Review

compiled by Lev Chernyi



anarchist debates, anarchistic culture, alternative ways of living and libertarian festivals. *Brand* publishes unabridged press releases from the Swedish Animal Liberation Front, squatters, Commando Coca Cola, Burn Shell to Hell, and other groups.... This is a very lively, colorful and interesting Swedish-language magazine. And for English subscribers, there is usually an English summary of contents included in each issue. Published since 1898, at the turn of the century weekly editions of 14,000 copies were published. Send a contribution for a sample.

ALSO RECEIVED:

Our Generation Vol.20, #2/Spring '89 (Suite 444, 3981 Boulevard St. Laurent, Montréal, Québec H2W 1Y5, Canada) is a 114-page academic journal "of contemporary anarchism and libertarian socialism." This issue includes an interesting account of the biographical background for Peter Kropotkin's *The Great French Revolution* by George Woodcock, a somewhat curious essay by Raymond Wrabley on "Neo-conservatism and social ecology" (written as if these were two "movements" on the same level of significance or generality), an account of the social situation in East Germany by Bruce Allen, Frank Harrison's "Science from Bakunin to Bookchin," and a reprint of Peter Kropotkin's essay "What is anarchism?" from the 1901 *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Subscriptions are \$25/2 years (4 issues).

The Monthly Meander Vol.2, #4 & #5/Sept. & Oct. '89 (Mike Gunderloy, 6 Arizona Ave., Rensselaer, NY. 12144-4502) is still a 2-

page newsletter of mellow anarchist discussion. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Red & Black #19 (POB 115, Enmore, N.S.W., Australia 2042) is a 48-page anarchist journal featuring an open letter entitled "Dear socialist sister" ("instead of an editorial"), "Violence and anarchy" by Carter Hill (which seems to confuse revolutionary violence with guerrilla warfare), a good essay on "Social control" by J. Grancharoff (examining how the labor movement, feminism and leftism have all served to prop up industrial capitalist civilization), an update on recent I.W.W. organizing in the U.S. by Lisa Loving, and reprints of essays by Tcherkesoff on "Pages of socialist history" and Rudolf Rocker on "The failure of state communism." Subscriptions are \$5/year (2 issues).



Class War #35 (POB 467, London E8 3QX, England) is the militant, 8-page, "bash-the-rich" paper of the English Class War Federation. Simplistic writing with a crystal clear message—the cover slogan is "BY ALL MEANS NECESSARY." Articles include "Yuppie bashers," "Beating the summertime blues," "Greenpeace off" and "What's Thatcher ever given us," Yuppies and poll tax." Subscriptions are £3-5.00/year (5 issues).

Black Flag #193/Sept. '89 (BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX, England) is an 8-page, monthly anarcho-syndicalist newspaper—now subtitled "For Anarchist Resistance." This paper has been around for a long time, and it remains one of my favorite places to read up on international anarchist news—though as might be suspected, it focusses mostly on anarcho-syndicalist news and news of militant resistance. This issue features a cover story entitled "Soviets return to syndicalism." It includes "Home News" on police frameups, the recent

dock workers' defeat, and the latest on the Economic League (a blacklisting agency). And there are articles on the U.S. miners' strike, the future of Hong Kong, the history of British poll taxes, news and history concerning the recent events in China, and a partial reprint of a sympathetic article on the anarchist insurrectionary Nestor Makhno from an official Soviet journal! Subscriptions are £10/year (12 issues).

A Mayor Vol.1, #2/Summer '89 (POB 451208, Miami, FL. 33245) is a 48-page, bilingual (Spanish/English) magazine committed to reaching a "Libertarian Society, without classes, without hierarchies, without exploitation, without a State...." The English section includes "Transform the criminal mentality into a revolutionary mentality," anti-apartheid news from Denmark, "Repression in Monroe" (the Washington State Reformatory) and an article on "Cuba: The Marxist state and the new class" by Ariel Hidalgo. Send a donation for a sample.

Ecomedia Bulletin #57/Aug.7, #58/Aug. 22, '89 (POB 915, Stn.F, Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2N9, Canada) is an anarchist biweekly newsletter. Issue #57 includes "Canadian prisoners remember" and "Boneheads bust-up Berkeley" (an account of the "Day of Action" at the San Francisco anarchist gathering this summer). Issue #58 includes "Drug war or race war?" and "Decentralists discuss direction" (an account of the recent Fourth World Decentralist Congress in Toronto). Subscriptions are \$15/year (26 issues).

The Anarchist Age #1/July '89 (Mutual Aid, POB 20, Parkville 3052, Australia) is now a slick-covered, nicely-produced 40-page magazine, formerly the tabloid *Libertarian Workers Bulletin*. This first issue includes the position statement (somewhat "workerist") of the Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society entitled "As we see it," "Anarchists—yesterday's people using yesterday's strategies to change yesterday's society," Cath Williams "The anarchist as a social being," Steve Cockburn's "Anarchy and nursing," Stephen Roper's "Peace is impossible in a hierarchical society," and the large list of anarchist publications the L.W.B. has always been known for—this time entitled "International resurgence of anarchism." Surface mail subscriptions are \$9/year (2 issues).

OTHER NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGE

PERIODICALS RECEIVED:

Anicthi Poli #19/undated? (POB 20037, 11810 Athens, Greece) is a 32-page, Greek-language, anti-authoritarian magazine. This well-produced issue includes a retrospective on Abbie Hoffman (!) and a letter from Feral Faun. Whatever else it contains is Greek to me. Send a contribution for a sample.

Guáncara Libertaria #39/Verano '89 (POB 1516 Riverside Station, Miami, FL. 33135) is a 32-page Spanish-language libertarian journal. Articles in this issue include "Le sangre de Barcelona," "Machado nunca fue nacionalista" and "Sendero Luminoso y el narcotráfico." Send a donation for a copy.

Anarkia July-Aug. '89 (P.B. 26050, T.K. 10022, Athens, Greece) is the 16-page, Greek-language monthly newspaper of the Greek Union of Anarchists. This issue features coverage of the events in Tien an men Square, the I.M.F. and A.I.D.S. Cover price is 100 Drachmas

ANARCHY (25 rue Dumé d'Aplemont, 76600 Le Havre, France) is a 4-page, monthly, French-language "review of synthetic anarchism" published by the Union des anarchistes. International subscriptions are 80F/year (10 issues).

The anarchist scene

compiled by Lev Chernyi

A FRENCH-LANGUAGE PAMPHLET on Michael Bakunin has been published by the group Etienne de La Boétie. The pamphlet, which was written by Gaston Leval, is entitled *Michel Bakounine; Le Congrès de Saint-Imier*, and is available from *Le Libertaire; Revue de Synthèse Anarchiste* (25, rue Dumé-d'Aplemont, 76600 Le Havre, France).

THE GREAT ATLANTIC RADIOCONSPIRACY (2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD. 21218) is now offering subscriptions to its near-monthly radio tape series of alternative media reviews. Each month an audio cassette program is created from stories selected from about 80 alternative periodicals—with interspersed music and humor. A four-month first-class trial subscription is \$25. A full year's subscription (nine tapes) is \$50. Great Atlantic's newest tape series (#37) listing is also available for an SASE. The new series includes 21 new programs including "The White Rose Action," "The Social Response to AIDS," "The Woman in the Body" and "A Conversation with

Colin Ward" (author of *Anarchy in Action*). For those who can afford it, this tape series is definitely worth checking out.

ANTICOPYRIGHT (30 PIERCEFIELD Place, Adamsdown, Cardiff, Wales) "is a distribution service to spread agitational and generally scurrilous art/flyposters." Posters received will be photocopied for redistribution. Donations are requested. A catalog will be prepared listing details of posters available by November 1989. "I want posters from everyone who can hold a pen in their hand, and for everyone who can hold a gluepot or use their eyes. A good distribution service, as well as plastering the world with unbuyable art is a good way of exchanging and developing work. Everyone is invited to contribute in whatever way they think suitable."

AK DISTRIBUTION (3 BALMORAL PLACE, Stirling, Scotland FK8 2RD) is a non-wage-paying, non-profit anarchist book distribution project. Send at least a dollar for a copy of their 22-page booklist.

LEFT BANK DISTRIBUTION (4241 Brooklyn NE. #201, Seattle, WA. 98105) is a collectively owned and operated anarchist book distributor which has just produced a new 28-page catalog—an essential listing for anyone serious about investigating the major anarchist (and related) book titles in print today. The catalog lists over 450 titles from over 75 publishers. Send \$1.00 in cash or stamps for a copy. And whenever you're in Seattle be sure to stop by one of the Left Bank stores there: **Left Bank Bookstore** (92 Pike St., Seattle, WA. 98101) located in the Pike Place Market in the heart of the downtown area carries over 10,000 new & used books specializing in anti-authoritarian and independent left-wing titles in addition to contemporary literature of all kinds from cookbooks to science fiction, or **aka Used Books** (5241 University Way NE, Seattle, WA. 98105) located near the University of Washington carries over 10,000 used books specializing in collectible & out-of-print labor, economics, & left-wing books, in addition to a strong emphasis on first edition & contemporary literature and humanities titles. **aka Used Books** also issues catalogs on a periodic basis and provides a mail-order search service for difficult-to-find books. In addition, the Left Bank

International anarchist news

Anarchy in the Soviet Union!

Kropotkin's birthday party

It has been reported that the Soviets now plan to rehabilitate anarchist theorist Peter Kropotkin. Plans are being made for events to be held in 1992 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of his birth. A commission has been established to study Kropotkin; its plans include: the reopening of the Kropotkin Museum in Moscow (now home to the Syrian embassy), the erection of a statue in his honor near Red Square, the opening of a Kropotkin library in Moscow, the reprinting of his works, conferences on his works and—hold tight—the minting of a Kropotkin ruble! A pair of anarchists from the United States plan to attend the event with hopes of discussing other anarchist figures and examining the contemporary movement.

Russian anarcho-syndicalists organize federation

The Italian anarchist newspaper *Umanita Nova* and the anarchist esperantist periodical *Librecana Ligio* (Freedom Bond) report that an anarcho-syndicalist federation has been newly organized in the Soviet Union. The founding meeting of the new federation was held on January 22nd in Moscow with some 50 people attending from cities such as Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov and even as far away as Siberia. In Moscow the group is organized around the social-libertarian magazine *Obshchina* (the name for a type of traditional rural commune). "We aren't a big organization," a representative of the conference told the Swedish anarcho-syndicalist paper *Arbetaren*, "but we're present a little all over Russia and we can boast of a long tradition from which we can start again. Among other things, we plan to republish the paper *Golos Truda* (The Voice of Labor), organ of the Russian anarcho-syndicalists during the revolution until the Bolshevik repression." The federation has two celebrations planned to launch anarchist propaganda again in the Soviet Union; the first will commemorate the anniversary of Nestor Makhno's birth and the second will remember the 175th anniversary of the birth of Michael Bakunin. Anarchist activity is continuing in evidence across the Soviet Union. Satellite transmissions have shown young anarchists from Lithuania and the Baltic amongst the participants in this year's demonstrations there. A North American anarchist has just made a speaking tour through several Soviet cities, and plans are being made to bring more current critical (translated) material into the country.

Nestor Makhno returns

Nestor Makhno, the Ukrainian anarchist and insurrectionist, was the subject of a surprisingly favorable article by Vasily Golovanov in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, a major Soviet literary review. The brief, and

collective sponsors a **Books-to-Prisoners** program (Box A, 92 Pike St., Seattle, WA. 98101) providing books free to prisoners all over North America. Donations are requested to cover the costs of books and postage.

NEW YORK CITY NOW HAS A NEW anarchist bookshop. **Sabotage** (96 St. Marks, N.Y.C., NY. 10009) is located ½ block from Tompkins Square Park. Not just another alternative bookstore, **Sabotage** is specifically intended to consolidate and distribute anarchist publications and related materials from around the continent and the world. It is also intended to provide a space for organizing local radical, revolutionary, and cultural activities, and for the dissemination of knowledge and information from such struggles around the world. The **Sabotage** collective works on an entirely anti-profit, voluntary basis.

If you have announcements concerning anarchist gatherings, new publications, or other anarchist activities or projects which our readers might find of use, you can send them to: Attn. Anarchist Scene, c/o C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446.

occasionally inaccurate, article is interspersed with comments sympathetic to anarchist and anti-state communism. This is remarkable not only because of the source of its publication, but also because the sentiments expressed in the article appeared only months before the miners of the Ukraine and western Siberia made demands—many implemented unilaterally—for a return to communism without the state. The re-examination of the anarchist movement in the Soviet Union is taking place alongside the revival of the movement itself, along with the popular rebellion amongst Soviets fed up with "reforms" who want both freedom and socialism.

Soviet libertarian conference

An international libertarian conference has been planned by young socialists, libertarians and anarchists in the U.S.S.R. this fall. Anarchists from all over the world are expected to attend, with estimates of potential attendance in the thousands. Talks about the gathering took place last November with syndicalists and libertarians from northern Europe, in particular the Scandinavian countries. The event is being coordinated by the *Obshchina* group, which publishes a paper in Moscow.

The gathering is being called "Next Stop—Soviet," and its theme will be how *glasnost* can be extended further and how geographical boundaries can be broken. Planning groups to organize delegates already exist in Denmark, Sweden and in cities in the U.S.S.R. itself. The *Obshchina* group has been in existence since May 1987 and publishes information on strikes and general resistance. Members are in contact with the Federation of Socialist Clubs—which has syndicalist tendencies. Although *Obshchina* doesn't call itself anarchist, it advocates stateless communism and calls for workers' direct control and federation.

Black Cross returns to Russia

The Anarchist Black Cross (A.B.C.), an international defence network for anarchist prisoners, has returned to Russia seventy years after it was founded there. A section in Poland is also being formed. The Black Cross was first set up in Russia under Tsarist rule to assist and support anti-statist revolutionaries. Then with the Bolshevik counter-revolution, thousands of revolutionaries were imprisoned in concentration camps or

executed in the subsequent terror, while others were sent into forced exile or subjected to blacklisting and other forms of repression. The Black Cross was outlawed; its members were jailed and all avenues of support were cut off. Under Stalinism the isolation of anarchists and other anti-statist revolutionaries intensified. Comrades associated with the Black Cross moved to Germany and Italy, and then on to North America, where some helped to found the Alexander Berkman Fund (A.B.F.), which performed many of the tasks (for anarchists imprisoned in Italy, Germany and Spain) the A.B.C. had performed in Russia. The current Anarchist Black Cross was revived during the attacks of the underground anarchist resistance in Franco's Spain, and those of the International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement (I.R.S.M.) throughout Europe in the 1960s. It provided support to imprisoned comrades in Spain and assistance to the I.R.S.M. Over the following two decades sections were set up in other countries around the world to assist imprisoned anarchists in other areas. Recently the A.B.C. held its first international conference and agreed to organize an emergency response network to provide solidarity in times of great need.

State terror grips China Resistance goes underground

The purge of revolutionaries and dissidents across China has escalated with thousands disappearing or being openly executed by the Secret Police or so-called "People's Liberation" Army. According to underground sources, the total now dead is far in excess of numbers quoted so far.

It all began with a peaceful protest by students against the "old guard" of the Chinese Communist Party and the perpetuation of the shameless corruption and nepotism leftover from the centuries-old Empire. The old guard was indeed jolted—a reverberation in part of the shackles being thrown off in the U.S.S.R.—but it saw the rebellion as a threat not just to its power, but to all its personally accumulated fortunes.

For a moment, the age-old illusion of a "non-violent revolution" was maintained as students massed in their thousands in Tiananmen Square and refused to go away when the old guard pleaded with them. What they were demanding remained confused. Some hoisted a replica of the Statue of Liberty, under whose image half the world is oppressed, and most non-European aliens are excluded from immigration. Many confused democracy with the parliamentary representation (the parliamentary counter-revolution). Others raised a banner proclaiming "Liberty or Death!" And most wanted the power to speak freely in order to publicly discuss—how else can people decide their own fate?

The rulers lost patience and turned the farce of listening and pleading into the state reality of bullets and power. The "peaceful protest" and hunger strike by the students was forced to change into the stirrings of a popular revolution which spread outwards to people of all ages from all walks of life. But the "people's will" meant nothing to the Communist Party. And so it was that the tyrants of State Communism unleashed the counter-revolution against people who wanted to increase their meagre level of freedom.

The demand for change mobilized upwards of one million people in Beijing alone. They came to join the protest, proud in their demands. Even the police and some soldiers threw in their lot by making themselves scarce. The demonstrations escalated into a near general strike as workers left their jobs to join the marchers, and hundreds of workers joined the newly formed Workers Autonomous Union.

But when the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev ended, martial law was declared. Troops surrounded the capital and the rebels put up barricades, often using busses provided by the assistance of public transport workers. Then came the embarrassing attempts by troops to march into the center of the city. People rose up in the middle of the night, stripped the soldiers of their army clothing and sent them back. Some battalions turned back; some officers refused to attack, and there was disaffection in the ranks. But the backdrop of all

this was a power struggle between factions of the party. And this struggle was inevitably settled by those who controlled most of the army. It was around this time that Deng Xioping paid a secret visit to the city of Wuhan in the south to meet with all the country's generals, who guaranteed their support.

Another wave of troops was sent to take the capital. On June 3rd the massacre began. The graphic details of the slaughter are known around the world. The soldiers went berserk, mowing people down with their vehicles and automatic weapons fire. As they moved in, killing people by the hundreds, their armored trucks bore banners exclaiming "The army loves the people," while loudspeakers in the streets endlessly repeated the message, "The Beijing government is the people's government."

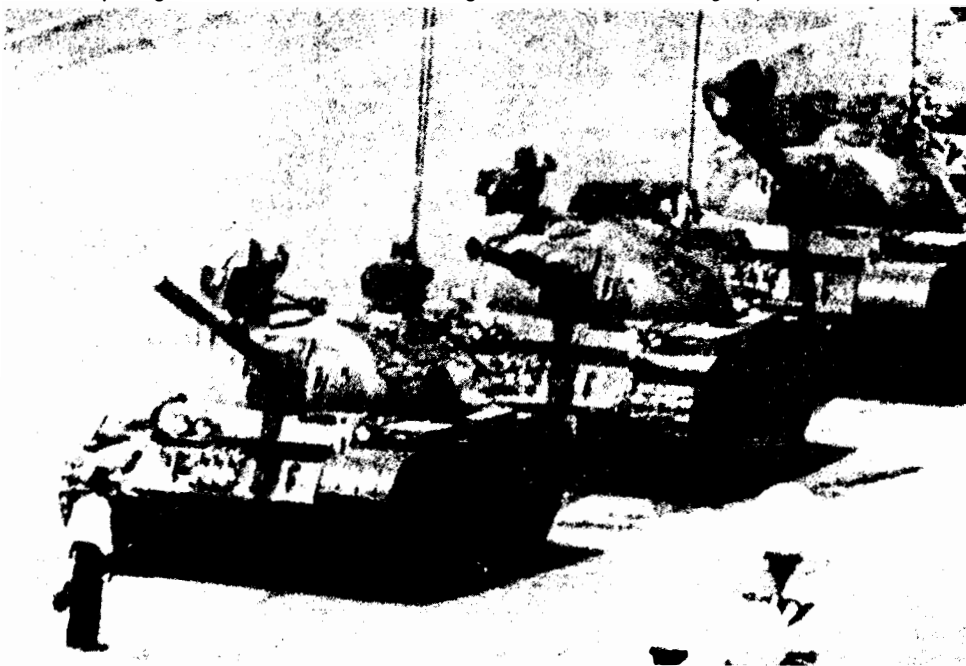
Unarmed except for stones and molotovs, the people of Beijing bravely fought back. Soldiers were captured, and some were executed on the spot. One officer who had just killed four people was dragged away, stripped, beaten, disembowelled and hung until dead. Despite the imbalance in firepower the populace managed to attack and demobilize over 300 armored vehicles. By the end of it all possibly 1,500 troops were killed (some by other troops ashamed of what was happening). But a true picture of the extent of the army's massacre wasn't to emerge for several days. Some reports from the Chinese resistance put the death toll at up to 50,000. Soon it was accepted that the Tiananmen Square massacre alone had claimed more than 7,000 lives. The cover-up began as the bodies were being

felled. Those killed were incinerated by flamethrowers or their bodies carried away by helicopters.

Outside China, there was widespread condemnation, but little else. It is repulsive to note the hypocrisy of the Western governments which would commit (and have historically committed over and over) precisely the same atrocities as their Chinese counterparts had in such a situation. When the police and the normal repressive measures are no longer effective in keeping their citizens cowed, massacres and terror have always been the last (when not the first!) resort of governments the world over. If in the U.S. hundreds of thousands of people steadfastly occupied the centers of the major cities, inspiring hundreds of thousands more to join in generalized strike actions, first the National Guards, and then elite units of the U.S. Armed Forces would be brought in to massacre however many people it would take to break the occupations. And it would all be done in the name of "Democracy," "Freedom" and "Anti-communism," of course.

In the aftermath of the massacre in Beijing has come the purge, headed by the Discipline Inspection Committee. Thousands of homes have been raided, people dragged out, interrogated and then summarily executed. But, as during the occupations in Beijing, the protest in China's other major cities has continued. In the city of Lanzhou the provincial governor ordered all protesters to be "exterminated like rats." In Shanghai over 100,000 people took to the streets. In Hong Kong rioting preceded a massive general strike, its first for decades. In Chengdu at least 500 people are now known to have been killed by troops. In different parts of China the rebels have now regrouped, or gone into hiding. Some dissident leaders are now saying the movement may be forced to adopt guerrilla tactics and go underground.

Source: *Black Flag* #192/July 89 (BM Hurricane, London WCIN 3XX, England).



During the Chinese repression, this was a photo seen 'round the world.

Without Borders 1989

Without Borders was successful

by M.

Without Borders handled the overall organization well. The workshops resulted in learning, information sharing, networking, and national, regional and international growth. Many people were exposed to ideas and alternatives for the first time. Everyone benefitted from the workshops.

The Day of action (D.O.A.) was barely effective, but it was effective. I say barely because the D.O.A. planning committees were thoroughly infiltrated by police. They knew the targets and alternatives in advance. They knew more than the majority of D.O.A. activists did.

The initial action/goal failed firstly for this reason. Second, it failed because the planning and strategy groups failed to take this obvious eventuality into account and creatively circumvent it. Third, it failed because the national focus was diverted early on to rally around a local struggle, albeit a national issue. Fourth, it failed because militancy was excluded and undermined by pacifists and Rainbow Family participants at the conference and planning sessions who thought and acted naively in relation to potential and existing opposition during the D.O.A.

All these factors must be reconsidered and dealt with at the 1990 conference if there is to be effective direct action.

Once the original goal and alternative target were lost the Berkeley and pacifist planners faded away, leaving the D.O.A. groups without direction, goals or leadership. The action that did occur was spontaneous and quickly stopped. The main group was fragmented and dispersed by the well-prepared police forces.

This soft-sell co-optation and undermining of militant attitudes and thinking permeated the conference and workshops. Many people benefited from the workshops such as they were, but there were very few subversion or action-oriented workshops. Within the existing workshops militant talk was "oohed" and "ahhed," nervously avoided and hushed with absurd irrational fears and paranoia by quasi-intellectuals, closet radicals and old line peace and love hippies who have little or nothing new to contribute to the present stage of renewed social and political activism and resistance nationally.

I saw many of the brave young men and women who are rightly tired of talking and who are also putting their bodies on the line, being ignored, overlooked etc., thus gradually avoiding the workshops. They are the ones who are ready and willing to fight for much of what the intellectuals spend most of their time just debating. They are also most active in fighting and subverting the Death Machine that America is. I think their exclusion intellectually in the existing workshops and in the character of possible workshops is inexcusably stupid on the part of the intellectuals and organizers.

The domestic and international problems America generates are systemic. It is a machine run by people who become machinelike in their actions and thinking. Wall St., the Pentagon, the White House, and all business as usual banks on this reality, is dependant on it. The system has long since become self-reinforcing and self-perpetuating. We all know, even the closet radicals and weekend revolutionaries that it must be shut down, stopped completely.

We all know that you do not get open ears, hearts or minds or any substantive social change until life, property and the

mechanical systems are seriously threatened, damaged or destroyed.

The Rainbow Family people dominated the open mike and the atmosphere of the conference through bravado and experience with manipulating crowds. Many of the young militants and thinkers at the conference do not have this experience or temerity. They are intimidated psychologically by hogging. There is no denying that there is a resurgence of alternative social, cultural and psychedelic experimentation and growth in this country and in Europe. **If we don't learn from history we are doomed to repeat it. Peace and love alone are non-workable!** When that movement and the people in it were faced with repression and violent opposition, the people dispersed and the movement evaporated. We may have a resurgence but we are not going to go back to the sixties nor can we proceed to change anything through nostalgia. There are no repeats in reality.

Without an effective and coordinated militant defense and offense this flower will surge and die. The pacifists must face this. The Rainbow people should or can continue to hold gatherings or separate non-violent political actions; but, they should not try, must not be allowed to undermine or turn the thinking and activism of the young militants which is equally vital and critical in facing or dealing with the death machine, its police or military, realistically.

When you go to a Rainbow gathering, you leave the war at the door. The warriors I saw there showed full respect for the peaceful, spiritual and cultural values of the participants.

When the peace and love people come to the War Zone (The City, No-Man's-Land) they had better learn to leave their fantasies and naivete in the forest. There must be an aware conscious separation and co-respect or there will be no effective revolution.

The D.O.A. in Berkeley proved what I am saying to you. This is not intellectual analysis. The D.O.A. flop was philosophical dichotomy in action. While some people are actively building social, cultural, natural, spiritual alternatives to machine world there must be a militant, military, para-military force capable of defending it and fighting for it as well as offensively damaging the machine world and bringing it to a halt.

The D.O.A. has been effective in the past, due to its militant character. Only the relatively small amount of violence and damage in Berkeley had any local or

national effect at all. Everything the committees planned fell through. The militants managed to spontaneously salvage what was left from circumstance. Don't ignore or exclude them again.

Don't ignore the obvious police infiltration again. Go over, around, under. **Escalate!** The mass direct action and War Chest Tour should be reactivated for its local and national impact. The actual damage to any city is negligible. It is practice in the field in making physical statements to the powers that be and to the spectators. Think about this: there were more spectators at the Berkeley action than activists. Use it, incorporate it.

Real sabotage and subversion is vitally needed, not just on the D.O.A., but everyday. Not just in one city, in every city. The city's are the war zones; think nationally, act locally, regionally etc.

Suggestions for the 1990 D.O.A.:

- 1.) Day Chauvinism War Chest Tour and or issue action.
- 2.) Nite time sabotage and actions on a real scale by affinity groups as brigades of 4-6 people max, with appropriate skills and resources and targets in 50 locations simultaneously. Maximum effect, minimal arrests. Serious damage to systems and infrastructure. No leaders, disperse or subdivide and conquer.

The Anarchist movement in the U.S.A. will only be acknowledged or achieve credibility based on its direct capacity to threaten or damage the physical systemic reality and to defend itself from the powers that be, or any which might arise to threaten it from other areas such as vigilantes, death squads, or Marxist-Leninists, or even racial power blocks and religious sectarians, etc.

I side with the young men and women who face the brutal realities of the death machine world everyday in the cities and who choose not to rationalize but instead choose to resist and fight it with more than words. Whether you choose to accept them and credit them or not, they are fighting for you too. They deserve support.

This society is going through flux, it is vulnerable. This government is unpopular and weak. Now is the time to push on all fronts. We each as new age, new nation, free thinkers, radicals, anarchists, revolutionaries, talkers or activists are in what I perceive to be a second wave of social-political questioning, building, fighting in which we have to go all the way this time. I realistically envision major social turmoil, upheavals, conflict and serious confrontational violence by the third year of the present administration based on domestic issues and crises, not personalities and media. Count on it.

We must individually and collectively

Continued on next page



Photo: Alison Gross

Introductory note:

I could detail my many different observations of this past summer's Without Borders anarchist gathering in San Francisco. But the overriding impression I had while attending events was of the youthfulness of most participants, and beyond this the tenuousness of the average participant's understanding of—and commitment to—the theory and practice of anarchy. While it might be said that most had some sort of understanding (on at least a gut level) of what anarchy has meant or could mean, the rudimentary nature of this understanding shows us just how far we still have to go in the rebuilding of the North American movement.

Despite the naiveté of many of the participants, and despite poor pre-gathering communications and organization, the San Francisco Bay area anarchist community succeeded in pulling off a well-organized, smoothly run, and very successful gathering. Unfortunately, as much could not be said for the "Day of Action," primarily organized by east bay anarchists. (While I had thoughts of attending the D.O.A. myself, I quickly relinquished them and headed for the mountains to go camping when I discovered how dismally organized the D.O.A. really was). Still, even the D.O.A. had its moments according to eyewitness and press accounts. I can only consider the Coca Cola truck demolition—and the bombardment of riot cops with hundreds of Coke cans—as a highly poetic act. Though this doesn't excuse the stupidity of other aspects of the action.

The workshops and discussions seemed an improvement over those of the last couple gatherings I've attended. Though, admittedly, it didn't take too much extra effort to improve on them! Still, if the discussions I attended were any indication, people were quite a bit more serious and patient about discussing problems this year. Although it is true that the prevailing attitude still seemed ridiculously anti-intellectual and anti-theoretical, considering how important a part theory and thoughtfulness will play in our future. That is, if we are ever to direct our energies into any sort of effective resistance to the massive structures of domination whose own think-tanks have so far consistently outdistanced radical thought in effectiveness.

