

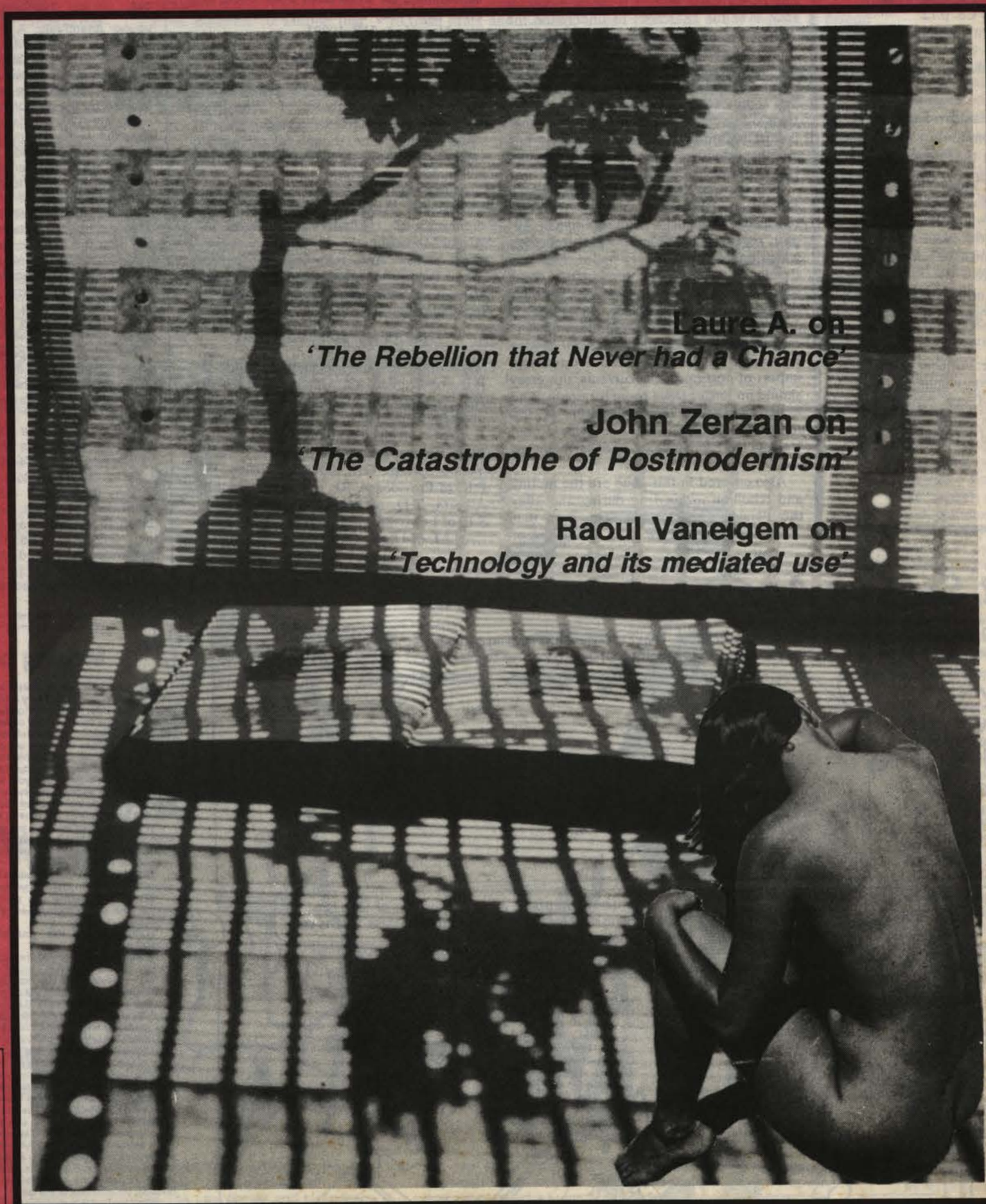
Towards a Society based on Mutual Aid, Voluntary Cooperation & the Liberation of Desire

#30/Fall '91

\$2.00

Anarchy

A journal of Desire Armed



Laure A. on
'The Rebellion that Never had a Chance'

John Zerzan on
'The Catastrophe of Postmodernism'

Raoul Vaneigem on
'Technology and its mediated use'

Collage by Freddie Baer

Disarm Authority! Arm Your Desires!

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ANARCHY notes

Welcome to the Fall '91 issue of *Anarchy*! We're glad to be back after a Summer which has at long last seen the fall of the Soviet Communist Party. In the paradoxical 'successes' of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and Bolshevik coup d'état of 1918 the supposedly "revolutionary party" succeeded in imposing its dictatorship by destroying the people's revolution. The ensuing seventy year nightmare of Communist Party hegemony has seen every revolutionary movement throughout the world either destroyed outright, or at least fatally distorted by the cancer of Marxism-Leninism. However, rather than merely celebrating the Soviet Communists' demise and the end of the Cold War, it is more important than ever for anarchists to undermine the emergence of the ever stronger western faction of global capital. This so far 'victorious' western faction—led by the U.S., Germany and Japan—has now been left without any significant political or military restrictions on its field of domination. The world is certainly entering a new era, but it doesn't exactly portend any bright hopes for humanity, or the rest of the natural world.

This issue of *Anarchy* features Laure A's account of her days behind the Moscow barricades during the coup attempt in August, revealing a nascent people's rebellion which unfortunately never had a chance to develop its own momentum before being recuperated by Yeltsin and the "radical democrats." The centerpiece of this issue is John Zerzan's detailed exploration of "The catastrophe of postmodernism." For anyone heretofore confused about the direction and import of postmodernist currents, this essay should no longer leave room for doubt. And we continue with our serialization of *The Revolution of Everyday Life* with Raoul Vaneigem's "Technology and its mediated use."

Also covered in this issue are the mutiny and rebellion within Iraq during and after the Persian Gulf War in "Ten days that shook Iraq." Jack Straw gives an account of

the still ongoing battle for People's Park in Berkeley, California. And we're belatedly presenting Stefan Wray's "Notes from Eastern Europe," written last year, but still an important assessment of the potential directions of change Eastern Europe continues to face.

An apology

Despite our promise in the last issue of *Anarchy*, we are not printing the concluding part of Tom Ward's "The Situationists reconsidered" in this issue. Tom was unhappy with our presentation of the first part of his piece in issue #29 (among other things he was unhappy that we could not fit the entire length of his essay into one issue). He has asked us to steer anyone interested in seeing this essay in its entirety directly to him. Photocopies of the complete essay can be obtained for \$3.00 from Tom Ward, c/o *From Left Field/Downtown*, 151 First Avenue, New York, NY. 10003.

Next Issues

The upcoming Winter '92 issue should finally focus on the theme of "Women & Anarchy". We are still encouraging submissions on this theme, though (as always) we cannot guarantee that everything submitted will make it into print.

At this point suggestions for future issues still include "Anarchy & Violence," "Anti-organization," "Libertarian Education," "Crime" (probably the most popular suggestion), and "Anti-technology." Readers, please let us know what you'd like to see us cover most! Submissions are always welcome for upcoming issues.

Thanks for your support!

Our current sustaining contributors include: B.B. of Numazu-shi, Japan; L.C., T.O., A.H., A.D. & S.H. of Columbia, MO.; A.M. of Farmingdale, N.J.; D.A. of Carbondale, IL.; A.H. of New Braunfels, TX.; A.G. of Paris, France; L.P. of Detroit, MI.; G.M. of Yellow Springs, OH.; L.A. of Chicago, IL.; P.K. of Providence, RI; E.K. of Edmonton, Alberta, T.D. of Manhattan Beach, CA., S.L. of Lewisville, TX., D.J. of Los Angeles, CA., J.J. of Union City, CA.; C.R. of Glen-

olden, PA.; R.S. of University City, MO.; & K.M. of Oakland, CA. More thanks to all of you for your extra support! Without it we'd be hard pressed to continue publication in our current form. Still, we've lost a couple of sustaining contributors this time around. Does anyone want to take up some of the slack? Sustaining contributors to *Anarchy* donate \$50 to \$100 per year—which includes a First Class subscription! We can always use more support!

Address

of the Moscow Union of Anarchists to anarchists and freedom campaigners of the world

We ask for political protection for two young anarchists, A. Rodionov and A. Kuznetsov from Moscow. They are charged with illegal armed action. Rodionov and Kuznetsov have been behind bars almost three months because of a case falsified by the authorities.

On the 12th of March, 1991 during a peaceful demonstration near the KGB building unidentified men in civilian clothes suddenly started to cruelly beat A.R. and A.K. As it turned out later, the men were officials of the KGB and MVD. A.R. and A.K. resisted them: one of the attackers had his jacket cut and the other one had his face scratched. It was the only way to stop the bestial bandits of the KGB and MVD, saving the life and dignity of the young anarchists.

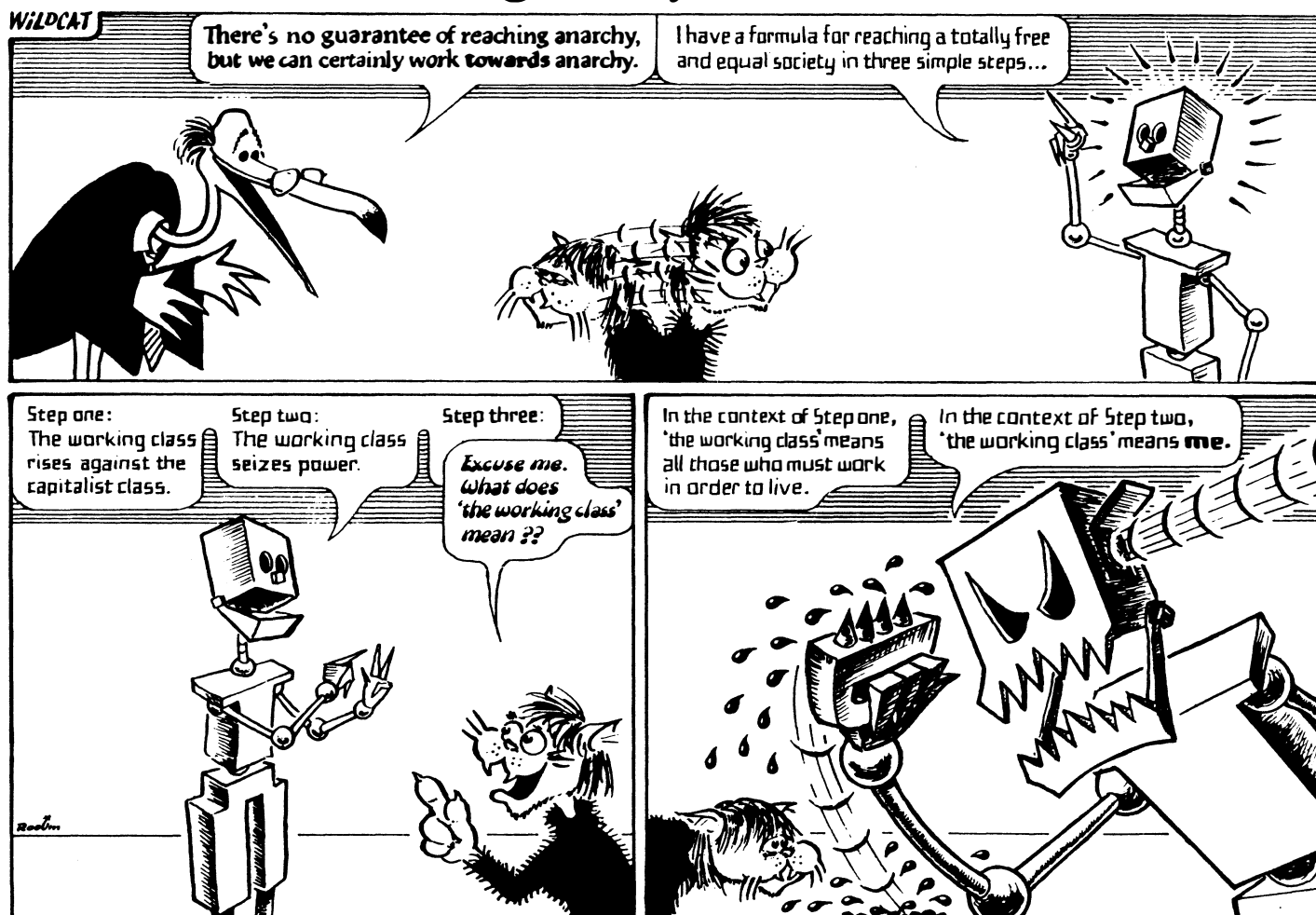
Now they face the court sentencing. It means being locked up in prison for 7 years.

We ask you for protest actions near Soviet Embassies and Consulates to create pressure on the Soviet authorities. Please, propagate this information wherever possible.

Thank you for your support.

You can inform us about your actions by telephone at: 458-44-81 (Moscow) from 8:00 to 9:00AM (Moscow time) or by writing to: USSR, 125195, Moscow, Belomorskaya Street, house 22, corp 1, fl.123, to Tikhomirova E.I. (in Russian that is: СССР, 125195, Москва, Беломорская ул., д.22, корп.1 кв.123, Тихомировой, Е.И.). [Note: Yes, in the Soviet Union letters are addressed in the reverse order used in the U.S.]

Wildcat Strikes Again by Donald Room



Reprinted from *Wildcat Strikes Again* by Donald Room, published by Freedom Press (84b Whitechapel High St., London E1 7QX, England).

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Kick out *all* the bosses!
Now it's *our* turn!

Anonymous anti-party poster appearing in Columbia, MO.

Marxism-Leninism is dead Goodbye Communism, Hello New World Order

The recent coup plotted by high-ranking Soviet conservatives succeeded well...in accelerating all the trends it sought to reign in with brute force. As a result, the more powerful liberals and nationalists have been freed to pursue their own counter-coup, with Russian President Boris Yeltsin already engaged in unconstitutional and illegal actions during and after the failed coup. Still the counter-coup mopping-up operation will undoubtedly have to continue for years, if not decades. And even then it will succeed only if its leaders are ultimately able to avoid civil war and massive social or economic breakdown. The strength of the Communist Party will continue to be felt long after its likely formal demise.

Soon after the failed coup Khazakhstan president Nursultan Nazarbayev announced that, "It is obvious that the renewed union cannot be a federation." Instead, he recommended that the Soviet republics be reorganized as a "Free Union of Sovereign Republics." And he was supported by speakers from the Ukraine, Armenia, Kirghizia and Azerbaijan. Since then more and more republics have announced their secession.

Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev has proposed the drafting of a new Constitution within six months following the signing of the new Union Treaty, which would create a more decentralized federation of republics. And he announced that "Immediately after the Union Treaty is signed, we must begin a campaign to elect all union organs, including the president," although no timetable was indicated. At about the same time, Armenian president Levon Ter-Petrosian announced to the Supreme Soviet legislature, "The Supreme Soviet has failed to understand that the whole of the center has completely outlived itself. It is dead. It committed suicide."

The debacle of Soviet Marxism-Leninism's collapse has been awaited by anarchists for over seventy years. In 1919 the Underground Anarchists ("Anarkhistsy Podpol'ia") group based in Moscow published two issues of an incendiary series titled *Anarkhiia*. The first denounced the Bolshevik dictatorship as the worst tyranny in human history. "Never has there been so sharp a division between oppressors and oppressed as there is now," it declared according to Paul Avrich's *The Russian Anarchists*. On September 25th a few days before *Anarkhiia* appeared in print, the Underground Anarchists (together with left Social Revolutionaries) bombed the headquarters of the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party in Leontiev Street during a plenary session. The explosion killed 12 members of the committee and wounded 55 others, including Nikolai Bukharin, then editor of *Pravda*. Needless to say, the blast gave the Communist Party an excuse to hunt down anarchists

everywhere possible. The Cheka (forerunner of the KGB) tried hundreds in summary three-man courts, after which many were executed. Unfortunately, the blast in 1919 was not strong enough to damage more than one arm of a vicious, bureaucratic organization that went on to destroy not only the Russian Revolution, but many, many others besides.