The accounts of the gathering on these pages are quite eclectic. Because they are included here doesn't mean that we agree with any of them in general, or even with many particulars. Still, it's important for people to realize how wide a divergence of attitudes has gone into the making of the current anarchist movement. If there is room in our next issue we may run more accounts of the gathering and Day of Action. Letters and criticisms from readers are welcome, as always.

—Lev Chernyi



Photo: Alison Gross

Reports on the gathering and Day of Action

Rose rants

A Reclaiming account by
Rose May Dants

"Anarchism, the belief and practice that people are capable of directing and living their lives without the imposition of external authority, is one of the greatest visions of humanity. With its emphasis on people acting responsibly, practicing individual and collective direct action, fighting injustice and creating a freer society, it shines the brightest light in the tunnel of contemporary daily life, which constantly threatens to entomb the world."

—WITHOUT BORDERS
Anarchist Conference
and Festival Guide Book

The Anarchist Conference-Festival (Con-Fest), held in San Francisco July 20-25, was a stimulating and loving experience. Unfortunately, it was followed by a "Day of Action" which was planned, according to the guide book, by a "group separate from the Without Borders planning group", held in the East Bay and carried out by some Con-Fest attendees. This action was a mindless free-for-all supposedly benefitting the homeless, and included a brave attack on a Coca-Cola truck, much smashing of coke bottles, and a trashing of a site which had already been designated to be turned over to the homeless. This action gave the Con-Fest very bad press—surprise, surprise, and made me fold up my souvenir T-shirt and badge and put them in the bottom drawer. I'm still getting phone calls from allies on the left who knew I was involved in the Anarchist Con-Fest, asking me what the hell was going on. There is a meeting scheduled among anarchists in the area, including folks from the cluster I work with, Circle A, and people involved in the Berkeley riot, to talk about feelings arising from the Berkeley Day of Action. I hope some good healing and resolution comes out of the meeting, and that the joy, excitement, and nourishment attendees experienced at the Con-Fest can outshine the troubled end to the week.

The Con-Fest was held at a Middle School in the San Francisco Mission District and was attended by over two thousand people, many wearing the same hairdo and uniform. A therapist friend of an anarchist therapist friend wandered into the school that week, inadvertently, and saw the anarchists lounging, eating, jamming, arguing, emoting, feeding each other—in general creating a thriving youth-culture village. Gazing at the predominantly punked-out attire and general aura of alienation, she said to herself, my God, what are they doing to the school children

Photo: Alison Gross



in this city. On closer inspection she realized that these people were too old to be in Middle School, so she asked a few questions. Later she related her tale to our mutual friend and asked, are these the people you've been going to Anarchist Coffee House with? She was duly impressed.

I am being too flip. But it was a shock to feel so old and settled among this large crowd of mostly youthful anarchists. And yet it felt great, I was right at home, and I feel hope for the future. The workshops were inspiring. It was often hard to tell who was facilitating or teaching a workshop if you walked in late, because the energy passed around so smoothly and because each person seemed so bright and articulate.

There were too many good workshops offered, often two or three great-sounding classes in time conflict with each other. Moher and I noted with distress that we would have to choose between "Wild Sensuality" (commonly referred to as "the orgy") and "Growing Older as an Anarchist." We did go to the latter, which was good, but at the break I snuck down the hall to look in the door at the other workshop. Yup, they were doing it. Oh well.

The Reclaiming Community presented a workshop at the Con-Fest on Witchcraft and Direct Action, followed by a ritual called Re-membering the Goddess. We did not know what to expect, or quite how to plan. We knew we would be dealing with an empowered audience, anti-authoritarian and "live." We also were quite aware that there are anarchists who feel that any kind of spirituality is a hidden form of hierarchy, and we expected to be challenged by this school of thought. I was more nervous than I have ever been before a class or workshop, because I felt I would be facing my peers—people as feisty and rebellious (if not more) as I am.

The classroom quickly filled and began to overflow, and we had to move to the gymnasium. More than 200 people filed into the room. We decided not to present speeches about Witchcraft and Direct Action, but after a brief introduction to open the floor to discussion on the subject. What followed seemed like a tent-meeting revival. Anarchist after anarchist stood and shouted out (the gym was cavernous) their feelings about and experiences of the Goddess and the Craft within their political work. They testified. It was marvelous. We heard some good stories—one woman told of the spell her coven did which they feel brought on the disclosures of Watergate and fall of Nixon.

After 90 minutes of this love-fest, we paused, then reconvened for ritual. Because of the size of the group, we simplified our plans. We gave clear guidelines for the ritual, asking that everyone be responsible for the energy, that no one take up more than his/her share of space or rip off the energy, but be aware of the needs of the group. We summarized the

ritual plan and intention. What followed was one of the most focused rituals for 200+ people I could ever imagine. We had expected that a bunch of anarchists might spontaneously change the ritual and take it off in their own direction, and we had no objection to that happening, as long as everyone was happy. But mutual respect, responsibility, and joy about being with so many like-minded individuals seemed to unite the group's intention, and they accepted our ritual's plan (which after all, was a pretty good plan). There was creativity and spontaneity in the responses, dancing and trancing, and after the ritual people continued drumming and dancing. Because of this, we did not have an opportunity to ask for feedback, and we left, somewhat mystified.

However, the ritual Reclaiming was scheduled to facilitate several days later, at the closing of the conference, was a different story. We had been asked by an organizer if we would help with the closing, but when the time came, it looked impossible and inappropriate. People had massed in the courtyard for dinner, there was an open mike and folks had been speaking for over an hour, a rock band was jamming in one corner.

I knew, at 7:30, that it was the announced time of the ritual, so I approached the open mike. An organizer said, are you going to do a closing? Can you get everybody out of here in 15 minutes? The contract with the school required everyone to leave the grounds within the next half hour. I thought that if we could get everyone into a circle and quickly raise some energy, we could indeed organize folks into leaving on time. We were weary, and were daunted by the challenge of making ritual with this diverse, relaxed crowd, who were perfectly happy not making ritual. Our reluctant plan was to make a circle and dance a spiral. I spoke into the mike and asked people to make a circle, then stepped away from the mike. The courtyard was vast, the circle so big, we realized we could never get a song started. We simply began to spiral in. We spiraled less than one quarter around the circle, and then anarchy broke out. Yay! One part of the circle broke away and began to play crack the whip. Another line of people snaked into the center and out again. Bicyclists and unicyclists darted in and out of the center. People set off fireworks. Tumblers performed. A group-grope began. There were amoebas made out of lots of wiggling humans. Other small clusters grouped together with raised hands, chanting. As soon as the energy of any particular sub-group died, another sub-group would raise up. It was chaos, and it was wonderful. I felt energized and happy and chipper. We didn't ground the power, because it didn't want to be grounded, and besides we were definitely no longer in charge, to our relief. When we got tired, we simply left, following the organizers who were carrying equipment

out to waiting trucks. I imagine that people left the festival site shortly afterwards. We went home for tea and chocolate, to celebrate anarchy.

Reprinted from *Reclaiming* #36/Autumn '89 (POB 14404, San Francisco, CA 94114).

The Day of Action

according to *The Word of Dog*
(A first-person, newsletter account)

The citizen's school of remedial anarchy was held this year in San Francisco and of course the lord was there. Disguised as a black leather clad skinhead, I had hoped to make waves as an outside agitator completely ignorant of the philosophy and goals of anarchism. But to my surprise I quickly learned that I was in the majority and that most of the people attending didn't even have a concept of what they thought anarchy was. Never one to be discouraged, I proceeded to attend lots of workshops and actions, to have fun and even to learn a thing or two.

You can't have a meeting of "anarchists" without a riot—can you? Feeling exhilarated by the May 19 (People's Park anniversary) riot in which local people made a powerful statement against gentrification and the police state, the Berkeley anarchists made their plans for the DOA. Upon learning that the action would be to squat a building the city had announced would be converted to low income housing, Jesus chose not to participate. What follows is a play by play account of what happened, from an interview with Mary Magdalene—eye witness and member of the DOA planning committee. Still perspiring from her last sexual encounter and anticipating her next, she tells a story of good intentions:

...Berkeley Inn: Transient Hotel owned by the university. Fire 3 years ago, no repairs, kept empty.

...Everybody and their casual lovers know the target a week before the action.

...Berkeley announces the deal—low income housing, etc—the first day of the anarchist conference.

...DOA, 250-300 people: surprise—cops surrounding the Berkeley Inn.

...Decision: ROTC building instead. Crowd passes the Berkeley Inn, continues to ROTC.

...At ROTC, 5 or 6 cops. For some reason everybody turns around, "fatal mistake."

...Back toward the Inn. Coke truck driving down the road; shouts, "Coca Cola" (a disgusted look comes over Mary's face). Someone throws a rock/brick. It hits the windshield right in front of the driver's face.

...Driver gets out, flees (later fired for being in the wrong place at the wrong time).

...Someone throws rock at a church that feeds the homeless, another at an apt. building: "Fuck private property, Fuck gentrification!" (another disgusted look—this is a lower middle class apt. building).

...Mary: "This area's beyond gentrification." Someone trashes Shakespeare books (used book store). "They didn't have enough guts to find appropriate targets."

...Cops charge at the Inn, one breaks stick over woman's back.

...Part of the crowd attacks a group of skinheads (ripped clothes, bloody noses).

...Blue meanies" (sheriff's gestapo) charge.

...Injuries, arrests. Everybody disappointed.

...Moral of the story: if you want to do something with a bunch of anarchists, don't do it at the summer camp for clueless out-of-towners, unless it's non-violent and non-destructive.

I pay Mary a few shekels of silver and we retire to the bedroom and live happily ever after.

Without Borders was successful!

Continued from page 10

get our action together and take full advantage of these factors and circumstances.

The conference was good. Let's get the educational and action sides more evenly balanced and make the 1990 conference and D.O.A. both great! If we/you cannot get this yin-yang intelligently understood and coordinated, we/you will just be playing at social transformation, revolution and mindfucking again and I will opt out. I don't think anyone should or can afford to put their lives, hopes and dreams on the line for that alone again.

Fight the power.

Here are the introduction and first chapter of arguably the most important book to come out of the Situationist International in the '60s. They begin our serialization of **The Revolution of Everyday Life** --a profound indictment of contemporary society.

The Revolution of Everyday Life by Raoul Vaneigem

Introduction

My aim is not to make the real experience contained in this book comprehensible to readers who have no real interest in reliving it. I fully expect this experience to be lost--and rediscovered--in a general alteration of consciousness, just as I am convinced that the present conditions of our lives will one day be no more than a memory.

The world is going to be remade, not reconditioned. All its would-be renovators are powerless to stop this. If these experts do not understand me, so much the better; I certainly have no desire to understand them.

As for my other readers, I pray their indulgence with a humility that should not be hard to see. I should have wished a book such as this accessible to minds quite unschooled in the jargon of ideas. I hope I have not failed entirely. Out of this confusion will one day come formulations capable of firing point-blank on our enemies. In the meanwhile, let sentences remembered here or there have what effect they may. The path of simplicity is the most tortuous of all and, especially here, it seemed better not to wrench commonplaces from a tangle of roots which we may transplant to another soil and cultivate to our own profit.

I have never claimed to have anything new to say; I am not trying to launch novelties on the culture market. One tiny adjustment in what is essential has much greater import than a hundred incidental improvements. The only truly new thing here is the direction of the stream carrying commonplaces along.

Ever since men grew up and learned to read Lautréamont, everything has been said yet few have taken advantage of it. Since all our knowledge is essentially banal, it can only be of value to minds that are not.

The modern world has to learn what it already knows, become what is already is, through a great exorcism of obstacles, through practice. We can escape the commonplace only by manipulating it, controlling it, thrusting it into our dreams or surrendering it to the free play of our subjectivity. I realize that I have given subjective will an easy time in this book, but let no one reproach me for this without first considering the extent to which the objective conditions of the contemporary world advance the cause of subjectivity day after day. Everything starts from subjectivity, but nothing stays there. Today less than ever.

The struggle between subjectivity and everything that corrupts it is about to widen the terrain of the old class

struggle. It will revitalize it and make it more bitter. The desire to live is a political decision. Who wants a world in which the guarantee that we shall not die of starvation entails the risk of dying of boredom?

The man of survival is a man ground up in the machinery of hierarchical power, caught in a net of interferences, a chaos of oppressive techniques whose ordering only awaits patient programming by programmed experts.

The man of survival, however, is also the self-united man, the man of absolute refusal. Not a moment passes without each one of us experiencing, on every level of reality, the contradiction

between oppression and freedom; without each one of us being caught up and weirdly twisted by two antagonistic perspectives simultaneously: the perspective of power and the perspective of transcendence. So, although the two parts of this book deal in turn with each of these perspectives, they should not really be treated as separate. Instead the reader must imagine that they are synchronic; for description of the negative underpins the positive project, and the positive project attests to negativity. Ideally a book would have no order to it, and the reader would have to discover his own.

My shortcomings as a writer also reflect on the reader--as a reader and

even more as a human being. If the element of boredom I experienced in writing finds an echo in the reader, here is but one more proof of our failure to live. For the rest, the gravity of the times must excuse the gravity of my tone. Levity always lies either before words or beyond them. For our purposes irony will consist in never forgetting this.

This work is part of a subversive current of which the last has not yet been heard. It constitutes one contribution among others to the reconstruction of the international revolutionary movement. Its significance should escape no one; in any case, as time will show, no one is going to escape its implications.

Part I: Perspective of Power

The insignificant signified

Because of its increasing triviality, daily life has gradually become our central preoccupation (1). No illusion, sacred or deconsecrated (2), collective or individual, can hide the poverty of our daily actions any longer (3). The enrichment of life calls inexorably for the analysis of the new forms taken by poverty, and the perfection of the old weapons of refusal (4).

1

The history of our time calls to mind those Walt Disney characters who rush madly over the edge of a cliff without seeing it: the power of their imagination keeps them suspended in mid-air, but as soon as they look down and see where they are, they fall.

Contemporary thought, like Bosuto's heroes, can no longer rest on its own delusions. What used to hold it up, today brings it down. It rushes full tilt in front of the reality that will crush it: the reality that is lived every day.

Is this dawning lucidity essentially new? I don't think so. Daily life always produces the demand for a brighter light, if only because of the need which everyone feels to walk in step with the march of history. There are more truths in twenty-four hours of a man's life than in all the philosophies. Even a philosopher cannot ignore it, for all his self-contempt--that same self-contempt that the very comfort of philosophy has taught him. After somersaulting onto his own shoulders to shout his message to the world from a greater height, the philosopher finishes by seeing the world

upside down; and everything in it goes askew, topsy-turvy, to persuade him that he is standing upright. But he cannot escape from his delusions; resisting them only makes them more uncomfortable.

The moralists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ministered over a vast stock of platitudes, but so active were their efforts to conceal this fact that a veritable stuccoed palace of speculation arose above it, an ideal palace to shelter yet imprison real life. From its gates emerged a conviction and sincerity upheld by a sublime tone and by the fiction of the "universal man", yet contaminated by a breath of perpetual anguish. The analyst tries to escape the gradual sclerosis of existence by reaching some essential profundity; and the more he alienates himself by expressing himself according to the dominant imagery of his time (the feudal image in which God, monarchy and the world are indivisibly united), the more his lucidity photographs the hidden face of life, the more it "invents" the everyday.

Enlightenment philosophy accelerated the descent towards the concrete, in that the concrete was in some ways brought to power with the revolutionary bourgeoisie. From the ruins of Heaven, man fell into the ruins of his own world. What happened? Something like this: ten thousand people are convinced that they have seen a fakir's rope rise into the air, while so many cameras prove that it hasn't moved an inch. Scientific objectivity exposes mystification. Very good, but what does it show us? A coiled rope of absolutely no interest. I have little inclination to choose between the doubtful pleasure of being mystified

and the tedium of contemplating a reality which does not concern me. A reality which I have no grasp of, isn't this the old lie reconditioned, the highest stage of mystification?

From now on the analysts are in the streets. Lucidity is not their only weapon. Their thought is no longer in danger of being imprisoned, either by the false reality of gods or by the false reality of technocrats.

2

Religious beliefs concealed man from himself; their Bastille walled him up in a pyramidal world with God at the summit and the king just below. Alas, on the fourteenth of July there wasn't enough freedom to be found among the ruins of unitary power to prevent the ruins themselves from becoming another prison. Behind the rent veil of superstition appeared, not naked truth, as Meslier had dreamed, but the birdlime of ideologies. The prisoners of fragmentary power have no refuge from tyranny but the shadow of freedom.

Today there is not an action or thought that is not trapped in the net of received ideas. The slow fall-out of particles of the exploded myth spreads sacred dust everywhere, choking the spirit and the will to live. Constraints have become less occult, more blatant; less powerful, more numerous. Docility is no longer ensured by means of priestly magic, it results from a mass of minor hypnoses: news, culture, city planning, advertising, mechanisms of conditioning and suggestion ready to serve any order, established or to come. We are like Gulliver lying stranded on the Lilliputian shore with every part of his



Photo by Mikell Zhan

body tied down; determined to free himself, he looks keenly around him: the smallest detail of the landscape, the smallest contour of the ground, the slightest movement, everything becomes a sign on which his escape may depend. The surest chances of liberation lie in what is most familiar. Was it ever otherwise? Art, ethics, philosophy bear witness: under the crust of words and concepts, the living reality of non-adaptation to the world is always crouched ready to spring. Since neither gods nor words can manage to cover it up decently any longer, this commonplace creature roams naked in railway stations and vacant lots; it confronts you at each self-evasion, it grasps your shoulder, catches your eye--and the dialogue begins. Win or lose, it goes with you.

3

Too many corpses strew the paths of individualism and collectivism. Two apparently contrary rationalities cloak an identical gangsterism; an identical oppression of the isolated man. The hand which smothered Lautréamont returned to strangle Sergei Yesenin; one died in the lodging-house of his landlord Jules-François Dupuis, the other hung himself in a nationalized hotel. Everywhere the law is validated: "There is no weapon of your individual will which, once appropriated by others, does not turn against you." If anyone says or writes that practical reason must henceforth be based on the rights of the individual and the individual alone, he negates his own proposition if he doesn't incite his audience to make this

statement true for themselves. Such a proof can only be lived, grasped from the inside. That is why everything in the notes that follow should be tested and corrected by everyone's immediate experience. Nothing is so valuable that it need not be started afresh, nothing is too rich to undergo constant enrichment.

Just as we distinguish in private life between what a man thinks and says about himself and what he really is and does, everyone has learned to distinguish the rhetoric and the messianic pretensions of political parties from their organization and real interests; what they think they are, from what they are. A man's illusions about himself and others are not basically different from the illusions which groups, classes and parties cultivate about themselves and in themselves. Indeed they come from the same source: the dominant ideas, which are the ideas of the dominant class, even if they take an antagonistic form.

The world of isms, whether it envelops the whole of humanity or a single person, is never anything but a world drained of reality, a terribly real seduction by falsehood. The three crushing defeats suffered by the Commune, the Spartakist movement and Kronstadt-the-Red showed once and for all what bloodbaths are the outcome of three ideologies of freedom: liberalism, socialism, and Bolshevism. However, before this could be universally understood and admitted, bastard or hybrid forms of these ideologies had to vul-

garize their initial atrocity with more ponderous proofs: concentration camps, Lacoste's Algeria, Budapest. The great collective illusions, anaemic from shedding the blood of so many, have since given way to the thousands of pre-packed ideologies sold by consumer society like so many portable brain-scrambling machines. Will it need as much bloodshed to show that a hundred thousand pinpricks kill as surely as a couple of blows with a club?

What am I supposed to do in a group of militants who expect me to leave in the cloakroom--I won't say a few ideas, for my ideas would have led me to join the group--but the dreams and desires which never leave me, the wish to live authentically and without restraint? What's the use of exchanging one isolation, one monotony, one lie for another? Once the illusion of real change has been exposed, a mere change of illusion becomes intolerable. But present conditions are precisely these: the economy cannot stop making us consume more and more, and to consume without respite is to change illusions at an accelerating pace which gradually dissolves the illusion of change. We find ourselves alone, unchanged, frozen in the empty spaces behind the waterfall of gadgets, family cars and paperback books.

People without imagination are beginning to tire of the importance attached to comfort, to culture, to leisure, to all that destroys imagination. This means that people are not really tired of comfort, culture and leisure, but

of the use to which they are put, which is precisely what stops us enjoying them.

The affluent society is a society of voyeurs. To each his own kaleidoscope: a tiny movement of the fingers and the picture changes. You can't lose: two fridges, a VW, TV, promotion, time to kill.... But then the monotony of the images we consume gets the upper hand, reflecting the monotony of the action which produces them, the slow rotation of finger and thumb that in turn rotates the kaleidoscope. There was no VW, only an ideology almost unconnected with automobiles. Flushed with Chivas Regal, whisky of the elite, we savour a strange cocktail of alcohol and class struggle. Nothing surprising any more, there's the rub! The monotony of the ideological spectacle makes us aware of the passivity of life, of survival. Beyond the prefabricated scandals--Scandale perfume, scandal in high places--a real scandal appears, the scandal of actions drained of their substance to the profit of an illusion which becomes more odious every day as its effectiveness wanes. Actions weak and pale from nourishing dazzling imaginary compensations, actions pauperized by enriching lofty speculations to which they contribute in servile fashion, while being ignominiously categorized as "trivial" or "banal", actions which today are free but exhausted, ready to lose their way once more, or expire from sheer weakness. There they are in every one of you; familiar, sad, newly returned to the immediate living reality which is their "spontaneous" environment. And here you are, bewildered and lost in a new prosaicism, a perspective in which near and far coincide.

4

In its concrete and tactical form, the concept of class struggle constituted the first marshalling of responses to the shocks and injuries which men live individually; it was born in the whirlpool of suffering which the reduction of human relationships to mechanisms of exploitation created everywhere in industrial societies. It issued from a will to transform the world and change life.

Such a weapon needed constant adjustment. Yet we see the First International turning its back on artists by making workers' demands the sole basis of a project which Marx had nevertheless shown to concern all those who sought, in the refusal to be slaves, a full life and a total humanity. Lacaenair, Borel, Lassailly, Buchner, Baudelaire, Holderlin--wasn't this also poverty and its radical refusal? Perhaps this mistake was excusable then: I neither know nor care. What is certain is that it is sheer madness a century later, when the economy of consumption is absorbing the economy of production, and the exploitation of labour power is submerged by the exploitation of everyday creativity. The same energy is torn from the worker in his hours of work and in his hours of leisure, and drives the turbines of power which the custodians of the old theory lubricate sanctimoniously with their purely formal opposition.

People who talk about revolution and class struggle without referring explicitly to everyday life, without understanding what is subversive about love and what is positive in the refusal of constraints, such people have a corpse in their mouth.

In search of the New Age: The infinite egress of you

by Janos Nehek

As an event like the 1989 Whole Life Expo demonstrates, predictions of the imminent eclipse of the New Age are, at best, wishful thinking. Even taking into account the slightly anti-climactic passage of the Harmonic Convergence, the New Age movement is a major growth sector of American culture. The amount of curious attention the media has devoted to it far outweighs, however, the few serious critical readings it has so far received. Between the overblown rhetoric of its promoters and the crude caricature put forth by most of its critics, the prospect for an adequate assessment of the New Age/consciousness/growth/human potentials phenomenon remains elusive.

An amorphous cultural inclination with no single focus, the New Age embraces a variety of often contradictory ideas and practices. Its multifaceted quality allows both defenders and detractors alike to select out those aspects which will confirm what they want to see in it while ignoring whatever else doesn't quite fit their prefab interpretive grids.

For even its moderate advocates, the New Age embodies, in a popular revival of mystical and occult traditions, the invocation of a wholeness, an authenticity and a spiritual dimension to life. For critics of the "New Narcissism," the New Age is a symptom of retreat from social activism to a hedonistic self-absorption, as well as a wholesale lapse into superstition and irrationality. In the camp of nonbelievers, the varied expressions of New Age activity are generally ignored as much as possible, or otherwise dismissed. Those who do take it seriously enough to attack it (*The Skeptical Enquirer*, for example) largely stick to the easiest targets, the healers, psychics and channelers whose claims are specific enough to be scientifically debunked. Other accounts tend to focus on its therapeutic dimension while sidestepping its mystico-spiritualist pretensions.

As for the Aquarian faithful themselves, moments of doubt or self-criticism usually act as apologetics intended to redeem the New Age "as a whole." A publication such as *New Age Journal* regularly runs mild-mannered exposés of this or that cult or fraud surrounded by endless pages of advertising for only more of the same. The Whole Life Expo itself provides another example: one workshop on "how to integrate the many positive ideas of the human potential movement into your life while learning to overcome the sometimes naive, negative or even totalitarian aspects of New Age culture." Any New Ager worth their spiritual salt has developed into a reflex the sleight of hand

technique of chastising token instances of unseemly commercialism or conceptual vulgarity without asking what there might be in New Age culture *per se* that generates so many "exceptions" in the first place.

By itself, a short essay cannot hope to remedy the sterility of the existing terms of debate around the New Age. But by cracking apart its crystalline facades and delving into the shadows they hide it may at least be possible to draw a more incisive caricature than has been done in some previous attempts.

Among other things, the New Age culture represents, to the point where it is no longer possible to tell where one ends and the other begins, a collapse of the "turning inwards" and "self-perfection" borrowed from mys-

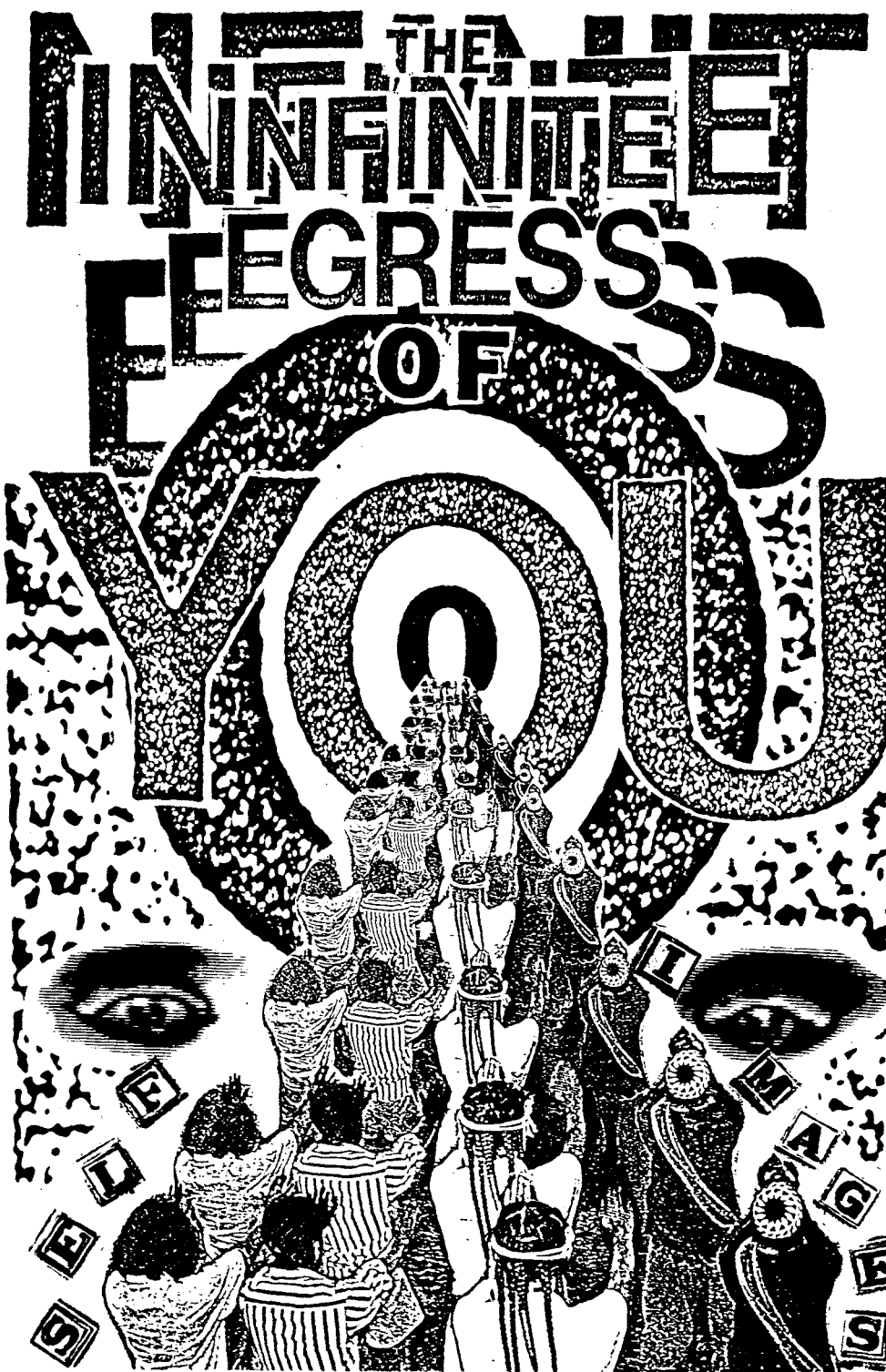
ticism with a defensive, escapist preoccupation with the self. In reaction to the perceived dogmatism of scientific orthodoxy, contemporary "seekers after truth" turn to ancient and arcane mystical paths in pursuit of their chimerical quarry. "Having gone further in the direction of spiritual alienation than any other people in history,...it now becomes our task to reclaim the human potentialities we have denigrated and sacrificed along the way," as Theodor Roszak, one of the more sophisticated proponents of the New Age, has put it. The access routes to these long lost regions purportedly lie in the recycling of salvaged shards into user-friendly "psycho-technologies."