Now the Soviet Communist Party is dead, but its individual bureaucrats, its military apparatus, its KGB and police will live on to defend new sets of rulers. The deadly prestige of Marxism-Leninism is rapidly ebbing, and will continue to do so in even the most backward-looking movements like those which still rule China and Cuba, and those fighting to rule in El Salvador, Peru and the Philippines. But the current prospects for the development of genuinely revolutionary movements remain dim. After seventy years of Communist terror, a second world war, the Cold War, the massive growth of multinational corporations and the increasing realization of U.S. dreams of world empire, it may even be that the time has passed when social revolution had any chance at success. Or has it?

It was only a few years ago that the Communist Party dictatorship in the Soviet Union appeared unassailable, and the Cold War impasse looked as though it could last for decades more. Today both are in ruins.

It won't take long for the newly declared 'sovereign' republics of the old Soviet Union to discover that their sovereignty will be denied them by Western capitalists just as completely as it was by the Eastern version of state capitalism. Though the Cold War is dead, the developing world war of the New World Order against Third World countries and Fourth World movements is heating up with a vengeance. Panama and Iraq have merely been the testing grounds for the future battles now being planned. In the 'democratic' U.S., where the people have never been trusted by the political, economic and military elite to even vote on a constitution, the vast majority of people will continue to sleepwalk in this consumer's paradise doing what they are told while they imagine they are really 'free'. But for how long?

The rebellion against the coup in the Soviet Union was only successful because enough of the military and the KGB refused to fire on the Soviet people. What the few hundred thousand people who stood up to the coup did in Moscow may have been heroic, but without the prior hollowing out of allegiance to the power of the central government, it would have suffered the same bloody end as the Chinese students and workers did in Tiananmen. However, the same process of disenchantment is always at work in every centralized system of power. Maybe China will be next. Someday, it will be the U.S.

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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" may be edited for brevity and style. Other submissions (features, etc.) 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. The deadlines for submissions are Feb. 1st for the Spring issue, May 1st for the Summer issue, Aug. 1st for the Fall issue, and Nov. 1st for the Winter issue, but it always helps to get submissions in earlier!

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"The whirligig of time has its revenges."



THE WORLD ACCORDING TO BUSH.

The Gulf war was not ended by the military victory of the U.S. and its allies. It was ended by the mass desertion of thousands of Iraqi conscript soldiers. So overwhelming was the refusal to fight for the Iraqi state on the part of its conscripted army that, contrary to all predictions, not one allied soldier was killed by hostile fire in the final ground offensive to recapture Kuwait. Indeed the sheer scale of this mutiny is perhaps unprecedented in modern military history.

But these mutinous troops did not simply flee back to Iraq. On their return many of them turned their guns against the Iraqi state, sparking a simultaneous uprising in both Southern Iraq and in Kurdistan to the North. Only the central region of Iraq surrounding Baghdad remained firmly in the state's hands in the weeks following the end of the war.

From the very start the Western media has grossly misrepresented these uprisings. The uprising in the South, centered on Basra, was portrayed as a Shia Muslim revolt. Whereas the insurrection in the North was reported as an exclusively Kurdish Nationalist uprising which demanded little more than an autonomous Kurdish region within Iraq.

The truth is that the uprisings in both the North and South of Iraq were proletarian insurrections.

Basra is one of the most secular areas in the Middle East. Almost no one goes to the mosques in Basra. The radical traditions in this area are not those of Islamic fundamentalism but rather those of Arab nationalism and Stalinism. The Iraqi Communist Party is the only bourgeois party with any significant influence in this region. The cities of Basra, Nasiriah and Hilah have long been known as the region of the Communist Party and have a long history of open rebellion against both religion and the state. The 'Iraqi' working class has always been one of the most troublesome in a volatile region.

In the North, there is little sympathy for the Nationalist patriots—the KDP and the PUK—and their *peshmergas* (guerilla movements) due to the repeated failure of their compromises with the Iraqi state. This is particularly true in the Sulaimania area. The inhabitants of the area have been especially hostile to the nationalists since the Halabja massacre. Following the chemical attack by the Iraqi air force against deserters and civilians in the city of Halabja in 1988, the *peshmergas* initially prevented people from fleeing and then went on to pillage and rape those who survived the massacre. As a result, many villagers have long since refused to feed or shelter nationalist *peshmergas*. As in the South, the Communist Party and its *peshmergas* are more popular.

The uprising in the North was not nationalist. In the early stages Ba'athist officials and secret police were executed, police files were destroyed and the prisons stormed. People were openly hostile to the bourgeois policies of the Kurdish Nationalists. In Sulaimania the Nation-

alist *peshmergas* were excluded from the city and the exiled leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, Jalal Talabani, was prevented from returning to his home town. When the Kurdish Democratic Party leader, Massoud Barzani, went to Chamchamal, near to Sulaimania, he was attacked and two of his body guards were killed. When the Nationalists broadcast the slogan: "Now's the time to kill the Ba'athists!" the people of Sulaimania replied with the slogan: "Now's the time for the Nationalists to loot Porsches!"—meaning that the nationalists were only interested in looting.

A revolutionary group, Communist Perspective, played a major role in the insurrection. In their publication, *Proletariat*, they advocated the setting up of workers' councils. This provoked fear and anger amongst the nationalists, as well as the Communist Party and its splinter groups.

Faced with these proletarian uprisings the various bourgeois interests in the region had to suspend hostilities and unite to suppress them. It is well known that the West, led by the USA, have long backed Saddam Hussein's brutal regime. They supported him in the war against Iran. In supporting Saddam the Western ruling class also recognized that the Ba'athist Party, as a mass based fascist party, was the only force in Iraq capable and ruthless enough to repress the oil producing proletariat.

However, Saddam's ultimate strategy for maintaining social peace in Iraq was for a permanent war drive and militarization of society. But such a strategy could only lead to further economic ruin and the intensification of class antagonisms. In the Spring of 1990 this contradiction was becoming blatant. The Iraqi economy was shattered after eight years of war with Iran. Oil production, the main source of hard currency, was restricted while oil prices were relatively low. The only options for redeeming war time promises of prosperity in peace were a rise in the price of oil or more war. The former choice was blocked by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Saddam's bold leap to resolve this impasse was to annex Kuwait and its rich oil fields.

This gave America the opportunity to reassert its political hegemony, not only in the Middle East, but also in the world as a whole. With the hope of exorcising the specter of Vietnam, the Bush administration hoped for a quick and decisive victory that would evict Iraq from Kuwait but at the same time leave the Iraqi regime intact. However, to mobilize the home front for war, Bush had to equate Saddam with Hitler and so became increasingly committed publicly to toppling the Iraqi leader.

With this commitment the American government now sought to impose such a military defeat on Iraq that the Ba'athist Party would be obliged to replace Saddam with someone else. Indeed the Bush regime openly invited the ruling circles in Iraq to replace Saddam Hussein with the approach of the ground war in March. However, the mass desertion of Iraqi conscripts and the subsequent uprisings in Iraq robbed the American government of such a convenient victory. Instead they faced the prospect of the uprising turning into a full scale proletarian revolution, with all the dire consequences this would have for the accumulation of capital in the Middle East.

The last thing the American government wanted was to be drawn into a prolonged military occupation of Iraq in order to suppress the uprisings. It was far more efficient to back the existing state. But there was no time to insist on the removal of Saddam Hussein. They could ill afford the disruption this would cause. Hence, almost overnight, Bush's hostility to the butcher of Baghdad evaporated. The two rival butchers went into partnership.

Their first task was to crush the uprising in the South which was being swelled by the huge columns of deserters streaming North from Kuwait. Even though these fleeing Iraqi conscripts posed no military threat to the allied troops, or to the objective of 'liberating' Kuwait, the war was prolonged long enough for them to be carpet bombed on the road to Basra by

the RAF and the USAF. This cold-blooded massacre served no other purpose than to preserve the Iraqi state from mutinous armed deserters.

Following this massacre the allied ground forces, having swept through Southern Iraq to encircle Kuwait, stopped short of Basra and gave free reign to the Republican Guards—the elite troops loyal to the Iraqi regime—to crush the insurgents. All proposals to inflict a decisive defeat on the Republican Guards or to proceed towards Baghdad to topple Saddam were quickly forgotten. In the cease fire negotiations the allied forces insisted on the grounding of all fixed wing aircraft but the use of helicopters vital for counter-insurgency were permitted for "administrative purposes." This 'concession' proved important once the uprising in the South was put down and the Iraqi state's attention turned to the advancing insurrection in the North.

Whereas the uprising in the Basra region was crushed almost as it began, the Northern uprising had more time to develop. It began in Raniah and spread to Sulaimania and Kut and at its height threatened to spread beyond Kurdistan to the capital. The original aim of the uprising was expressed in the popular slogan: "We will celebrate our New Year with the Arabs in Baghdad!" The defeat of this rebellion owed as much to the Kurdish nationalists as to the Western powers and the Iraqi state.

Like all nationalist movements the Kurdish nationalists defend the interests of the propertied classes against the working class. Most Kurdish nationalist leaders come from very rich families. For example, Talabani comes from a dynasty originally set up by the British and his parents own luxury hotels in Baghdad. The KDP was set up by rich exiles driven out of Kurdistan by the mass working class uprisings of 1958 when hundreds of landowners and capitalists were strung up. As a result of these disturbing events a meeting of exiled bourgeois in Razaeia, Iran organized nationalist death squads to kill class struggle militants in Iraqi Kurdistan. Later they carried out racist murders of Arabs. During the Iraq-Iran war very few deserters joined the nationalists and the PUK received an amnesty from the Iraqi state in return for repressing deserters.

These Kurdish Nationalists, like the international bourgeoisie, recognized the importance of a strong Iraqi state in order to maintain capital accumulation against a militant working class. So much so, in fact, that they merely demanded that Iraqi Kurdistan be granted the status of an autonomous region within a united Iraq.

In the uprising they did their best to defend the Iraqi state. They actively intervened to prevent the destruction of police files and state property, including military bases. The nationalists stopped Arab deserters from joining the 'Kurdish' uprising, disarmed them, and sent them back to Baghdad to be arrested. They did all they could to prevent the insurrection from spreading beyond the 'borders' of Kurdistan which was its only hope of success. When the Iraqi state began to turn its attention to the uprising in Kurdistan the Kurdish nationalists' radio broadcasts did not encourage or co-ordinate resistance but instead exaggerated the threat posed by the demoralized Iraqi troops still loyal to the government and

advised people to flee to the mountains. Which they eventually did. None of this is any surprise if we examine their history.

Although, as we have seen, there was much hostility towards the Kurdish nationalists, they were able to gain control and bring to halt the insurrection in Kurdistan because of their organization and greater material resources. Having been long backed by the West—the KDP by the USA and the PUK by Britain—it was the Kurdish nationalist parties that were able to control both the supply of food and information. This was vital, since after years of deprivation, exacerbated by the war, the search for food was an overriding concern. Many individuals were mainly content with looting food, rather than with maintaining revolutionary organization and the development of the insurrection. This weakness allowed the nationalist organizations to step in with their ample supplies of food and well established radio stations.

The war in the Gulf was brought to an end by the refusal of the Iraqi working class to fight and by the subsequent uprisings in Iraq. But such proletarian actions were crushed by the combined efforts of the various international and national bourgeois forces. Once again, nationalism has served as the stumbling block for proletarian insurrection. While it is important to stress that Middle East politics is not dominated by Islamic fundamentalism and Arab nationalism, as it is usually portrayed in the bourgeois press, but rests on class conflict, it must be said that the immediate prospects for the development of working class struggle in Iraq are now bleak.

The war not only resulted in the defeat of the Iraqi working class but also revealed the state of defeat of the working class in the USA, and, to a lesser degree, Europe. The western anti-war movement never developed into a mass working class opposition to the war. It remained dominated by a pacifist orientation that 'opposed' the war in terms of an alternative national interest: "Peace is Patriotic." While it expressed abhorrence of the allies' holocaust it opposed doing anything to stop it that might bring it into confrontation with the state. Instead it concentrated on futile symbolic protest that simply fostered the sense of helplessness in the face of the state's war machine.

Following the defeat of the insurrection, the Western media's misrepresentation continued.

Continued on page 23

Internal opposition to the war in Iraq

There has been a long tradition of class struggle in Iraq, particularly since the revolution in 1958. With Saddam's strategy of a permanent war drive to maintain social peace this struggle has often taken the form of mass desertion from the army. During the Iraq-Iran war tens of thousands of soldiers deserted the army. This swelled the mass working class opposition to the war. With the unreliability of the army it became increasingly difficult for the Iraqi state to put down such working class rebellions. It was for this reason that Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons against the town of Halabja in 1988.

Following the invasion of Kuwait there were many demonstrations against its continued occupation. Even the ruling Ba'athist Party was obliged to organize such demonstrations under the slogan: "No to Kuwait: We only want Saddam and Iraq!" in order to head off anti-war feeling. With the dramatic rise in the price of necessities - food prices alone rising to twenty times their pre-invasion levels - there was little enthusiasm for war. The common attitude throughout Iraq was one of defeatism.

Despite a 200% pay rise desertion from the army became common. In the city of Sulaimania alone there were an estimated 30,000 deserters. In Kut there were 20,000. So overwhelming was the desertion that it became relatively easy for soldiers to bribe their officers. But these working class conscripts did not merely desert, they organized. In Kut thousands marched on the local police station and forced the police to concede an end to the harassment of deserters.

Two days after the beginning of the war anti-war riots broke out in Raniah and later in Sulaimania.

-BM CAT (London WC1N 3XX, U.K., or POB 3305, Oakland, CA. 94609, U.S.A.)

The part of Berkeley which adjoins a contested lot 'legally' owned by the University of California (U.C.), known as People's Park, is under virtual martial law. The supposed civil liberties guaranteed by bourgeois law have essentially been suspended as the University attempts to reassert control over this territory.

Before 1967, the lot, located just south of the campus, was the site of houses and apartment buildings. Many of the residents were 'hippies' and political activists, whose target was frequently the University. U.C. used the process of *eminent domain*, the takeover of private land for 'necessary' public use, to force the owners of the dwellings to sell the land at below-market price, for the expressed purpose of constructing new dormitories, even though existing dormitories had many vacancies (students in that area often couldn't stand to live in the regimented University residences. A more honest assessment by the Board of Regents, a group of corporate bigwigs appointed to run U.C. on behalf of the state, described the impacted area as a "hippie concentration." The structures were razed, but not surprisingly, U.C. did not construct the planned dorms. This was an illegal use of eminent domain, but the statute of limitations on challenging the University had expired before anyone knew this was so.

In April, 1969, an assorted group of local residents, street people, students...began to turn the empty lot into a park, complete with a garden and children's playground. Within weeks, University police moved in to destroy the park and fence the lot. Private seizure of common land, a process known as the enclosures, was the essential basis for the imposition of the capitalist system. Any moves in the opposite direction cannot be tolerated by the powers-that-be. Attempts to reassert public control were met with violent force, resulting in well-known riots which led to one death, one blinding, hundreds of injuries, and the imposition of martial law on the entire town by a huge force, which included National Guard units equipped with armored vehicles and tear gas-spraying helicopters.

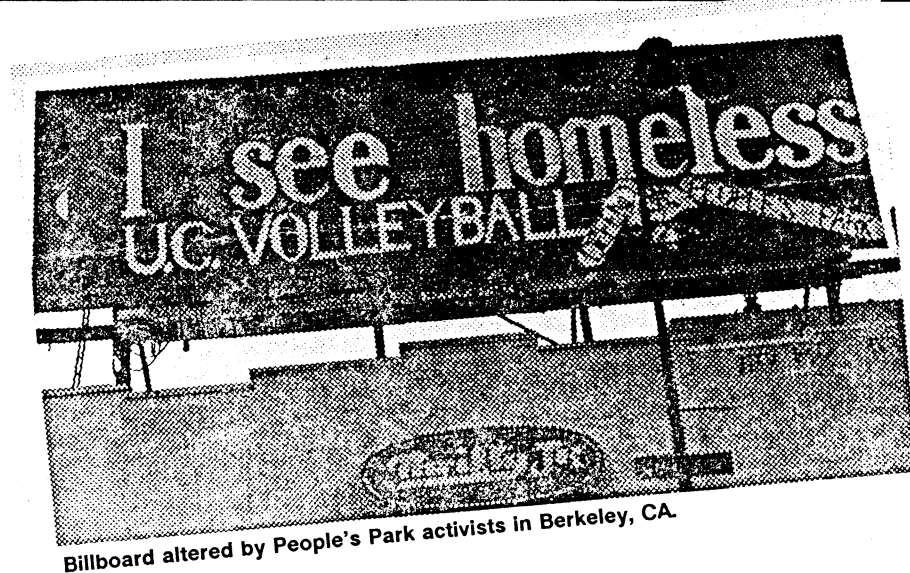
The lot was paved over and a basketball court was constructed on it, but the community generally boycotted it. Several times in the next three years, attempts were made to take the park back. In May, 1972, in the wake of a massive anti-war demo, several thousand people knocked down the fence, pried the surfacing off, and dug up the ground, recreating the park. During the intervening years, the University shied away from any attempt to reclaim the lot, but prevented any moves which would seem to indicate acceptance of the park as common land, such as the construction of fixed bathrooms or water fountains, and the placement of children's playground equipment. These policies ensured that the park, which had become a dwelling for the growing numbers of homeless people, deteriorated. It became associated in the public mind (thanks in large part to a media campaign) with hard-drug dealing and crime. It had another side, that of secure free speech zone often used for rallies, organizing, free concerts, and the feeding of homeless people.

Within the last couple of years, the University has sought an agreement with the supposedly 'progressive' Berkeley city government regarding the park's future, in no small part to help facilitate its planned expansion. This culminated several months ago in a deal to divide the park, with the University getting the open space in the middle, and the city getting a lease on the two ends (including the "Free Speech" stage) for five years, at the end of which the University could assume complete control if it wasn't satisfied with the situation. U.C. announced it would use its portion to construct sand volleyball courts (a la Southern California) and a basketball court.

University police began enforcing a 10pm curfew on the park, arresting violators, eventually even people who were standing on the adjoining sidewalk. They were arrested by City police, who also arrested 100 protesters who had taken over the City Council chambers in the wake of its approval of the agreement. This was done at the request of 'leftist' mayor Loni Hancock.

On July 27th, a large crowd prevented groundbreaking ceremonies for the volleyball courts. Later that day, an unrelated arrest of a person in the park by City police provoked a confrontation, resulting in a lengthy siege of and damage to a police vehicle.

On July 31st, the heat came down. Hun-



Billboard altered by People's Park activists in Berkeley, CA.

The battle for People's Park

dreds of cops from both the City and the University, as well as several other cities and University campuses, and Alameda County Sheriffs (known as blue meanies), moved on the park, cleared a large area (arresting some 35 people), fencing it off, and bulldozers proceeded to destroy the park. The hole being dug for the court's foundation was large enough to serve as a building base, which showed that the courts were a mere beachhead for future construction plans. An anonymous University employee reported that U.C. Chancellor Tien decided on a confrontation course because of the success of the strategy employed by George Bush in the Gulf War: you don't negotiate, you simply attack.

Throughout the day, the crowds grew, as did the rage. Late in the afternoon, a truck carrying dirt out of the area was blockaded and then attacked with rocks. Police counter-attacked, driving the swelling crowd into the nearby Telegraph Avenue shopping area, where many people proceeded to selectively trash and loot stores, largely limiting themselves to corporate outlets and the University store, and to build bonfires in the streets. Police attacks split the rioters into smaller groups, but those re-grouped, blockaded street corners, set fires, and conducted guerrilla raids against campus targets. Police violence was often directed at passers-by and observers, who included many students. A 14-year old girl was hit by a speeding cop car. A man pushing a senior citizen in a wheelchair was attacked, and his arm broken. The entire campus area had a surreal air. One could walk for several blocks and see nothing except others walking, only to suddenly run into a group of several hundred rioters, and just as suddenly to run into rampaging cops.

August 1st: Police commanders warned that anyone watching the goings-on was aiding the rioters, and hence was inviting an attack by the police. Late in the evening, a generally peaceful crowd was attacked by the cops using rubber and wooden bullets.

August 2nd: A large evening march was surrounded, but then allowed to disperse. Around 11pm, the crowd in the park was again attacked by cops clubbing and firing bullets at the backs of retreating demonstrators. Beverly Kelly, a member of the Berkeley Police Review Commission, an outspoken supporter of the police, was attacked and beat up by a Berkeley cop.

August 3rd: A crowd of 500-1000 gathered in the park. We attempted to march through the city, but were stopped right outside the park by a massive police force. The first few lines sat down, and were set upon by club-swinging thugs. Two women were beat up and arrested. One was knocked unconscious by her assailant, who had to be pulled off by his commander. Most of the people proceeded to infiltrate around police lines, and began blockading Telegraph Avenue, which was full of weekend shoppers. The cops attempted to clear the street with charges, assisted by a motorcycle squadron. But we re-grouped after each charge, and moved the blockade to another corner. Many shoppers were attacked

by the cops. After about two hours, the cops suddenly gave up and withdrew. What a rush! At one point many were chanting, "Turn the streets into volleyball courts." A demonstrator produced a brightly colored ball and people started playing, using a police line as a 'net'.

That night, a march around town attracted several hundred supporters. We ended up in the park, and thought the day was done. But the cops moved to clear us out at around 11. They pushed the crowd up several blocks. As soon as we showed some resistance, they opened mass fire with rubber/wooden bullets, and the motorcycles charged into the crowd. I ran for over ten blocks as bullets whizzed by. The cycles often chased people into private driveways in residential neighborhoods, and cops broke into apartment buildings. Criticism of the police mounted.

August 4th: Telegraph Avenue was lined with cops, and most stores were boarded up. Liberal politicians pleaded for a cease-fire on both sides (even though the violence had been one-sided since the first night), and a halt in construction. Alameda County Sheriff announced plans to sue U.C. for the costs of his end of the operation, charging the University instigated the violence with its actions. U.C. accepted the cease-fire, and sent home the out-of-town forces, but refused to stop its destruction of the park. The volleyball court was completed and opened on the 8th. An attempt to conduct a sit-in on it resulted in a dozen arrests.

August 10th: A growing crowd increasingly heckled volleyball players, most of whom were students employed by the University's Athletic Program. One ball was taken away and stuffed into a nearby portable toilet, resulting in an arrest. The crowd of over two hundred marched around, then came back and took over the court, tearing down a net and court markers, constructing castles in the sand, and throwing garbage on it. A police charge cleared the court. Several were arrested, including some who were later nabbed individually by the cops in sporadic raids into the crowd.

August 11: A concert was scheduled in the park. U.C. police prevented the organizers from setting up sound equipment on the "Free Speech" stage, even though the stage is in the City part of the crowd. When the 'stage' was re-set on a truck in the street, and a power cable connected to a nearby store, the cops shut off its power and threatened the store owners. A generator was brought in, and the concert began. The attempts to stop use of the courts continued. The police instituted a new rule: touch a volleyball, go to jail. One man was arrested as he reached for a ball, before he managed to even touch it. As a friend of mine quipped, not only are the cops protecting the courts, they're enforcing the rules of the game. A woman was arrested for vandalism after she scratched the redwood court fence with her fingernails. The cops continued to pick off suspected 'ringleaders' with occasional raids into the crowd.

At this point (August 15), 150 have been injured, including 8 cops, and over 200 arrest-

ed. It seems like U.C. has the momentum. The opposition has only managed to attract hundreds, instead of the thousands of yesteryears. Some of the supporters have become more conservative with age and yuppiedom, but most of those missing have been driven out of town, and even the Bay Area, by rising costs, especially for housing. The liberal-left has been unsupportive, as exemplified by derisive comments on the local leftist radio station KPFA. Even some radicals in the region have dismissed this battle as '60s nostalgia; they can only be involved, apparently, in something which takes place far away. Little do they understand the essential part which control of land plays in this system.

So far, the park's defenders have managed to avoid incorporation into the politics-as-usual racket. Decisions are made at a daily meeting by those present. Sects have been prevented from imposing their own agenda. And an increasing number of participants are discussing the nature of property relations symbolized by this confrontation. On the negative side, many participants are ideological (vs. tactical) pacifists, and all too often, their arguments take the nature of moral sermons regarding the homeless and how uncaring the University and City administrators are.

The effort to re-enclose People's Park will continue. Starting today, no meetings will be allowed in the park without permits from both the City and the University. More construction is slated for the Fall. Many, if not most residents, especially the students, have been persuaded that the park is an eyesore/ crime area, and the City-U.C. agreement is in the best interest of everyone. In the post-Gulf War period, social opposition is 'out' as far as most people are concerned. So, it looks bleak. But we intend to continue fighting.

-Jack Straw

ANARCHY CONTACT NETWORK

This is 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 to us, stating your basic perspectives on anarchist & situationist theory/practice and the critique of ideology, as well as why you wish to be listed. We are only looking for contacts who are seriously/playfully interested in anarchic communication & action. Vague commitments to "anarchism" or "anti-authoritarianism" will not be accepted as adequate reasons for inclusion, since this contact list is meant to serve a very specific purpose.

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

Josephine Geurils
POB 3502
Madison, WI. 53704
[formerly Karen Eliot]

David Effigy
1803 Mission St., #172
Santa Cruz, CA. 95060

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

Wendy S. Duke
POB 80044
Akron, OH. 44308

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

Eleutheros Prod.
POB 2265
Albany, NY. 12220

Attack International
BM 6577
London WC1N 3XX
England

James Koehnline
POB 85777
Seattle, WA. 98145-1777

"bOB" McGlynn
528 5th Street
Brooklyn, NY. 11215

Rhonda K. Kitchens
POB 20872
Tampa, FL. 33622-0872

Trevor
POB 23061
Knoxville, TN. 37933-1061

Rob Los Ricos
504 W. 24th #81
Austin, TX. 78705

Tad Kepley
c/o Autonomedia
POB 568
Brooklyn, NY. 11211

James H. Diggs
4110 Roosevelt Way,
NE
Seattle, WA. 98105

This listing will be updated at least twice a year to make sure those listed really are interested in being listed, and that they still are answering inquiries. If your name has been removed from this listing, it is because you didn't reply to the last mailing sent out in Oct. '90. Let us know once again that you're interested, and we'll return your address to the listing in the next issue.

ALTERNATIVE MEDIA REVIEW

As always, we are happy to exchange publications with other "alternative" periodical publishers. I'll try to list every publication I receive in a timely way, but please be aware that there are times when this is impossible due to time and space limitations. Also keep in mind that the *Anarchy* issue we send for exchanges will be the one your publication is reviewed in. -Lev

OFF OUR BACKS Vol.21, #6 & #8/Aug-Sept.'91 (2423 18th St. NW, Washington, DC. 20009) is a 32-page tabloid with probably the best feminist news coverage of any North American publication. Issue #6 gives in-depth coverage of the National Lesbian Conference, whose stormy sessions make most anarchist gatherings seem like models of organization and social harmony (lots of concerns for the "invisibility" of women of color and women suffering other "oppressions," despite the good intentions of organizers to address all these problems). Also in this issue is a piece titled "An unbreakable circle of women: Can we create it? Age-segregation, privilege and the politics of inclusion" by Shevy Healey. Issue #8 is the "Summer Review Issue" containing Nina Silver's "The shame of being naked," Ruth Wallsgrove's "What color is your politics? A feminist tries to face up to industry," and lots of book reviews. Plus each issue contains many items of U.S. & international news. Subscriptions are \$19/year (11 issues).

NEW PAGES #15/Summer '91 (POB 438, Grand Blanc, MI. 48439) is a 56-page newsprint magazine which bills itself as "A Trade Publication of Alternative Media and Print," but its appeal is undoubtedly much wider than this would make it seem. Although it doesn't pretend to cover anything like the range of publications which makes *Factsheet Five* so essential, the publications, books and other resources reviewed in its pages each receive more attention and more space than *FF* can usually manage. And in addition, each issue includes short columns, bibliographies, and review essays which help make more sense of some of the wide range of materials that make up the world of the alternative press. This issue includes a compilation titled "Just resources: Tools for a just peace, economy & international order" (listing organizations, books, periodicals, pamphlets, audiovisual materials, etc.), Tom Person's "Personal preferences: A review column of the small press," and Ruthann Robson's "North of the border: Canadian feminist publishing turns up the heat," among other interesting pieces. Single copies are \$5; subscriptions are \$12/year (3 issues).

SMALL PRESS MONTHLY Vol.2, #1/Sept. & #2/Nov.'89, #3/Dec.'89-Jan.'90 [double issue], #4/Feb., #6/April-May, #7/June, #8/July '90, Vol.3, #1/undated, #2/Dec.'90, #3/Jan., #7/May & #8-9/undated '91 (BM Bozo, London WC1N 3XX, England) is an always interesting and professionally produced, 12 to 20-page newsletter subtitled "The essential monthly magazine for the Small Press world." Each issue includes plenty of controversy & dialogue in its letters section, a column titled "SPINews" (news shorts of the "Small Press International Network Exchange"), "Out of the wood work" (listings of British small presses and their publications), along with occasional small press event reports & features. Vol.3, issue #2 includes "Towards a Small Press Center." Highly recommended for anyone interested in the British and/or international small press scene. The U.S. & Canadian small press scenes could well use a lively publication like this. Subscriptions are £12.00/year (12 issues) plus postage.

THE 250th BIRTHDAY OF THE MARQUIS DE SADE undated (Shallmar Graphics, POB 4721, Berkeley, CA. 94704) is a 16-page, on-off tabloid "commemorating the eighteenth century sexual philosopher-novelist"—containing "selections from Sade's writings, a chronology of his life, a critical essay, and a bibliography." A straightforward and very well-done introduction to the writings of this problematic and controversial figure. If you have any interest in learning more about de Sade this is no publication to ignore! Send 5 First Class stamps and a signed age statement (over 18 years old) for a copy.

RETROFUTURISM #15/Aug.'91 (The Drawing Legion, POB 227, Iowa City, IA. 52244) is a well-produced, "sporadically-appearing" 52-page "Hyper-media," fringe-art periodical including material on topics like mail art & the art strike, as well as lots of networking info. This issue features "Netlinks 1992 International Networking Year: A report on the proposed decentralized world-wide networker congress" by John Held, Jr., Lloyd Dunn's fairly minimal proposal titled "A revolution of common sense" (which argues for the radical supersession of mail art), Ben Price's mildly amusing "World's end: The epistemology of eschatology," and Barney Rubble's "Confessions of a posterist." Subscriptions are \$10/4 issues.

BEN IS DEAD #13/May & #14/July-Aug.'91 (POB 3166, Hollywood, CA. 90028) continues to expand and improve, now at 56 pages a punk-zine well worth checking out. Issue #13 is the "Broke" issue, featuring "The Ben encyclopedia of 'broke'," and an "Interview with Long Gone John of Sympathy and Lee & Zebra of Dionysus" on "How to run a record label without going broke." Issue #14's theme is "disinformation, myths, propaganda," with Stuart Swezey & Melissa Hoff's "Desert Storm parade," an interview with a health foods advocate titled "Knowledge is good for your health," and an interview with Louis Wolf of the Covert Action Information Bulletin, along with the usual array of show & band

Alternative press review

Compiled by Lev Chernyi



By Chuck Sperry From *World War 3* (POB 20271, Tompkins Square Stn., NYC, NY. 10009).

reviews (Pigface, Samba Hell), music & zine reviews, and lots of ads. Sample copies are \$2, while subscriptions are \$10/6 issues.

THE TV-TS TAPESTRY #57/undated (POB 367, Wayland, MA. 01778) is a mindblowingly large & slick 164-page "journal for all persons interested in cross-dressing and transsexualism." Although by the editor's own admission this is a rather conservative, almost academic publication, it's well worth a read by most anyone who isn't already aware of the implications or extensiveness of TV & TS lifestyles. This issue contains lots of articles like Wendy Pierce's "The mechanics of gender perception," Mary White's "Crossdressing: A woman's perspective," and Wendy Parker's "The gender community: Where are we going in the nineties?," along with about 60 pages of personal ads. Subscriptions are \$40/4 issues.