At a moment when it can least be afforded, the New Age also plays out in a modern guise the search for an es-

cape from history and social engagement which pervaded Gnosticism as well as most other variants of mysticism. At the same time, its project of mapping out and "accessing" the subtle ranges of "inner space" stems more from an acquisitive, colonizing impulse than it does from the contemplative orientation of Christian mysticism or of some Oriental religions. In New Age usage, terms like potential, growth and transformation have a distinctly mercantile ring, and convey an almost unconscious marketing mentality.

Central to all New Age "thought" is the premise that spirituality can be divorced from its old institutional shell and purified of all the taints associated with organized religion. Taking a hint or two from Sufism and Theosophy, Aquarians shun the old sectarian, schismatic approach to spiritual truths, setting themselves up instead as prismatics. From this angle, all the world's religions can be flattened out into a "spectrum of consciousness," reduced to the spectral play of a single, ahistorical radiance (and guess Whose...). The on-ramps to spiritual enlightenment are therefore viewed as multiple, its signposts written in a universal mythic code unobstructed by the shaping powers of human society (ask Mr. Campbell or Mr. Jung for examples). A concerted effort is made to ignore the questionable roles these religious relics often played in maintaining the power-structures and social stratification of their native contexts. With the help of some facile analogizing, today's Adepts propose to take the best from what the rest of the world has to offer and, bypassing any tedious dissection, set out to concoct a synthetic religious formula viable in a secularized context. Confident that the "disenchantment" of modern life is a result of the lack of sustaining myths, they propose a re-mythification of daily life--as if it weren't steeped in enough mythologies, secular or otherwise, to begin with.

What little of any value that is unearthed in this supposed work of recovery is invariably re-covered with fresh layers of myth and obfuscation, layers as invisible to Aquarian archeologists as their ether and chakras are to the rest of humanity. Rather than opening any purported windows onto the wisdom of the ages, their batteries of retooled psycho-technologies project a barrage of bedazzling, befuddling special-affects. In trying on for size the myths, metaphors and rituals of other times and climes, the New Age also mistakenly believes its precious arcana remain unaffected by being transplanted into an alien social medium. Obsessed with their excavations for the relics of "higher" knowledge, New Agers are themselves oblivious to an unseen influence directing all their efforts: not that of the stars, of their archetypes or



of their higher selves but of **history**, of a history less than a century old and one so integral a part of their mindset it makes up the very ideologized air they breath.

By the turn of this century the New Thought-Mind Cure movement had already begun to adapt Protestant morality to a newly leisure and consumption-oriented society, one in which self-preservation and self-promotion were necessary for meeting its criteria of worldly success. In the writings of New Thought apostles such as Norman Vincent Peale, Ralph Waldo Trine and Mary Baker Eddy (founder of the Christian Science church), the Christian doctrine of salvation was revamped as a practical panacea for the stresses and strains of urban living then known as "neurasthenia." Broadly speaking, the central notion behind New Thought was that affirmation and positive thinking were capable of opening up conduits to an unconscious reservoir or divine "All-Supply" of abundance and healing energies. Although such auto-conditioning practices no doubt had (and have) a certain degree of effectiveness for behavioral modification, they also served as filters for screening out unwanted, unpleasant realities. With their emphasis on an other-directed self-image and an almost anesthetic hygiene of the personality, New Thought practices promoted an internalization of the codes of conduct prevalent in industry and commerce. It offered adherents a style of psychological self-management couched in a atmosphere of ever-accumulating well-being--physical, spiritual and financial.

By orienting psychic health towards success, pragmatism and efficiency within the web of commerce, New Thought also played a role in bridging psychotherapy and advertising. The sense that nothing more than slight modifications in personal behavior or appearance can alter the content of experience, in effect reality itself, is fundamental to the therapeutic, consumer ethos of modern society and finds interlocking expressions in advertising, therapy and New Thought. Mind-Curists helped to disseminate on a popular level an understanding of the manipulability of desire and perception that also fuels the advertising industry. The pithy New Age postulate that "You Create Your Own Reality" is the ultimate crystallization, so to speak, of the sensibility pioneered to a large degree by New Thought.

Paralleled by the Gnostic-influenced writings of Jung, Huxley and Eliade, New Thought's assimilation of religion to therapy laid the ground for future waves of interest in the "mysteries" of the Orient. In the early '60s, two key human potential manifestoes--Watts' *Psychotherapy East and West* and Maslow's *Towards a Psychology of Being*--claimed an equivalency between Eastern mysticism and psychotherapy. The fact that both involve psychologies in one sense or other and that both try to induce changes in consciousness and behavior seemed to support this tempting equation. Whether the two have the same **intent** or **function**, however, was a question quickly sidestepped. The assumed, but never actually proven, identity between therapy and mysticism became the operating premise for an institution at which Watts and Maslow

were two of the presiding luminaries: Esalen.

Esalen was the primal synthesizing vat of the human potentials scene, imbuing all the ingredients that entered its hungry psycho-spiritual maw with a distinctively Californian, hedonistic, sun-drenched flavor. By the time it had shifted from its early days as more of a think-tank-cum-resort to being a one-stop travel agency for peak experiences and psychic spelunking, the Esalen smorgasbord model was beginning to be copied by the "growth" centers springing up around the country, thereby lending its permanent imprint to the New Age-to-be.

Throughout the same period, the Beat movement also did its share of recycling Eastern philosophies, while ignoring the rather unsavory alliance of Zen-Buddhism with the militaristic culture of the warlords who originally brought it to Japan. The adoption of Zen as a down-to-earth, irreverent mysticism provided exotic styles of non-conformism to the youth culture, which also picked up on their use of drugs in a big way. Psychedelics, against the background of participatory democracy, civil rights and war protests, incited a loosening of the perceptual moorings of the youth movement, allowing a brief revelation of the narrowness of the ledge along which life is normally led and the dizzying ranges of possible perceptions (and behavior) normally blocked off. No doubt the drug-craze also helped to blur distinctions between social activism and personal experimentation, producing a sort of feedback circuit that amplified the millennial airs of the time.

The influx of oriental cults and gurus, the rebellion against social mores and the drug-aided exploration of subjectivity coalesced into a tendency to regard the wrongs of Western society as the effects of an inner spiritual desolation. Mass pilgrimages to the Orient drew on this sentiment and reinforced it with ever more obscure and elaborate cosmologies encountered at first hand. As the drawbacks of artificial highs became harder to ignore, addiction to a drug was often exchanged for addiction to a guru in pursuit of more wholesome

brands of consciousness-alteration. Membership in a cult also allowed a continuation of the anti-materialist lifestyle of the counterculture while providing devotees with a rather more stable and comforting, if also authoritarian and constrictive, community than full-scale bohemianism could. Strangely, while one wing of the counter-culture was agitating for direct democracy, hippies went about embracing hierarchy in the spiritized form of Eastern "illumination." Meditation and yoga were practiced for pragmatic benefits such as stress-reduction, physical health and peace of mind as much as they were for whatever religious halo they might confer. Oriental spiritualisms were increasingly mobilized to take up the task of assuaging the identity crises of middle class youth, and the tedium and emptiness of modern life to boot.

The hippie's reproach to straight society for being too materialistic curiously forgot the "immaterial" aspect of consumerism as a system of signs that help to define identity and social position. In the same way that advertising plays on anxieties of appearance and wraps its commodities in the imagery of the rich and beautiful, seducing the consumer into not just buying one object but also buying into an eternally receding lifestyle, so the pursuit of self-actualization wound up acting as another induction chute back into the dominant system of values. As if it were not enough to simply smell right, look right and have the right things, now one also had to have the right experiences, the right feelings,...the right thoughts? Higher experiences easily became another, if intangible, set of belongings to fit in with and compensate for all the other comforts and conveniences of modern living. Emptied of any moral-ethical strictures and divested of their original social meanings, imported spiritual practices functioned for the most part as neutered symbolic forms through which spirituality could be simulated, acted out for public and personal consumption. Ironically, the Beats' popularization of the Zen idea of "the illumination of the commonplace" helped to open the way to a reaffirmation of those very same aspects of socie-

ty that were initially rejected for blocking the sacred out of daily life. (One recurring theme in current New Age culture is a sanctification of money by imagining it as a social version of the taoist *ch'i* energy. As one enraptured participant in an "abundance workshop" so eloquently put it: "I have looked inside myself and realized that money represents everything in my being. I have come to see money as energy.")

Meanwhile, across the hippie/politico divide, the growing popularity of group therapies struck a weird resonance with the "struggle sessions" of leftist revolutionaries. Parallel to but different from the thought-reform of Maoist China in which dissidents were subjected to endless harangue from their peer-group until they broke down and performed a microscopic self-critique, participants in encounter and gestalt workshops volunteered to lay their psyches open to the inspection and meddling of a group of strangers. In building normative demands into an initially voluntary framework, encounter groups had less to do with liberating the psyche than with working out more subtle modes of psychological conformism. Nonetheless Californian thought-reform did express an "authentic" reaction against depersonalizing bureaucracies, the faked affect of service-sector work and the anonymous, superficial interactions of daily life. But without the institutional matrix that elicits and compels certain forms of behavior over others being changed, calls to emot on command, to be indiscriminately open, honest, and warm could only lead into a kind of calculated spontaneity and a more subtly-feigned authenticity--even to oneself. The later profusion of psychobabble illustrates the displacement of real feeling by the use of therapeutic jargon and a stylized theatrics of emotional display.

The splintering of the New Left into a morass of authoritarian sects with rigid political ideologies only helped to enhance the appeal of aquarian pursuits as apparent antidotes to forms of oppression that eluded the polemicizing of the left. The feminist critique of the New Left, its notion that "the personal

Continued on next page



ENLIGHTENMENT™

The Only Game There Is.

Graphics: The Infinite Egress of You

Continued from page 15

Continued on page 17

Kids' sexuality

Children's sexuality is a form of energy which, in contrast to 'adult' sexuality, hasn't yet split any objects, subjects, tenderness, etc. from itself. As children see themselves more in a unit with their whole environment, they don't want to stay in only one special house and in only one special sexual orientation ghetto, like most adults do.

Children can let persons and things go after a while, after they have explored them, attracted them or let themselves be attracted by them. Children are fixed solely on adult authorities or on 'equal age' groups only if they are forced to be, or if mothers, teachers or other educastrators press or blackmail them into this fixation and isolate them from other relations. They like to break all borders, including those of generations, if society would let them!

It's a lie too, that children aren't interested yet in making love, or that they 'can't', or that they only like experiences with people the same age. The next lie is saying that children can only have an earlier 'infantile' stage of

the 'real', 'mature' sexual satisfaction of adults. Adults who say this don't know that children have already had passionate orgasms in their mother's womb. **ORGASM** doesn't necessarily have anything to do with the so-called 'ability' to 'produce' babies.

Children's sexuality is that energy which mediates between everything--between spirit/psyche/consciousness/eros and material/objects/subjects. This energy gives everything support and stability to exist and the power to move, keeps the 'cosmos' together, AS LONG as nobody splits her/his sexuality/energy from herself/himself and separates it from others--(for example, not falling into the 'black holes' of couple relations and so on). This splitting of other people and things is identical with defining politics, morality, money, culture, 'arts', anything as NOT being sexuality and this leads to the very narrow/macho definition of the word sexuality: People who have the power split and cut sexuality where they can. For example, they split sexuality from tenderness and love, 'soul' from sexuality and, in a way, even violence from sexuality; they manipulate people into thinking sexuality is only 'fucking'. They do this so that their education games won't be discovered to be (sadistic forms of) sexuality and publicized. All these splittings are actually a kind of killing or murdering or a preparation for that and are related to our culture of 'innocence' and 'purity' of children. It's part of their war management (they all speak of 'peace') that we also have to separate, for example, 'private life' from public, couple relations from communal life, material income from others and mother-child relations from the rest of the world. Indeed, it demands quite a number of such splittings to produce so much coldness, blindness and unscrupulousness that you are able to put your 'own' love (like a consumer good?) into concurrence with others. Or to be able to 'make love' in the same moment as thousands of friends, whom you don't know and most of whom are hidden from world publicity, die from wars, starvation, or from cars and their fumes (and all other words for the defamation and destruction of our children's sexuality/love). The mutilation of our sexuality begins with the deformation and castration of childhood by social workers, parents and other educastrators, but usually they don't do it directly to our bodies but, rather, in roundabout ways by perfectly controlling and splitting our energies through psychological or physical pressure, 'motherhood', blackmailing and other forms of violence. They suck our energies because they need it for their own survival and then they change it into work, 'learning', technology, consumption, and war; BUT, once children's sexuality is destroyed, there will only remain more or less pure and rigorous **SADISM**. If children's sexuality is 'allowed', (that means that boys, for example, can live against macho roles) sadism splits off and disappears, allowing development of a more or less warm sexuality that is open to others, hurts nobody, excludes



GOVERNMENT IS SLAVERY.

nobody and is free of dependence, exploitation and violence.

THE SUPPRESSION AND DESTRUCTION OF CHILDREN'S SEXUALITY IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE PATRIARCHY (GOVERNMENT OF MEN OVER WOMEN OVER CHILDREN) AND THE CAUSE OF ITS DIFFERENT ASPECTS - PORNOGRAPHY, SEXISM, RACISM, SADISM, RAPE, CONSUMPTION, TERROR AND ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION!

FASCISM shows that too few people take seriously the sexual misery of the masses which begins early with the castration of childhood. The indescribable sadist atrocities in the kz's (Nazi

concentration camps) demonstrate how these early castrations can later break out brutally in many people: they work LIKE A CUT THROUGH THE FLESH.

Sure, not all people react by slaughtering others directly, but look at what almost everyone else is doing all day: aren't they working in professions which directly and indirectly support these slaughtering or help prepare for the next ones or supply the money or weapons for the next war?

*Kontakt: K@NALRATTEN
(Kinderrechtgruppe)
postfach 3133
1 Berlin 30
West Germany*

Indianerkommune: German Children's commune

We're an anarchist group of school-children and street kids who joined together to spend the rest of our lives fighting the adult world. We want back our childhood cruelly stolen from us. We refuse high-tech consuming and drugs; they are escapist and just a substitute for our stolen childhood sexuality! We hate education; our living together with its conflicts teaches us more than school-books. We work to be autonomous. Everything we have belongs to us all. We decide together on our actions, get around a lot and are always on the lookout for new people. We're looking for youngsters, boys and girls, who still resist the anti-love world of adults.

Let's never grow up!

We demand: The right to leave our parents, to move out when we want!

The abolition of compulsory schooling!

The abolition of children's homes, schools, psychiatric institutions, reform schools, and all other youth prisons!

The right for all children and young people to determine their own sexuality, to choose what they do with their bodies, and to choose their friends and lovers!

The abolition of Nazi laws suppressing consensual relationships with minors!

Stop the destruction of the environment!

Boycott consumer society!

*Kontakt: Indianerkommune
Mittlere Kanalstr. 34
D-8500 Nurnberg
West Germany*



New Age

Continued from page 16

resort to hierarchical, authoritarian solutions for their realization.

The New Age promotes itself as an antidote to the reign of instrumental reason. But it might be more realistic to see it instead as the **price that has to be paid** for that hypertrophy rather than an authentic alternative to it. If one of the major grains of truth to the New Age is its sense that the West, in obsessively pursuing a certain kind of rationality and the mastery of nature, did so at the expense of other possible modes of knowledge and domains of experience, it nonetheless does not follow that a reintroduction of such "alternate realities" makes the present society more just, more free, or even more "spiritually mature" (whatever that might be). An exploration of the "latent potentialities" of the human psyche (such as that broached in some mystical traditions) may be an undertaking without which human beings are, in a sense,

"fragmented" and lost to a part of themselves. But practical insights derived from such exploration, even if articulated in an unscientific form, can just as easily become mechanisms of domination as signposts of self-knowledge.

New Ager frequently invoke the myth of Prometheus to symbolize the noble aspirations of their project. But typically enough, the "negative" half of the story is always left out: for his act of impunity, Prometheus was chained to a mountainside to have his liver ripped out and regrown anew only to be ripped out once again; and the punishment meted out to humanity for receiving the stolen goods of the gods was Pandora's box, which, when opened, unleashed a flock of new evils on the world.

Author's note: Most of the ideas in this essay are borrowed from other sources but a list of references was precluded for lack of space. Some of it is also influenced by ideas developed in a study group devoted to larger social and political questions, although it does not necessarily reflect the viewpoints of other members. That group can be reached as alternate routes, at P.O. Box 391733, Mountain View, CA 94039. Thanks to all those spirit-allies, who know who they are. Definitive versions of this text available only from the Akashic Bookclub.

This essay was reprinted from the pamphlet, *The Infinite Egress of You*, published by Chimeras, Inc. (3648 23rd St., San Francisco, CA 94110).

Turning the tables

Continued from page 32

ingly visible minority of ostensible radicals--and even anarchists--demands the attention of those who are concerned about the potential directions "radical" movements might take in the near future. So far, I personally think the influence of such movements has been fairly disastrous in the sense of its having helped destroy whatever potential might have existed for a resurgence of a genuinely radical critical theory. The energy that people might have been able to put into developing a more dialectical theoretical understanding of their lives has instead been squandered in a religious re-mystification of the world. Of course, I would also assume that there have also been some positive effects--though these are somewhat hard to separate out from the overwhelmingly dismal effects this trend has so far had on radical possibilities. One example of this rather dismal trend is the massive theoretical confusion engendered within the ecological movement, where it is nearly impossible to find a discussion of ecological "theory" any longer which hasn't degenerated into calls for more new religions, moralisms and ideologies. Any

sort of genuinely critical and radical theory *per se* has been eclipsed by mutant theologues and calls for self-abasement.

In case some readers haven't noticed, we live in a world in which moralism, ideology and religion bombard us from every direction at nearly every moment of our lives. Personally, I find this state of affairs somewhat hard to deal with. I don't mean to be bitter about it...I mean, I sure would like to be able to **shut it all off** for awhile, but here come more people spouting religion, and here's a radio spouting ideology, and there's a boss spouting morality, and there's a preacher spouting religion again! For a brief period in the '60s and '70s it was still possible to escape this bombardment at least within radical circles. But this opportunity has largely passed. In my experience there is simply no longer any escaping this constant bombardment, short of running for the hills or killing oneself. Having a desire to pursue neither of these unsatisfactory options, I've instead chosen to participate in the anti-moralistic, anti-ideological, anti-religious periodical that you now hold in your hands. However, even here (and how could it be otherwise?) moralists, ideologists and apologists for religion continue their constant bombardment. Just don't expect us to respond uncritically.

[We] were soon steaming across the great sound in warm sunshine... past islands and headlands, then over the immense expanse of the open water with a circle of snow-capped mountains far off along the horizon, then winding through arms and straits, close to the tree-tufted islands and steep spruce-clad mountains...with glimpses of open meadow-like glades among the trees.... We were afloat in an enchanted circle; we sailed over magic seas under magic skies; we played hide and seek with winter in lucid sunshine over blue and emerald waters --all the conditions, around, above, below us were most fortunate."

The wake has begun. People throughout North America are mourning the loss of precious life in Prince William Sound. John Burroughs' description of the sound at the turn of the century captured the breathtaking quality of its beauty, a quality which by all accounts lasted until March 24, 1989, when one oil-tanker too many tried to make the passage with its dangerous cargo. Now the blue and emerald waters are black with a thick, sticky crude oil. The abundant birds, mammals and fish supported by the waters are now dead or dying, their carcasses unrecognizable, so thick is the oil, until the "rescue" crews scoop them up and probe to see what's at the core of the goo. Two weeks after the spill, at the University of California at Berkeley, a funereal procession of students, staff and faculty, led by a single, slowly-sounding drum, quietly showed their deep sense of loss and anger over the death of one of the world's richest coastal ecosystems.

The earth is dying--it is being killed--and many of us sense it. The cutting of the forests, accelerating extinctions of plants and animals, destruction of the ozone layer, pollution of the oceans--the list seems endless, frightening and demoralizing. Life goes on, but the problems only get worse. People don't seem to be able to do much about them. Perhaps we choose one issue and work to correct it--the "single-issue approach"--while inevitably leaving the other problems for other people. Many of us know that the real, underlying problem is a much larger one, that all the forms and types of environmental destruction are related, that they are caused by how we humans live on the earth, and that to correct them we have to change our way of life. But a strange silence reigns. Few people are talking about the basic problem or the basic solution.

In the recent presidential campaign, discussion by the parties and the press of the fragile state of the oceans, lands and atmosphere was limited to hypocrisy and lip-service. George Bush got away with claiming he is an "environmentalist." Since his election he has appointed another environmentalist, William Reilly, to head the EPA; after visiting the disaster at Prince William Sound, Reilly announced that nothing can be allowed to interfere with the exploitation of U.S. oil reserves. As the presidential campaign showed, the Republican and Democratic parties have no interest in the environmental crisis

beyond its utility in garnering votes. The major media have also treated the issue superficially, and for the same reason: any serious discussion of environmental destruction will unavoidably lead to a recognition of the need for a radical change of the most fundamental institutions of our society. We have to begin this discussion ourselves, at the grassroots.

The purpose of this article is to contribute to this new, real dialogue by providing an overview of the current state of the global ecological crisis, and an analysis of the roots of this condition in the human productive activities and social relations that dominate the earth today. The article concludes with a sketch of some of the attributes of a future society that nurtures the ecological health of the earth, and with suggestions for ways in which we can begin to bring that society into being before it is too late.

The C-Word

The narrow range of political debate that exists in the U.S. today has caused a lot of worry lately among "progressives" about the obsolescence or changing connotations of the "L-word" and the "S-word." Bush very effectively hammered Dukakis with the accusation that his policies were "liberal." Mikhail Gorbachev's current efforts to restructure the Soviet economy have "proven" that "socialism" is an experiment that has failed; the major media today are engaging in all-out offensive to drive this point home. The biggest taboo of all, however, the word that really scares the so-called "left" in the U.S., is the "C-word"--capitalism. While the right-wing sings its praises, the left does no more than politely suggest a small reform here and there to make the system work better. With its superficial "critique" (witness its quibbling about the Democratic Party's election platform), the U.S. left disguises the real nature of our society and supports the system that is destroying the earth. The candidate of U.S. "progressives" and liberals, Jesse Jackson, is now appearing in television commercials with Barry Goldwater, trying to sell "space technology" to the public. The pot of gold at the end of Jesse's rainbow is now out in Space, the exciting new "last" frontier--for more profit-making.

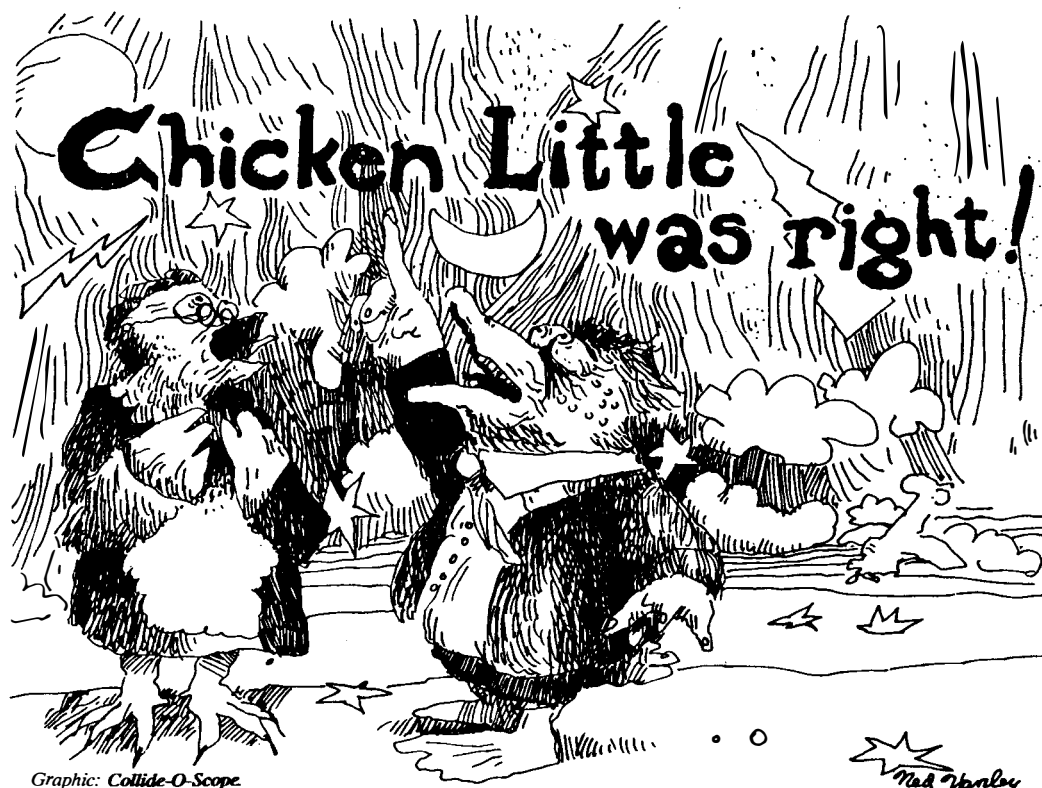
Capitalism--the pursuit of profit--is a global system; the entire world is under its control. Before examining its operations and impacts on the physical and biological components of the living earth or "biosphere," it is necessary to explain how it is that all nations, even the supposedly socialist ones, are really capitalist, and to say a few words about capitalism's impact on people.

The term capitalism encompasses a

range of economic systems differing in the degree to which the state intervenes in the affairs of the market. At one extreme would be "private capitalism" with no state involvement, often called "free enterprise" by enthusiasts; at the other pole would be the "planned economy" of total state control of all economic activity. In reality today these extremes do not exist anywhere on earth, and all national economies fall somewhere in the mid-range of the continuum, with greater or lesser amounts of private or state control of economic decision making. The U.S., the European community and Japan reside on the "private" side of the spectrum, with factories, resources, and transport and communication systems largely in private hands. In the case of the "state capitalist" economies of the U.S.S.R., China and their clients, the means of production are in the hands of the tiny elite of decision-makers in the state bureaucracies. For some time now,

else for a wage or salary and have no control over many major decisions that affect their work and social lives. The tiny controlling elite, private or state, collectively exploits the workers by appropriating the "surplus value" contained in what they produce (that is, the value of their product that is in excess of the value of their wages), and with this profit expands the system of production, strengthening its control over them and extending it over other people and places.

The recognition that there are basically just two conditions for all people living within capitalist social relations--that of the exploiter and the exploited--is the foundation of Karl Marx's "class analysis" of modern society. Everyone who works for someone else, everyone who earns a wage or salary, is a member of the exploited "working class." Modern sociological "class" categories such as "lower class," "middle class," "upper-middle class," etc.

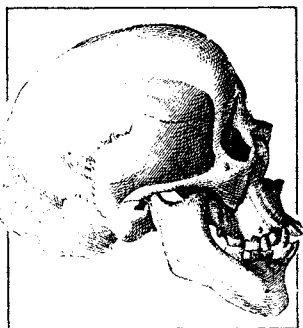


Graphic: Collide-O-Scope

both the East and West blocs have been converging toward a common hybrid form, as markets and investment opportunities in China and the Soviet Union have been opened to the West and as the United States and its industrial "allies" (actually, its principal competitors) have maintained or expanded state investment in the private economy.

In both blocs the means of providing basic necessities are owned or controlled by a few, while the vast majority of people have no way to survive without "exchanging" their ability to work for money with which to buy food, clothing, etc. In other words, they are wage-slaves. From the point of view of the average people in either place, the systems are indistinguishable in certain basic senses: they work for someone

are obfuscatory terms that really only describe social status or income levels within Marx's working class. (Marx's "middle class," composed of small businessmen, independent professionals such as doctors and lawyers, and peasants and small farmers, has been dwindling as he foresaw, through the process of "proletarianization," i.e., the constant trend toward bigger and bigger economic units through competition. The losers in the battle for profits and markets become the employees of the winners.) All workers are employed either to create profit or to maintain the smooth functioning of the profit-making system for the owners or ruling class. The level of the salaries they earn does not change the qualitative fact of exploitation. Furthermore, all workers are ex-



World capitalism and global ecocide

by Will Guest

pendable, even the highly paid ones. Middle-level management and technical personnel who fail to perform at the requisite level of personal dedication to the enterprise will be replaced as surely as an assembly-line worker who fails to produce the required number of products in a given period of time.

The satisfaction of human needs is not the purpose of the capitalist system; rather, its sole function is to make as much profit as possible ("maximize the creation of new capital"), to expand continuously. This process takes the form of the accumulation of wealth by the owners of capital ("capitalists"); the purpose of the wealth is to acquire and maintain social control. This compulsion toward continuous growth is clearly impossible in a world with built-in limits such as the Earth—limits to the "resources" which can be extracted and to the abuses which can be tolerated. In short, the system is irrational, doomed not only by its own inner contradictions but by planetary tolerances as well. The present destruction of the earth is just the inevitable result of this irrational form of social relations.

The capitalist "system" is in reality nothing more than the sum of human activities within the existing social relations of ownership or control of all the means of production by a tiny few. For the great mass of humanity, however, this collective social activity takes on the appearance of a vast, immensely powerful external "system" that faces them wherever they may look. As workers, individual people are separated or "alienated" from each other; they do not relate freely but only through the medium of their occupation of positions in the "system" of profit-making. The reification of capitalism, its appearance of invincibility, however, is an illusion. Social relations between people can be changed by people themselves when conditions become unbearable, as past revolutions have demonstrated.

The Forms of Ecocide

In their futile pursuit of a steady or rising rate of profit, capitalists worldwide exploit the environment in every way possible—as a source of energy, food, raw materials and sites for production, and as a dumping ground for wastes of all types. States, the political expressions of the will of capital, engage directly in ecocide through warfare. The process of relentless exploitation and destruction has now reached the point where large-scale negative impacts are clearly visible in all three of the divisions of the biosphere, the oceans, lands and atmosphere.

An overview of the current situation, necessarily curtailed for reasons of limited space, follows. The information presented here comes from easily acces-

sible sources—newspapers and magazines, publications of well-known environmental organizations, popular ecological literature such as the Worldwatch Institute's *State of the World* series, and introductory environmental science textbooks. The image of a dying earth is reflected everywhere we look, and is unavoidable. Most of us have developed ways of protecting ourselves from the reality around us—forms of denial and suppression of our subconscious awareness. To save the globe, we have to stop denying and start facing our true situation.

The Oceans

Global capitalism is currently subjecting the oceans to two simultaneous types of damage, "overfishing" and pollution. Overfishing here refers to more than just the uncontrolled extraction of fish, and is meant to include shellfish, whales and many other marketable species. Modern commercial fleets have used a variety of high-technology, capital-intensive approaches to fishing (including helicopters and sonar to spot schools, bright lights and electrodes to attract them, and vast, fine nets to "vacuum" them out of the sea) so successfully that the global fish (and shellfish) catch levelled off in 1970 after more than twenty years of continuous increase. It has never recovered its upward trend as numerous formerly common species have become "commercially extinct."

Whales have declined from a worldwide population of 4.4 million in 1900 to about one million today, with many species near real extinction, including the blue, the bowhead, the humpback, and the right whales. The great bulk of the remaining whale population consists of just two species, the sperm and the minke. Hundreds of thousands of dolphins are killed "accidentally" every year in tuna nets. Much of the annual ocean harvest, including the major portion of each year's whale-crop, is sold as pet food.

Pollution of the oceans takes a huge toll of marine life as well. The seas are the ultimate dump for many types and vast quantities of human wastes—urban runoff, pesticide and fertilizer-laden agricultural runoff, industrial (read: toxic chemical) discharges, contaminated dredge spoils, urban sewage, garbage from merchant ships and pleasure yachts, municipal refuse, and oil spills. Ocean pollution is concentrated near coastlines (where marine life is most abundant as well): at the mouths of large rivers, in harbors and estuaries, in wetlands, near large cities and industrial areas, and in inland seas such as the Mediterranean and the Baltic. (The Great Lakes, although fresh-water bodies, are typical of polluted inland seas.²)

A National Academy of Science report in 1975 estimated that 7 million tons of municipal garbage were dumped in the oceans each year. Much of this material, by volume, is non-biodegradable plastic—merchant ships alone are estimated to discard a half-million plastic containers into the sea each day. American fishermen dump 160,000 metric tons of plastic into the oceans annually. Each year millions of seabirds and

hundreds of thousands of sea-turtles and marine mammals (dolphins, whales, seals, and manatees) are killed by plastics through ingestion or entanglement, which cause strangulation, starvation or drowning.³ No one can estimate how many fish are killed from the same cause.

The disaster at Prince William Sound provides an unneeded reminder of the destructiveness of the oil-habit of modern industrial capitalism. The deaths of seabirds and other pelagic and coastal life-forms resulting from oil spills is a continuing "operational cost" of the international oil industry—except that the plants and animals pay it, not the corporations. In 1985 alone, 3.6 million metric tons of crude oil spilled into the ocean, considered a low total compared to prior years. Actually, much of the marine oil pollution is intentional; only 10 to 15 percent comes from tanker accidents. Approximately 30 percent of the annual total of oil discharged into the ocean takes place during routine loading, unloading and cleaning of tankers. Offshore wells habitually release crude oil during their operations. Chronic oil pollution of the North Sea and the North Atlantic Ocean causes deaths of between 150,000 and 450,000 marine birds each year. As a result the puffin, the guillemot and the razorbill are now near extinction. Heavy oil components that sink to the bottom or drift into estuaries have long-term impacts on marine ecosystems, killing off crabs, oyster, clams and mussels.

The destruction of marine life caused by ocean pollution serves only one purpose: to increase profits by avoiding the costs of proper disposal of wastes or rigorous control of operations. It results from the everyday, business-as-usual ideology that nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of a corporation and its freedom to make the highest return the market will bear. But what the market may bear, the oceans cannot. And, when to the current stresses on the marine ecosystem is added the likely destruction of the basis of the marine food-chain, phytoplankton, caused by the loss of stratospheric ozone and the resulting increased exposure of surface life to ultraviolet radiation, the ecological health of the oceans looks very fragile indeed.

The Lands

The land surface, where people live and produce surplus value for capital accumulation (also called "economic growth" or "development") is the locus of the most extreme and varied forms of ecological destruction. It is not possible to do more here than say a few words about some of the most critical of these: habitat destruction, soil erosion and war.

Habitat Destruction

Habitat destruction is occurring in many parts of the globe, from high latitudes to low, and affects many habitat types—deforestation of tropical rainforests for hardwood production and cattle ranching, clear-cutting of conifers in North America for lumber, desertification of huge areas of semi-arid savanna in the subtropics and rangelands in the mid-latitudes for cattle raising, destruction of coral reefs and draining and filling of wetlands, and the continual sprawl of cities into the countryside. The

most serious direct effect of habitat loss is the elimination of plants and animals—species extinction.

To sell hardwood and hamburgers to industrialized countries, multinational logging and cattle-raising corporations are cutting the tropical forests of South America, Africa, Madagascar, and Southeast Asia (where about 75 percent of all plant and animal species live) at an unprecedented rate. The total area of tropical forests prior to this century was about the size of the United States; now, it has been reduced by almost half. An area the size of Pennsylvania is cut each year. As a result of global habitat loss, the rate of extinction of all species has reached levels completely without parallel throughout evolutionary history. According to estimates made by E.O. Wilson and Norman Myers, before 1600 AD, the rate of extinction was one species every 1,000 years. By 1975 it had risen to 100 species per year. By the year 2000 the estimated annual loss of species is projected to be 20,000 (equal to one species every half-hour), with a total loss by that date of between 500,000 and one million species, one fifth of all the lifeforms on earth today.⁴ This rate represents a 200-fold increase in the rate of extinction in only 25 years, and is 20 times greater than that of the great mass extinctions of the past. Another major difference between the current crisis and major extinctions in earth history is that it is affecting plant species as well as animals—the direct result of human-induced habitat destruction.

Why should people care about other species? After all, we display little regard even for each other. We should care for two reasons, one moral and one purely rational. First, every species has an equal right with humans to life and a future in which its full evolutionary potential can be expressed. Second, the plant and animal species of the earth maintain the global ecosystem—they produce and maintain atmospheric oxygen and carbon dioxide levels at stable concentrations; filter, break down and detoxify poisons and wastes; moderate climate; regulate natural fresh water systems; recycle soil nutrients and maintain soil fertility; control pests and diseases; store solar energy as chemical energy available as food and fuel; and finally, they store the earth's inheritance of genetic material that is the only possible source of all future adaptations to environmental change. Massive extinctions threaten to destroy the complex system of interactions and mutual support that maintains all life on the planet, humans included.

Soil Erosion

Soil erosion is a hidden form of habitat destruction, in this case the "habitat" of food plants for humans. Soils are the basis of plant and animal life on land, providing the nutrients necessary for plant growth and the micro-organisms that decompose dead plant material so that nutrients are recycled instead of lost. Massive global soil erosion now threatens to leave the land surface impoverished and unable to sustain current levels of food production. With hundreds of millions of people undernourished today and the world population growing, major losses of soil will inevitably result in massive starvation in the future.

Soil erosion is another result of maxi-
Continued on next page

In the wake of the Exxon Valdez: World capitalism and global ecocide

Continued from page 19

mized production for the market. The rate of loss is currently estimated at about seven percent of existing soils per decade; extensive losses have already occurred. Modern industrial agribusiness is directly responsible for the greatest share of soil loss through the nature of its operations, and is "indirectly" the cause of most of the rest of the soil erosion that occurs in the undeveloped world. Growers in the United States, in their need to survive in the marketplace, have had to abandon traditional practices such as crop rotation and fallowing that kept erosion to a minimum. The giant tractors and grain-combines of modern agribusiness operations have required the creation of huge, erosive fields out of many stable smaller ones that had been protected by natural boundaries or planted shelter-belts. Declines in soil productivity have been masked by increasingly heavy use of chemical fertilizers, which replace some but not all soil nutrients and do not maintain natural soil structures. The result of these highly energy-intensive and industrial techniques of soil-mining has been catastrophic erosion and steadily declining soil productivity. Recent estimates put annual excess soil erosion (i.e., soil erosion above that amount which would occur under natural vegetation) in the U.S. at 1.53 billion tons, from 413 million acres of cropland (an average of 3.7 tons per acre per year). One third of U.S. topsoil has been lost to date—in some parts of the Midwest with the nation's richest soils, up to one half is gone.

Although the U.S.S.R. and China do not produce food for the export market, they also attempt to maximize production to cut down their food import requirements. Thus the same industrial approach to agriculture is used. The U.S.S.R. may be losing more topsoil than any other country, because it has the greatest acreage in production in the world. The annual rate of excess soil loss is at least 2.3 billion tons (and is probably much higher); wind erosion has already caused over a million acres to be abandoned. China loses soil at a rate of 3.3 billion tons per year. Together with India, the three superpowers account for annual soil losses of 11.8 billion tons, about half of the global loss of 23 billion tons.

A standard reason given both for the devastating annual losses of soil and lowering productivity, as well as for the malnutrition and starvation which affects one fifth of the world's people, is the rapidly growing world population. However, even this population growth is the result of the penetration of the capitalist market system into all countries. As the early political economists were aware; the true "wealth of nations" is the population, the labor force which makes profit possible. Michel Foucault has pointed out that long before Malthus governments in Europe began to:

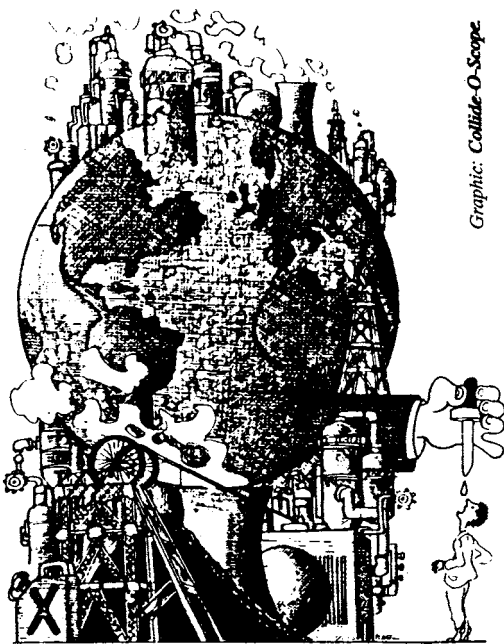
*"grapple with the phenomena of population...to undertake the administration, control and direction of the accumulation of men (the economic system that promotes the accumulation of capital and the system of power that ordains the accumulation of men are, from the seventeenth century on, correlated and inseparable phenomena...)"*⁶

As capitalist market relations have spread globally through colonialism and other forms of imperialism, peasant societies and indigenous peoples have been systematically forced out of their demographically stable modes of life and off their lands so that large-scale operations for food export could take over. George Bradford has described the process of "agricultural modernization" well:

"Colonialism wrecked subsistence in most countries, bringing with it an emerging capitalist economy, wage system, cash crops

*and monoculture, destruction of traditional economies [and] forms of sustainable agriculture, as well as the destruction of people's basic land skills with their reduction to plantation workers...This recipe for disaster accounts for the world crisis we are now witnessing."*⁶

With the capitalist growers now occupying the best land, people throughout the Third World have had three options: sell themselves as labor to the plantation owners, move to the shanty towns around the cities and hope for work, or move onto marginal lands in the countryside to try to eke out a living on poor soils and steep slopes. All three



Graphic: Collide-O-Scope

options have generally meant hunger and skyrocketing family sizes; the third alternative has also led to increased deforestation and soil erosion.

Almost needless to say, soils are being damaged or ruined in other ways as well, for example by salinization (the accumulation of salt at the soil surface) in arid and semi-arid regions of irrigated agriculture, and by contamination with poisonous chemicals (pesticides, herbicides, PCBs and other industrial contaminants). It is estimated that by the year 2000 some 65 percent of global irrigated lands will have suffered damage, expressed in reduced crop growth, just from salinization. The human impacts of chemical poisoning of food grown in pesticide-laden soils has hardly been studied at all, but the outlook is hardly good.

War

The irrationality of the global capitalist system is best seen when the competition inherent to it is expressed most directly, in war. War in our age is qualitatively different from its pre-capitalist forms, and nowhere is this more visible than in its effects on the natural environment. At the broadest level, war is a necessary aspect of the global process of concentration of capital in fewer and fewer hands, i.e., it is a particularly direct form of competition. The capitalists of each nation, especially of the weaker ones, try to erect barriers to protect their own capital; these can only be broken down by war. Trade wars tend to become shooting wars.

Waged by factions of capital over access to the "bounties of nature," modern wars paradoxically take the form of the destruction of those very resources. Under capitalism, war and peace are qualitatively identical in environmental terms—they are two forms of the same process of ecocide—and differ only in the rate at which the process proceeds. The famous statement of

von Clausewitz, that war is simply politics by another means, can be turned on its head: "peace" today is just the "low-intensity" form of the war continually waged by profit-seekers against the earth and its inhabitants.

Economic conflicts between different sectors of global capitalism—for example between the "private" and the "state" blocs—create and are expressed by political and ideological conflicts, which may become themselves the dominant forces leading to war. The ideological differences, however, derive from the economic competition between the nations. Again, in the cases of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. the basic tension lies in the fact that the monopolistic control exerted by the "socialist" system over its sphere of influence has deprived (until recently) the American "free market" interests of any access to this potential (and vast) market, thus inhibiting private capital expansion. This economic conflict has therefore been expressed as an ideological one—the Soviet Union as an Evil Empire—with proxy wars repeatedly fought to prevent the expansion of the area of state capitalism.⁷

In addition to forcing access to markets and resources, war is employed as the occasion merits by ruling elites for a number of other reasons: to destroy the accumulated capital of competitors, thus eliminating them directly from competition; to benefit dominant sectors of capital, such as the arms industry, through government contracts for war production, and thus to stimulate industry as a whole (it was World War II which "ended" the Great Depression; since then global capitalism has had to establish the "permanent war economy" to maintain its profitability); to destroy the means of livelihood (forests, farms, fields, waters, etc.) of self-sufficient peoples, forcing them to work for capitalist exploiters; and to eliminate resistance movements trying to establish their own concentrations of power and capital organized on nationalist lines instead of as directly exploited colonies of foreign powers.

As an illustration of the use of environmental destruction specifically to serve the purposes of war, consider what was done to the upland forests and agricultural lands of Vietnam during the so-called Vietnam War. (The war should properly be called the Indochina War, because it extended far beyond the borders of Vietnam into Cambodia, Laos and Thailand as well.) The term "ecocide" was coined to describe the extreme attack on Vietnam's ecosystem, effected by the use of chemical weapons (herbicides, principally Agent Orange; napalm; white phosphorous) as well as "conventional" bombing. According to a recent summary:

"The US government employed a 'scorched earth' policy that deliberately destroyed the natural environment in an effort to separate guerrillas from the local population. U.S. Armed Forces denuded entire forests to detect guerrilla encampments and troop movements. They chemically destroyed rice fields both to force non-combatants into 'strategic hamlets' and to deprive guerrillas of food. Between one-fourth and one-half of Vietnam suffered defoliation at some point during the war...Rallying beneath the motto 'Only We Can Prevent Forests,' US herbicide teams dumped about 6 lbs. of chemicals for every South Vietnamese citizen, destroying vegetation and poisoning the land with dioxin. Today 17,000 km² of land are still affected...The war denuded as much as 41% of the mangrove forests in South Vietnam...Planes dropped 13 million tons of bombs that pockmarked the land with 25 million craters, displacing 3 billion cubic meters of soil... Other US tactics included clearing forests,

*agricultural land, villages and even cemeteries with giant bulldozers called 'Rome Ploughs.' Bulldozers chewed up 500,000 acres of land to establish base camps, build roads and clear villages...I.U.C.N. (International Union for the Conservation of Nature) reports that 'the forests have never recovered, fisheries remain depleted...wildlife has not regenerated, cropland productivity is still below former values and a great increase in toxin-related diseases and various kinds of cancer' exists."*⁸

The same "scorched earth" methods are currently used by the US and its proxies in Central America, supposedly the latest arena of the "East-West ideological conflict." (Since the Soviet Union has virtually no influence in the region, it is clear that ideological rationales for war are extremely flexible and serviceable in their application. The real threat for U.S. elites in Central America is the development of a regional form of capitalism that actually could compete with U.S. corporate interests there.) The use of the "Soviet threat," however, as of the "American threat" in Afghanistan, serves to maintain the confusion, fear and loathing within and between the populations of the two powers, thus directly furthering the interests of the dominant sectors of the respective capitalist blocs, especially the arms industries, through massive state spending on weapons arsenals. The utter neurosis of the "arms race," clearly evident to all in its potential for global destruction, is the inevitable outgrowth of the profit motive. Nuclear war differs from the "peaceful" cutting of the tropical rainforests only in the scale and rate of damage; the root cause of the two forms of ecocide is the same.

The Atmosphere

It would not be possible to conclude this survey of the most severe forms of environmental degradation without mentioning what is happening to the atmosphere, the delicate halo of gas that protects and nourishes life on the planet. The atmosphere retains heat (the "greenhouse effect") and lowers the range of temperature changes at the earth's surface. More than this, it supplies the gases necessary for plant and animal respiration, carbon dioxide and oxygen, making life as we know it possible. Further, ozone in an upper layer of the atmosphere, the stratosphere, protects us from damaging forms of solar radiation. For millions of years the concentrations of these gases have been stable. Today, however, human activity is causing a rapid and potentially devastating increase in the atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide and other "greenhouse gases," causing the average temperature of the atmosphere to rise. At the same time, human production of air pollution is causing destruction of the stratospheric ozone layer. If these processes continue, catastrophic impacts on natural habitats, plant and animal life, and human society are bound to occur.

The main causes of the rise in CO₂ concentration are the burning of fossil fuels (coal, oil and natural gas) in industrial nations and the cutting of forests worldwide, especially in the tropics. Current estimates put the rate of annual increase in CO₂ concentration at 0.5 percent per year; the average global CO₂ level is now at least 25 percent above pre-industrial levels. Concentrations of other greenhouse gases such as methane (principally from industrial cattle raising), nitrous oxides (industrial and auto exhausts), and chlorofluorocarbons or CFCs, are increasing even faster than CO₂, and will soon become, collectively, as important a cause of increasing temperature. The concentration of all greenhouse gases is expected to reach twice the pre-industrial level by the end of the coming century.

Current best estimates of the magnitude of global warming, based on computer models of the climate system, range from 4 to 9 degrees Fahrenheit. Even the lesser increase would bring about the highest average global surface temperatures of the last 100,000 years, and at an unprecedented

rate. The larger increase would create surface temperatures unknown for many millions of years.

The rate of temperature change may be as critical a factor as the total amount of increase. An intermediate scenario, with a total temperature change of 6.5°F by the year 2100, would require a rate of change of 0.5°F per decade. To put this in perspective, consider how plant and animal communities would have to respond. To maintain their integrity as associations of mutually adapted species, under this "moderate" scenario entire natural communities would have to migrate poleward at a rate of six miles per year, an impossibility. In other words, further massive extinctions of species and destruction of broad areas of natural life would result.

Temperature increases of the projected magnitudes can also be expected to create synergistic effects in the atmosphere, oceans and on the land. Such effects include increases in smog, acid rain, ozone depletion, and urban heat waves; reduced water supplies; increases in the use of pesticides to respond to proliferating insect species; and major changes in land-use patterns, especially in agriculture, with possible declines in productivity. Sea levels will rise, both because water expands as it warms and because polar ice-caps will melt. Current projections are that expansion will raise sea levels by 1.5 feet by 2050, and melting will raise them as much as four feet more. As a result, most of the world's rice production will be destroyed, many major cities will be inundated, and biologically productive marsh, mangrove and other coastal habitats will be wiped out. San Francisco Bay, for example, will expand to three times its present surface area.

Added to these effects will be the continued loss of stratospheric ozone. The ozone layer in the upper atmosphere screens 99 percent of deadly solar ultraviolet radiation, reducing it to non-harmful levels at the earth's surface. Loss of ozone will inevitably damage most forms of plant and animal life. The principal cause of ozone destruction is the use of CFCs, such as freon, by industry (as propellants in spray cans, as refrigerants, solvents, and in the production of plastic foams such as styrofoam). CFCs, once produced, require more than a century to degrade. They move from release at the surface to the stratosphere over a period of several decades; as a result, 95 percent of the CFCs released between 1955 (when their use became common) to the present are still on the way. NASA predicts a global average ozone depletion of ten percent by 2050. At present, the "ozone holes" over Antarctica and the Arctic exhibit a thinning of the ozone layer of 40 percent. Major southern hemisphere cities, in Australia, Chile and Argentina, have already experienced "ozone alerts" as portions of the Antarctic hole have moved over them for weeks at a time.

Present estimates suggest that a 5 percent increase in reception of ultraviolet radiation at the Earth's surface would cause about 940,000 cases of non-melanoma cancer and about 30,000 cases of melanoma.

Other expected effects on humans include major increases in the incidence of cataracts, sunburn and suppression of the immune system. Cattle will be stricken by eye cancers, and terrestrial plants (including agricultural crops) will be damaged. The phytoplankton dwelling at the surface of the oceans, the base of the entire marine food chain, could be wiped out. The more scientists study the problem, the worse things look. New data on the rate of ozone-depletion show former estimates to have been much too low.

The Future

Selective quotation from the works of Adam Smith has been the vogue recently among the newly-dominant neo-conservative intellectuals decorating the fringes of power in the Reagan Age. The basis of his and their ideology is that "man is born to truck and barter." This ridiculous concept of human nature is the cornerstone of their belief that the greatest social benefit arises from the personal pursuit of profit by each individual. To anyone who is not totally indoctrinated this is a blatant ideological rationale for greed and exploitation, and makes no sense. The greatest good for all can only come from a social system based on mutual cooperation and caring. And as we are able to see now, our ability to provide for and support one another must extend to the biosphere as a whole and all its inhabitants equally. Together we live, divided we perish.

The data and trends presented in this review clearly show that we are faced with the prospect of incalculably severe, even catastrophic destruction of virtually all components of the global biosphere. The cause of this annihilation of life and even of the earth's capacity to support life is the capitalist social system. Superficial critics claim that modern industrial modes of production and inherently harmful forms of technology are the problem, and that a sustainable capitalist economy could be based on "alternative" or "appropriate" technologies. They do not understand why modern industrialism has developed as it has, and why it will not be abandoned willingly, for example through legislation, by those who control it—corporations and states. The reason is profit. Only through increasingly high-tech, industrial methods of production can capitalists continue to maintain profitability. To abandon their Earth-killing activities is, for them, to abandon power, social control, indeed, their very identities as "capital personified and endowed with consciousness and a will."

Reforms of the capitalist system have no possibility of successfully saving the planet. The Greens' policy of "ecological capitalism" is one of despair and delusion; the market system depends upon environmental destruction for its very existence. Owen Byrd, for example, proposes measures such as allowing corporate directors to "bypass investment opportunities without being held liable for losing their shareholders' profits if the directors think a project

would have too adverse an impact on the environment."¹⁰ What Byrd does not understand is that the directorships of individual corporations (of whatever size) cannot afford to make decisions on this basis because of the advantage such voluntary restraint would give the competition. Corporate directors do not operate out of fear of the stockholders, from whom the law might protect them. All capitalist enterprises are compelled to maximize their rates of profit and accumulation of new capital, lest they be eliminated by their competition. Thus a "slow-growth" form of capitalism is out of the question. A "no-growth" form is impossible by definition; if capital is not expanding it is not capital. And there is no room for expansion left.

The most basic change required is the shift from today's insane production for profit to a rational system in which human productive activity is based upon genuine needs. These real needs, however, cannot be thought of as strictly human ones—instead, we have to have equal concern for the "ecological needs" of the earth, of all the plants, animals and physical components of the biosphere that together, and only together, guarantee a secure future for each other, humans included. Global ecological health and stability have to be the highest priority of human society. We must become responsible "stewards of the earth."

Such a change will require a global social revolution, in which the class structure of capitalism is replaced by a classless society of freely associated people living responsibly and wisely. An ecologically viable mode of society can only be based on complete social equality. Private control of land and social resources, the money system, and wage labor, all of which are bases of capitalism, must be eliminated. Human activity must be guided by an understanding of the tolerances of the ecological foundations of each city, town, or village (we can do without many of the luxuries and poisons of today), and social products must be freely distributed as needed. Genuine community must be restored. We must care for each other and work together for common ends in a non-hierarchical society without controlling elite groups. People must be responsible for and make decisions themselves on all the matters that affect their lives.

It is time for people who care about the Earth to come together in an effort that goes beyond mere single-issue activism. Environmental activists who do not understand the deep, underlying root cause of the problems they devote their efforts to solving will never recognize why they always fail to reverse the trend toward destruction. And they will never succeed unless they link together, not only with other environmental activists but with other people fighting to eliminate capitalist exploitation in all of the forms—economic, sexual, racial, or familial—which now permeate every corner of the earth and all aspects of our daily lives. For environmentalists, this means making active, real links with other forms of genuine popular struggle wherever they exist, be they wildcat strikes, squatting movements by

homeless people, rent strikes, efforts to get food to the hungry, actions to protect people from industrial poisoning, efforts to liberate women from domination, or struggles to free inner-city and rural poor people from lives of degradation and sickness. It means educating ourselves and each other so that we all understand the true nature of the so-called "society" we live in, and what our real, common interests are. It means working together in a new, united, powerful attack against the interests of the rulers we slave and die for, so that we can create a real society of equals.

Deepening our understanding of the roots of the current global crisis and linking our struggles to those of other people will entail thinking and acting in new ways. We need to read deeply and widely to develop this understanding, and we need to come together in discussion groups to share it and to forge links. We have to stop allowing (or asking) others to make decisions for us; we need to take action ourselves. We can only act effectively together, therefore we have to break down the isolation in which our collective strength is lost.

Karl Marx and many others have emphasized the terrible human impacts of the capitalist system—poverty, misery, madness, suicide, alienation of the individual from himself and from others—and its injustice. Calls for and movements toward social revolution against the capitalist system have historically been based on this moral fact of injustice—capitalism is an evil system which benefits a few by exploiting the rest.

Today there is a new reason to destroy capitalism. If we don't destroy it, it will destroy the earth we (and millions of other species) live on. Recognition of the ecological need for revolution does more than simply provide another motivation. It supplies an element of urgency, a time limit that never existed before. We know that the earth's ecological tolerances have built-in limits, and that we are rapidly approaching them. Soon we will reach the point of no return. How long will it take before the oceans are irrevocably poisoned, the soils lost, the ozone layer gone? How much time do we have to construct a new, ecologically viable mode of human society? One thing is certain: if we have a future, it will not be a capitalist one.

Exxon Valdez notes:

1. John Burroughs, "Narrative of the Expedition," in *Alaska: the Harriman Expedition, 1899* by John Burroughs, John Muir, et al., Dover Publications, 1986 reprint, pp. 64-67.
2. Andre Carrothers, "A Desert of Waters: toxic pollution and the Great Lakes," *Greenpeace*, July/August 1988, pp.10-16.
3. Michael Weisskopf, "Grim Harvest," *San Francisco Examiner/Chronicle, This World Magazine*, October 9, 1988.
4. Data from E.O. Wilson and Norman Myers quoted in G. Tyler Miller, Jr., *Living in the Environment*, 5th ed., Wadsworth Publishing, 1988; p. 295.
5. Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in *Power/Knowledge*, ed. by Colin Gordon, Pantheon, 1980; p. 125.
6. George Bradford, "How Deep is Deep Ecology?," *Fifth Estate*, Fall 1987; p. 19.
7. Paul Mattick, "The United States and Indochina," in *Root & Branch: The rise of the workers' movements*, ed. by Root & Branch, Fawcett, 1975; pp. 174-179.
8. Robert Rice and Joshua Karliner, "Militarization: the environmental impact," Environmental Project on Central America (EPOCA) *Green Paper* no. 3, 1986; pp. 3-4. IUCN quoted from IUCN, "Vietnam: national conservation strategy," World Wildlife Fund, 1985; p.18.
9. Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, trans. by Ben Fowkes, Vintage (Pelican Marx Library), 1977, p.254.
10. Owen Byrd, "Green Capitalism: more than the color of money," *Earth Island Journal*, Fall 1988, pp. 47-48.

Reprinted with permission from *Collide-O-Scope* #1/May '89 (2140 Shattuck Ave., Box 2200, Berkeley, CA. 94704).



North American Anarchist Review

Number 1
Winter '89-90
FREE

Welcome!

This is the first issue of a new publication created to bring together anarchist readers and publishers. The **North American Anarchist Review (NAAR)** will be (at least for now) a semi-annual tabloid primarily intended to let the libertarian community know about interesting new books, journals and publishers. And conversely, it will give libertarian publishers a special opportunity to get the word out on their new publications. Although the **Review** will be published simultaneously as an insert in **Anarchy, A Journal of Desire Armed** and as a periodical on its own, editorially it is intended to be an independent project.

Taking its inspiration from the British **New Anarchist Review**, the format will be kept bold and simple, the length of articles and reviews will be kept short, and copies will be distributed free by distributors and bookshops, as inserts in other publications, or for SASE by mail. This first issue is primarily a sampler of the intentions of this project, mostly reprinting reviews from earlier issues of the **New Anarchist Review**. Succeeding issues will have a greater focus on what has been published most recently by anarchist publishers in North America and on what is being newly distributed here from other continents. Since **NAAR** is largely intended as a service to publishers, distributors and bookstores, it will be financed by advertising from these areas--if it is to be successful.