WORLD WAR 3 ILLUSTRATED #14/undated (POB 20271, Tompkins Square Station, New York, NY. 10009) is a pretty well-known 128-page magazine of political comics & graphic art. This "New World Empire" issue focusses on the Gulf War, with work "from over twenty comic artists from the East and West Coasts concerned with recent events in the Persian Gulf, and [their] aftermath." Included is powerful art by people like Peter Kuper, Seth Tobocman, James Romberger, Chuck Sperry, Scott Cunningham, and Sabrina Jones, along with a speech by Eqbal Ahmad titled "Prediction: New World Empire." If you haven't yet seen this zine, it's about time you ordered one! Single copies are \$4/postpaid.

ALSO RECEIVED:

Factsheet Five #42, #43 & #44/all undated (Hudson Luce, POB 1163, Cincinnati, OH. 45201-1163) is the marginal/alternative press networking zine, back up to 136 pages and still packed with hundreds of reviews—of zines, software, books, poetry, pamphlets, comics, videos, records and tapes. Issue #42 also includes columns by Joe Lane on zine staff organization, Bob Grumman on visual poetry, and another episode of Kerry Thornley's "Conspiracy Corner." Issue #44 is apparently the last one to be produced through the unfailing efforts of publisher/editor Mike Gunderloy. (The new "Editor-in-chief" will be Hudson Luce.) If you haven't seen this zine, order one now! Subscriptions are now \$20/year (6 issues).

Alternative Press Index Vol.23, #1/Jan.-Mar.'91 (POB 33109, Baltimore, MD. 21218) is a 113-page quarterly, library-style index to a wide range of alternative and radical periodicals, including anarchic publications like the *Fifth Estate*, *Kick It Over*, *Open Road*, *Our Generation*, and *Social Anarchism*, along with *Anarchy*. (However, the editors have refused to index *The Match!*, despite the fact that this publication has been publishing longer than most of the other @ publications listed and well deserves to be listed.) Subscriptions are \$30/year (4 issues) for individuals & movement groups.

The Journal of Borderland Research Vol.47, #2/March-Apr., #3/May-June, #4/July-Aug. & #5/Sept.-Oct.'91 (BSRF, POB 429, Garberville, CA. 95440-0429) is a 30-page magazine which claims to be "a Free-Thought Scientific Forum using the imagination and intuition to probe beyond the borders of human perceptions." Each issue features articles on unusual subjects like anti-gravity, psychic surgery, various spiritual

'sciences', healing machines, etc. I find most of the material is fairly tedious to plough through, especially because it seems to have been written by various "true-believers" whose leaps of "logic" defy understanding and whose critical abilities appear stunted at best. Unfortunately, the occasional insights or investigations with any promise seem well outweighed by all the nonsense. Articles in issue #2 include "Human ecology through Raja-Yoga" by E.A.V. Prasad, and "Celestial cybergyphics" (on English crop-circles) by Duncan Laurie. Issue #3 includes a long report on "Operation Clincher" ("etheric weather engineering" claiming to eliminate smog) compiled by editor Tom Brown, and Joel Wendt's "Sacramental thinking." Issue #4 includes "Rhythmic formative force and the evolution of music, Pt.1" by Michael Theroux, and "Music, resonance and healing: An interview with Sherry Edwards" by Michael Riversong. Issue #5 continues with part 2 of Michael Theroux's speculations on music. Subscriptions are included with membership in the Borderlands Sciences Research Foundation at \$25/year (6 issues).

Clash #3/undated (Slagerzicht, Overtoom 274, 1054 BJ Amsterdam, Netherlands) is an 88-page attempt at publishing an international anti-imperialist (pro-"national liberation" and "armed struggle") magazine in both English and German editions. This issue includes "Global apartheid" (from Oslo, Norway), "From Bloody Sunday to Trafalgar Square" (from London, England), "Censorship and the Gulf War" by Said Dudin (director of the Palestinian Press Agency in Germany who was in Iraq during the bombings), and the text of a long speech given by the Stalinist academic Angela Davis in Colorado this February. Send at least \$3.50 for a sample copy.

Eidos Vol.5, #4/undated (POB 96, Boston, MA. 02137) is a 60-page (half ads) tabloid, subtitled "Sexual Freedom & Erotic Entertainment," published by the outspoken Brenda Tatebaum. According to Tatebaum, "Eidos advocates erotic justice and sexual equality for traditionally persecuted and oppressed sexual minorities." This issue includes a healthy dose of readers' letters on a wide variety of topics, Bill Baird's "News hotline," pages of book reviews, an interview with "Adult film actress Porsche Lynn" by Dorothy Feola, several short stories, William Corr on "The penultimate taboo," and many other pieces. This is one of the more open, and seemingly libertarian of the sex/porn/erotic periodicals that I've seen. Many people will find this worth checking out. Sample copies are \$10; subscriptions are \$30/year (4 issues).

Maximum RocknRoll #97/June & #99/Aug.'91 (POB 288, Berkeley, CA. 94701) remains the punk "zine of record" with 128-pages of coverage. In issue #97 Lawrence Livermore complains that he's "getting pretty impatient waiting for punk to die and something more intelligent to come along." Also in #97 is Dave Stevenson's contribution on "The Gulf War and American culture," scene reports (Sweden, U.S.S.R., Belgium, U.S.), plus shifloads of band interviews & reviews. Issue #99 includes a good column by Mykel Board (on SPEW, a sex zines convention) along with several other fair to middlin' to interesting columns, an excellent article in the "New World Order" series titled "The war at home: A dance of sheep," an "MRR News" section (including "The failed attempt at toppling Hussein" by Joel Wing, Castro, and the "CIA's secret Gladio program"), scene reports (from Australia, Canada & the U.S.), band interviews, and loads of reviews. Still the most interesting, comprehensive & up-to-date coverage of the punk scene. Sample copies are \$2.50; subscriptions are \$15/6 issues.

Crooked Roads Vol.2, #2/April '91 (POB 32631, Kansas City, MO. 64111) is a well done, 38-page "literary sporadic" with a usually eclectic content, though this issue focusses on opposing "the stupidity of war" with articles like Carl Bettis' "Questioning the Gulf policy," Sharon Eiker's "Rant against war," and Ida Fogle's "Who's another Hitler? Parallels between

Nazi Germany and present-day USA," as well as including lots of poetry. Subscriptions are \$5/year (3 issues).

Assault With Intent to Free #9/Fall '91 (POB 8722, Minneapolis, MN. 55408) is a well-done & very readable, 48-page political/punkzine now moved from Mississippi to Minneapolis. This better-than-average issue features Tait Graves on "This year's oil war: An environmental and historical view," "A profane interview with Dan, the edit-terrorist" (of *Profane Existence*) by Newt, and "Parks, before people" (on the recent police closing of New York's Tompkins Square Park) by Troll, along with a band interview with Trusty, Skull's good introduction to "The International Monetary Fund: A study in American imperialism," and record & zine reviews. For a sample copy send \$2.00 postpaid.

Blue Ryder #18/June-July & #19/Aug.-Sept.'91 (POB 587, Olean, NY. 14760) is a 36-page zine which consists of "excerpts from underground, small press, and micropress publications." Issue #18 includes a reprint from *Anarchy*; issue #19 includes "Not a just war—just a war" by Erwin Knoll (from *The Progressive*), and "State murder of a Black Panther" (on the US gov't. assassination of Fred Hampton, from the *Fifth Estate*). Subscriptions are \$15/year (6 issues).

U.K. Resist #4/Spring & #5/Summer '91 (POB 2444, Surbiton, Surrey, KT5 9LU, England) is a 32-page "anti-authoritarian punk mag." Issue #4 includes a piece on the Gulf war titled "Fight the state not its war!" along with interviews with the Trolleys, Ice Cube, Chumbawamba & others. Issue #5 interviews include The Beggars, Mega City Four & The Lurkers. Sample copies are \$2; subscriptions are \$12/6 issues.

Resistance #15/Summer-Fall '91 (Friends of Durruti, POB 790 Stn. A, Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2N6, Canada) is now an interesting 24-page publication with the subtitle "Autonomist and Anti-Imperialist Magazine." This issue features articles like "The Gulf War & 'internal security,'" and a section titled " Dossier; Native resistance in Canada." Subscriptions are now \$10/4 issues.

Spanner #3/undated (BM Spanner, London WC1N 3XX, England) is a 42-page eco-zine featuring substantial articles like "Greening the economy" by Robin Cox (an argument for a non-market, sustainable development economy), and "The making of the Green movement" by Laurens Otter. Subscriptions are £1/issue (Int. money order preferred).

New Liberation News Service #10/May Day '91 (POB 41, MIT Branch, Cambridge, MA. 02139) is a 20-page compilation of articles (largely taken from the North American radical leftist student press, intended for reprinting by member periodicals. This issue leads off with news of the student occupations at CUNY, and also includes Jan Thai & Kathie Rasmussen's "U.S. 'Free Trade' scam to poison 'backyard'." Packets are now \$5/issue, and these people need contributions desperately.

Artpaper Vol.10, #9/May, #10/Summer & Vol.11, #1/Sept.'91 (2402 University Ave. W. #206, St. Paul, MN. 55114) remains a well-produced, 32 to 40-page tabloid covering the arts scene and more from an occasionally radical perspective. Issue #9 has a decent piece on "Testing negative/living positive" by Stephen Kaye. The Summer issue includes an excellent column titled "Art for our sake" by Ricardo Morales along with interesting pieces on "Learning from L.A." by Adelheid Fischer, "A grid without sightlines" (on getting around blind in the city) by Marj Schneider, and "Myths and mobility" (on getting around with MS in the city) by Paul Flavell. Issue #1 of the new volume features Rachel Pepper on the SPEW queer zine conference in Chicago, a section on "Artists as parents; Parents as artists," and Gareth Branwyn's "Wake up and smell the planet: Trading art and ideas through phone, fax, and computer." This is one of the more consistently interesting zines around. Subscriptions are \$20/year (10 issues).

Prison News Service/The Marionette #30[54]/May-June '91 (POB 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1W4) is a combined, 20-page tabloid doing an excellent job of covering North American prison issues. This issue includes Bill Dunne's "Agencies of repression expose naked face" (on some of the more publicized police brutality/torture cases), a piece by Larry Giddings titled "Michael Stotts, uncovered?" (see the letters section of this issue of *Anarchy* for a response in part to this article from Michael Stotts), news that the "Vancouver 5" have all finally been released from prison, and Raymond Luc Levasseur's long and heartfelt analysis titled "From behind the wire: View of the Gulf War." Send a contribution for a sample copy; or the suggested subscription rate is \$10/year (6 issues).

War News #2/May '91 (391 Broadway, San Francisco, CA. 94133) is an attempt at producing a high-circulation, 10-page anti-war newspaper in response to the Gulf War, which features lots of articles (many are reprints) on various aspects of the war and its aftermath. This issue includes Barbara Ehrenreich's "A huge yellow streak down the backbone of America," Warren Hinckle's "Peace? U.S. attacks after Iraqis surrender; Hidden war goal is Gulf supremacy," and Todd Gitlin's prewar essay titled "When the media presumes war protestors innocent..." Subscriptions are \$24/12 issues.

Lookout! #35/Summer '91 (POB 11374, Berkeley, CA. 94701) remains the most literate and readable punkzine around. Beginning with parody articles from the "Eureka Sub-Standard," one end of this 32-page newsprint issue also includes book reviews, breezy commentaries on local & international news, a reminiscence on the Catholic Church titled "Forward into the past: Bring back the Spanish Inquisition," and a couple more "heavy" articles on the destruction of the U.S. passenger rail system ("Why can't we just take a train?") and "Professor Livermore's economics made simple (But no less a pain in the ass)." The other end of the issue is a music zine featuring pages of "Sceneshit" by Chris and/or Larry and a band interview with Blatz. This is one zine that's never dull, always witty. Highly recommended. Subscriptions are still \$1/issue.

Left Green Notes #8/June-July '91 (POB 5566, Burlington, VT. 05402) is the 24-page voice for the "left-green" faction of the U.S. greens. Issue #8 includes an edited version of Janet Biehl's interesting report on "The end of the German Greens" (reprinted from *Green Perspectives*), along with Roberto Otero's "Greening 'the others': A Puerto Rican perspective." Subscriptions are \$10/year (6 issues).

The Village Idiot #13/May-Aug.'91 (POB 66, Harrison, ID. 83833-0066) is a nicely-produced 48-page literary journal, including short fiction like Cindy Rosmus' "Jet Fuel," Jess Wilbanks' amusing "It's Hell to Die Rich," and Tom Melchionne's "Rat and Dragon," along with some better-than-average poetry (except for one ungainly rhyme titled "Child Abuse"). Sample copies \$3; subscriptions are \$7.50/3 issues.

ALTERNATIVE MEDIA REVIEW

Katūah Journal #31/Summer '91 (POB 638, Leicester, NC. Katūah Province 28748) is a nicely produced 36-page bioregional tabloid for the Katūah region of Appalachia. Issue #31 includes Clyde Hollifield on "Jack-o-lanterns," acid rain, and the electrical life of the Earth, and Page Bryant on "The call of the ancient ones: The spiritual re-awakening of the Great Smoky Mountains." Subscriptions are \$10/year (4 issues).

Regeneration (formerly **Workers' Democracy**) #1/undated (WD Press, POB 24115, St. Louis, MO. 63130) is the interesting new 24-page discussion bulletin of the Left Green Network. This first issue features Paul Glavin on "Opposition and statecraft in the greens (partly on last year's 'Wall Street Action'), Howard Hawkins on "Libertarian municipalism, workers' control, and the cooperative commonwealth," Jack Ceder's "Critique of libertarian municipalism," Frank Girard's "Toward a revolutionary Left Green Network," and Don Fitz's unrealistic "Giving birth to an ecological morality: A Left Green Program for self-managed production" (For example, Fitz states: "When we become a majority in the U.S. congress, Left Greens will dissolve corporations and the violent state." Rather unlikely given the history of political party behavior upon taking power!) This is a genuinely worthwhile publication if only for the general level of discussion concerning the practical social implications of eco-revolutionary theory, which are rarely talked about elsewhere. Subscriptions are \$10/year (4 issues).

Earth First! Vol.XI, #4/Ostara & #5/Beltane '91 (POB 5176, Missoula, MT. 59806) is a 40 to 48-page tabloid which has for years been in effect (if not avowedly) the major journalistic face of the Earth First! movement/organization, being notable for its narrow-minded editorial policies. The journal is now published by a new (rotating) editorial collective which seems to be much more interested in attempting to reflect the diversity of voices identifying with EFi, although there are still a lot of complaints in the much expanded letters section! Issue #4 features major articles like "Fight the power: Hydro-Quebec at James Bay" by Ursula Aves & Terre Goldman, Carla Neasel's "BLM sleaze goes public: Marketing plan for mining the public lands," and a book review of Barbara Noske's *Humans and Other Animals: Beyond the Boundaries of Anthropology* by Crow Smith. The impressive issue #5 features Erik Ryberg's "Civil disobedience: An urgent critique," Todd Shuman's "Misanthropy or no—Where does it go?," and Simon Zapotes' "Fucking with Mother Nature: A critique of humor, art and eco-pornography," "Cyanide-heap leaching: The new gold rush" by Rebekah Ledwith & Andrew Wolf, "The technology of torture" (leg-hold traps) by Robert Marten, and Kelpie Willsin's "Direct action for appropriate technology" (a Malthusian argument for birth control technology!). Both issues, as usual, also have an incredible variety of short articles on problems and actions around North America. Subscriptions are \$20/year (8 issues).

On The Spot #0/undated (POB 70614, New Orleans, LA. 70172) is a new, 44-page zine that's "not into politics or bitching." This issue includes fiction by Alan Miller titled "Break in the Hedgerow," and by Pablo Lopez titled "Goucho." Sample copies are \$2.50.

Utne Reader #46/July-Aug. & #47/Sept.-Oct.'91 (Box 1974, Marion, OH. 43305) still claims to reprint "The best of the alternative press," though it only prints the less radical, more unchallenging side of the "alternative press" in practice. Issue #46 has a mediocre selection of pieces on its cover theme, "For love or money: Making a living vs. making a life" (even the minimal revelations of Michael Ventura's "Someone is stealing your life" were almost too much for the *Utne* editors to stomach according to their own little sidebar), and also includes articles on the P.C./anti-P.C. red herring, as well as its yearly run-down of "The top 10 censored stories of 1990." Issue #47 has some interesting pieces collected under the section title of "Black voices: 8 views on the crisis in the African-American community," along with stories on its cover theme of "Facing death," and pieces on the dwindling population of family farmers and bad Hollywood movies (a redundant description, I know). Subscriptions are \$18/year (6 issues).