So take a good look. The second (Spring/Summer '90) issue will probably be 8 pages long, with a press run of at least 7,000 total. All deadlines are March 15th--for publication in April. For advertising rates, see below. Publishers **please** send us copies of any new anarchist (or related) books, pamphlets or journals. We can't do reviews without receiving review copies first! Reviews, bold graphics and articles are welcome. Please keep them short and too the point (include an SASE if you want them returned). Inquiries can be sent to: **NAAR**, c/o POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205.

Introductory Advertising rates:

full page (9.8"WX13 1/2"H)/\$120 (includes 200 copies of **NAAR** #2)

half page (4.8"WX13 1/2"H or 9.8"WX6 1/2"H)/\$70 (includes 100 copies of **NAAR** #2)

quarter page (4.8"WX6 1/2"H)/\$40 (includes 50 copies of **NAAR** #2)

eighth page (2.3"WX6 1/2"H or 4.8"WX3 1/4"H)/\$25

sixteenth page (2.3"WX3 1/4"H or 4.8"WX1 1/2"H)/\$15

(Camera-ready copy only, unless special arrangements are made. We reserve the power to refuse any advertising we consider inappropriate for this project.)

Bulk rate copies:

Copies of **NAAR** #2 are available for the cost of postage and handling (as the size increases, so will the cost for bulk copies): 50 copies--\$5.00. 100 copies--\$8.00. 200 copies--\$10.00.



The Idea, Frans Masereel

Alfredo Bonanno's From Riot to Insurrection

A review by Larry Gambone

From Riot to Insurrection, Alfredo M. Bonanno (Elephant Editions, 1988). 60pp. \$3.25 Paper.

Science fiction has always warned us of the dangers lurking in the future should society continue to develop in the direction of tendencies identified by the authors. The classical examples are Wells' *Time Machine*, Huxley's *Brave New World* and Orwell's *1984*. But fiction is one thing and theoretical analysis another. The two should not be confused and this is precisely what Alfredo Bonanno does in his *From Riot to Insurrection*. The reductionism of science fiction, so useful in telling a good story or making a moral point, should not be practiced by theoreticians since there are always several different options open for future developments. Accurate predictions are usually limited to the very general, such as "there will always be economic crises under capitalism." Try anything more precise and you are treading the dangerous

path of speculation and stand a very good chance of looking like a damn fool ten years down the road. As a consequence, theory should deal only in probabilities and a number of alternative scenarios should be proposed. No one should attempt to lay out the future for us and least of all, should they attempt to base a political practice upon such reductionist speculation, but this is exactly what Bonanno does.

He constructs a future capitalist utopia. In this post-industrial system a sharp division exists between a privileged yet unhappy working minority and a wretched mass of excluded individuals. The rulers have created a new language and the excluded are ghettoized by their inability to learn or understand this new speech. The economic crisis has been solved(!) and through a process of pseudo-democratization the poor are given an illusion of participation which serves to pacify them. Computerization and robotics have

eliminated the need for finance capital since in order to change the process of production one merely changes the program. Capitalism's ability to adapt has become infinite and in response to this the excluded turn to rioting and it is the duty of the anarchists to convert this elemental response into insurrection--the only way to topple the system.

Wouldn't it make a great cartoon strip! Trouble is, this is supposed to be a serious analysis. Let's examine some of the assumptions Bonanno makes. He states that the working class is displaced and irrelevant. Maybe this will be the situation in the distant future, but certainly not at the moment and for at least the next couple decades. Even with mass unemployment, 80% of workers are employed and most of those who are without jobs are not so permanently. Those who are genuinely excluded are so because of racism, sexism and racism. The composition of the working class has certainly changed, but a worker is still a worker whether they work in a factory, a government office or at a McDonalds. Taken globally, even this is not so evident and can be considered a bit of ethnocentrism on the part of the author. Industrial labor has shifted from the U.S. and U.K. to Korea and Taiwan. Capital does not computerize because the boss thinks it a cool idea, but does so only if it brings greater profits. If it is more profitable to use cheap labor in a Third World country than to install robots, they will use labor-intensive methods. One can only conclude that political economy is Bonanno's weak point.

As an example of this, he refers to the depression of the 1930s being the result of a crisis of overproduction. He accepts this Keynesian-Stalinist under-consumptionist theory not realizing that it was in reality a crisis of profitability. And even though we have been in the midst of an economic crisis for the past 18 years, Bonanno says nothing of this. Could this not have something to do with mass unemployment? Could this crisis not limit the adaptability of capital? With any understanding of political economy he would also realize that his utopia would soon become a hell for the moneybags--even if it could function at all, which is debatable. Since the early 1950s there has been a decline in the rate of profit in manufacturing, a direct result of the replacement of human labor by machines. This is the underlying cause of the present crisis and his future system would only exacerbate the problem. With labor reduced to almost nil, the rate of profit would be exceedingly low, resulting in intense competition among the various corporations. Only a global totalitarian state could offset this.

Quiet Rumours

An Anarcha-Feminist Anthology

Contents:

Anarcho-feminism; two statements
by Chicago anarcho-feminists
and Black Rose anarcho-
feminists

Feminism as Anarchism by Lynne
Farrow

Anarchism—The Feminist
Connection by Peggy
Kornegger

The Making of an Anarchist by
Voltaire de Cleyre

Socialism, Anarchism and
Feminism by Carol Ehrlich

*Quiet Rumours; An Anarcha-Feminist
Anthology*, Miscellaneous authors (Dark Star, 5
Caledonian Rd, London N1, England: undated)
72pp. \$4.95 paper.

The feminist movement that began in the late '60s developed its own organizational form and practice, at the heart of which lay the small group—for example for consciousness raising—often composed of close friends. From a base of thousands of such groups grew the larger, international movement.

In its early years the feminist movement was notable for its absence of leaders (and led), its decentralism, its federalism—best witnessed in the thousands of magazines, newspapers and pamphlets that wove the movement together—its complete lack of dogma and its denial of any one ideology or line. Lastly, springing from all this, its overall emphasis upon a non-

hierarchical movement. It must be pointed out that all these forms of organization appeared spontaneously without any external direction or pre-conceived programme.

By the mid-'70s most of these principles were in real danger of being forgotten as the movement became dominated by political ideologies, ideologies that some women regarded as essentially male, for example Marxism and its many brands. Also the movement began to be directed towards mass and reformist campaigns which were often inherently hierarchical and centrist, and of course intended to appeal to the ultimate expression of the patriarchy—the state.

For those feminists already aware of anarchist ideas the dangers of these developments were immediately clear and all too familiar. The anarcho-feminist critique gained popularity and was widely studied. The first English anarcho-feminist groups appeared in 1977 and soon grew to a national network with its own bulletins and newspaper, with two national and several regional conferences. Throughout this period the Black Bear group was busy publishing pamphlets on anarcho-feminism, all of which were extremely popular, going through several reprints and selling in their thousands.

But by 1980 the British anarcho-feminist movement had to all intents

and purposes ceased to function. It seems, looking back, rather short-lived. For one thing it faced opposition not only from Marxist and reformist feminists, but also from the traditional, and male-dominated, anarchist movement, which regarded anarcho-feminists as some kind of threat to its position. Partly because of all this, anarcho-feminists moved away into other areas of activity, particularly the growing anti-nuclear movement.

However, a great demand still exists for the pamphlets first published by Black Bear and so they are now collected together for the first time in *Quiet Rumours*. Hopefully their appearance will once again stimulate readers to consider and recognize the value of their arguments.

The Last Days of Christ the Vampire

reviewed by L. Chernyi

"He Rose From the Dead...His power grew over the Ages. Enslaving minds and bodies through both religious hierarchies and direct telepathic control, Jesus Christ, the Vampire, promises people Eternal life for the price of their minds."

(From the book's cover)

The Last Days of Christ the Vampire, J.G. Eccarius (Ill Publishing, POB 8362, San Diego, CA. 92102: 1988) 180pp. \$5.95 paper.

Looking for some light, entertaining, yet garishly critical reading? J.G. Eccarius' new book, *The Last Days of Christ the Vampire* may be

just the thing to read during the coming holiday season—while the rest of Judeo-Christian civilization mindlessly celebrates the (re)birth of 2,000 years of a still-undead nightmare.

Typically, works of the horror genre invite themselves to be taken as overtly metaphorical expressions of the ghastly social reality we experience every day of our lives. The simultaneously repulsive fascination involved in reading works of this genre (or in viewing the films) allows us to vicariously experience in fantasy the same type of realizations we are forced to repress the rest of the time. Certainly this must be one reason for the perennial popularity of vampire stories.

But whereas typical vampire fare keeps the metaphor subdued, Eccarius' *The Last Days* takes the vampire theme for a ride on a new roller coaster. The book is an unlikely mix of scraps from punk and anarchist subcultures with a literally Christian reinterpretation of the vampire myth. The result is a whacky (but all too logical, when you think about it) romp through Christian civilization in search for the real Christ behind the curtains, the vampire. And he's not such a long way from Lynchburg as you might think.

Though the novel is unevenly written, showing a few hasty mis-steps from a new writer, it succeeds where it counts; it's fun, entertaining and in a few places hilarious. As Hakim Bey says (quoted on the cover), the book contains "Course invective, crude but effective, like a sock filled with buck-shot."

The Book of Pleasures

reviewed by Clifford Harper

The Book of Pleasures is easy to read, but difficult to review, especially if a reviewer pays serious attention to the author's warning. "Keep away, serious critics! This is not for you. I don't give a toss what you think of this book."

Well, I'm no serious critic and I'm in complete accord with all the ideas in the book, so expect no petty haggling over this or that point, no damning with faint praise or any other of the critic's usual catalogue of tricks. Instead I simply urge you to read this book as soon as you can and put its ideas into practice immediately. In the author's words, "If you know all this and better, go to it!"

The book's greatest pleasure is its language. For too many years situationist writing has labored against a well-deserved reputation of being difficult to understand, if not virtual impenetrability. A body of theory as rigorous and demanding as situationism requires an equally rigorous language, especially in its attempts to break through the sophistry and solipsism that cloaks so much "radical" ideology. All the same, it's regretted that many, myself included, have often closed the pages of situationist books and pamphlets with dazed incompre-

hension.

Reading *The Book of Pleasures* is easy. If nothing else it is a modern example of impassioned, visionary prose in the tradition of Blake, Rimbaud and Lautréamont. Passion unites situationism's tongue. Here praise is due to the translator, John Fullerton. From the first sentence the reader is borne along by Vaneigem's anger and impatience, emotions which illuminate rather than cloud his desire for a world of intense pleasure, and which fuel his contempt for this present order or work, restraint and survival.

But this is no "Hedonism Revisited." Vaneigem is not another revolutionary deserting the barricades for the boozier and bed. For him, and for me, our choice lies between death via work and constraint, or life via unlimited creative pleasure. We seek a radically new society. Anything less leads straight to the gates of the universal factory. In these days, the unknown wonders of life emancipated cannot be found within the offices of the official revolution. The end, or reversal, of this world begins with the individual's irreducible subjectivity, where work and submission meet implacable opposition. Here from the individual's will to live springs "a world in becoming,"



while the old world "goes down skid row very well on its own." Leave things alone. Cease work. Each time you work you destroy yourself. Attempt instead to live, follow temptations, do not worry over consequences. "The revolution will be a gathering of speed as the living race towards life. Then we will see if such a tiderace leaves the stucco walls of hierarchy, state and commodity civilization standing."

Indeed, the domination of exchange over life will be broken by realizing our desires, it cannot with-

stand the innocence which quietly urges us to laze in bed rather than clock in at work, to ridicule leaders, to refuse to pay. From such urges, multiplied a million times, will come the society that "millions of people feel a deep down attraction for. A society without punishment to fear, bills to honor, pleasures to pay for, without power, frustration or submission."

This world cannot be ushered in by revolutionary militants and intellectuals, the management in the wings. How could it be? What part can they play? They have too much at stake in the present order. Their diktats to work have resulted already in too much blood and suffering. No, it will come from those who turn their back on revolutionary work, refusing to put off for one day longer their real desires, to make one more sacrifice to the future, seeking instead their own lives of independence and creativity. This is what we all wish, now is the time to begin.

The Book of Pleasures is a good place to start. No doubt this book will be greeted with the deafening silence that "radicals" usually reserve for situationist ideas. No matter. Situationism does not seek shelf-space in the ideological supermarket, preferring instead to simply state the obvious.

Of course, there are those who wouldn't recognize the obvious if it were lying next to them in bed.

Untying the Knot

reviewed by Arabella Melville

The first of the two essays in this pamphlet, Jo Freeman's "The tyranny of structurelessness," was originally published in 1970. Cathy Levine's "The tyranny of tyranny" was a reaction to it. The two are very different in style and approach. Whereas Jo Freeman addressed an issue which she believed required urgent consideration if the women's movement was to achieve social change, Cathy Levine seems more concerned with defending the feminist *status quo*.

The basic issues raised are of relevance to any grass-roots movement and cannot be convincingly dismissed. Jo Freeman argues that the form of organization within the movement tends to determine the nature of the end-product. A mutually supportive group without formal structure will not, she suggests, have significant impact on outside reality.

She proposes that every group develops a structure, whether or not formal structures exist within it, but that formal structures do not permit effective control over the actions of individuals who wield power. When the structure is formalized, the individuals to whom power and responsibility are allocated are more accountable to the group. This permits effective action by the group as a whole. Linking such groups would focus the power of the movement.

Cathy Levine's answer kicks out in many directions, with sexist and to my mind irrelevant attacks on men. She seems to equate the acknowledgement of structure with male-dominated socialism, lack of structure with anarchism—a naive dichotomy, for all that it may reflect current practice.

The secondary theme of the exchange concerns consciousness-raising: perhaps the archetypal unstructured group activity. Jo Freeman argued that it was limited, Cathy Levine



that it held the key to progress. I believe that the past decade has shown that consciousness-raising is not enough. Like psychoanalysis, consciousness-raising can become an endless in-group obsession which leads nowhere. Women become too comfortable, closeted in this self-generated me-feminist, you-monster microcosm of a subculture.

Jo Freeman's opening of this argument could have been taken further, to the next imaginative leap in the women's movement. It was not, perhaps because it was condemned as tainted with male concepts; and over the next decade, the sense of excitement in the movement died for many of us. But the argument is still worthy of consideration within the anarchist movement. The dilemmas of structure, organization and effectiveness will remain with us.

First published in *Freedom* (London, England).

Anarchist Mailorder Retail Distributors

The following are all major retail distributors of anarchist publications in North America. Each has its own catalog, and specializes in its own area—it's usually a good idea to send a large, 45¢ SASE or \$1.00 in stamps for copies of catalogs.

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

Black Rose Books, 3981 boulevard St.-Laurent, Suite 444, Montréal, Québec H2W 1Y5, Canada (*the largest publisher*

of anarchist books in North America, with its own extensive catalog, though prices are rather high).

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

Left Bank Distribution, 4241 Brooklyn NE #201, Seattle, WA. 98105 (*possibly the widest selection of anarchist books & periodicals available in the U.S.*).

Libertarian Book Club, 339 Lafayette St., Rm 202, New York City, NY. 10012 (*anarchist books & periodicals*).

[Other anarchist retail mailorder distributors that would like to be added to this list should let us know.]

C.A.L. Books!

Ordering information: These are some of the major titles we stock. All are available postpaid from C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446. Send cash, check or money order in U.S. currency (or equivalent amount in British, Canadian, Mexican or French paper money—no checks or money orders in foreign currencies, please).

Begin at Start by Su Negrin

"Some thoughts on personal liberation and world change: Begin at survival. Begin with our own unfreedom. Begin in our own daily lives. The personal is political because a change in the intimate power relationships of our everyday lives is necessary for a free world. The political is personal because we need the power to determine our own lives." 173pp. 3.50 paper.

The Ego and Its Own by Max Stirner (Johann Kaspar Schmidt)

The ultimate case for the individual against authority, and a critique of all ideologies that has never been surpassed. Max Stirner was an obscure figure at the turning point of modern philosophy and radical theory (in the 1840s). A brilliant precursor of modern phenomenology and existentialism, his message was so profoundly radical and so far in advance of its time that he invariably remains misunderstood and mindlessly reviled to this day (even among most anarchists)! This book explores the bedrock from which all modern theories of radical subjectivity derive their ultimate grounding. 366pp. \$7.00 paper.

Society of the Spectacle by Guy Debord

"In societies where modern conditions of production prevail all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation." (*From the text*) Along with *The Revolution of Everyday Life*, this is one of the two major texts to come out of the Situationist International. No one can claim to understand modern history who has not understood the central thesis of this book. Unpaginated/221para./\$4.50 paper.

A Primer of Libertarian Education

by Joel Spring

"Spring's book is unique. It stands serenely outside the muddy stream of literature spawned by the recent wave of criticism of compulsory schooling...Spring places the radical challenge into its own tradition of libertarian anarchy...This is the only readable book I know which does so in simple language and with the clearheadedness of the competent historian."—*Ivan Illich*. Simply one of the best books on education available today. 157pp. \$6.00 paper/\$10.00 hardcover.

Situationist International Anthology

edited and translated by Ken Knabb

"In 1957 a few European avant-garde groups came together to form the Situationist International. Over the next decade the S.I. developed an increasingly incisive and coherent critique of modern society and of its bureaucratic pseudo-opposition...Since then...situationist theses and tactics have been taken up by radical currents...all over the world." (*From the editor's introduction*) Fascinating reading. 406pp. \$15.00 paper.

THE REVOLUTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Raoul Vaneigem

The Revolution of Everyday Life

by Raoul Vaneigem

"The modern world has to learn what it already knows, become what it already is, through a great exorcism of obstacles, through practice. We can escape this commonplace only by manipulating it, controlling it thrusting it into our dreams or surrendering it to the free play of our subjectivity." (*From the author's introduction*) A powerful book by a member of the Situationist International, influential during the May '68 Revolt in France. 216pp./\$11.00 paper.

The Free by M. Gilliland

A fictional account of an insurrection, revolution and its suppression under circumstances not dissimilar from contemporary Britain. Graphic descriptions of battle, guerrilla warfare, torture and imprisonment make this novel not for the fainthearted, and yet they represent what could be expected in such a situation. 142pp./\$5.00 paper.

Quiet Rumours: An Anarcha-Feminist Anthology

Along with Voltarine de Cleyre's essay, "The Making of an Anarchist," the collection includes writings by anarchist feminists from the early 1970s which "illustrate the clear parallels existing between feminist practice—non-hierarchical, anti-authoritarian and decentralist—and the theories of anarchism." (*From the cover*) 72pp./\$5.00 paper.

Wildcat Anarchist Comics

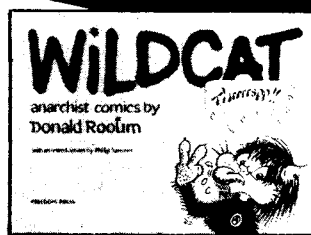
by Donald Room

A beautifully done collection of comics featuring the not-always-so-loveable anarchist pussycat and the more intellectually oriented stork. 48pp./4.00 paper.

Wildcat Anarchist Comics

A good cartoon is a highly effective way of getting a point across, so Freedom Press' publication of Donald Room's *Wildcat Anarchist Comics* was particularly welcome. Readers of the British paper *Freedom* already know the *Wildcat* character since she has been appearing in *Freedom's* pages since 1980. But this book should introduce her to a wider audience. Donald's funny, clever and well-drawn cartoons cover subjects including religion and violence, free speech and pornography, nuclear disarmament and the British Labour Party. Best of all is his famous parable of the sheep and their shepherds.

In addition to Donald's cartoons there is an introduction by Philip Samson, the long-time *Freedom* editor and contributor. Philip gives a quick



account of Donald's involvement with the anarchist movement and the cartoons he has contributed to it. Anyone who's been arrested at a demonstration will be cheered by the way Donald managed to beat the police frame-up when he was arrested at a 1963 demonstration. Three junior police officers were later jailed for their part in the unsuccessful frame-up, but the chief culprit, Detective Sergeant Challenor was cleverly declared to be insane before he could stand trial. The police were left with egg on their faces after they decided to mix it with Donald, and they won't thank him for the cartoons about them in this book.

A journal of Desire Armed

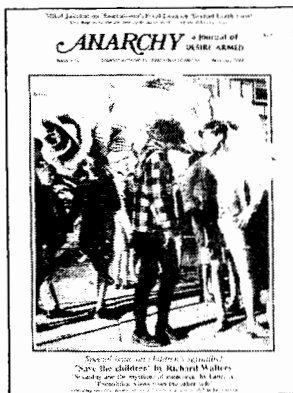
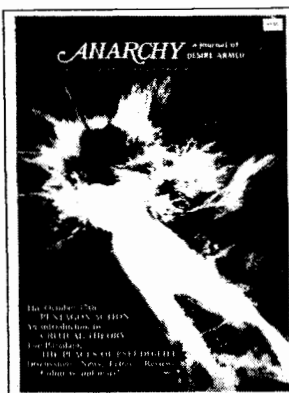
Tired of being told what to do, how to feel, and what to think? Discover and explore the world of anarchy. We don't claim to have any final "answers" to the question of how we can create a genuinely free and satisfying social world, but we'd like to search for them with you.

Anarchy is a journal of **desire armed**! Neither left nor right, we're just uncompromisingly anti-authoritarian. Anarchy refuses all ideology. We criticize all religion, all spiritualism, all moralism, all political ideology. We refuse to bow before the altars of "God" or the nation-state. We spit on nationalism, militarism, racism and hierarchy. We don't want to leave anything out. **Nothing** is sacred, least of all anarchism.

We want to create a genuinely different alternative vision—radically cooperative & communitarian, ecological and feminist, spontaneous and wild—a liberatory vision free from the constraints of our own human self-domestication.

Anarchy defends what little integrity still remains in our highly-alienated "brave new world." We defend the integrity of the individual. We encourage attempts to create and maintain genuine community, not for the sake of repressive ulterior motives—money, God, morality—but solely for the sake of the pleasures we may find there. And most fundamentally, we defend the integrity of our desires. For if our own most intimate and inalienable desires cannot be trusted, why bother with living?

If you haven't already, please subscribe today!



Many of our back issues are still available!

(Back issues are \$1.50 each in the U.S. & Canada, \$2.00 each by first class U.S. mail or surface mail to other continents and \$4.00 each by airmail to other continents. (Note: the double issue #20/21 is double the price of other back issues.) Circle the issues you want to order.)

Anarchy #1 (4pp., xeroxed) [January 1980] Contents include "Pigs will be pigs," and a short story, "Aussma," by Badguy.

Anarchy #2 (4pp., xeroxed) [March 1980] Contents include "Drifting toward World War III" by Sea @.

Anarchy #6 (12pp., tabloid) [August 1985] Contents include "U.S. lies about Nicaragua," a story by William Cottrell, "Mother Love," a section on "Native American News" (with news on Big Mountain, Leonard Peltier and Dennis Banks), and a reprint from the *Fifth Estate*, "Star Wars=1st strike; U.S. plans Death Star."

Anarchy #7 (12pp., tabloid) [September 1985] Contents include "South Africa: the resistance continues," "Pornography & female sexuality" by Diane Dekay, "Eros denied: a culture against untouchables" by Julian Noa, and "In defense of Young Lust" by Jay Kinney.

Anarchy #8 (12pp., tabloid) [Oct./Nov. 1985] Contents include "Julian Beck: a memory" by Badguy, "The daily battle" by Freddie Baer, "The Abolition of Work" by Bob Black, and "Where have the radicals gone" by Lev Chernyi.

Anarchy #9 (12pp., tabloid) [Dec. '85/Jan '86] Contents include "Foreign Policy," a tale from *Neutron Gun* by Gerry Reith; "Cooperation is anarchy," a discussion between Jason McQuinn, Al Messner, Jai Noa, and Allen Butcher; and "The Plague (Central America)" by Julian Noa.

Anarchy #10 (12pp., tabloid) [Feb./March 1986] Contents include the first installment of "The Papalagi" by Tuiavili of Tiavea, the 1985/86 revision of the Columbia anarchist league's *As we see it*, and "Storybox" by Jai.

Anarchy #11 (12pp., tabloid) [April 1986] Contents include "A history of the Anarchist Black Cross," "The Papalagi" (part 2); "The politics of 'reality'" by Lev Chernyi; "The Federal Programme of the West German Greens—Part I," "The Badguy Report—The Club Dekrepit bust: two years after," "Ecology as ideology; Ecological Politics and Bioregionalism," a review by Lev Chernyi; and "Winning hearts and minds," a story by Gerry Reith.

Anarchy #12 (12pp., tabloid, plus the 12-page Summer '86 *The Gentle Anarchist* included as an insert) [Summer 1986] Contents include a report on the "Haymarket '86 anarchist gathering" by Lev Chernyi, "Radical movements confront apartheid in South Africa," "The Papalagi" (part 3), "Let us prey! Smash the state!" by Bob Black, "Notes on playing for keeps" by Alf Sprack, and "The Badguy Report—Two fuckups; Badguy's and Betsy's."

Anarchy #13 [Weekly World Anarchy issue] (20pp., tabloid) [Fall/Winter 1986] Contents include "What in the hell is government?" by Cliff Harper, "The Badguy Report—Shantytown lives," "The Papalagi" (part 4), "The bioregional vision—far-sighted or myopic?" by Lev Chernyi, "Theses on libertarian municipalism" by Murray Bookchin, "A summer place" by Kerry Thornley, "Reagan's drug war" by Kurt Nimmo, and lots of letters.

Anarchy #14 (28pp., tabloid) [Summer 1987] Contents include "Anarchy in Greece, Part 1" by Lev Chernyi, "The Papalagi" (part 5), "The Badguy Report—Is punk dead at KOPN?", "Vagaries of negation" by John Zerzan, a review of "Noam Chomsky's *Turning the Tide*" by Lev Chernyi, "Intervention in Vietnam and Central America: Parallels and differences" by Noam Chomsky, "Harmonica Vengeance" by Lev Chernyi, and more letters.

Anarchy #15 (32pp., tabloid) [Winter 1988] Contents include "Give

chance a piece," "Propping up the cities: a review of Murray Bookchin's *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship*" by John Zerzan, "Feyerabend's *Against Method*" reviewed by Larry Giddings, "The Papalagi" (part 6), "The realization and suppression of religion" by Ken Knabb, "Anarchy & religion: a dialogue" (including "Anarchism or religion" by Fred Woodworth, "Religion and anarchism" by Jay Kinney, "The sacred & the profane" by Lev Chernyi, "Freedom and religion" by Jay Kinney, and "Between concept and reality" by Lev Chernyi), and more letters.

Anarchy #16 (32pp., tabloid) [Summer 1988] Contents include "Native American guerrillas in Colombia," "Rab! Rousers protest in Minneapolis," "Working Girls: A review" by Lev Chernyi, "Lizzie Borden on *Working Girls*" (excerpt from an interview by K/O), "The Papalagi" (part 7), "A note on biocentrism" by Lev Chernyi, "Realizing desire" by New Rage, "A boring night out, circa 1975" by Lev Chernyi, "My life in the porn biz" by Holly, "Pornography and pleasure" by Paula Webster, "Anarchy & religion—the dialogue continues" (through letters), "Gnosis and esoteric spirituality: a review of Jay Kinney's *Gnosis Magazine*" by Lev Chernyi, and many more letters, columns, news and discussion.

Anarchy #17 (32pp., 10 1/2"x14 1/2"/stitched) [Fall/Winter 1988/89] Contents include "Stumps Suck! on the Okanagan" by Mikal Jakubal, "Notes from the California Earth First! Rendezvous" by Lev Chernyi, "Anarchists riot in Athens," "Disturb@nce" (a letter from Greece), "Chaos and anarchy" by Kansas Slim, "Why *Working Girls* doesn't work" by Bill Blank, "The Papalagi" (part 8), "The point of no return for everybody" (a review of John Zerzan's *Elements of Refusal* and John Zerzan & Alice Carnes' *Questioning*

Technology) by Lev Chernyi, "Who killed Ned Ludd?" by John Zerzan, "The freedom of biocentrism: a poem" by Lone Wolf Circles, "If nature abhors ideologies...biocentrism is no exception" by Lev Chernyi, "Anarchy & religion—the dialogue continues" (including "The quest for the spiritual" by Feral Faun, "Ten theses toward the end of the flesh-spirit dichotomy" by Feral Ranter, and more letters), the first installment of "The nihilist's dictionary" (on "Niceism") by John Zerzan, and many more letters, as well as more news and reviews.

Anarchy #18 (32pp., 10 1/2"x14 1/2"/stitched) [March/April 1989] Contents include a "Report on the Oct. 17th Pentagon action" by Paul Simons; reviews of Jeremy Rifkin's *Time Wars* by Maria Mitchell, Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall's *Agents of Repression* by Toni Otter, and Kent Winslow's *Dream World* by Lev Chernyi; "Current controversies concerning the annual continental anarchist gatherings" by Lev Chernyi; "The Papalagi" (part 9); an excerpt from "Bigger cages, longer chains" by Spectacular Times; "An introduction to critical theory" by Lev Chernyi; two reactions to the Toronto anarchist gathering's "Day of Action"—"This time we retaliate!" reprinted from *Ecomedia* and "An open letter on the 'Day of Action' by Boog"; a continuing discussion of "Biocentrism vs. the critique of ideology" between Feral Faun, Lone Wolf Circles, and Lev Chernyi; a continuing discussion on anarchy and religion; columns including "On unions" by Interrogations, "The

nihilist's dictionary" (on "Technology") by John Zerzan, "A's for attitude," and "The return of the Badguy report;" along with many more letters, news from Greece, more alternative press reviews, and prison news from Project 1313.

Anarchy #19 (32pp., 10 1/2"x14 1/2"/stitched) [May/June 1989] Contents include a "Report on the April N.O.W. March in D.C." by Melen Lunn; "The Economic Movement and the Polish opposition" by John Barrett; "Taking the low road to *High Weirdness*," a review by Bob Black; "The Korean anarchists," a review by Toni Otter; "Another Heresy" survey results; "The Papalagi" (Part 10); "Pedophilia: Views from the other side"—including "I was fifteen, she was forty-three" by Chris Bearchell and "Girl Love" (anonymous); "Liberating sexuality," reviews of Richard Walters' *Sexual Friendship* and Will McBride & Helga Fleischhauer-Hardt's *Show Me!* by Lev Chernyi; "Sexuality and the mystique of innocence" by Laure A.; "Save the children" by Richard Walters; "Biocentrism: ideology against nature" by Mikal Jakubal; "Beyond Earth First!" by Feral Faun; columns including "The Badguy Report," "Nation, state...or human community" by Interrogations, "Feral Revolution" by Feral Faun, "A's for Attitude," and "The Nihilist's Dictionary" by John Zerzan on "Culture"; as well as many more letters, periodical reviews, more poetry and graphic art.

Anarchy #20/21 Double issue (48pp., 10 1/2"x14 1/2"/stitched) [August-October 1989] Contents in-

clude "Clean, sober & obedient: Behind the anti-drug witch-hunt" by Jack Straw, "On Afghanistan" by A Trotter, "People's Park riot in Berkeley: What really happened on May 19th" reprinted from *Sling-shot*, Alison Gross' review of *Re-making Love*, a review of Errol Morris' *The Thin Blue Line*, "Venezuela in the streets! Letter from a Venezuelan anarchist," "An open letter about the Toronto gathering demonstration and demonstrations in general" by Feral Faun, the final installment of "The Papalagi" entitled "The Papalagi want to drag us down into their darkness," "To have done with the economy of love" by Feral Faun, "Whatever happened to the sexual revolution" by Richard Walters, "Monogamy or non-monogamy? A discussion," a story by Laurie Ulster entitled "I'll Remember You," the newly revised version of "As we see it!" by the Columbia Anarchist League, Toni Otter's review of *Erotic by Nature* and a reprint of Dreaminhawk's story "The Pink Scarf" from that book, "Jealousy" by Isaac Cronin, Kevin Keating's story "The Man in the Box," and columns including John Zerzan's "The Nihilist's Dictionary" on "Feral," Mikal Jakubal's "Effects without a cause," "A's for Attitude" on "Emotional allegiance and demystification," and "The Badguy Report" on "The primal in the creation of the everyday." Also included are the usual alternative press reviews, pages of letters, graphics, and poetry. [Note: this issue is double the price of other back issues]

Anarchy
POB 1446
Columbia, MO. 65205-1446

Our subscription rates are currently:

- \$6.00 for six issues at the regular individual rate within the U.S. (3rd Class)
- \$9.00 for six issues delivered in plain envelopes within the U.S. (3rd Class)
- \$9.00 for six issues delivered to Canada or Mexico (Airmail)
- \$12.00 for six issues in plain envelopes by 1st Class mail in the U.S.
- \$12.00 for six issues to other continents by Surface mail
- \$24.00 for 6 issues to other continents by Airmail
- \$30.00 to \$60.00 for six issues at the sustaining contributor rate

Enclosed is a contribution of _____
Please send the circled back issues—enclosed is _____
Send gift subscriptions to the addresses below—enclosed is _____
Total enclosed _____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Country _____

Send gift subscriptions to:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Country _____

Rate (Circle one): (1) Reg. 3rd Class U.S. rate; (2) 3rd Class U.S. rate in envelopes; (3) U.S. 1st Class rate; (4) Canadian/Mexican Airmail; (5) Surface mail to another continent; (6) Airmail to another continent. Shall we enclose a gift card with your name? Yes ___/No ___

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Country _____

Rate (Circle one): (1) reg. 3rd Class U.S. rate; (2) 3rd Class U.S. rate in envelopes; (3) U.S. 1st Class rate; (4) Canadian/Mexican Airmail; (5) Surface mail to another continent; (6) Airmail to another continent. Shall we enclose a gift card with your name? Yes ___/No ___

Please make your checks out to "C.A.L." All subscription rates are in U.S. dollars. Subscribers outside the U.S. please send checks or money orders in U.S. dollars only. For checks or money orders made out in foreign currencies, add U.S.\$5.00 for conversion. We can also accept U.S., Canadian, Mexican, English and French paper currencies. Subscriptions are free to prisoners. _____ Indicate here if you do not want us to exchange your address with other papers or projects we trust.

Columns

A's for Attitude

The slut & the virgin



Photo by Mikell Zhan/Assistance Rach.

"She's a very kinky girl, the kind you don't bring home to mother...."

"On behalf of all the sluts in the world, we are all very grateful to have been spared meeting so many mothers."

Attitudes towards promiscuity abide all over the world. When a man sleeps around, sometimes he's a lucky guy. Others think he's running away from responsibility. When a woman sleeps around, then she is a slut, unless she lets herself be domesticated, in which case she is a reformed slut. What are all these attitudes?

People's sexual behavior is determined by countless influences. While one woman may sleep around to counter her own low self-esteem, another may simply enjoy sex. While one man runs from responsibility, another may be responsible to more than one person at the same time. But one thing is sure: promiscuous people only have it good in the movies.

A promiscuous woman can mean a lot of things to a man. He may think that he doesn't have to invest much effort into their relationship. Or he may be scared of her. In her vast experiences she may have had plenty of lovers that excited her more. Or that she liked more. She may even find a few of them now or in the future. She can never satisfy the egotistical need of normal men to recognize him as the quintessential lover, the more experienced teacher and the center of the universe unless she agrees to renounce all others.

The promiscuous man can mean a lot of things to a woman. She is constantly afraid that another woman will snatch him away. She must develop a fanatical obsession with becoming "the only one" in order to ensure her position. And although she may enjoy his expertise in bed, it may worry her. He must also renounce all others to defend her position in his life.

Promiscuous gay people face all the same shit, 'cept they have to deal with people's attitudes towards their sexual differences as well.

Thus the appeal of virginity. The majority of all men in America still think it's important to marry a virgin. In Japan women have their hymen sewed up before their wedding night. Virgins have nothing to compare their mate's sexual performance to; they have resisted temptation before and are likely to do it again. Women like them too for the very same reasons. Insecurity does not discriminate.

Virgins are not the only commodities, because sexually non-active people fit the bill too. The chase and seduction becomes very appealing; and winning over an unlikely candidate is the ultimate proof of your attractiveness. People who've been hurt before become good mates because they're very involved in

their own problems, and either warm up to others, or become a fun chase. Lesbians are thought to be women who haven't found a good man; how attractive a man must think he is when a woman will make a drastic conversion for him. And of course women love men who wait for the right woman and will treat her like a queen. All this falls in with our competitive sexual conditioning which forces us to compare our relationships to people with their relationships to others.

While the virgin or abstinent person may be plunging into the romanticism of the sexual system, they may also have refused it, like those who sleep around. Those who refuse are put under pressure, questioned and scrutinized; those who are alone are labeled as losers. They too undermine the whole structure by their non-participation.

How much of others is judged by their sexual relations or non-relations to others? Is love the reward for fidelity, or is fidelity a reward for love? Why is fidelity a sexual term?

Misconceptions about monogamy and sexual experience have never caused one to love more, they've only caused people to limit their relations to others, and deny those in the past. People become specialists in exclusivity; the harsh, cruel world looks on from the outside. The display must be blatant so others know to respect the rules; so well known that they need not be stated. Respect is doled out in accordance with compliance and complacency. And all is well until the system destroys itself in the end.

The system will destroy itself in the end. The slut, the virgin, the asexual, have clear cut choices: play along or be denied. In this the system will self-destruct because it's becoming recognized that even if you play along, you'll probably be denied anyway. So why bother?

Feral Revolution

Whither now?

Some thoughts on creating anarchy

"Any society that you build will have its limits. And outside the limits of any society the unruly and heroic tramps will wander with their wild and virgin thoughts...planning ever new and dreadful outbursts of rebellion."

--Renzo Navatore

I feel that there is no possible society in which I would fit, that whatever society was like, I would be a rebel. At times, this fills me with the joy of the "unruly and heroic tramps" of whom Renzo Navatore speaks, but often it leaves me feeling quite lonely and isolated.

I live in a "society" now--in a situation in which social roles are used to reproduce social relationships. Would the way that we relate when we are free of character armor and social roles still be social relationships? I envision a world in which we can live our lives fully, as unique, wild beings, moving freely into and out of relations with each other as our desires motivate us, never creating the sorts of complex structures of formalized relationships that I understand as "society." It is only in such a world that I can imagine feeling at home. But I really don't know how to go about creating this world.

Many of my friends wouldn't agree with my perspective on society, but we all agree that we want to create ways of relating that are radically different from what the present authoritarian, capitalist society offers. We all seem to be uncertain about how we can destroy this society and learn to relate freely. Clearly, we need to examine what we consider our radical practice.

I have written articles and flyers. I have no illusions about the radical nature of these projects. They perpetuate certain types of alienated social relationships, and I am fully aware of this. But I write in hopes of inspiring something beyond the writing. I hope that what is unique in what I write will touch

another unique individual, allowing us to break down the wall of written words and maybe meet and create projects together. This hasn't happened often though--usually, the social relationship of the printed word remains intact.

In the present situation, scamming and theft are ways of survival which are somewhat radical. They can involve an element of play and adventure lacking in regular jobs, but they are still basically ways of reproducing ourselves in this society and so are, in a sense, work. Still in a small way, theft helps to undermine the commodity, because you are taking something without paying for it. But the necessity for secrecy limits this element of radical critique. What is most radical about scamming and theft--as well as squatting, dumpster diving and gleaning--is that they drastically reduce our need to work and free our time for more worthwhile pursuits. But in themselves they are basically just survival tactics.

Vandalism and sabotage are attacks on property and, thus, on society. But, as most people use them now, they are limited attacks. They are largely just reactions to specific, particularly offensive acts of authority. The extent of the critique can be easily muted by its attachment to a particular issue--recuperating it for society. Still vandalism and sabotage are an active attack on society which may sometimes effectively fuck up some of the projects of Capital. But at their best they express only the destructive side of anarchic rebellion.

All of these activities are worthwhile as part of our rebellion against this society, but all are limited. None of them take us beyond the context of this society. Every one of these activities is, at least partially, created by society as a reaction against it. They don't free us from society or enhance what is unique to us. They only place us on the edge of society (which is certainly the most free and enjoyable place to be in society), and that is not good enough for those of us who want to live out our lives to the limits.

"Not at the margins of what is collapsing
Not at the margins of what is falling
But at the center of what is...rising"

Since we want to create new ways of relating, ways which grow out of our unique individuality, not social roles, we can't merely react to society--making it the center of our activity and ourselves merely its margins. Each of us needs to make what is unique to us--our own desires, passions, relations and experiences--the center of our activity. This implies a radically different conception of revolution than that of the various communists and orthodox anarchists who center on "the masses." Neither working class, nor common human activity can create the revolution I'm talking about. The rebellion of the individual against the constraints of society--against the processes of domestication--is the basis from which the revolutionary project has to grow. When the acts of rebellion of a number of individuals coincide and can embrace each other, those individuals can consciously act together and in this are the seeds of a revolution that can free each of us as unique, wild, free-spirited individuals. But what does this mean on a practical level.

Making ourselves the center of our activity means relating to society and relating to each other in new ways. When we begin to live in terms of our own desires and experiences, our own passions and relations, we find ourselves perpetually--if often subliminally--in conflict with society. Since society depends upon structure and order, and what is unique to us is chaotic and unpredictable, we have a useful advantage in this struggle. We can study society, learn something about how it functions and how it protects itself; but no amount of psychological study can give the force of order knowledge of our unique individuality. As long as we act from our own uniqueness with our knowledge of society--avoiding falling into social roles and predictable patterns--our actions will seem to come from nowhere, yet will wreak havoc on our enemy. Refusing to play social roles in the expected way, refusing to pretend that we accept having to pay

Columns

for things or work for survival, refusing to follow rules of etiquette and protocol--this is a beginning. Spontaneous (or seemingly spontaneous) pranks and guerrilla theater--which cannot be attributed to clowns, theater troupes or other social entities--may expose the nature of an aspect of society and even create a situation in which the choice between free life and the mere existence offered by society can no longer be hidden. Acts of theft, vandalism and sabotage, springing from our desires rather than being merely a reaction to a particular social atrocity, will be more random and more frequent. Our violence against society will strike like lightning, unpredictably and with the intensity of our desire to live our lives to the full.

But to be able to fight intelligently for ourselves against society requires knowledge and skills. Society, by placing us into social roles, limits our knowledge and skills, so we need to share this information. Books and articles can help us to do this, but are open to public scrutiny--including that of the authorities. That makes our activity more predictable and us more vulnerable. So ways of sharing knowledge that grow from our actual relations as unique individuals need to be created.

This need to share skills coincides with our desire to live life fully, to be able to freely relate and to enjoy each other as unique, wild beings, making the exploration of new ways of relating to each other an immediate necessity--not something to be put off until "after the revolution." Each of us is unique and so unpredictable. Having been taught all of our lives to relate as social roles rather than as the unique beings that we are, we have to rely on our imaginations to create new ways of relating, not on any already-tried pattern--and could it be any other way when we don't want to create new social roles? So the ideas I am sharing are tentative, calling for explorations into unknown realms, inviting us to adventures that are to be entered only to the extent that they fulfill our desires and enhance us as unique individuals. There is nothing *inherently* revolutionary about these explorations. They become revolutionary only in conjunction with a conscious and active resistance to society--a conscious recognition that our uniqueness and freedom as individuals is in conflict with society and that we must destroy it to fully free ourselves.

I've thought a lot about how to explore new ways of relating over the past several years. These explorations would need to be based on the unique desires of each of the individuals involved and on their mutual trust for each other. At first my thoughts centered mainly on some sort of settled rural/wilderness living situation involving non-economized relating, projects of wilderness expansion and resistance to and sabotage of domestication and authority. The more I thought about this, the more it seemed that such a project would involve a compromise of my own real desires--and would most likely recreate society on a smaller scale with individuals playing social roles rather than relating on the basis of what they uniquely are.

When people come together on the basis of each of their unique desires and their trust for each other, their union is, by its nature, very transitory. Individuals will come and go as they please and participate in the way they please. This makes a settled living situation, at best, very temporary. Recently, I have been wandering. I would enjoy sharing this life with friends and lovers who wish to wander as well. We would be a wandering festival of rebellion and wonder. I say a festival, and not a tribe or a band, because the only constant would be the commitment of each individual involved to live their life to the full and fight against whatever prevents this, the individuals themselves constantly coming and going as they desire. Survival activities could include wild harvesting, theft, scams, sharing gifts with friends and accepting gifts from people who appreciate any street performance--public expressions of our creative playfulness--we do. We can share skills and knowledge with friends we visit, creating an informal network for spreading knowledge and skills among those we trust. Acts of vandalism and sabotage and

other attacks against society will be easier since we will not be staying around--providing an added aspect of invisibility. In these wanderings, I would expect to spend a lot of time in wild places. I would want to explore these places and come to know them well. These wild places would be good locations to destroy this society. These gatherings would provide another means of sharing knowledge and skills as well as being a hell of a lot of fun.

As I said above, in and of themselves, these are not revolutionary ideas. Hobos, freaks, rainbow people and others have often been wanderers, but with no awareness of the war of society against the free-spirited individual. We are at war, but we aren't fighting for power. We don't need to build armies to overthrow the powers that be; we need to become wild, free-spirited, unique individuals whose violence springs from our desire to live life to the limits, and so can undermine power itself. Wandering festivals of free-spirited individuals can incorporate this destructive activity--very possibly much more easily than more organized and readily defined groups.

I've already said that these are tentative suggestions, ideas to be tried and tested. I'm tired of feeling isolated because I refuse to sacrifice myself to social

Continued on page 31

Interrogations for the Human Community

On organization

If it is evident that communism can only be realized through a social revolution, we have come to mistrust the label "revolutionaries." It would appear, in effect, that those who qualify themselves by this term often place themselves in a position of moral superiority compared to other people, its use permitting them to justify their existence by creating a separation, a distance. Not only Bolshevik organizations have adopted this kind of behavior. It is also to be found amongst individuals who critique the thesis that consciousness comes to the working-class from the exterior, and tends to support the myth of the role of revolutionaries.

We are not actors playing roles on the stage of history, who are "revolutionaries" by self-proclamation.... There exists neither an organizational question as such, nor (historical!) "tasks" for "revolutionaries" to carry out. There exists a constant tendency towards communism in humanity. This aspiration is expressed in utopias which represent a world in which humanity could be realized, as well as in resistances and struggles of the oppressed against their situation. When revolt translates into active involvement in individuals, it takes the form of positions: the necessity of action and reflection which is as collective and clear as possible. This leads to the organization of diverse fractions and minorities which arise as partial expressions of the real movement, attempt to critique its impasses, and are active in its midst. Not because the members of these minorities have--"by decree"--a role to play there, or ideas to bring from the outside, but because on the contrary they are an integral part.

Becoming conscious with respect to the world surrounding us, or with respect to our own aspirations, does not in itself imply globality of homogeneity. The minorities are products, amongst others, of a complex process of consciousness-raising, not the spokespersons of the movement towards communism, or those who incarnate the content and goals of this movement. If those who compose these minorities are "different," it is in the first place because they are in the minority, which is not a fault in itself, but an expression of the state of the movement. If the separation between people is felt by everyone, it is perceived at different levels, and results in diverse refusals. What fundamentally brings us together is a comprehension of our state of existence, or what we have in common. From this point begins a need to fight against capital, against separation, and therefore a practical need to associate. And hence, associations, not of contemplators of the misery fleeing profounder

reflection, but associations which are at the same time coherent and contradictory, resembling the movement that gave birth to them. They express a tendency to negate this world which, if permanent, is incomplete. The "minimum" activities of such associations would be to "publicize the misery," to reveal what the exploited have in common, and to propose their own vision of the future of the movement at the same time. But with no illusions: if we weren't there (for now at least)...who would know the difference?

In the context of associations such as those we have just defined, it is necessary to respect both the unity, the cohesion of the communal decisions, and the autonomy of the individuals who are implicated. This leads us to reject both centralism and federalism, as organizational methods which favor none of these conditions, but encourage bureaucracy instead. So-called democratic centralism is simply the submission of the base to the center. The minority finds itself paralyzed by the rigidity of the process. What is, and always has been inherent in this term, in the organizations which espouse it, is the separation between different organizational levels, mimicking capitalist division of labor, and more generally, the separation between people developed by capital. So-called organic centralism pushes this atomization to the extreme. This process encourages a situation of get-by-as-best-as-you-can, and leads at worst to sacrileges against the intangible principles, because only a minority--or only one person--know what the Program will consist of, and what is inappropriate. Centralism, in the organizations which practice it, in a more general sense, is always an obstacle to internal clarifications, and is used to force anything down the militants' throats. In this sense it is intimately related to more general conceptions of the "Party" form. Political parties, whether they openly aspire to take power, or limit themselves to a leadership role as proletarian vanguards, are expressions of the production and reproduction of politics: the separation of people into leaders and followers, masters and subjects of power. They express the state, which has never been and never can be other than an instrument of domination by exploiters. Whereas the left and the extreme left consider the "Party" as a means to take power and consolidate capitalism on the workers' backs, a fraction of what is known as the "ultra-left" claims that its presence is necessary for the workers "to take power." But if we are to accept their own logic, it would naturally follow that if the party, as the political expression of the proletariat, with the major function of the proletariat being to exercise its dictatorship, that the dictatorship of the proletariat can therefore only logically be exercised by the party. This discourse attempts to conceal that the political party is necessarily an organism which contributes to the perpetuation of a society divided into exploiters and exploited, whether it calls itself a "revolutionary party" or not.

Federalism, which is espoused by anarchists and "ultra-leftists" leads in its own fashion to a method of functioning which is in no way enviable to that of the hyper-centralists. As opposed to the openly-declared leaderships of the centralists, corresponding hidden leaderships that are swarming with careerists appear. In conclusion, centralism and federalism represent two methods of functioning which are in contradiction with the aspirations of an organization situating itself in a communist perspective. Not only do they reproduce the divisions in society, but they are ultimately nothing more than perspectives which attempt to avoid the problems created by the associations. Often they only serve to hide that whereas the theoretical and practical cohesion present when an organization was formed no longer exist, the organization attempts to survive at any price, whatever occurs.

Our critique of the dictatorship of the party hidden behind the dictatorship of the proletariat does not signify that we defend a "true" dictatorship of the proletariat. The destruction of capitalism in all its aspects can no longer be conceived as the affirmation of a class, but as the self-negation of the working-class.

Interrogations (c/o I.S., B.P. 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12, France). This essay was translated from the French by Michael William.

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!

My problem with anarchy has to do with its practical side: what can I do in my daily life right now to be more free of the consumer culture, of the "necessity" of work and money, etc. I understand there's no clear line of action to be taken, and I know any steps depend on how much I'm prepar-

It's good to hear you liked **Anarchy** #19, and we thank you for subscribing. However, I'm not sure what we could possibly do to help you in dealing with the

For example, I work nearly "full time" in order to finance both my small-city urban/industrial lifestyle and the production of this journal. I could disengage myself to a much greater extent from the work'n'pay routine if I were to stop publishing and move to the country (the latter is something I **would** like to do--and could easily do if I weren't so involved in supporting this journal). However, at present I feel that publishing is important enough to make it a high priority in my life. At a later date I may

Beyond this, though, I think you may have a fundamental misconception of the idea of anarchy if you merely think of it in terms of a means to a completely personal solution to your own personal problems in dealing with the money economy. And in this sense, even a semi-social conception which would merely look for "help" from co-operatives and communitarian projects would largely be missing

We are all working hard here on the Lower East Side keeping the tents up in Tompkins Square





and defending our squats and the rights of the homeless. The media attention is working well for our cause but, as this comic depicts, it can just as easily work against you if you're not careful. Discretion is still the better part of valor and nurturing a large ego can become downright suicidal....

I liked the ish I read at the @ convention in S.F. Keep cranking 'em out!!!!

Love & Kisses from:
Sledgehammer Sue and
Umbrella Squat, NYC., NY.

View from the street

I will never live in a house as long as my fellow human-beings are living on the street. I spent six years without a home, without direction, without something to live for. I personified the adage, "There but for the grace of God, go I," because "there I was." I once lived on the street by chance; I now live there by choice. I roam the streets of the once-famous Hollywood, California.

I have made a study of how to survive in the environment of being homeless and living on the street. Armed with that knowledge and experience, I have dedicated myself to helping those who must

live on the street.

The only way to help the homeless is on an individual "one-to-one" basis. The State can't help because they are laden with regulations, waste, and too many people; the private sector is too concerned with demagoguery, profit-taking, and P.R. for Celebrities. The Churches are too interested in brainwashing and control. If the people only knew how to help they would. We need a publication to communicate to the people how to help the homeless to help themselves!

From the perspective of the street I propose the following:

1) Broaden the circulation of my "one-to-one" newsletter *Bootstrap*. It suggests ideas to help the homeless help themselves. The readers also share experiences. *Bootstrap* costs \$12 (or whatever) per year—cash—because banks won't cash checks for street people.

2) Write a column for a newspaper or a magazine called "A view from the street" to maintain interest in the problems of the homeless. I have learned to live on less than \$25 a week. The excess, I can put into my newsletter, *Bootstrap*, or the project "Street Cart" mentioned below.

3) Start a special project

"Street Cart." As you know it's more convenient for the people of the street to push their belongings around in a shopping cart and sleep on the ground. I have designed a similar cart just six inches longer that can open up to a bed as well as store their belongings. I would like to have the "Street Carts" built and distributed to those who need them.

I have a bad taste in my mouth for those churches, individuals and organizations who have made a lot of money off the homeless. I resent them and promise I won't do the same thing. I borrowed \$2,000 on my insurance policy to start *Bootstrap*. So I am not begging for money. I get \$600 a month pension and recycle more than half back into *Bootstrap*. If you wish to help it costs me \$12 a year to print and mail *Bootstrap*, please subscribe, or send contributions only if you can afford it and want to find ways and means of helping the homeless to help themselves.

My lifestyle is to carry only essentials in what I call my "saddle bags." I travel light even by street standards. Blankets, for instance, are cumbersome and awkward. Besides, I am more creative after dark so at night I walk the streets with my notebook. I sleep in the

daytime in the park with a big cowboy hat over my head to keep the sun out of my eyes. My street buddies call me "cowboy."

Fridays I rent a word processor and write *Bootstrap*. I sincerely hope I can do my bit to help solve Society's biggest disgrace—Homelessness!

Bootstrap
POB 7663

Van Nuys, CA. 91409-7663

Nothing is anything

"Greetings"

From the Desr of the space dragon...About half-full, so let anarchy reign, I for one don't believe in atheism, or is it half-empty? Nothing is anything. Anything is everything. Everything is nothing. If you don't understand nothing you don't understand anything. If you don't understand anything, you can't expect to get something for nothing. Thanks for the sample issue of *Desire Armed* (#17), and here are a few inane comments on the parts devoted to religion (history now, I'm always late...). Faith moves mountains. Doubt makes mountains disappear. Faith and doubt are two coins of the same realm, and this side of the realm is Hell. To stop climbing in the foothills is to miss the view at the peak, where the air is thin and cold. To use words one must understand the purpose of words. Otherwise one is used by words, which amounts to the same thing. Words, incidentally, have no purpose. Neither do I, which is why I'm so special, even though I speak no Zen, and teach no neo-schizophrenic solipsism. N.B. I tell you 3 times. Truth is not absolute, especially absolute truth. Is this true? (1 and/or 2 word answer here) I agree with your answer, although it is false. Therefore, please send enclosed subscription-thing, for which find enclosed a heaping big portion of wampumpaper. Also, whatever happened to the spiders from Mars. I was just wandering. Greetings from the fried piper & no pictures & loud zoo & the sun jester. Remember when it's "one step forward & two steps back," turn around and walk backwards—you may not get there any faster but you can see where you've been. Do it twice and you're un-done+.

K-OZ-1, Cedar Mt., N.C.

An inherent fault

Dear Mr. Chernyi,

I began receiving *Anarchy* a year ago this summer after spotting an ad in the *Utne Reader* and have been consistently surprised and delighted with its fascinating breadth of coverage. I first want to thank you for maintaining a thought-provoking, mind opening publication.

Still, after a year of pondering, I can't shake the feeling that while your message and objection to the current state of things is good and well based, there seems to me to be an inherent fault in the nature of your circulation. If your revolution is to be based on a widespread shift in consciousness, then you should attempt to touch the increasing number of

people who are finding themselves unrepresented in any major political party, who find government oppressive but know nothing about modern anarchy. *Anarchy* of present seems to be by, for, between, and about anarchists.

Perhaps you are "reaching out" with *Anarchy*; living in the north woods of Wisconsin, it's hard to know a lot of things, but I would like to make a proposal to help in this cause. I would offer that you include in every issue, a section for the curious: a statement of purpose, history, and goals of those of you at *Anarchy*. In addition, a campaign could be initiated among subscribers to approach a friend who might be interested in the goals and dialogue of *Anarchy*, showing him or her an issue and perhaps persuading into a subscription. I would like to kick off the campaign by enclosing a renewal for myself and a check for a friend's subscription.

Thanks so much and keep up your great work!

C.C., Cable, Wisconsin

[Editorial note: Both ideas seem worthwhile. As other readers may have already noted, our last issue included a 4-page statement entitled *As we see it!* (which is always advertised in each issue as available in return for an SASE). And, sure, we'd like to see more of our subscribers encourage others to read and subscribe. So far we have quintupled our subscriptions in the last year. If we could merely quadruple our current level of subscriptions, *Anarchy* would actually become self-supporting at its current level of production. And from there, who knows where we could go?]

Concrete examples

Dear C.A.L.,

As we see it! is informative. A good theoretical intro. & critique of our cultural system. But, as I wrote you last time, this sort of thing is so abstract. It would help to have concrete examples, & practical suggestions for how one resists or breaks away from hierarchical, commodity based culture. Maybe these things can be addressed in later broadsheets....

Thanks,
J.B., Winter Park, FL.

No one to carry on?

Dear fellow A's,

While visiting...in Mexico City recently, [a comrade] showed me your publication just come to hand. How had I missed knowing about it? Please send me the current issue and put me down for a year's sub. \$6 enclosed.

Do you get our Workers Solidarity Alliance pub. ideas & action? If not, let me know, and I'll mail a copy of the latest.

Unfortunately, since the death last year of Benjamin Cano, there's no one either equipped or willing to carry on with *Tierra y Libertad* in Mexico, and...it's ceasing publication. I do believe there is some anarchist ferment among younger folks down there but so far I've not managed to make any contacts. [A comrade] who is struggling to maintain the anarchist press Ediciones Antorcha,

Continued on next page



Letters

No one to carry on

Continued from page 25

promised to put me in touch.

I am looking forward to reading your stuff and discovering where you all stand.

In solidarity,
V.W., San Antonio, TX.

[Note: Until now, *Ideas & Action* has been entirely uninterested in exchanging publications with us. But this situation has apparently changed, and it seems that the *Workers Solidarity Alliance* is finally opening up a bit more to the rest of the anarchist movement of late. We welcome your subscription.]