Gnosis #20/Summer & #21/Fall '91 (POB 14217, San Francisco, CA. 94114) is a professionally-produced, 80 to 90-page journal of "the Western Inner Traditions." The Summer issue focuses on the controversial (and often self-contradictory) "Gurdieff & the Fourth Way," with contributions from Richard Smoley, Theodore Nottingham, Walter Scheer, Joel Friedlander and Z'ev ben Shimon Halevi, along with an interview of Jacob Needleman. The Fall issue cover theme is "Holy War!" Contributions include Jay Kinney's introduction titled "The shotgun wedding: Second thoughts on the marriage of politics and religion" (in which he comes full circle from his earlier position defended in the pages of *Anarchy* issues #15 thru #17), Vincent Cornell's "Jihad: Islam's struggle for truth," Charles Coulombe's "Soldiers of Christ," and Judy Harrow's "Reconciling hawk & dove." Subscriptions are still \$15.00/year (4 issues).

OTHER SMALL PUBLICATIONS:

MSRRT Newsletter Vol.4, #4/May, #6/Aug. & #7/Sept. '91 (Chris Dodge/Jan DeSirey, 4645 Columbus Ave. S., Mpls, MN. 55407) is the 16-page newsletter of the Minnesota Social Responsibilities Round Table. Send a 52¢ SASE for a sample.

The Peace Farm Advocate unnumbered/Spring '91 (c/o Peace Farm, HCR 2 Box 25, Panhandle, TX. 79068) is now a 40-page newsletter of the Peace Farm near Amarillo, Texas (apparently a liberal pacifist group sponsored by "The Franciscan Sisters"). The cover story for this issue is Les Breeding's "DOE eyes Texas for new plutonium plant" (to replace Denver's Rocky Flats plant, which has been shut down since late 1989); also included is a "Special report" titled "Casualties of war" (on the US-Iraqi war for control over Kuwait). Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues).

Campus Review Vol.7, #6/Aug.'91 (336 S. Clinton, Suite 16, Iowa City, IA. 52240) is a rabidly homophobic, generally authoritarian, right-wing student tabloid. Issue #6 includes Craig Payne's paean to Western Civilization titled "Multi-ethnic, out; multicultural, nyet" (sample line: "Each group in our multi-ethnic society...must submit itself to life as a part of a single Western culture...."), and Matthew Rogers' whiny complaint (about a new rhetoric text) titled "The multiculturalist cult." Subscriptions are \$5/year (? issues).

Out Your Backdoor #2/Autumn '90 (817 Granger St., Ann Arbor, MI. 48104) is a competently produced & pleasant-to-read 24-page zine, subtitled "A magazine of informal adventure." This issue includes articles like "Pirates of the Caribbean on dramamine (in L.A.)" by editor Jeff Potter, "Sailing across the Pacific" by Jan Taylor, and Randy Rentschler's "Motorcycling off the beaten path in fine company" (about his encoun-

ter with a Hungarian motorcyclist who had fought with the Nazis in WWII). Subscriptions are \$15/year (? issues).

Mirkwood #5/June '91 (POB 4083, Terre Haute, IN. 47804) is a small 16-page zine now subtitled "The Alternative Press Publishers' Magazine." The editor, Joe Lane, also writes a related **Factsheet** Five column called "The Fishing Hole." This issue includes an account of the development of "Anarchy" distribution by Lev Chernyi, "General circulation tips for zine publishers" by Hal Speer, and Joe Lane on "Ace Backwards moves forward in time and space." Recommended for all small publishers. Cover price is now \$2.



By Chuck Sperry From *World War 3* (POB 20271, Tompkins Square Str., NYC, NY. 10009).

DirectConfrontation [unnumbered]/Jan.-Feb., Mar.-Apr., May-July & Aug.'91 (Constitutional Revival, 29 Fairfield Rd., Enfield, CT. 06082) is an 8-page right-wing, "minimal government" newsletter focussing on the Bill of Rights. Notable quote from the Jan.-Feb. issue: "Socialism is a form of insanity." Subscriptions are \$12/year (6 issues).

Western Review Institute Newsletter #16/June & 317/July '91 (POB 806, Chino, CA. 91708) is a 4 to 8-page "educational" newsletter published by Robert Sagehorn. Issue #16 includes some pertinent comments on voting (it "changes nothing"), science ("it is absurd to take it out of the laboratory and apply it to life"), and lots of other topics, while issue #17 includes some interesting comments on the history of the corporation. Subscriptions are \$20/year.

The FIJ Activist #7/Spring & #8/Summer '91 (POB 59, Helmsville, MT. 59843) is the 20 to 24-page tabloid "Newsletter of the Fully Informed Jury Association," whose major purpose is getting the word out to jurors and potential jurors that they have the power to judge not only the "facts" of trials, but also the law itself, if only they take that power for themselves. This is very useful information for any anarchists who have registered to vote in order to be able to serve on juries and attempt to protect defendants from repressive laws. Issue #7 consists mostly of newspaper clippings from a surprising variety of sources. Issue #8 has an amusing account by Tom Estrada-Palma "On becoming a jury-nullification man." Send 65¢ for postage for a sample copy.

The Other Israel #47/May-June '91 (I.C.I.P.P., POB 956, Tel-Aviv 61008, Israel) is the 12-page newsletter of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace. Each issue includes accounts of recent events in the Middle East, Israel and its occupied territories from the perspective of the small Israeli peace movement. This issue includes a fascinating story on the Israeli pacifist Abie Nathan titled "Hungry for peace," "Dissenting voices in the Likud" by editor Adam Keller, and "Portrait of an activist" (on Chava Cohen) by Beate Zilver-smidt, among other pieces. Definitely recommended for anyone interested in Israeli-Palestinian issues. Subscriptions are \$30/year (6 issues).

Vital Information #4/undated (POB 791377, New Orleans, LA. 70179-1377) is a 20-page political zine. This issue features an interview titled "Shooting the heavy breeze with the Black Spoon Gang" (a graffiti gang) by editor Tim Maddog, and a section on television (including a piece titled "Drug of the nation," also by the editor). Send a "donation of paper money, or a few stamps and a used 6"X9" envelope" for a sample copy.

Subconscious Soup #1/Spring & #2/Summer '91 (Scott Clark, 103 Nicholas Ct., Kissimmee, FL. 34758) is a new 12 to 16-page pro-marxiana, Grateful Dead-zine. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Noisy concept #8 & #9/undated (621 Bassett Rd., Bay Village, OH. 44140) is a 4 to 12-page "readers' forum" zine. Issue #8 features publisher Mike Thain's "Attitudes for a better future" (i.e. peace, love & anarchy). And in issue #9 he spins out his own peculiar views on religion, reincarnation and spirituality in "Darwinian agnosticism." Single copies are 50¢ plus a 29¢ stamp.

Arm The Spirit #7/April-May '91 (c/o Wild Seed Press, POB 57584, Jackson St., Hamilton, Ontario L8P 4X3, Canada) is a 6-page newsletter of an "autonomous" information collective "focussing on militant and revolutionary struggles." This issue includes "Out for blood: Richard Williams and Tom Manning back on trial in New Jersey," and "The reason is simple enough: Why I fight" by Raymond Luc Levasseur. Subscriptions are \$10/10 issues.

Pagans for Peace #48/May & #49/July 9991 A.D.A. (POB 86134, North Vancouver, B.C. V7L 4J5, Canada) is a 12-page newsletter for socially-activist pagans. Issue #48 includes a letter criticizing the patriotic Gulf War fever amongst U.S. pagans. Issue #49 includes an article on "Inventing a Wiccan tradition" by Maphis, and a valuable piece on "Pagans and fascists: A word of warning" (For example, did you know that Mircea Eliade was a "staunch supporter of Romania's indigenous fascist organization, the Iron Guard," which collaborated with the Nazis?) by Gerald Desmond. This is undoubtedly the best issue of this zine in a while. Subscriptions are \$15/year (13 issues).

Accusations Of Unacceptable Behavior #2/June & #3/July '91 (Brian E. Drake, 207 W. 85th St. #608, New York, NY. 10024) is a very readable 8-page zine of socio-political commentary. Issue #3 includes a good rant by the publisher on the "clean up" of Tompkin's Square Park & the expensive New York parade celebrating the U.S. massacres in Iraq. Subscriptions are \$1/issue.

Small Press Review #218/Mar., #219/April, #220/May & #221/June & #222-3/July-Aug.'91 (POB 100, Paradise, CA. 95967) is a 16 to 24-page publication which concentrates on reviewing new small press poetry and fiction. Issue #218 includes a review of Ruth Jespersen's *The Blink of an Eye* by William Durbin, Merritt Clifton's "Mailbox mobism," an interesting review of Jim Thompson's *The Killer Inside Me* by Joe Napora, and more. Issue #219 includes Laurel Speer on "Flunking feminism." Issue #221 includes Murray Bob's amusing guest editorial titled "Mapplemania: Sin brings 'em in." And the special double Summer issue #222-3 on "Money & Small Publishers" features interesting pieces like Richard Evanoff's "How literary projects can always be self-supporting," and Ron Fleshman's "Small press mystery." Subscriptions are \$20/year (12 issues).

Media Monitor #2/May '91 (Council for Public Media, POB 4703, Austin, TX. 78765) is a 4-page newsletter founded "to help bring the mass media back to their purported mission—to invigorate a democratic state...." Send an SASE for a sample copy.

The Wheatsville Breeze unnumbered/Fall '90, Spring & Summer '91 (3101 Guadalupe, Austin, TX. 78705) is a 4 to 12-page tabloid covering news of the Wheatsville Food Co-op in Austin, Texas. Send a large SASE for a sample copy.

Industrial Worker #1535/May, #1536/June, #1537/July #1538/Aug. & #1539/Sept.'91 (1095 Market St. #204, San Francisco, CA. 94103) is the 8-page newspaper of the Industrial Workers of the World—the vestigial remains of a union whose apogee preceded WWI. Issue #1537 includes an interesting retrospective account titled "The anniversary of a general strike—Nicaragua one year later" by Mary Jasper. While issue #1538 features Judi Bari's discussion of "Last ditch logging" (reprinted from the *Anderson Valley Advertiser*), and Ginger Goodwin's "Adapt or die: 21st Century strategy for the IWW." Subscriptions are \$10/year (12 issues).

Safe, Fast Restraint for catalyst Comics unnumbered/undated (POB 129, Dekalb, IL. 60115) seems to be a fairly bizarre zine making a personal statement through almost illegible photos paired with quotes from writers like G. Deleuze and M. Foucault. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Peacework #208/May '91 (AFSC, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA. 02140) is the 16-page "New England Peace & Social Justice" newsletter of the American Friends Service Committee. It includes articles like "Is 'empire' an overstatement?" by Robert Dove, "Israeli-Palestinian post-war prospects" by Nancy Murray, and "Liberation and Namibia" by Jennifer Ross. Subscriptions are \$10/year (12 issues?).

The American Rationalist Vol.35, #7/May-June & #8/July-Aug.'91 (POB 994, St. Louis, MO. 63188) is a 16-page magazine subtitled "The alternative to religious superstition," substituting a rigidly conceived rationalism in the place of religion. Issue #7 includes "Buddha—the secular humanist" by Jyoti Shankar. Issue #8 includes Bernard Katz's "Unraveling the Gordian knot: Teaching values in our public schools" (in which he actually boasts that "...science and technology are at the core of [democratic secularists'] values decisions...." how sad!). Subscriptions are \$6/year (6 issues).

The Radical Feminist unnumbered/Spring "Interim Bulletin," Vol.5, #5/Summer "Interim Bulletin," & #6/Fall '91

(POB 28253, Kenneth City Str., St. Petersburg, FL. 33709) is a 10 to 16-page newsletter undergoing transition to a new title this Fall, **The Radical Feminist**. The Spring issue includes cumulative indices of **The Radical Feminist & Independent Woman** from 1988 through 1991. Issue #5 includes a white supremacist rant on the topic of "Hate crimes"—apparently by editor/publisher Molly Gill (an example of the prose: "I am sick to death of my country being run by swarming immigrants of the Third World who didn't stay and make a go of it in their own poverty-ridden lands, but come here and mooch off us in many ways...I am sick and tired, as are many white gentle Americans, of whining and complaining minorities...who prey off Americans and drain our blood like vampires.") Also included is an essay on "Day care; Russia, China, Israel compared to U.S.," as well as material on Odinists, a defense of the white supremacist group called "The Order," a report on a KKK rally, etc. Issue #6 leads off with "A few dozen men control America's mass media" (the major point being that they're all Jewish), and also contains an essay titled "Abortion—race suicide for whites." It's hard to say if this unsavory publication really has *anything* to do with feminism, although Mike Gunderloy apparently gave an earlier issue a good review in **Factsheet** #40 ("The writing is direct and hard-spoken but with much compassion")! Sample copies are \$3; subscriptions are \$15/year (4 issues?).

The Illiterate Digest #6-7/undated (564 Mission St. #152, San Francisco, CA. 94105) is a 12-page anti-war zine, at least in this "Special Operation Desert Storm Commemorative Issue." Included are several pages of commentary on the many anti-war demos that took place in the S.F. Bay area. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Raw/No Idea unnumbered/undated (Nicholas Penalosa, 435 W. Delavan, Buffalo, NY. 14213) is a 20-page anti-war, anti-AIDS student zine ("RAW" = "RADICAL actions against AIDS and WAR") affiliated with ACT UP. This issue sports a highly unique cover photo—"I'm sure it gave plenty of parents heart attacks when they saw it. Copies are free for SASE or trade.

Community Charge #8/May 15, #9/June 1, & #10/June 15, '91 (POB 57069, Jackson Station, Hamilton, Ontario, L8P 4W9, Canada) is a 4-page zine which bills itself as "Hamilton's Autonomous Voice," a mix of local news and international news. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

HTBA #14 & #15/undated (Toni Hendry, RR2, 380 Cramer Rd., Dundas, Ont. L9H 5E2, Canada) is a 4-page anti-commodity/anti-capitalist zine. For a sample send "2 stamps."

LUNO unnumbered/July '91 (31960 SE Chin St., Boring, OR. 97009) is the 10-page newsletter of the Learning Unlimited Network of Oregon. This issue includes "Is the family an endangered species?" by Gene Lehman. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Turning The Tide Vol.4, #3/May-June & #4/July-Aug.'91 (POB 1990, Burbank, CA. 91507) is an 8 to 12-page "Anti-Racism Newsletter." Issue #3 includes an "Interview with an ex-Nazi/bonehead." Issue #4 includes pieces on "Neo-Nazis on trial in L.A. for triple cross-burning," and the "Police Department in L.A.—racist, sexist, anti-gay!" Send 50¢ for a sample copy.

Celtic Pamplermousse #2/undated (Jim Druid, 66 Greyhound Dr., Willowdale, Ontario M2H 1K3, Canada) is a 20-page photocopied fiction-zine (that is, even numbered copies are fiction, on odd numbers **CP** is a rant-zine). This issue consists of chapter one of a very passable fantasy story titled "Ironwood." Send a (Canadian) SASE or a contribution for a sample copy.

The Torch #9/July '91 (Socialist Party of CA., 5502 W. Adams, Los Angeles, CA. 90016) is a 12-page newsletter published by the Young Peoples Socialist League, subtitled "Youth Liberation & Other Anti-Social Behavior." This issue includes "We ain't gonna believe it" by Chuck Gillis (on the war in the Gulf). Subscriptions are \$2.50/year (4 issues).

For All My Relations Vol.1, #4/May '91 (Claudia Slate, 11029 McCree Road, Dallas, TX. 75238) is a 6-page newsletter "dedicated to spiritual values which incorporate Native American and other belief systems...." This issue includes short pieces on topics like "Hollywood in Indian Country," and "Native Americans resist toxic invasion." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Republican Liberty Vol.2, #1/Winter '91 (Republican Liberty Caucus, 1717 Alapalache Parkway, Suite 434, Tallahassee, FL. 32301) is an 8-page newsletter for a supposed "libertarian" caucus in the Republican Party. According to this journal (isn't the title an oxymoron?), 1990 "was a great year for libertarian Republicans!" However, if last year was a great year for any groups, they certainly had nothing to do with liberty, which continues to be in extremely short supply. Also in this issue is a piece curiously titled "Libertarians identified in Congress" by Clifford Thies (and he's not talking about protestors outside the building!). Subscriptions are \$20/year (4 issues?).

Noisy Concept #10/Aug.'91 (621 Bassett Rd., Bay Village, OH. 44140) is a 12-page "Zine of Philosophical Discussion" according to its subtitle. This issue features the editor/publisher, Mike Thain, on "Human evolution" (Part 1 is subtitled "Humanity is a cancer"). Sample copies are 50¢.

The Gateway Greens' Compost-Dispatch Vol.2, #8/Aug. & #9/Sept.'91 (Gateway Green Alliance, POB 8094, St. Louis, MO. 63156) is an 8-page newsletter covering local/regional environmental problems & actions. Subscriptions are included with membership in GGA at \$25/year (12 issues?).

Freak Antizine #1/undated (305 N. Ingersoll St., Madison, WI. 53703) is apparently a 16-page (anti-)zine, but since the Post Office only delivered the cover pages it's hard to tell what it really is about. Cover price is \$1.

New Indicator Vol.16, #1/Sept.19, '90 thru #9/Jan.19 & #11/Mar.18, thru #14/June '91 (Student Co-op Center, U.C. San Diego, B-203, La Jolla, CA. 92093) is a 4 to 16-page leftist student tabloid, which continues to cover the fight to retain student cooperatives on a campus in which the administration would rather see them all dead, along with all the usual "progressive" campus left news. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Dialogue #88/April-May '91 (POB 71221, New Orleans, LA. 70172) is the 16-page "New Orleans Progressive Community Journal," focussing on local news, and now incorporating the **Delta Greens Newsletter**. This issue includes Hal Dean's "ASRM tests: We all live downwind" (on pollution from NASA's tests of solid-fuel rockets near New Orleans). Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues).

Continued on next page

Alternative press review

Continued from page 7

Prisoners' Legal News Vol.2, #5/May '91 (POB 1684, Lake Worth, FL 33460) is a helpful 10-page newsletter for prisoners focussing on the state of Washington. Issue #5 features "A saga of shame: The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal." Send stamps &/or a contribution for a copy.

Ely Fire Fly #6/May, #8/July & #9/Aug.'91 (413 N. 10th Ave. East, Ely, MN. 55731) is an interesting, 8-page, locally-oriented newsletter. Issue #6 includes an interview with homeschoolers titled "To school or not to school." Issue #8 includes "Independent thought a sign of class," and the continuation of an interview with two college students looking forward to careers in the FBI and the brutality of "law enforcement." Subscriptions are \$3.00/6 months (6 issues?).

Food For Thought #2/July (R. Seth Friedman, 25 W. 13th St., Apt.5-N-N, New York, NY. 10011) is a very readable & competently-done 24-page zine dedicated to food & politics. This second issue includes a piece on New York neighborhoods & pesto sauces titled "A gorgeous mosaic" and "The Seth Friedman method: How to lose your job and improve your standard of living at the same time." Subscriptions are \$2/issue.

It's T-Time undated/unnumbered (Box 6433, C-Station, Durham, NC. 27706) is a 14 to 18-page photocopied zine of handwritten (sometimes cryptic) notes and clipped media images. Sample copies are \$1 each.

North Star News #3/April-May, #4/May-June, #5/June-July & #6/July-Aug.'91 (Box 622, Arcata, CA. 95521) is a monthly, 16-page alternative news tabloid covering the California north coast area. Issue #5 includes interesting information on "Headwaters fact and fiction" (on the Headwaters Forest owned by Pacific Lumber). Subscriptions are \$12/year (12 issues).

Uncommon Desires Newsletter #1/Summer '91 (c/o N.S. Aristoff, POB 2377, New York, NY. 10185) is a 12-page interim newsletter serving until *Uncommon Desires* magazine is able to publish again. (The magazine—unable to publish due to FBI harassment including the theft of its mailing list—bills itself as "the voice of an emerging politically-conscious girl-love underground.") This first issue of the newsletter contains updates on some of the latest outrageous attacks on photographers of children, etc. Recommended for anyone interested in issues of pedophilia, children's sexuality, or sexual repression & "deviance" in general. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Methodical Fall #10 & #12/both undated (3rd Millennium, Box 80572, Mpls, MN. 55408) is a 2 to 8-page zine. Issue #12 is critical of "the new alignment in American politics, between social conservatives of the left and right." Send an SASE for a sample copy.

OVO #10/July '91 (Trevor Blake, POB 23061, Knoxville, TN. 37933-1061) is a 48-page theme-zine. This is the "Mayhem" issue featuring an interview with Stuart Swezey of Amok Books, an interview with a used bookstore worker in Knoxville concerning "true crime" books, a set of rules on "How to be a successful serial killer," and a review of *Pure* magazine by the publisher. Sample copies are \$3 by postal money order to 'Trevor Blake' only.

The Southern Libertarian Messenger Vol.19, #11/Mar. & #12/April '91 (Rt.10 Box 52A, Florence, SC. 29501) is a 6 to 8-page, photocopied, right-wing "libertarian" publication made up of clippings from other publications. Subscriptions are \$6/year (12 issues).

Slug & Lettuce #21 (Christine, POB 2067, Peter Stuy. Str., NYC, NY. 10009) is a 4-page contact zine providing free classifieds, along with punk gig photos and reviews. Send an SASE for a copy.

Artest #5/undated (1876 Garden Drive, Vancouver, BC. V5N 4W7, Canada) is a 24-page newspaper zine covering "Youth Arts Issues." This issue includes Carlos Pessoa's "500 years of struggle" (on the European invasion of America), and Gord Campbell on "Police violence in anti-war protests." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

The Honkin' Dog #4/Spring-Summer & #5/Summer '91 (POB 48059, St. Albert, Alberta, T8N 5V9, Canada) is a 20 to 22-page punk zine. Issue #4 is "the crazy anti-oil war issue." Issue #5 includes a defense of copyrights, "The fag thing" (a gay-bashing account) by Nomadic Ken, and record & zine reviews. Sample copies are \$2.00 posted.

Notes From Oblivion #23/June, #24/July & #25/Aug. '91 (Jay Harber, 626 Paddock Lane, Libertyville, IL. 60048) is a 2 to 4-page personal zine in which the publisher is finding himself "under an escalating attack by the world" (including suffering environmental illness), and is looking for sympathetic communication from readers. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

The Messenger #3/undated (no address/San Francisco, CA. postmark) is a new 8-page newsletter of political commentary defending "Democracy, and a market-oriented economy." This issue's essay is titled "Hello media, goodbye democracy," reflecting on the views of Mark Twain, and their relevance for understanding the modern mass manipulation in the U.S.

Built Ugly #5/undated (408 E. Roberta Ave., Waukesha, WI. 53186) isn't a 26-page "Anarchist Journal for queers," according to the publisher. Instead, it contains a few interesting columns and interviews with bands (Disrupt & Jawbreaker), as well as with "Tom of Disarray Zine." Send three 29¢ stamps for a sample copy.

The Nuclear Resister #78/June '91 (POB 43383, Tucson, AZ. 85733) is an 8-page tabloid usually providing comprehensive coverage of arrests for anti-nuclear civil resistance in the U.S. However issue #77 features coverage of "Military refusers," and "Gulf War resistance updates." Subscriptions are now \$18/year (10 issues).

Loving More #27/Summer '91 (PEP, POB 6306, Captain Cook, HI. 96704-6306) is a 16-page newsletter subtitled "A group marriage journal & network." This issue includes an hilarious (all too true!) "Monogamy" board game, a story of one woman's attainment of "Sexual awareness," and "Deep love: Why I vote for both intentional patriarchy and intentional polyandry." Subscriptions are \$25/year (4 issues).



Anarchy for preliterate: Without Borders mud people, 1989.

Marxism for professors

Review by Toni Otter

The Marxian Legacy, Second Edition (1988) 411 pp. \$13.95 paper; *The Politics of Critique* (1989) 245 pp. \$14.95 paper; *Defining the Political* (1989) 331 pp. \$15.95 paper; all by Dick Howard (University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.).

Dick Howard is a philosophy professor at the State University of New York, Stony Brook. Before opening these books, it is preferable that one have considerable interest and background in what academe generally labels "modern philosophy."

From the back cover of *The Marxian Legacy*: "First published in 1977, ... was written for the reader who wanted to situate the political movements of the 1960s within the revolutionary tradition, and who wanted to recover what could be useful to a theoretically grounded political practice in the United States. Dick Howard analyzes eight European Marxists—Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Bloch, Max Horkheimer, Jean-Paul Sartre, Jurgen Habermas, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Claude Lefort, and Cornelius

Castoriadis—about the effect of Marx's legacy on their own theory and practice."

The Politics of Critique shows "...the inadequacies of Kantian, Marxian, Frankfurt School Critical Theory, as well as the general notion of revolution..." (back cover). Howard in this volume attempts "...to integrate Marx and Kant around the challenge of a radical modernity..." (back cover) and discusses the French and American Revolutions.

I'll spare you a back cover bang-up on *Defining the Political*, which is the most easily readable of the three books under review. In short, Dick Howard in *Defining the Political* discusses more Marx and Kant, the American Revolution, French socialists, the now old New Left and sundry other topics.

Howard's erudition is incontestable. But what, beneath the philosophical jargon so necessary for his employment, does he say in these three books? "We may want to criticize him [Ernst Bloch] for his defence of and obedi-

comics, and a bizarre piece by Philip Hensel on "Edward Bellamy." Sample copies are \$1 plus a postage stamp.

The Guardian Vol.43, #34/July 3, '91 (24 West 25th St., New York, NY. 10010-2704) is a 20-page "Independent Radical Newsweekly" published since 1948. This issue has stories on current issues in the U.S., Eastern Europe, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and South Africa, especially concerning gays, women and minorities. Subscriptions are \$33.50/year.

Lo Straniero Vol.6, #12/undated (I. Corsaro, via Chiaia 149, 80121 Napoli, Italy) is a hugely oversized, 4-page multilingual paper "devoted to the study of estrangement." This issue includes coverage of "Last exhibit in Oxford-May 1991: VII° Stranger's International Meeting and Exhibition." Copies are \$5; free to declared "economically bohemians."

People's Park Emergency Bulletin unnumbered/Aug.4, & #3/Aug.16, '91 (700 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA. 94720) is a 4-page information sheet updating the People's Park struggle on a week-by-week basis. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Copwatch Report unnumbered/Summer '91 (2022 Blake St., Berkeley, CA. 94704) is an 8-page bulletin covering police (mis)conduct in Berkeley. This issue includes stories on "Police out of control, city government out to lunch," and "New police tactics: Intimidation and injury in the service of UC authority." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Incite Information (formerly *Big Forehead Express*) #14/Sept.-Oct.'91 (1507 E. Franklin St. #530, Chapel Hill, NC. 27514) is a moderately interesting, little 16-page bulletin of "News Analysis and Commentary" from a vaguely libertarian/leftist perspective. Issue #14 includes Mark Hand on "The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi" & "Sri Lanka's endless war." Subscriptions are \$10/year (6 issues).

Lard Gore #3/Aug.'91 (POB 8722, Mpls., MN. 55408) is an 18-page personal/political punkzine, featuring short pieces on gentrification in Minneapolis, the recent battles over People's Park in Berkeley & Tompkins Square Park in NYC, as well as stuff on veganism. Send 75¢ for a sample copy.

Storm Warning! #19/June '91 (VVAW-Al, 4710 University Way NE., Suite 1612, Seattle, WA. 98105) is a small-format, 32-page anti-imperialist veterans newsletter. This issue continues coverage of the Gulf War and its aftermath with an article on "The Kurds," and a "GI resisters honor roll." Subscriptions are \$10/year (7) (10 issues).

Slingshot #40/Dec.'90 & #41/Jan.'91 (700 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA. 94720) is an energetic 8 to 16-page anti-imperialist, anti-war, generally anti-authoritarian student paper for the University California at Berkeley community. Send \$1 for a sample copy.

Yawn #27/May thru #29/June '91 (POB 227, Iowa City, IA. 52244) is a 2-page newsletter, subtitled "Sporadic Critique of Culture," featuring continuing commentary on the "art strike." Subscriptions are \$10/25 issues.

ence to Stalin, for his naivete towards East Germany, or for his unabashed defence of the Moscow Trials...." (*The Marxian Legacy*, p.29) Howard goes on to praise Bloch's "experimental" thought, but nothing I read in the chapter redeemed Bloch from Stalinism, or even merited the space devoted to him in the text.

But let's not kick Bloch around. Let's talk about the Republic. Not Plato's, but Dick Howard's, though the two are amazingly similar. Howard's view, in a nutshell, is that "the republic" is a space for political discourse which prevents too much freedom (when have we had too much?) and too much State control. "The Republic is to be an institutional form guaranteeing the public political forum remains always open." (*The Politics of Critique*, p.185)

However, as one reads Howard, his antagonism toward freedom and anarchy, and his bias for State control are clearly revealed. Though the republic is Howard's referee between freedom and authority, this "ref" is obviously making one-sided calls. The "...predominance of freedom (i.e., anarchy) or of the State over freedom (i.e., despotism)" is to be avoided. (TPoC, p.82) "If democracy is defined as social activity and if the Republic...preserves the public space where this social activity is carried out, then the realization of complete social democracy would destroy the republican public space." (TPoC, p.79) There are two conditional "ifs" in this latter statement which I hardly accept as given, not to mention the conclusion, but disregarding that, what else has the author to say about this republic?

Howard writes that the American Revolution (1776), "... realized, in its way, the republic." (*Defining the Political*, p.282) In the same paragraph, he states: "At the time of the American Revolution—which, it should be recalled, was a revolution—many people spoke of 'the democracy' as a...threat which weighed on the newly independent state." Is Howard discussing the same events in North America, circa 1776, of which I'm aware? I hadn't realized that democracy was such a danger to the nascent State which later unleashed a genocidal fury upon the indigenous people, and eventually succeeded the British Empire. Howard continues his description of a process which realized, in its way, the republic: "The democracy" was the masses, the populace, or what philosophical jargon calls "civil society." (DtP, p.282) Pity, isn't it, to picture the fledgling Yankee State, guarantor in its own way of the Republic, so

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Reclaiming Newsletter #43/Summer '91 (POB 14404, San Francisco, CA. 94114) is a 30-page pagan newsletter "working to unify spirit and politics." This issue includes David Miller's review of Robert Bly's *Iron John*, Dawn Seagrave's account of a "Gender workshop: A hermaphrodite's view," and a cop-out "Earth religion anti-abuse resolution" (which explicitly recognizes the status of illegality as a legitimate limit to pagan activity). Subscriptions are \$6-\$25/year (4 issues).

Institute for Social Ecology Newsletter Vol.9, #2/Spring '91 (POB 89, Plainfield, VT. 05667) is a 6-page bulletin which includes news of the Institute for Social Ecology, along with a short article on the Hydro-Quebec James Bay II dam project, and a very worthwhile 4-page mailorder book catalog insert. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Popular Reality unnumbered/undated (POB 571, Greenwood Lake, NY. 10925) is now a small 20-page zine. This one features Laird Wilcox on "The practice of ritual defilement," Al Ackerman's "Angels?," Bob Black's "Empty magazines: A broadside," and an anti-marginals/underground rant/whine by Rodney Griffith titled "Beyond the fringe." No price listed.

Green Synthesis #34/July '91 (L.E.D., POB 1858, San Pedro, CA. 90733) is a 16-page quarterly officially associated with the Green Committees of Correspondence. This issue includes Charles Betz's "Against catastrophism!" (that is, against the acceptance of "massive human die-off" in the author's terms), Don Fitz on "The economics of building a green world" (a bit of ecological/electoral DeLeonist fantasy), and Mike Feinstein's analysis of "The European Community, Eastern Europe, and the European greens." Subscriptions are \$10/2 years (8 issues).