EF! flag-burning incident

Dear Anarchy,

I suppose I should've done it in the first place, but let me throw in a few comments on the flag-burning incident at the Earth First! Round River Rendezvous and on Badguy's report about it. Since his has only a second-hand account, he couldn't get some of the finer points that I think are important. Maybe adding my two-cents worth here will bring out the issue a bit more & give a fuller picture of the situation.

Firstly, the flags were at the EF!-Tucson literature table & so represented only their view. The general flying of U.S. flags at the rally was discontinued last year as was the use of the name "Sagebrush Patriot's Rally." And this year the R.R.R. date was moved off of the July 4th week & onto the Summer Solstice—to give just a few examples of the movement away from the old patriotic bullshit. This direction has been taken by the last several years' Rendezvous Committees which are *ad hoc* & usually composed of the active EF!ers in the area. To claim, as a few EF!ers have done, that the changes in EF! are the result of manipulation by a small cadre of "outside urban anarchists" is patent falsification for political ends.

I doubt that anyone ever asked Tucson to take down their flags prior to the burning—I sure didn't! And never would. In fact, later, I argued against any kind of manipulated "consensus" or vote that would require the flag's removal against anyone's will. I was being a "good liberal": You fly your flags, we'll fly ours. Also, it wasn't just me who burned the flag. It was a group effort. The flag was originally brought out during the "tribal dance" & nearly everyone got a chance to stomp on it. It wasn't hung up till the next day when we had the statement prepared on a large posterboard hung with the half-burnt flag so that people could see there was more motivation to it than just getting in the patriots' faces. Ultimately, all the flags were removed. The poster got torn down during the night but we re-did it. The next day, "Commie FBI scum" was scrawled across the face of it. The reason I emphasize that others were involved & many others sympathized is to counteract the lie being perpetuated by a few that all the controversy over a wide variety of issues is the doings of a "small group of urban anarchists," as *Earth First! Journal* editor J.D.

recently put it, with me as the leader. Imagine that! Some of these same people have been spreading rumors that I'm an FBI agent, out to destroy the group, etc. It goes on & on—but you get the picture. All this is just a convenient scapegoating to justify a purge & to continue what many of us have not let them get away with: avoiding criticism.

This brings me to my last point about Badguy's story. While Dave Foreman was undoubtedly pissed by the whole thing, mentioning his name in bold letters only further exaggerates the cult-of-the-leader mentality. [M.J. note: *Oops. Just learned that the "Badguy Report" was originally started as a sort of "anarchist gossip column" and all names are in bold. Well, okay, but the general tendency is still there....*] Really, he was hardly even there & did not involve himself publicly in any of the discussion. There is a phenomenon that I'd like to explore a bit here that I've seen in anti-authoritarian writing quite a bit. Specifically, I'm referring to the focus of nearly all critique and evaluation on the "leaders" or "big names." This has very much characterized discussions of EF! lately, but applies elsewhere as well. Political power arrangements never work one-way. All forms of mass domination & coercion are two-way dynamics where the "victims" always participate in one way or another in their own oppression & subservience. As anti-authoritarians, if we desire a world without rulers, we have to stop fixating on "leaders" & instead begin to ask what it is that moves people to engage in such self-destructive & politically counter-productive foolishness. The real question is not why 1 person—Foreman, for example—acts like he's the "leader," but why **hundreds** of people fulfill the complementary role of "followers." What emotional or psycho-

logical needs are being met for all those who participate in this role—whether in EF! or in the rest of the world? Or, why are people who profess to be "radical" so closed-minded to criticism & so quick to embrace right-wing politics? Can we formulate & realize some truly radical alternative? Simplistic explanations are wholly inadequate. Unpacking our own individual baggage in this way will be a difficult & painful process, but a necessary one if we ever expect to get anywhere.

One last note on "divorces" & the so-called "factionalism" in Earth First! It's all the fad nowadays. Everyone from the *Albuquerque Times* to the *San Francisco Chronicle* to the *Anderson Valley Advertiser* is talking about how EF! is falling apart in factional bickering. Well, good, let them all think that....maybe now the FBI will leave EF! alone.

It's a strange irony that the **handful** (at most) of Earth First! participants calling for a "no fault divorce" of "anarchists" from EF! are almost exclusively those involved in non-direct-action aspects of the group: philosophizing, writing, *Journal* production, etc. Using the "we're an action group" line for years as an alibi to avoid dealing with criticisms. To quote Foreman on the *Fifth Estate's* extensive challenges to his, Abbey's and Devall's statements & ideology: (quote is approx.) "When you're stopping a bulldozer you don't have time to deal with flies." Well, it's been a long time, if ever, since those calling for **real** factionalizing ("divorce") of EF! have been in front of a 'dozer. In fact, the basis for the "divorce" is not incompatibility in action, but in ideas! In practice, EF! activists of all persuasions regularly work together on a number of levels—especially "field work"—and the wide range of politics—pacifist to saboteur,

revolutionary to reformist, etc.—has made little difference. For example, at the post-R.R.R. action I watched 20 people, many of whom had been at odds over the flag burning, cooperate happily on moving a half-ton log into the road. No factionalism here! So we have the "idea" people of an "action" group calling for a splitting of the group based on differences in ideas while the activist community is more active & strong & growing than ever! Weird! Welcome to 1984(+5)!

Mikal Jakubal
POB 2962
Bellingham, WA. 98227

Ps. Lev—this is the content of the poster. It was a group effort & was torn down, replaced, then disappeared, then re-done, then written on—so much for "freedom of speech" upheld by the Constitution & its patriotic supporters and for the much-postured "diversity" & "tolerance" in EF!

Non-monogamy on the dance floor

Dear Anarchy,

Yer last issue or so made a plea for reader responses so well, here it is.

Overall, in general I'm really impressed these days. You keep calling the *Fifth Estate* the premier @ journal, but certainly your journal is one of the best these days. The scope of your articles is great. For instance, the last issue which had several articles on relationships as well as articles on the Berkeley riot, a letter on the D.O.A. (which turned out to be quite prophetic), etc. It is sad to see the "Papalagi" come to end. It was one of the most consistently interesting series around. The fact that it wasn't written by the Samoan chief was long assumed if not known. However it did not take away from the power of the writing.

The sheer size of your journal allows for the inclusion of many fine things. The graphics have been great. Although I must admit the photos were uneven in their beauty & interest, but perhaps that's because there were so many. But the wide variety of graphic artists is great.

The article on non-monogamy was best when you all talked about yourselves rather than theorizing. Which is why I liked "Effects without a cause." Fuck objective journalism. I usually don't read everything in the paper. I think the things I avoid are usually reviews of books. I enjoy the review of other press.

Now some thoughts on non-monogamy sparked by yer article, a friend and dance floors. I don't see monogamous relationships as inherently a bad thing. I'm sure there are people out there who are in relationships that have lasted years and years and it is still fresh and fulfilling. The problem I believe is that it is the model that all must live up to. But being monogamous has its benefits. And if relationships are not viewed in terms of "always and forever" then one moves from monogamy to non-monogamy as one twists, turns and travels on through life.

I guess I feel that needs to be said because of the practice of upholding non-monogamy as the "revolutionary" approach to sexuality. I hope I'm not just being trite in warning against "revolutionary morality." Guilt be damned, whether it's because of wanting more than one relationship or for only having one.

However the fact that non-monogamy is a headache at times certainly does not negate it. As it came out in your discussion, monogamy has its headaches. I think personally that monogamy lost its weight after my folks got divorced. (My mother is cringing at the thought. "Oh god, it's all my fault.") But seeing two people stay together for reasons beyond their own desires was sad. And I see it in many other parents of friends. Just so I have always lived with the H-Bomb and TV, I have also always lived with divorce and questioning of "the family." The world will never be the same.

Another thing on headaches caused by non-monogamy and monogamy. I truly believe we will be having headaches for years to come. Perhaps once we finally rid ourselves of Oppression (and I'm not an optimist), we'll whistle and sing all day long (my sarcasm is showing), but the world's present condition makes not only status quo existence a headache but also its resistance. As we drag ourselves from this pit, I don't always expect us to be pleasant. Perhaps this point is, ahem, pointless.

And finally, the dance floor. Have those of us interested in transcending morality truly looked closely at the dance floor? Yes, the dance floor where one throws one's body about. It is a fine place to gyrate with one's lover, to make those suggestive moves, to swivel one's hips, to break out of the armor of our usual waking physicality (I can't believe I wrote that phrase).

And the land is playing and I'm dancing away. Ah, and there's a lover right there so I slide on over to swivel and swing with her. But, oh, over there is another lover so perhaps I shouldn't "flaunt" this. But over there coming this way is a lover's other lover. And bouncing across now is an ex-lover. And there's the person who is sleeping with that other person I want to sleep with. The dance floor, a swirling, confusing mob of sex, jealousy, and wondering where I'm going to sleep tonight. Perhaps this is why my other friends try to keep their lovers in different cities or at least amongst different social circles.

Well, I'll shut up now. May *Anarchy* continue along its merry way. It's one of my favorites to find around.

Much love and anarchy,
(in the fine tradition
of "Dear Abby," sign me)
db wary, Chicago, IL.

Better and better

Dear Lev,

In response to your survey, I'd like you to know that your journal just keeps getting better and better. I'll be satisfied if you keep on the same course. The only criticisms are the lengthy ideologi-

EARTH FIRST! NATIONALISM LAST!

-NATIONALISM is the justification for treating the earth as raw material to be exploited: surveyed, fenced, bordered, controlled, guarded, mined, logged, abused....

-NATION-STATES build, maintain & enlarge themselves through systematic plunder of the biosphere and the exploitation of people defined as "other." Looting of the wilderness is the material sustenance of the state.

-NATIONAL BORDERS, governments, armies & the "empire of capital" that they maintain (military-industrial complex, factories, machines, etc.) are the death of wilderness, wildness, biodiversity & human freedom.

-NATIONALISM is the antithesis of authentic human tribal community.

-BORDERS divide & subjugate the planet in the same manner that roads & fences divide the forest.

NO BORDERS, NO NATIONS



cal debates, like the religion one, which seem stifling and dead make me lose interest. Your improvement is more variation, and more written by others than yourself. Jakubal and Faun really bring anti-ideology points alive, which highly intellectual and semantic articles like your own fail.

Excellent issue.

R., Lakewood, CA.

Beautifully put together

Howdy friends!

I first heard of your publication in a magazine sampler ad in *Utne Reader* and was able to get a copy of *Anarchy* #19 through Blacklist Mailorder in San Francisco. I love it! It's beautifully put together and it's pleasing and encouraging to know that there are some smart folks out there who take the time to make a project like this a reality. I especially enjoyed the article by Mikal Jakubal on Biocentrism and ideologies in general. I found much validity in that article and I would encourage others who don't have this issue to send for a back issue of it. Speaking of back issues, I would like a back issue of *Anarchy* #15 in addition to a regular subscription. Enclosed is \$12.00....

In ourselves we trust,
R.D., Plymouth, IN.

God shows me

Dear anarchists,

I'm very glad to see your discussion of anarchy & religion (I'm reading issues #16 & 17). There is so much in it I can hardly begin to respond to all of it.

A few things come to mind after re-reading Lev's 5th letter and Feral Faun's article.

Reality is an absolutely unmediated experience, it cannot be pre-conceived; it is not dualistically separate from everyday experience (it is in--and incorporates--this experience, we just don't normally see it); and it is deeper than the grasp of any intellect, words can only hint at it.

God may not have answered Feral because what he may have been calling on was a cruel superego rather than Reality. As a friend of mine quaintly put it: "The Spirit is a gentleman." It does not coerce or manipulate or make insatiable demands.

Superego projections (usually malignant) form the intrapsychic basis of most western religion, particularly the fundamentalist versions. This is often coupled with a demand for quick answers to all questions, or an inability to tolerate not knowing (yet). Form, often crude form (including abstraction) is elevated over Essence, and clung to out of fear. With this often goes a need to persecute (misery loves company). Like the superego, this religion seeks to tightly constrict or stifle any pleasurable experience. Freud referred to the superego as a pure culture of the death instinct, which in a healthy individual would be held in check and shaped by a strong (and rational) ego.

The body of mystical experience I've been given almost in all cases includes fine and fantastic

sensual experience, but it is not limited to this, nor is this the source. I have had the sensual experience without the Source, and it feels dead. The Source is deeper, and God is sharpening my discernment. The experience of being infinitely loved goes deeper than the senses. (My last LSD session was 2 years ago, but psychedelic experiences are becoming common occurrences anyway--perhaps the "authorities" should confiscate my body for lab tests. God did promise me I'd get to be on LSD all the time.)

Blind desire can lead to an endless chain of pointless suffering and destruction, of which crack addiction is only one of the grossest examples.

God allows me to explore my desires without being blinded and enslaved by them. Their nature is brought to light, they are fundamentally reconstructed into more mature, life-giving, and satisfying desires. Eventually desire will be transcended (not denied) altogether. This process is not easy.

God does not tell me to do things, but shows me things, which I can follow if I choose to.

The way is not a grim, narrow dogma, but as D.T. Suzuki put it, "...an inexhaustible reservoir of possibilities; it is a unity in which a world of multidimensionality is lodged" (p.145, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, 1st Series). Or John 21:25: "And there are many other things which Jesus did. If they were all written down one by one, I do not think the very world could hold all the books that would be written."

You may find the enclosed material of interest. The institute [Note: *The Institute for the Development of Stoned Socialism*] is not strictly anarchist; at this point it consists of the psychedelic wing of the Red Balloon collective in N.Y., plus myself. The Red Balloon comrades refer to themselves as psychedelic bolsheviks, but are open to other viewpoints, anarchist ones in particular. They're planning to move & settle somewhere in the west.

We want to develop an approach to practical/ideological questions that incorporates and transcends the usual divisions on the left. Different ideological trends are often best suited to particular tasks (and scenarios) within the overall process of creating socialism and communism (anarchy).

My writing focusses more on socialism because it is more widely accessible and practical given where society is at now. It is also more limited than communism (anarchy) but will create fertile ground for its emergence on a far wider scale than is now possible.

A concise directory of organizations, with brief descriptions, is another project I've only started. It would include worker-owner organizations & consultants, anarchist & direct action groups, opposition formations in unions (like TDU), broad, effective social democratic (progressive) formations, visionary feminists, sane Leninist publications (like the *Guardian*, or *Against the Current*), practical ecologists. In general, organizations that know what's going on regionally or nationally in their area of work (so we don't have to track down every single local pro-

ject ourselves). **Factsheet Five** does a lot of this kind of work.

If the Institute puts out a directory, it will of course have a tasteful disclaimer for the listed organizations (in this age of "Just say no").

Any commentary on or help with our work would be greatly appreciated. Enclosed is \$12.00 for six issues. Maybe we'll see each other at the anarchist gathering out here.

Take care,
J.B., Richmond, CA.

Mailing addresses for the institute are:

Psychedelic Socialism, c/o General Paper, POB 162, 12250 San Pablo Ave., Richmond, CA. 94805

Red Balloon Collective, POB 294, E. Setauket, NY. 11733

Lev comments: Hopelessly incoherent

Since you seem capable of criticizing (at least in relatively simplistic psychoanalytic terms) fundamentalist conceptions of God, it might be productive if you were to also look at your own conception of God in a less self-deceptive and more self-critical light. You might also benefit

by considering the influence of social contexts on people's beliefs in gods, ideologies, etc. For example, your worries about "blind desire" might make more sense if you could make a case which didn't seem to imply that desires exist in a complete social vacuum with their own self-enclosed, solipsistic dynamic.

I wish you well with your directory project, but I can't help but find your political perspective to be hopelessly incoherent. Any one or any groups which think that Leninism and anarchy (much less Leninism, anarchy and spirituality!) are reconcilable in any way except through the (repeatedly, historically demonstrated) tendencies of Leninists to assassinate, betray, exterminate, imprison, and/or torture anarchists, is engaging in a project of massive (self-) deception. Leninists, Stalinists, Maoists, and Trotskyists--"psychedelic" or not--have more in common with fascists than with anarchists. Your inclusion of the highly manipulative and disgustingly authoritarian polemics of Lenin as a prominent part of your enclosed "essential" book list seems to me one of many hints that you are at best somewhat confused about what you are doing.

Earth First! arrests

To the editor or responsible party:

Excuse me, but I must respond to the article (Aug.-Oct.'89, issue #20/21) describing the absence of arrests at the EF! action following the R.R.R. [*Round River Rendezvous*]. I was one of 5 people arrested for blocking the entry of a truck load of loggers on an alternate road to the site in question. It seems that because all the media & attention were on those locked up, we were easily removed and carted off to Albuquerque. So effectively and quietly that even those within EF! have no awareness of the incident.

Anonee Mouse, Portland, OR.

Libertarian-bashing reply

Dear Lev,

In the #20/21 letters column, T.P. from Farmingdale, N.J. erred in saying that Austrian economists endorse macroeconomic meddling. The Court Intellectuals dismiss Austrianism for its "quaint" subjective value theory and instead peddle the Keynesian and Chicagoan positions T.P. correctly described as militaristic and elitist. Austrians believe that humans (and animals)

Come Share Our Values

Original of Pigeonmint

<p>FREE!</p> <p>Separation</p> <p>Meaningless Existence</p> <p>Boredom</p> <p>Images</p> <p>We suggest that this denial is a normal defensive response to the pain brought on by the process of reducing every nuance of your miraculous life to an empty abstract value.</p> <p>Confusion</p> <p>Breakfast Favorite</p> <p>Impotence</p> <p>Delicious Iced</p> <p>stress</p> <p>Cinnamon Cheese</p> <p>Death</p> <p>Our Fake of the Month!</p> <p>Freedom</p> <p>"The last ramparts of the sacred are tottering. If we demolish them rapidly we shall bring a world to an end. If we do not, humanity will be crushed beneath them as they fall." -- Vaneigem</p>	<p>Brain wash</p> <p>3⁹⁹</p> <p>quart cont.</p> <p>49¢</p> <p>Frozen - lb</p> <p>\$2⁹⁹</p> <p>lb.</p> <p>89¢</p> <p>1-lb Bag</p> <p>2</p> <p>10-oz Pkgs of 12</p> <p>8</p> <p>in pkg</p> <p>2</p> <p>in pkg</p> <p>each</p> <p>each</p>	<p>Misery</p> <p>1-lb Pkg</p> <p>\$1³⁹</p> <p>angst</p> <p>100 foot roll</p> <p>\$1⁷⁹</p> <p>As civilisation advances into oblivion, so too do its adherents become more and more oblivious to the miserable conditions of the situation.</p> <p>Armor</p> <p>48-oz ctnr</p> <p>\$2⁵⁹</p> <p>Masks</p> <p>pkg of 6</p> <p>\$1⁶⁹</p> <p>Cancer</p> <p>12-oz Can</p> <p>\$1⁴⁹</p> <p>Domestication</p> <p>3⁵⁹</p> <p>1 oz. cont.</p> <p>"OUR OWN" Made Fresh Daily</p> <p>Why not mourn the loss of joy? Get together with friends or go alone to the local corporate grocer and ask where these sale items can be found. Check the gas stations. Inquire at the chamber of commerce. Write to your statesmen. These bargains can be found everywhere.</p> <p>Alienation</p> <p>12 for</p> <p>\$1⁰⁹</p> <p>Party Size</p>
---	---	---

Eleutheros Prod. (POB 641, Phoenixia, NY. 12464).

Letters

Libertarian-bashing

Continued from page 27

act to satisfy their most urgently felt needs with methods perceived most effective. So at bottom for the Austrian school is "desire and need," the motive for the "creation, expression, and inventiveness" you said we lacked in your Libertarian-bashing reply. Of course, other disciplines like psychology and anthropology provide further insights on these matters.

Living in N.J., T.P. might appreciate the treatment in *New Libertarian* of the fictional "New Jersey school" proposal to nationalize garbage collection. Instead of a tax or inflation policy, garbage would be swiftly hauled away to promote industrial expansion, or left to pile up to slow excessive growth. Those who dared remove their own garbage would be treated as tax-cheating or counterfeiting criminals are now. Following the supply-side example, the "New Jersey boys" would probably sell this notion using the Stinker (instead of Laffer) curve.

Ok bye,
J.K.H., San Francisco, CA.

Lev responds:

Economistic fetishism

You are quite right to see my reply to T.P.'s letter in #20/21 as "Libertarian-bashing." It saddens me that a perfectly good synonym for the word "anarchist" has been degraded in the last 20 years by people whose primary concern seems to be translating everything into economic categories. It is true that there is often a degree of merit in some of the economic arguments made by such people, but unfortunately these economic arguments are almost never restricted to their properly narrow contexts of validity. Instead, the typical strategy employed by right-wing or capitalist "libertarians" is nearly always to reduce the understanding of complex and many-sided human activities and interactions to purely economic interpretations. All those factors which can't be reduced to these economic categories are simply ignored, or in many cases even their existence is denied! Thus I have little sympathy with your defense of an Austrian school of economics based upon a purely economic interpretation of "desire and need." Nor do I think that supplementing such an economic interpretation of "desire and need" with "further insights" from "other disciplines" would help. Instead, what we really need to do is re-conceptualize our desires and needs from our own lived individual/social perspectives, consciously employing the partial interpretations of economic or psychological categories (for example) only in very clearly-defined contexts. Those who are interested in personal and social liberation have nothing to gain from any sort of economic fetishism, whether it's justified with bogus "Libertarian" rhetoric or not.

Complacency of jerks

Dear Lev and C.A.L.,

Re: your "Introduction to critical theory." [Note: see *Anarchy* #18] For all your talk about how "critical theory" somehow escapes the shortcomings of other "ideologies" or "methods" or philosophies or religions; that doesn't jibe with what I find out here in the domain of (your term) the "lived."

There's plenty of evidence of "critical theory" itself doing nothing but feeding the vanity and complacency of jerks. Leftist jerks, anarchist jerks, granted, but still... evidence of this is all over the place in academia; it's all over the place in the pages of leftwing magazines and newspapers, you see it in the arts a lot: people assuming that because they "understand"—via some radical theorist (Habermas, Derrida) or other—what goes into various processes, that they are now masters of them. (The ultimate vanity: That you are—or can ever be—master of your own, or of other people's, creative processes.) You see it in students and French theorists who think that because they're familiar with, or generating, "deconstruction" they know better than the artists what the artists are up to. You see it in the professors too—for instance, the way the Yale bunch gets caught up in the trap of thinking that because they know that to interpret a work is to (kind of) create a new one, they're somehow creators on one logical plane above the artists. "Critical theory" here isn't doing much but feeding the vain belief of snobs that they know more than other people. You see the complacency (and naiveté) in the work of social critics who think that their "radical awareness" somehow makes them more able to see what an entertainer or a huckster is up to than the huckster or entertainer himself.

Having worked among people who create pop phenomena, I guarantee you they're much more aware of and articulate about what they're up to than is generally assumed by leftists and anarchists. Layout designers at an average magazine could explain more to you about their work (even in terms of its political implications) than social critics have managed. (They can also be more humorous about it, which is no trivial thing.)

They can speak from the experience of having actually produced pop artifacts—i.e., from a "lived" point of view. And you'd be amazed at how many people in, for instance, advertising are perfectly familiar with the work of the Foucaults and Derridas and Habermases of the world. "Critical theorists" are often far more naive than the people whose work they analyze—for one thing, in their assumption that the producers of pop artifacts don't know pretty much what they're doing. Hustlers are often amazingly bright, well-informed people. And not all people in these fields are hustlers; many are perfectly bright and talented, and just doing what they have to do to get by. (These people are also aware of the enormous role chance and bureaucratic politics play in what a given organization produces.)

It's a fine thing to "be aware" (and it can be a fine thing to make other people aware) of what has been unconscious. But you can spend your entire life doing that. And how do you deal with such questions as: Who gets to define what the unconscious is? Who decides what's unconscious and what's not? Who gets to determine what, from the infinite number of things that might be brought to the surface, finally is brought to the surface? Who chooses the method whereby it's brought to the surface? And to which surface does it get brought?

The process of making yourself aware, and making other people aware, can turn into a way of never getting around to doing anything else, it can lead to infinite regress: becoming aware of how you become aware, etc., unto eternity. And it can become a way of backing away from, and not engaging with, things and people (leading to a kind of self-consciousness—seeing it as a kind of achievement). It also lends itself to dangerous fantasies of power, for two reasons. One, that you can tend to think you're onto things—i.e., possess knowledge, if only in the form of "awareness"—that other people don't have. And two, that—because you're backing off from things and people—you tend to develop the kinds of self-deluding fantasies of omnipotence that people who are actually powerless often do. (By the way, has Anar-

chy ever addressed the Jane Kramer article in the *New Yorker* a couple months back about West Berlin's autonomen?) It's great to be able to turn something like "critical theory" on when you want to, but you have to be able to turn it off too.

There's nothing in the nature of "critical theory" that makes it less likely than any other form of thought/action to become domineering; i.e., you're as likely to become its slave as the slave of anything else. Maybe more so, since it does tend to flatter its practitioners into thinking, that because it's a "dynamic totality under construction, always dialectically transcending (abolishing, yet preserving) itself," it simply can't go rigid and confining, which is bullshit, of course: there's no process that can't become a straitjacket. And no matter how much body english you give your definitions, "critical theory" is as liable to get used to feed the egos and laziness of jerks as any other defined and written-down "philosophy" and/or "religion" or "ideology" or whatever. I think that calling critical theory "a continually evolving attempt at the conception of a theoretical and practical unity" is very clever. But it's still a definition. And once something's been defined it becomes liable to being used as anyone (anyone: fascist, communist, dullard) sees fit.

Let's examine your passage about how "the only real critical theory exists where no morals, abstract ideals or hidden constraints cloud the air." First, who's the judge of what's "real" critical theory and what's not? Second, who's defining this region? Third, have we all agreed on who should be the judge of whether or not, at some given point in space/time, "abstract ideals" are "clouding the air"? Fourth, this region where real critical theory exists sounds to me an awful lot like something ideal: which is a little strange, at least for a "theory" that claims the virtue of not splitting things into "spirit" and "matter."

By the way, I do think there's a problem with the whole idea of locating something called "theory" in the unconscious. (For one thing, that kind of presumes that the conscious mind is capable of understanding the unconscious, no?) Even granted that some people are more aware of their processes and unconscious tendencies than others are. I have my doubts about whether anything like total self-awareness is possible or even desirable. And if you answer this one by saying something along the lines of "the striving for it is the point," then you've introduced an ideal, or rather several: total self-awareness itself, and the striving towards it. Weren't we trying to avoid ideals? And besides, the totally self-aware being isn't really doing a hell of a lot but being self-aware, is he? Actually, what he's doing is devouring himself and disappearing in front of our eyes. And granted that combing through our processes and unconscious can be a worthwhile exercise (though it can be as much of a waste of time as any other activity), still, all it accomplishes is getting you to the starting line with a clear head. Not to be sneered at, but not to be made too much of either.

I think there's no way of avoiding the fact that knowing something about, and even doing one's best to practice, "critical theory" doesn't by itself make a person something other than a jerk, an oppressor, a hustler. And I think it has to be admitted that there's nothing about "critical theory" itself that ensures that it isn't as liable to be misused as any other semi-organized, semi-defined method or pattern or process of thinking and acting. Maybe it's only once these things are admitted that "critical theory" can start to become useful.

Best,
Damned if you do,
dammed if you don't
N.Y.C., New York

Lev responds:

Wasted invective

It's highly tempting to reply in kind to your bizarre rhetorical questions: "Who's defining what a 'jerk' is? Who's the judge of whether any theory is being 'misused'?" etc. But this would be as frivolous and as pointless as your own questions are. You're obviously quite pissed off at a certain relatively widespread social phenomenon which you think I'm defending when I speak of "critical theory." However your rather mystifyingly mis-directed anger seems to have much the better of you!

This is revealed quite obviously by your failure to criticize any of the central arguments in my "Introduction to critical theory" essay. Instead you prefer to attack people I never mentioned, practices I never advocated, and ideas I never expressed! Maybe you would have been better off writing a critique of Foucault, Habermas, and Derrida—none of whom I wish to defend—for some journal which holds them in high repute. Or possibly your anger would have been better served in writing a denunciation of post-modern academic intellectuals for the *New Yorker*! But please don't fault me if I find it quite strange that you waste so much invective in criticisms which quite literally have no connection with this journal or my essay (other than, possibly, a common fondness for use of the adjective "critical" in conjunction with the noun "theory")!

If you really want to denounce my essay, maybe you could rationally argue that (for example) theory should be conceived as being unconnected with practice, or that fact and value are separable and unrelated, or that most people's self-theory is already unitary, or that absolute (or totally objective) knowledge really can exist, etc. In other words, maybe you could argue with something I've actually said!

I would think that it was quite obvious that I was arguing the "virtues" of a generic critical theory—one that is genuinely critical and self-critical—for everyone's practical, everyday use. I was far from out to defend the practices of parasitic and condescending intellectual elites, leftist or otherwise! That any con-

AS WE SEE IT!
—columbia anarchist league

Common perspectives on ourselves,
our world and social change.
Send a self-addressed, stamped
envelope for
a free copy.



Send your request to: C.A.L., POB 1446,
Columbia, MO. 65205-1446



Letters

cept, any critiques, and any possible formulations of theory can be perverted and used for narrowly self-serving, ideological, or self-mystifying purposes is a truism I have never questioned. Nor have I ever advocated spending one's "entire life" becoming "aware of what has been unconscious." And the fact that I was arguing for a critical "self-theory" ought to have given you at least a small clue that I don't advocate anyone "defining" or "judging" anything for anyone else against their will, as you repeatedly appear to imply!