Trading Post #11/Spring '91 (Chris Caggiano, 1737 Grove St. #1, Ridgewood, NY. 11385) is a 44-page music trading zine. Send 50¢ for a sample copy.

Funmare #2/undated (Donna Han, 8457 Holly Leaf Dr., McLean, VA. 22102) is a 12-page anti-school zine, which includes advice for the newly unemployed (ending "Burn the workplace, strangle your boss"), and "The 'li anarchist' comic strip." Send a \$1 cash/stamps for a sample copy.

Alternative Visions Vol.4, #1/Fall '90 (Student Coop Center B-023, UCSD, La Jolla, CA. 92093) is a 48-page student paper for women. This issue includes lots of women's poetry and a bit of news. Subscriptions are \$2/issue.

The Essential Imagination unnumbered/Fall '91 (POB 9792, Scottsdale, AZ. 85252-3792) is an 8-page, new ageist newsletter including a bizarre interview with Roy Doughy titled "Love in the marketplace: Are we dreaming?" (Notable quote in the interview: "If business isn't a network that holds society together by love, then it's going to be a net of fear, domination and exploitation." By analogy, one is tempted to say: "If murder isn't a relationship of profound generosity, then it's going to be one person killing another.") Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Ken Knabb on Rexroth

The Relevance of Rexroth by Ken Knabb (Bureau of Public Secrets, POB 1044, Berkeley, CA. 94701, 1990) 88pp. \$5.00 paper.

Kenneth Rexroth is probably best known for his poetry and essays spanning the generations from the 1920s until his death in 1982. The fascinating account of his early years presented in *An Autobiographical Novel* describes his encounters with most of the 'marginal' milieus of that time from jazz musicians to political radicals, including individuals from Marcel Duchamp to Emma Goldman. But while *An Autobiographical Novel* covers in detail his immersion in the bohemian culture in the '20s, its account ends before he settled down to a new life in San Francisco where, according to Ken Knabb, he went on to become "the leading spirit in the literary and cultural ferment that led to the postwar San Francisco Renaissance."

The Relevance of Rexroth is a combination of personal appreciation of the man and literary evaluation of his works, by one of the leading figures in the San Francisco Bay area situationist milieu—Ken Knabb is the author of several pamphlets, as well as editor and translator of the highly-praised *Situationist International Anthology* (Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981). Based on an acquaintance with Rexroth in the '60s when Knabb attended his classes at San Francisco State College, Knabb succeeds in weaving together a pleasant narrative which at turns presents revealing comments about Rexroth's personal life, his poetry and essays, and his place in American cultural history. He does this by exploring, in the book's three succinct sections, Rexroth's "Life and Literature," his "Magnanimity and Mysticism," and views on "Society and Revolution." What makes this book an especially enjoyable experience is Knabb's ability to point out so many of Rexroth's insights and foibles in such a compact manner. Using liberal doses of quotation from both essays and poems, Knabb reveals both the wisdoms of Rexroth's dabbling in mysticism, as well as the disappointing short-sightedness in his failure to confront the need for any contemporary anarchist strategy. In the latter regard, Knabb is critical that "He seems only to have a vague hope that a 'saving remnant' of people practicing authentic community in the interstices of the doomed system might somehow keep the flame alive." (p.67)

That Rexroth isn't more widely read and appreciated, even amongst fellow anarchists, says more about the anti-intellectualist, televisual blinders of contemporary popular culture, than it does about his actual relevance for our place and time. *The Relevance of Rexroth* is Ken Knabb's plea for the renewed audience Rexroth's works richly deserve. As such it is as good a place to begin exploring Rexroth as any of his own poetry or essays. And for those completely unfamiliar with the man or his writing, it may even be the best place to begin. -L.C.

Reconsidering individualism

Individualism Reconsidered by Joe Peacott (B.A.D. Press, POB 1323, Cambridge, MA. 02238, 1991) 28pp. \$3.00 pamphlet.

Individualism Reconsidered is the third and newest publication of the Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade's pamphlet series, following Joe Peacott's *Misinformation and Manipulation: An Anarchist Critique of the Politics of AIDS and Against Separatism* (edited by Peacott). Unfortunately, unlike the previous publications, this one falls somewhat short of its mark. Though it addresses a timely and controversial topic, it remains too superficial and fails to do it justice.

Peacott's basic argument is that (1) North American anarchists are "overwhelmingly collectivist"—unlike the situation in the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th; that (2) during the earlier period individualism was considered "a legitimate branch of anarchist thought"—and one presumes, practice; that (3) "Today, however, there is almost no mention of individualism, individuality, or individual freedom in most of the anarchist press, except in the context of, and subordinate to, the needs and desires of a larger social collective"; and that (4) therefore, "Anyone who rejects the collectivist utopia is seen as anti-social, right-wing, or not a 'real' anarchist, and is generally

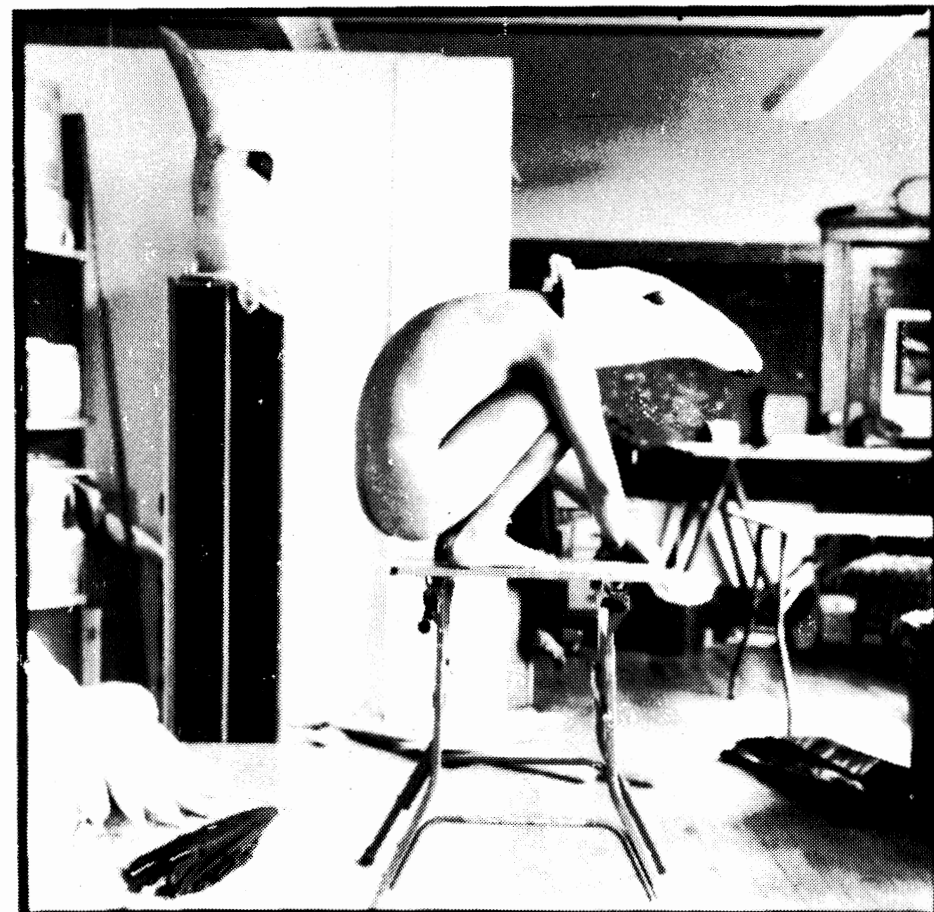


Photo by Marshall. From *Individualism Reconsidered* (B.A.D. Press, POB 1323, Cambridge, MA. 02238).

not taken seriously by other anarchists." His response to this situation is "to initiate a critique of the collectivist bias of most anarchists, and...to rekindle an awareness of and interest in issues of individuality and individual freedom within the anarchist movement."

This would all seem reasonable if it weren't for the fact that significant individualist tendencies do exist in the contemporary anarchist movement, even if they remain in the minority and don't often welcome the particular ideological label of 'individualism'. Just because the historical forms of individualist anarchism are moribund—and no longer claim much influence on contemporary anarchists—is no reason to ignore some of these more individualist anarchist currents which do exercise an influence. And certainly among such contemporary currents must be considered the more 'Vaneigemist' of those anarchists influenced by the Situationist International, those who in individualist fervor refuse any but near-nonsense or extremist labels (like Bob Black's 'Type III Watsonianism', Kerry Thornley's 'Discordianism', Hakim Bey's 'Chaos', etc.), as well as the explicitly anti-ideological tendency to which *Anarchy* magazine attempts to give voice. Remarkably, none of these examples are ever mentioned in Peacott's essay, as though they had no existence. (Though, in fact, several of these tendencies were recently attacked publicly for being "neo-individualist" by Mike Kolhoff—formerly editor of *The Seditious*, now editor of the *Anarchist Labor Bulletin*. And an interesting aspect of this heated assault was precisely its close resemblance to the type of anti-individualist invective by left-anarchists described so well by Peacott.)

Certainly, anarchists these days are predominantly collectivist, but this was also the case throughout most of the 19th Century. Peacott points out that the more perceptive and open-minded anarchists (e.g. Emma Goldman) have never repudiated what is most worthwhile in individualism. But it is also true that much that has passed for individualism hasn't merited any defense.

For example, Peacott's vision of individualism includes the mortgaging of private property (even though he also says there would supposedly be "no landlords and no rent"), wage-slavery (at "the full value of...labor," of course!), and even "capitalism" *per se* (as long as it is "non-invasive" of course!). This type of

confusion mistakes the subordination of individuals to a capitalist economy (to wage-slavery and the fetish of "the market") for the celebration and empowerment of individuals. Its total contempt for community leads it to idealize hierarchical and commodity-exchange relationships under the rhetoric of freedom, as though free individuals would rather buy and sell to one another, than engage in more direct and non-reified relationships. One is left to ask, if this impoverished vision is really what Peacott means by individualism, why should anyone bother reconsidering it? -L.C.

Born Again Capitalism

Amway: The Cult of Free Enterprise by Stephen Butterfield (South End Press, 116 Saint Botolph St., Boston, MA 02115) 185 pp. \$11.00 postpaid, paper.

A friend of a friend of mine decided to sell Amway products. This salesperson was critical of Amway Corporation, yet rationalized her involvement by calling it a second job to augment her family income. (The things we do for money!) She also remarked that selling Amway was no worse than selling for Sears or Wal-mart, and I could scarcely disagree with that.

I knew a little about Amway but not enough, so I ordered this book from South End Press. After reading it, I passed it on to the Amway salesperson. It will be interesting to see what she has to say when next we meet.

From the back cover: "Amway Corporation, in alliance with the religious right, has spent twenty-five years building an authoritarian, probusiness movement in the American middle class. Amway preaches devotion and obedience to its leaders, hard work and sacrifice for the Company, contempt for the poor and worship of the rich."

"Steve Butterfield, an ex-Amway distributor, dramatically exposes how step-by-step one can get hooked into the Amway lifestyle, including its rallies, products, Cadillacs and cult doctrine, until one's critical intelligence is drowned in a cycle of fake love and plastic dreams."

"Amway is a frightening center of political reaction which uses the concept of 'free enterprise' to spread the gospel of corporate power. Most distributors are induced to work for little or nothing by the ideology of 'positive thought'

which Butterfield dissects with an insider's insight."

The author's anecdotal reminiscences continually spice his analysis:

"During two years of Seminars, I heard statements like these, repeated over and over by speakers at various high pin levels:

"I cleared all those Negative products out of my home: all the Crest, and the Prell, and the Spic-and-Span, we put all the Brand X in a big box and gave it away...I don't allow any Negative in my house."

"When we were new in the business, my sponsor came to our house and went into our bathroom, and found my tube of Crest. I didn't like Amway toothpaste, and I decided that I wasn't going to use it. And she wrote on the mirror with the Crest, 'I love Amway toothpaste.' Then she came out and said, 'I want you to look in your mirror.' Well, that day I learned my lesson."

[...] "There's a very simple principle about reading; it's called GIGO Garbage in, garbage out. If you read garbage, that's what will come out of you. I got rid of Playboy. I read what my sponsor tells me to read. If I have any doubt about whether to read a certain book, I check our approved reading list." (pp. 28-29)

This is the most informative (and painfully, unavoidably humorous) volume of which I'm aware concerning Amway Corporation. -T.O.

Other titles received

A Crisis of Values: Moving from Materialism to Reality by James P. Thrasher (J.P. Thrasher, 365 Lynn Cove Road, Asheville, NC. 28804, 1985) unpaginated. \$15.00 paper.

Becoming and Being Human, Vol. I: Rational Democratic Social Evolution by Geoffrey Oldham Dean (Xob Press Corp., POB 1407, Innisfail, Alberta T0M 1A0, Canada, 1990) 146pp.+appendices. Spiral bound. No price given.

Memoria: I Jornadas Internacionales de Debate Libertario, Mayo 1988 (Fundación Salvador Seguí Ediciones, C/ Sagunto, 1º, 28010 Madrid, Spain, 1989) 81pp. paper. No price given.

Nuevas Tecnologías y Sociedad: Memoria II Jornadas Internacionales de Debate Libertario, Junio 1989 (Fundación Salvador Seguí Ediciones, C/ Sagunto, 1º, 28010 Madrid, Spain, 1989) 62pp. paper. No price given.

Marxism for professors

Continued from previous page

besieged by the populace? Since American Indians, Blacks, and women were excluded as much as possible from this process, which was a revolution, isn't it disheartening to think of "the masses, the populace" consisting of white men over 21 years old posing such a democratic menace to the heroic, incipient central government as it attempted to preserve the Republic?

"Republican politics is a morality; and morality can be realized only in a republic." (TPoC, p.160) This, of course, explains a number of things, such as why Adam and Eve contracted original sin. How much more Dick Howard do you want to hear? "If the French vetoed the military, and therefore political unity of Europe thirty years ago, the German Left threatens informally to do the same thing today." (DtP, p.193) The German Left aside, who wants to promote the unity of the States of Europe? What possible liberatory potential can there be in united states and their military forces? Or consider this: "...the critique of totalitarianism led the French to rediscover also the virtue of institutions, and especially of the law." (DtP, p.126) Isn't it good to know in these troubled times that at least one professor holds a proper respect for the Law and the Republic? And as you go to sleep tonight, instead of contemplating a biblical proverb, you may wish to meditate upon a Howardian koan: It's an interesting thought-experiment to ask yourself: as 'socialist' Commissar of Research Policy, what would I fund, and why?" (DtP, p.58)

I was not stimulated by Howard's discussion of "eight European Marxists" in *The Marxian Legacy*, though I do appreciate his scholarship. His attempt to improve upon Marx via Kant is mildly interesting but unconvincing. For all his discussion of revolution, philosophy, and political movements, I found his writing quite tedious.

ALTERNATIVE MEDIA REVIEW

Anarchist press review

Compiled by Lev Chernyi

FIFTH ESTATE #337/Late Summer '91 (POB 02548, Detroit, MI. 48202) is a 24-page anti-civilization, anti-technology, anarcho-primitivist tabloid. This issue features an unattributed cover story titled "Post-war postmortem; How the U.S. got away with it," along with the Bureau of Public Secrets' "The war and the spectacle," and Mitchel Cohen's eye-opening (considering the generalized mass media black-out on the subject) "Military continues assault on GI resisters." Other articles include Graham Purchase's reinterpretation & defense of "Kropotkin's metaphysics of nature" (his naive scientific naturalism), several book reviews, and a response to the *Anarchy* (#29/Summer '91) interview with Noam Chomsky titled "Has civilization failed? Don't ask Noam Chomsky!" Always recommended. Subscriptions are now \$6.00/year (4 issues).