Because a genuinely and consistently critical conception of theory is by its nature more open and less rigid than positive theories built around dogmatic assumptions, it is certainly "less likely than any other form of thought/action to become domineering." This is not to say that people in positions of power, or people who aspire to such positions, can't use superficially critical language, or inconsistently critical formulations in order to justify their power and positions of dominance. It happens all the time! However, people in pursuit of, and in defense of power over others usually don't encourage too much criticism aimed at their power and the expression of that power in theory, since this would be rather suicidal. Instead, they usually have the foresight to explicitly subordinate any critical aspects of their public thinking to a central dogma or dogmas which it remains taboo to question. The more genuinely critical theory becomes, the less it is able to be used as a defense for any type of power over others, or even for self-mystification. Though the idea of a perfectly or absolutely critical theory must certainly be counted as just as fictional as the idea of a perfectly self-aware person!

Ps. Since I don't generally read the *New Yorker*, I didn't see Jane Kramer's article on the Berlin autonomen, but I can't imagine the *New Yorker* printing anything that would ever portray radical activists in a positive light!

F.B.I. paranoia

A WARNING TO ANARCHISTS! THE F.B.I. HAS DISCOVERED FACTSHEET 5!

First off, I like & support Mike Gunderloy. I think he's doing a great job, and I think he's taking a lot of risk, which most anarchists don't appreciate. But as *Factsheet 5* has gotten bigger, it has somehow come to the attention of the F.B.I.

I used to put out a radical anarchist zine, with a few friends, until my home got raided, and the F.B.I. seized all of my papers, and my books, and destroyed half my house. My wife moved out and took the kids, and two of my friends are in jail, waiting for a court date. I didn't think the F.B.I. would bother us, until they descended upon my life like locusts. That's why I don't feel safe to reveal my name or address, or the zine which the F.B.I. now has in its possession, along with the dozens of names and addresses I col-

lected of fellow anarchists. This includes my copies of *Factsheet Five*.

The F.B.I. agent who was in charge of the raid made it totally clear that he got our name and address from *Factsheet 5*. He implied that they got a lot of leads by just subscribing to it under some alias. I think all anarchists should be aware of the dangers involved in publishing and promoting anarchism. There are still Federal laws against anarchists, which the F.B.I. is still actively enforcing. I always thought that all that stuff about the threat of anarchists was blown up to frame us, and that in our modern society we would be allowed free speech; but I found out the truth the hard way, after spending 24 hours in a holding cell.

I'm not sure what anyone can do about this statist oppression, probably nothing, but I thought that everyone should know what happened to me. At first I wasn't going to tell anyone, but then I realized that I owed it to anarchy. 'Cuz I don't want to spend the rest of my life in jail, I'm going underground (where I am now). I miss my wife and kids, and I really miss the scene, but I can't go to jail.

@, Santa Ana, CA.

[Note from Lev: I hope nobody takes this letter too seriously. Certainly the F.B.I. (or any other cops) can harass anyone it wishes to. But in the present circumstances, this harassment can only succeed if we don't make it public and fight it publicly as it happens. There are already enough of us that we can make plenty of trouble for the cops when they take their harassment too much farther than their own present laws allow them too! I have definite questions regarding the authenticity of this anonymous letter, to say the least.]

Astonishing flaw

Dear Anarchy,

Just saw your issues #17 & 18 with materials on the deep ecology debate. Impressive. As a supporter of the deep ecology position, while I am not in total agreement with the presentation of Lone Wolf Circles, I can enthusiastically support his statement [see "Earth jazz," *Anarchy* #18, p.18].

"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 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.'"

Interestingly enough, Lev Chernyi provides no response to this stinging criticism of the subtitle of *Anarchy*, a *cul de sac* which the major contributors of the new journal *Live Wild or Die* also drive into in their polemics against biocentrism (better, eco-centrism: see George Sessions, *The Trumpeter*, June, 1988).

I have not followed your journal since its inception, so forgive me if I am retracing ground you have already covered, but I see an astonishing flaw in all this talk about "freedom to follow our own

desires" and "desire armed" being the sole or primary criteria for all action. Some people may "desire" to join a neo-Nazi movement, to have 20 children, spend billions of dollars to create space colonies on Mars or create life in a test-tube; does it automatically follow then that all this stuff is okay? If such differentiations are just "worthless and self-defeating moralistic and spiritual garbage," as Chernyi informs us, is there any point at which we should stop in our zeal to fulfill our desires?

Here we have what David Ehrenfeld has so cogently called, in his book, *The Arrogance of Humanism*, or as Peter Berg of the Planet Drum put it, "We know that we're capable of exercising tremendous control and maintaining an illusion, at least, of mastery over natural systems.... The question is whether or not we want to attribute to ourselves the power and dominance of being in control of it, or whether we're going to begin controlling ourselves humbly, fully aware of the sacredness of the web of life." (*Whole Earth Review*, Winter 1988)

I've no doubt many of your readers will shrink in horror from such concepts as "exercising control" or "humility," yet I for one am absolutely convinced that neither humans nor the rest of the planet stand a prayer of a chance unless such values are implemented soon and very soon. Moreover, I am entirely happy as well to be relegated to the ranks of the "moralists" who refuse to join in the general narcissistic stupor of modern civilization while everything that is worthwhile and beautiful is being destroyed.

I would propose that the famous land ethic that Aldo Leopold set down decades ago is a far better guide for our actions than all the pleas for unrestrained desire and egotism (whether post-situationist, Stirnerite, Ayn Randian or otherwise) in a culture that is already far too self-serving to begin with. Or, as deep ecology founder Arne Naess puts it, "Are the fundamental goals of mature humans such that we have to sprawl all over the globe? Ecosophy, as I see it, answers 'no'." (E.F. Schumacher Lecture, 1987)

Bill McCormick, Crozet, VA.

Lev replies: Astonishing misrepresentations

"Interestingly enough," there were several nonsensical remarks made by Lone Wolf Circles to which I provided no response. This was especially true given the fact that Lone Wolf's tendencies toward verbose confusion left me without enough inclination (or column inches) to expose them all. In fact, the reason why I made no direct response to the quotation you exhume from Lone Wolf's excuse for an argument, is that I assumed most readers could quite easily see through its astonishing misrepresentation of what I'd already very clearly stated—not just once, but several times in my criticisms of "biocentric" and "deep ecological" moralism.

It should be (and probably is) quite obvious to anyone without an ideological axe to grind that I've never suggested that Lone Wolf was being moralistic simply because he wants to defend "voiceless plants and animals." Nor does "decry(ing) the rape of the Earth" have anything necessarily to do with the moralism I've criticized. I find it highly annoying that so many self-proclaimed "deep ecology" spokespeople so repeatedly stoop to the tactic of implying that their radical critics have no desire to end the current global destruction of nature. It is this type of

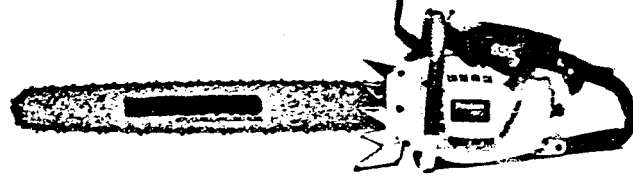
self-righteous misrepresentation that seems to make any attempt at conversation with them so endlessly frustrating.

The same thing may be said of Lone Wolf's cheap shots at the subtitle of this journal. If you or Lone Wolf were in the least interested in carrying on an intelligent dialogue concerning the place of desire in theory and practice, I would be delighted to self-critically explore this highly important area with you. But your entire interest here seems to be confined to pronouncing trite judgments over whatever mis-

Continued on next page



And the Beast.



A Public Service of the U.S.D.A. Forest Service and your State Foresters.



Letters

Astonishing misrepresentations

Continued from page 29

representations you can manage to conjure up from your own ideological confusions. Once again, anyone without such an axe to grind will realize immediately that I have never advocated making no distinctions between human desires which seem to be in relative harmony with "nature" versus the alienated desires which have allowed societies to destroy large areas of the earth. What I have clearly and consistently criticized are the moralistic and ideological ways in which advocates of biocentrism and deep ecology demand that such distinctions be made and enforced. I have repeatedly argued that it makes more sense to conceptualize radical ecology in terms of a liberatory project, than it does to reduce it to a punitive, moralistic and evangelistic crusade against a sinful humanity.

Those of us interested in ending what a growing number of people see as ecological "abuses," and those of us interested in promoting new ethics of respect for the land and other creatures have two very basic choices for directing our efforts. One choice (which unfortunately seems to be preferred by most of the current crop of naïve eco-activists and eco-ideologues) demands that humanity adopt a new morality and a new ideology, or in many cases even a new--or old--religion!. At the center of this demand is always the notion that some highly reified concept of "Nature" (or the "Biosphere," or "Gaia," etc.) should take complete precedence over our own lives. And this leads to the bizarre idea that we should all thus subordinate our genuinely felt desires and needs to the very speculative "desires" and "needs" of this reified "Nature"--as they are interpreted for us by "deep" ideologues, of course! And those of us who don't want to play along with such highly manipulative and ultimately authoritarian games are labelled "egotistical," "self-serving" and "anthropocentric" heretics from this "biocentric" creed. It is this kind of "worthless and self-defeating ideological, moralistic and spiritual garbage" that I want nothing to do with (to return the [mis]quote you've shamelessly torn out of context to its actual meaning).

The other alternative is far more reasonable and libertarian, far less manipulative and dogmatic. It involves searching out the underlying social problems which helped give rise to the current global destruction of our natural world. It involves searching out the processes through which we've become alienated from our own deepest desires to live wildly within nature and within genuine human communities. As we gain more understanding of these underlying problems and processes, we can more effectively begin to heal ourselves and our social world. Not through inventing new methods of "self-control" and social "con-

trol", but through a dialectical process of personal and social change. A process which enables more and more people to directly feel and understand how our lives and natures have been manipulated and maimed by authoritarian institutions and capitalist social relationships.

As we are able to reclaim more of our repressed and alienated desires to live freely and harmoniously within nature, we will be able to confront the real social, economic and political practices that are destroying nature. But not by demanding that everyone submit to new moralities, new ideologies and new religions. Rather than continuing to suppress our deepest desires by inventing new methods of self-manipulation and social domination, we need to liberate them. By genuinely *feeling* the truth that our "selves" don't abstractly end with the envelopes of skin which enclose our bodies, we will increasingly understand that we participate and intermingle with the rest of nature in ways

which make the defense of the natural world also the defense of our own natures. We will experience abuses of nature as attacks on our own communities and our own selves, rather than as sinful transgressions of the abstract value-systems engineered by moralists and ideologues. There will be no "need" for us to keep ourselves "in line" because we will no longer be so alienated from our own natures that we could actually believe that we are *really* only made up of atomic particles governed by scientific laws, or that we are *really* only spirits which inhabit otherwise lifeless material bodies, or that we are *really* only consumers trapped within an endless department-store economy whose origins and purpose are beyond questioning.

But given all my own experiences so far in conversing and arguing with "deep" ecologists, I have little faith any longer that those who've already adopted "deep" ideology will ever again pull themselves out of such a

shallow theoretical tarpit. Instead, I'm afraid that Lone Wolf Circles, Bill McCormick and all the others are going to continue to preach to the rest of us guilty sinners from their ideological pulpits. The history of moralism, ideology and religion is essentially the history of human rationalizations for the progressive domination and destruction of our selves, our communities and the natural world. Until this radical truth is finally understood and given its true weight, we'll continue to be entertained by self-contradictory eco-ideologues demanding that we suppress and dominate one part of nature in order to "liberate" other parts. But the so-called "arrogance of humanism" will never be corrected by an equally repugnant arrogance of ecological moralism. The way to reintegrate ourselves into the natural world is not to elevate one part of ourselves over another part in order to be able to give ourselves orders to subordinate ourselves to nature! It is to reclaim nature within our own experience

and to live that nature more fully and freely.

Difficult letter

Dear Lev,

"...some sort of short-circuiting...seems to occur in many people's minds when they turn their thoughts to religion. This short-circuiting seems to mean that any genuinely new perspectives or observations are unconsciously ignored and suppressed in favour of people's unquestioned prejudices, regardless of how limited or bizarre these prejudices may be." Lev Chernyi, *Anarchy* #18

This has been a difficult letter to write, I've been mulling it over ever since *Anarchy* #18 came out. I waited for #19 to see if anyone else would jump into the fray but only a couple of comments appeared in it. I thought of responding with a stream-of-consciousness rant but a stronger impulse was to give up and not bother at all. Why? Part of my hesitation was the fear of being put through the meat-grinder of your response again. You have an aggressive, masculine style that makes it look like you are more competing with correspondents than co-operating with them in learning about the subject. For me, this is not a game of polemics in which we throw words at each other to see who ducks first but an attempt to understand a question that is important to the radical milieu at this time and eventually important to the rest of society.

Another part of my hesitation was that you didn't seem to get my point and you don't seem to have incorporated the points you did agree on. However, that frustration was cancelled out by yours of a similar nature throughout the whole course of the discussion, i.e. you are constantly berating correspondents for not accepting the ground that you've already set. We both need to be more patient, the fact that patience is part of the learning process is something I learned from reading a Gallup poll magazine years ago. An article in it assessed the impact of peace demonstrations on public opinion and found that immediately after one of those huge anti-Vietnam war rallies support for the war would rise but over the course of the next month or two opinion would swing the other way until a higher percentage of people than before the demonstration would favour American troop withdrawal.

It's been challenging, composing this letter. Thank you for providing the impetus for pulling my thoughts together on this subject and for the forum for the whole dialogue. I'm able to do this writing now because I'm ungrounded, taking a vacation in the city has given me time that probably would have been difficult to find at the farm. Because there is always something to do there of a more practical nature, I didn't do my homework by reading the whole corpus of the anarchy/religion dialogue in *Anarchy* before writing my letter which appeared in #17. But now that I have done that research, I can't see where I would have made any changes except perhaps to have expanded

Prices Reduced to Absolutely Nothing!

It's the holiday season, shoppers! A time of crass commercialism, expressing what one of our most fundamental duties as obedient American citizens is--our duty to defend the economy! To buy things! Any kind of things! Fireproof flocked Christmas trees, plastic reindeer on suburban lawns, specials on MTV...to all this, we say, "Bah Humbug!"

But the death-trip of commodity exchange that the Christmas season expresses in a heightened form finds an opposition from pissed-off proletarians every day of the year. As Harry Cleaver noted in *Reading Capital Politically*,

"Among those hit hardest by rising prices and lowered availability there has been growing militant direct action to counter the inevitable reduction of their income. They have passed from anger to direct appropriation and violent protest. **Throughout the United States, business losses, and working class gains, from shoplifting have been rising steadily as more and more of the lowest paid workers refuse to pay the rising prices.** In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, stealing from the state has continued to grow. In places as diverse as Turin, Italy and Crystal City, Texas, workers have refused to pay rising gas and electricity bills and have practiced what has become known as the "self-reduction" of prices. Ripping off Ma Bell has become a widespread practice in the United States."

I'm dreaming of a black Christmas

In the same way that governments the world over use tactics like inflation to squeeze the working class--lowering the exchange-value of your money without increasing your wages, tactics like shoplifting, "cheating" on bus and subway fares, "stealing" from bosses and merchants are isolated expressions of tendencies to go beyond the limits of a society where everything is based on money and the market economy. These acts, in isolation, express the same kind of breakdown in the capitalist social relations that occurred in the "anti-commodity" riots in Watts, and in areas of other U.S. cities in the 1960s. During a massive power failure in New York City the night of July 13-14th, 1977, a huge, spontaneous "Black Christmas" of looting occurred. Widespread looting has often played a positive part in rebellions in Poland in 1970 and 1976, in Britain, Brazil and Egypt.

The best things in life are free

The "Black Christmases" and five-finger discounts mentioned here are ways people like you and me respond to the exploitative, declining society around us. In Italy they call shoplifting "proletarian shopping," because conscious working-class rebels know that everything in this society has been created by the exploitation of our labor power, and that any goods we want to take or destroy should be ours.

Everything you see in any store--you should take it without paying. Have fun and don't get caught--best to take some friends with you, a big group, and do it all at the same time. Go Ahead. Take it. It should be yours...

HAVE A MERRY X-MAS SHOPLIFTING SEASON!

--Angry Workers Group (c/o 2140 Shattuck Ave., POB 2200, Berkeley, CA. 94704).



Letters

the letter.

Why are we talking about this, where did this discussion of anarchy and religion come from? (I can imagine you throwing up your hands at this point.) For me, Ken Knabb expresses the reasons the best in his article "The Realization and Suppression of Religion" (*Anarchy* #15). "An important reason for the spread of religious movements has been that they speak to this moral iniquity (stinginess, jealousy, cowardice, etc. encouraged by the system), inspiring people to a certain ethical practice that provides them with the peace of a good conscience, the satisfaction of saying what they believe and acting on it." And "Ethical concepts must not be left to the enemy without a fight." People are joining new movements in a search for meaning, looking for new yardsticks by which they can judge the choices they make everyday now that the old religions are proving bankrupt and dangerous.

For example, a recent news item said the F.B.I. is worried that its workforce is diminishing by one-third because of agents retiring and the difficulty of finding new recruits. For sure, this could be a temporary problem until they turn on their propaganda organs but at this moment it is a positive sign that people are making choices so that they are not available to the state's repressive apparatus. It could be argued from this example, that people left to their own devices will make correct choices and while this may be true on an individual level, I have my doubts that the argument would hold on the level of a whole culture. A moral vacuum is only a temporary state of affairs such as existed in Germany in the 1920s, a vacuum that could be filled by a person and movement that promises to answer people's spiritual needs.

Could one of the main reasons for this topic being on the agenda be the influence of the New Age movement? From what I can gather, the whole question of religion and spirituality is a hot topic of debate in the anarchist and green movements whereas feminists seem to have taken it for granted that there is another dimension besides the one that appears to our senses. The ecofeminist Ynestra King says, "I now participate in rituals and consider myself to have a spiritual dimension to my politics, but this has never replaced my left orientation and background. Rather it has helped me to understand why the left, including socialist-feminism, has failed to attract large numbers of people." The New Age movement cannot be dismissed by heaping scorn on the Shirley McLaines and Sun Bears, it is a genuine phenomenon that we can participate in to help create a new moral ground which people can make choices from. Personally, the feminist maxim that the personal is political has been more realized in my own life as a result of what I've learned from New Agers. How can we expect peace in the world if we can't make it true within ourselves?

I used to consider myself as an atheist, non-violent, anarchist

but now identify more with the labels of pagan, pacifist and feminist. No, that change was not something that suddenly happened on the road to Damascus but an articulation into words of feelings I've always had. My outlook has always been optimistic, a view I've lately been putting in political terms as abundance thinking rather than scarcity which is how Murray Bookchin titled his provocative book, *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* twenty years ago. I'll get around to showing how this can be applied later.

However, I wouldn't be honest to myself if I didn't let off at least one rant about your treatment of my letter. You state, "...it is far from clear that science should be classified as (a religion), especially when we consider that very few people would ever be likely to agree with such an assertion." Shit man, what very small percentage of people would even understand, let alone agree with, your assertion that we should think dialectically and not dualistically, to grossly oversimplify your dozens of column inches on the subject? By the way, I am not one of those who does fully understand your distinction but I hope this doesn't encourage you to add another dozen inches of explanation (maybe four inches I could swallow). If we talked to each other of things that most people accepted then there wouldn't be any point to all of this, just pick up *Time* magazine on your next trip to the store.

"We need to develop a new style, a style that keeps the trenchancy of the situationists but with a magnanimity and humility that leaves aside their uninteresting ego games. Pettiness is always counter-revolutionary. Begin with yourself, comrade, but don't end there." Ken Knabb

I do see some humility in your responses but I have a greater sense of uninteresting ego games, a continual effort at one-upmanship that is quite annoying. Excuse me for bringing in your background but your attitude strikes me as being symptomatic of Americans in general, that the way you think and act is the correct way and anyone who doesn't is fucked up and needs correcting. That is the rationale for imperialism. Despite thinking yourself above all beliefs, dualities and alienations, I perceive your methods as being an example of the mentality that is destroying the indigenous cultures of this planet.

You say that it is time we moved beyond the bankrupt posturing of the religion *versus* atheism debate but you always end up plunking yourself back on the atheist battleship. I went through all of your writing on the subject trying to find out what you do believe in but that very word itself (belief) seems to raise your hackles in the same way that seeing Jesus or Christ in a sentence raises mine. The only reference I found was: "I believe in no objective values beyond the values that individual subjective beings possess --in fact, the concept of objective values, or metaphysical good & evil is itself an absurdity!" (#16, p.21, col.4) I'm sure you'll say I'm wrong but it seems that experience

means everything to you and anything else is reification. (Reification = thingification = thinkification.) That's the sense I have although from #16, p.21, col.2 I learn that there is more to it than that.

Here's how I do it:

So I wake up and walk to the store to get my *Time* magazine and I have to cross a major street. Obviously I have no direct experience that proves to me that a car could kill me although I do have knowledge based on what others have told me, pictures I've seen and memory of an accident I was in. I believe, or to put it in your terms--I have a concept, that a car could do me grievous harm or kill me so I stop and I may even obey a traffic light if one is there and it makes sense to do so before crossing the street.

In the same way that I believe with no experiential proof that a car could kill me, I believe that it is spewing out carbon dioxide which adds to the greenhouse effect warming up this planet although I could never show you a carbon dioxide molecule or an infrared solar ray bouncing off it. All the cars are produced by people who usually would rather be doing something else besides work in a factory except they believe they need the money to make a living. To me, the car is a symbol of alienation, it epitomizes people's separation from each other in pursuit of individual goals. It is the product of scientific thinking whereby people learned to extract materials from the earth at whatever cost necessary, refine them, combine them, mold them and make them go by means of processes that most people have no desire and little ability to comprehend. To me the car is dangerous in many ways and represents a lot of what I don't agree with in this capitalist, patriarchal system but I'll use one if necessary, for example to get to a benefit music festival this weekend providing I can find a friend who has one.

It is not enough to be critical of the car--and this is where abundance thinking comes in--but I also have a utopian vision that there is a better way. The car could be produced by people who want to from recycled materials and run on a renewable energy source like methane. Use of it could be minimized by more walking and collectivized in a manner similar to the way some third world peoples do it. By thinking like this, the car doesn't have to represent despair but also hope, it can be an omnipresent symbol of both.

I guess all your philosophizing doesn't say a whole lot to me but it does say a bit so I'll keep plugging away at it to attempt some understanding. Being a farmer, I like to bring things down to the nitty-gritty or, as Sun Bear says, "I don't believe in any philosophy that doesn't grow corn." I want all the learning I do to inform my daily practice as I go about in the world and interact with others. My knowledge of the past on all levels helps me to figure out how to carry myself into the future with the collaboration of associates and nature.

However, there is an awful lot of stuff out there like other di-

Feral Revolution

Whither now?

Continued from page 23

roles. I want to explore new ways of relating. I'd love to hear other people's ideas for exploring ways of relating that get beyond social roles and enhance what is unique in each of us. But more than that, I want to actively explore these ideas in practice and share these explorations with friends and lovers. Then we can cease to be merely on the margins of society and will each, as unique wild beings, become the center of an insurrectionary project that may destroy civilization and create a world in which we freely live, relate and create as our unique desires move us. We will become--to quote Renzo Navatore again--"a shadow eclipsing any form of society which can exist under the sun."

--Feral Faun (POB 11331, Eugene, OR. 97440)

[Note: For a more detailed analysis/critique of "society" read "What is society?" in *Demolition Derby* #1, available from: C.P. 1554, Succ. B, Montréal, Québec, Canada H3B 3L2.]

mensions, time travel, a sentient universal consciousness, spirits, whatever that neither I nor anyone else at this time that I trust can prove or disprove and so amounts to nothing as far as I'm concerned. Still, they could have an effect on me that I would be entirely unwitting of. And that's okay, I don't need a God to assuage my fear of the unknown and I imagine that most primitive people don't either as the sociologists would have us believe. I'd rather be delighted at surprises than be afraid of the unknown. A revolution could happen just as surely as nuclear war and I could increase the chances of the former by working for positive change and reduce the chance of war by advocating peace. (If you like reading dictionaries, look up "chiliast," a word I like.) Would I be wrong in assuming that such hope is part of the reason you are involved in this magazine?

It's time to call it quits for this letter even though I never did get around to talking about science as a religion. I'd like to pass on a few suggestions: another way of discerning religions is by asking if they are immanent or transcendent, i.e. if it accepted that everyone is connected to everything or that the religion is revealed to people by a transcendental being. Also, if you have access to a TV and VCR (that icon of the scientific religion worshipped by millions for hours every day) then Joseph Campbell's series on mythology and David Suzuki's "Planet for the Taking" are well worth watching.

yours for mutual education,

Aug. 17, 6 n.a.

Stu Vickars
Dragonfly Farm
Lake St. Peter, ONT.
K0L 2K0 Canada

Ps. Please print my full name & address and retain the first person pronoun in the lower case--"i". Thanks

I didn't get to the anarchist conference 'cuz the American border cops found my anarchist literature and dug up old criminal records from the files to deny me entry. So much for "No Borders." With a lot of effort, I could have found a way in anyhow but I guess my desire wasn't that strong. So I hung out with friends in Vancou-

ver and am about to visit my sister in the Yukon after we figure out how we're getting there....

Lev responds:

Turning the tables

It's always somewhat amusing to me when people complain in these pages about things like "aggressive, masculine style," or "competitiveness," or "berating correspondents for not accepting the ground...already set." These types of complaints usually seem to be a part of characteristically *ad hominem* "new ageist" attacks on any people who have the bad taste to be openly critical of anything new ageists don't want to see criticized! In this vein you also trot out clichéd old *ad hominem* criticisms of "uninteresting ego games," "continual effort at one-upmanship," and the "attitude...symptomatic of Americans in general, that the way (I) think and act is the correct way and anyone who doesn't is fucked up and needs correcting." Although, to this you add the highly original put-down that (my) methods (are) an example of the mentality that is destroying the indigenous cultures of this planet!

Where this type of "kick-'em-in-the-balls-but-act-like-an-angel" attack is concerned, I can only point out the obvious hypocrisies involved. This kind of attack, of course, could never be an example of an "aggressive...style"--not even a passive-aggressive style! Heaven forbid, that it ever could be seen as "competitive" or as "berating" its object "for not accepting" new age ground rules! And it would be simply inconceivable that such attacks could constitute "uninteresting ego games" or an "effort at one-upmanship"! Perish the thought! New ageists simply must be above such things! How much less possible could it be that this type of attack might be "symptomatic of (new ageists) in general, that the way (they) think and act is the correct way....(etc.)" And finally, unlike nasty little me, you aren't interested in playing "a game of polemics in which we throw words at each other to see

Continued on next page

Turning the tables

Continued from page 31

who ducks first." You stick strictly to the subjects at hand!

In all fairness, though, the preceding is more a reaction to the general type of argument you've made, than it is to your own particular arguments. It's just that I've seen such tactics used too many times before in order to derail critical arguments through personal attacks—which may or may not have some truth to them in any given individual case. Despite the *ad hominem* polemics, I think there are a good number of things that you and I might readily agree on—much of your characterization of science as something which has to some degree taken the place of religion, for example. Of course, I also disagree with other things you say. Yet, just because we disagree on some things doesn't mean that we have nothing in common. Nor does it mean that either you or I must accuse the other of claiming to have all the answers. Both of us have strong opinions about the subjects of science, religion and atheism which we want to express—which is fine. And I get as weary as the next person of having to deal with personal attacks, putdowns and internecine sniping all the time.

Despite your apparent belief to the contrary, what bothered me in the original letter you addressed to me was not that we disagreed. I neither expect nor demand that anyone should toe any line in letters to this paper. What frustrated me most was despite the fact that you were entering into an ongoing discussion (which at that time was set aside in a separate area of the paper), you made little effort at integrating your arguments into the terms of the ground already covered in that discussion. For example, I had already argued more than once that I thought—for the sake of consistency and avoiding confusion—it would make more sense in the ongoing discussion to use the most common meaning of the word "religion," or at least to explain why it might make more sense to use another definition. Rather than blindly tossing in other idiosyncratic meanings of the word, I hoped the discussion could gain some coherence in this way. Thus, if you had given even a halfway convincing argument as to why you thought it didn't make sense to stick to the most common dictionary definition of religion, I'd have felt much more like you respected the fact that you were entering into an ongoing argument and not just confusing things by throwing out random opinions. I simply was not interested in putting together a lowest-common-denominator, grab-bag discussion of anarchy and religion. This has already been done plenty of other places. I had hoped rather, for a discussion which might proceed in some sort of semi-coherent direction. That this would require a little extra effort on the part of those writing in is true. I'm genuinely sorry if my frustrations with the failure of this attempt have

shown through too much. Perhaps I was being unrealistic in my expectations.

As far as the question of where "this discussion of anarchy and religion" has come from is concerned, I think you're right in a sense about it being a result of "the influence of the New Age movement." Certainly the resurgence of non-mainstream religion and spiritualism has once again put the topic at the center of concern for many people. And beyond this, the growing influence of certain religious "alternatives" (such as new ageism and paganism) within an increas-

Continued on page 17

TERMINAL BOREDOM?



Her computer screen says, "You are not doing as much as your fellow workers"

Graphic: Mikal Jakubal (POB 2962, Bellingham, W.A. 98227).

KNOW THESE SYMPTOMS:

Glazed, expressionless eyes; dizziness; clammy skin; dull, "turnip-like" personality; chronic sense of loneliness and isolation. Victim often develops propensity to wander away from work place. Absenteeism and tardiness common in advanced cases. Victim may experience irrepressible longings for human closeness and communication. Some sufferers may stop work and daydream about dancing nude on the beach or running with wolves through the forest. In some extreme cases, the Terminally Bored have been known to smash computers, physically assault bosses and burn down factories and offices.

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

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