THE SHADOW #17/April-May & #18/June-July '91 (POB 20298, New York, NY. 10009) is an energetic 20-page tabloid covering alternative scenes on the Lower East Side in New York. Issue #17 includes a cover story titled "Lower East Side up for grabs: Redistricting causes upheaval," and more good paralegal advice by Ron Kuby & William Kunstler in "Down by law; Being your own lawyer in summons court." The cover story for issue #18 is "Free the park; Dinkins violates city charter!! Police state occupation during park demolition" (in response to the police takeover of Tompkins Square Park), along with lots of other articles on aspects of the park takeover and resistance. Essential reading for those interested in the NYC scene. Subscriptions are \$10/year (? issues).

OUR GENERATION Vol.22, #1-2/Fall '90-Spring '91 [Double issue] (Suite 444, 3981 boulevard St-Laurent, Montréal, Québec H2W 1Y5, Canada) is a 156-page, academically oriented "independent semi-annual journal dealing with contemporary anarchism and libertarian socialism." This issue features Noam Chomsky on "The New World Order," a reprint of "Noam Chomsky's Anarchism" by Paul Marshall (from *Bulletin of Anarchist Research*), Murray Bookchin's long essay "The meaning of confederalism," Frank Harrison on "Anarchy, organization, and scale," and George Woodcock's "Democracy, heretical and radical." This "double issue" is \$9.95; subscriptions are \$25/2 years (4 issues).

SNICKER (Smile) #6/undated (c/o Schiz-Flux, Box 3502, Madison, WI. 53704) is an interesting 44-page zine, now subtitled "Magazine of Multiple Becomings." This issue is a little more fragmented than the last (Smut), with pieces titled "Desire action," "Ambulatory reflections on velocity versus the state," "Reality of illusions," "Peasant action in Mexico," as well as "Concerning psychogeography, play, and the Bastille of meaning." Sample copies are \$2 (cash, stamps or money orders to Karen Eliot, no checks).

LOVE AND RAGE/Amor y Rabia Vol.2, #4/April, #5/May, #6/June-July & #7/Aug.'91 (Box 3, Prince St. Station, New York, NY. 10012) is a controversial, 16-page "revolutionary anarchist newsmagazine." Issue #4 features "Meet the New World Order" by Christopher Day & Matt Black, along with a very interesting "Letter from the Berlin squats" (giving a blow-by-blow account of the Mainzerstrasse evictions last November). Issue #5 includes Christopher Day's "Getting it together: Democracy in local collectives," and Paul O'Bannon's worthwhile, though essentially naturalistic, essay on "Ecology, critical thinking, and utopia" ("a self-defeating anti-intellectualism which confuses theoretical discussion and writing with the privileged discourse of the university... pervades much of the anarchist activist milieu"). Issue #6 includes a cover story titled "Another season of racism for spearfishers" by Oscar Hernandez, and other pieces on this Summer's "Love and Rage Anarchist Organizing Conference" by Paul Toupe, "A look at the new left green program" by Wayne Price, and Liz Highleyman's analysis of "Anarchism and AIDS activism." Issue #7 features an *On Gogol Boulevard* interview with two members of "Cuba's green opposition," along with Ivo Skoric's "Yugoslavery." Subscriptions are now \$9.00/year (? issues).

ALSO RECEIVED:

Cold #3/Feb.'91 (R. Wherever, 11 Bayberry Ln., Cohasset, MA. 02025) is a relatively new 84-page zine with an unusual 4"x11" format. This issue includes a reprint of the much reprinted "Spatial deconcentration" (originally published by the Yulanda

Ward Memorial Fund), and a comic strip titled "The Sad Saga of Ned Waterbaum" by J. Zenick, followed by pages & pages of intelligent zine & book reviews. There is also a sort of catalog of catalogs covering various topics (computers/hacking, land/community, etc.) in the back. Sample copy: \$2.50.

The Match! #86/Summer '91 (POB 3488, Tucson, AZ. 85722) is a 60-page journal, lovingly published by Fred Woodworth on his 1250 LW Multilith press. This issue is extra long on denunciations of cops (not that they don't deserve it, but the overkill here becomes boring after awhile) and other rants against authority, along with Paul Roasberry's "Teaching Pigs to Whistle" and a further installment of Iris Lane's story "Two Sisters." Subscriptions are still \$10/4 issues.

Libertarian Labor Review #11/Summer '91 (Box 2824, Champaign, IL. 61825) is a 42-page magazine of "Anarchosyndicalist Ideas and Discussion." This issue features the second installment of a series on "Anarchist economics" titled "Kropotkin's anarchist critique of capitalism" by Jon Bekken, along with a lot of news concerning workers' struggles and organizations around the world. Subscriptions are \$5.00/2 issues.

Here and Now #11/undated (c/o Transmission Gallery, 28 King St., Glasgow G1 5QP, Scotland) is an always interesting 36-page magazine. This issue focusses on an oft-neglected but very important aspect of the system of social control: "The professional conspiracy: Health, social work, culture." Paul Woods writes in "D-Mark-ation" on the way East Germany was absorbed into the West, Jim McFarlane reports on the Poll Tax resistance in "Escaping the single issue," Alex Richards contributes "Culture as circus" (on resistance to Glasgow's "Year of Culture"), while Steve Bushell reports on "The NHS reforms: An internal examination" (NHS = National Health Service), and John Barrett & Frank Dexter do a good job writing on the growth of the myth of "Satanic abuses" in the social work field. Recommended. Subscriptions are £3.50/3 issues (checks made to G.P.P.).



Babyfish...Lost Its Momma #5/Summer Solstice '91 (POB 11589, Detroit, MI. 48211) remains a huge free-form compendium of Cass Corridor poetry, collage, reviews, interviews, fiction, commentary, etc., this time in collaboration with Boomedie. Issue #5 includes lots of anti-war, anti-corporate pieces like "Presidential Protest Poem" and "Staterave," as well as fiction by Anne Harris, Cindy Cadaver, and Aimless Gibson. The Emma Goldman Gypsy Players get interviewed, the RCP gets a humorous sendoff in "I saw a 900 ft. Mao," and you can find out "Why the capitalists want to sell you deodorant." You have to see a copy of this unusual compilation to appreciate its emotional and topical diversity. Send a couple dollars contribution for a sample copy.

Kick It Over #26/Summer '91 (POB 5811, Station A, Toronto, Canada M5W 1P2) is a so-far weak attempt to revive this once well-established anarchist/feminist/ecological journal. This 48-page issue (now in smaller, magazine format, though still printed on newsprint) includes Gary Moffatt's "From neo-colonialism to New World Order" (arguing that single-issue peace groups ought to dissolve themselves into "existing anti-imperialist groups"), a new column titled "Paths to social change" which attempts to "trace the progress of adherents of each position in working for social change" (featuring news of a municipally appointed recycling commission and a community-based development company, among other "lessons of experience"), and Jon Reed's "Journeys through Central America." Subscriptions are \$9.00/4 issues.

Profane Existence #10/April '91 (POB 8722, Mpls, MN. 55408) has ditched its *monthly* schedule due to lack of funds, and is now an irregular, 20-page anarcho-punk fanzine. Issue #9 includes an account of a Minneapolis anti-war march titled "Bring the war home! Fuck shit up!" and "The beginner's guide to imperialism and the oil war," as well as "Absent without leave: An interview with an AWOL soldier destined for the gulf." Issue #10 includes 20 pages of interesting news, columns and letters, part 10 of Felix's "Short history of anarchism" on "individualist anarchism," band interviews with the Ex & Asbestos Death, a fascinating account titled "Increasing the pressure: Reports of autonomist resistance in Germany," and "It ain't over 'til it's over" (on the Gulf War), along with record & zine reviews. Subscriptions are now \$9/6 issues.

Dumpster Times #9/May '91 (W.S.D., POB 80044, Akron, OH. 44308) is a 40-page zine billed as "Akron's only anarchist review of art & culture." This "Post War Depression" issue features anti-war news & views like Allen Thornton's "Auntie Cassandra" and Dave Schall's "The war is over?" Also included is Ed D'Angelo's "Community and conflict: An evolutionary approach," a reprint of a Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade broadside titled "Abolish all prisons," and a story titled "Killer, with a 'C.'" Send \$2.00 or equivalent for a sample copy.

Green Perspectives #22/May '91 (POB 111, Burlington, VT. 05402) is a 10-page "Left Green" publication, this time featuring Murray Bookchin & Janet Biehl's "A critique of the Draft Program of the Left Green Network" (criticizing the schizoid nature of the Draft Program which at some times promotes a visionary anarchist perspective, while at others preaching liberal capitalist reform), and Janet Biehl's "Farewell to the German Greens" (the German Greens have disavowed their ecological "radicalism" once and for all in order to scramble after crumbs of state power). Subscriptions are \$10/10 issues.

Instead of @ Magazine #51/Summer '91 (POB 433, Willimantic, CT. 06226) is a lively 44-page reader-written journal. This issue features Michael Ziesing's thoughts on "War, sex, religion, sports," Kyle Griffith's naively psychologistic "Is the war inside your mind?," "Feminism as anarchism: A lasting perspective" by Mary Webb, and Michael William's excellent criticism of "Anarcho-nationalism" (a response to an earlier article in *IO@M*). Subscriptions are \$7/4 issues.

OTHER SMALL PERIODICALS RECEIVED:

Accusations of Unacceptable Behavior #1/May '91 (Brian Drake, 207 W. 85th St. #608, New York, NY. 10024) is a very personal, new 8-page zine. Following a couple short pieces about the editor, Brian Drake, is a sample of his fiction titled "Let a smile be." Subscriptions are \$1/issue.

Mad World Survival Guide #1/undated, #2/undated & #3/Aug.-Sept.'91 (Shadow Lamp, POB 791377, New Orleans, LA. 70179-1377) is a readable new 16 to 28-page direct-action zine with lots of short pieces on topics like survival, police brutality, animal liberation, the Mad World Survival Gang, and ninja warriors. The second issue includes zine & book reviews, and the third issue has a piece titled "Suburbia: The front line" (on monkeywrenching) by King Hunter, along with more zine reviews. Send \$1 cash + a 52¢ postage for a sample copy.

Anti Clock-Wise #16/undated & #17/undated (POB 175, L69 8DX, Liverpool, Merseyside, England) is a 12-page bimonthly. The cover story for issue #16 is "Another cheap holiday in other people's misery." Issue #17 is on "Car-nage," including "Auto destruction" by the editor, and "Driving me crazy" by Olivier Large. Individual copies are 40p plus postage.

No Nation Bulletin #8/Spring '91 (People to People Friendship Ass., c/o Sören Groth, Industrigatan 9, 15 300 Järna, Sweden) is a photocopied 12-page exchange of short letters from people living on different continents, especially Europe and Africa, with the cover slogan "No borders, no boundaries, no flags, just friendship." Subscriptions are U.S.\$5/year (4 issues).

Ecomedia Bulletin #97/April 9, #98/April 23, #99/May 7, & #100/May 24 '91 (POB 915, Stn. F, Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2N9, Canada) is a 4-page fortnightly anarchist news bulletin. Issue #99 includes coverage of the Brampton, Ontario Caterpillar Plant workers' occupation, while issue #100 includes an article titled "Poll tax pulled." Subscriptions are \$15/year (26 issues).

AOC #10/undated (POB 187, North Hollywood, CA. 91603) is a 28-page zine with a focus on music & politics. This issue features Adam Bregman's "Anarchist resistance to a world in collapse," and a

couple band interviews (The Ex, Citizen Fish). Send 52¢ in stamps for a sample copy.

Green Anarchist #27/Summer '91 (Box H, 34 Cowley Rd., Oxford OX4 1HZ, U.K.) is a 24-page magazine dedicated to creating a society of "Autonomous, self-sufficient villages, bringing regression of technology: no industry, no pollution, no hunger, no bomb." Issue #27 includes a discussion forum on the topic of "Gormless Greens" (criticizing the British Green Party), and an appreciation of the work of Murray Bookchin by Brian Morris. Subscriptions are £4.50/10 issues.

Anarchy In Paradise Vol.1, #3/Sept., #4/Dec.'90, Vol.2, #1/Mar. & #2/June '91 (A.M.P. Ltd., 2233 Kalakaua Ave., B205A #1261, Honolulu, HI 96815) is a neatly-done 4-page tabloid. Issue #3 features "To vote or not to vote: One recently converted anarchist's pondering about what is right," along with a piece of political party propaganda titled "Libertarian viewpoint" (urging votes for the oxymoronic "Libertarian Party") by Steve Jeffries. Issue #4 features Graham Purchase on "Anarchism, the state and the technological revolution." Issue #1 includes an interesting piece of travel reportage titled "Beyond the walls: Berlin to Beijing, Part I" by Paxus Calta, while issue #2 includes "Beyond the walls, Part II" and "The Bill of Rights: Poor, abused document of dreams" (unattributed). Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues).

Let's Face It #5/Feb.'91 (c/o Siouxslie and Mike, POB 471012, Charlotte, NC. 28247) is an 8-page zine—with a theme of "No War But Class War" for this issue. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Practical Anarchy #1/Spring '91 (Chuck Ø. 622 N. Henry St., Madison, WI. 53703) is a new 4-page "forum on how to do constructive things now." This issue includes short pieces on "Anarchism and your public library," and "Community supported agriculture." Send an SASE for a sample copy.

A Infos #9-10/April-Mai & #11/Juin '91 (Humeurs Noires [F.A.], BP 79, 59370 Mons en Baroeul, France) is the 4-page French edition of the *A-Infos* international "Bulletins d'information." These issues are organized by sections of news on the "Extreme Right," "insecurity" (on assaults, murders & rapes by cops, etc.), etc. No price given; send a contribution.

The Party's Over #5/May '91 (Autonome Forum, POB 366, Williamstown, MA. 01267) is a 4-page streetsheet focussing on reprinting news of protest actions in tiny, tiny print. Issue #5 focusses on Korean protests and the recent riot in Washington, DC. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

The Hyperborean #4/May E.M.391 (Richard Gaska, 2024 N. Manor Dr., Erie, PA. 16505) is a 30-page photocopied zine consisting largely of reprints. This issue includes the fourth installment of the reprinting of *The Bible Exposed* by Erasmus. Subscriptions are \$11/year (6 issues).

Bandit undated/undated (no address) is a nifty little 4-page maximalist zine for "Libertine eco-commies." "Bandit" stands for "Bay Area Nee Deep In shiT," and this one focusses on incitements to revolt against the Gulf War. Free, if you can find one.

A. Info #3/Jan.-Mar. & #4/Apr.-June '91 (Pb. 61523, Den Haag, Netherlands) is a 2 to 6-page English-language Netherlands edition of this international information bulletin. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Counter Information #31/June-Aug.'91 (Pigeon-hole Cl, c/o 11 Forth St., Edinburgh EH1, Scotland) is a 4-page newsheet. This issue announces "Victory for people power!" with regard to the backing down of the British government from its attempt to impose the hated Poll Tax, and also includes a good summary of the post-war conditions in the Middle East titled "Out of order." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

The Holy Experiment #11/June & #12/undated '91 (POB 6573, Freehold, NJ. 07728) is a 14 to 16-page photocopied zine subtitled "For Youth, By Youth." According to the editor, Most of the *Experiment* concerns itself with protest, local corruption, squatting, police brutality, and the discussion of @ theory. Our permanent writers are all high school students... and most... contributors are Lower East Side squatters of high school age. Issue #11 includes a "Special report on: Political postering" by Jorg Leason, and "Discussing theory: Pro-work/anti-work" consisting of short excerpts from the writings of Chaz Bufe and Alain Ajax. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

@tiatl #1/undated (POB 7962, Austin, TX. 78713-7962) is a new 8-page zine subtitled "A Journal of Chronic Subversion." This issue includes good pieces on the U.S. invasion of Iraq and anti-war resistance like "Conspiracy a go-go," "Protesting wargasm," and "An anarchist critique of the anti-war movement" (all unattributed). Send an SASE for a sample copy.

A-Infos #4-5/Mar.-April '91 (AP/ABC, 8, Aristidou St., 10559 Athens, Greece) is an interesting new 12-page, English-language information bulletin/chronology produced by the same people who publish the Greek-language streetsheet titled *The Anarchist*. Probably the best English-language source of news on Greek social movements and their repression. Well worth checking out for anyone interested in keeping up with the conflictive political situation in Greece. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

ALTERNATIVE MEDIA REVIEW

The Dilatory Meander (formerly *The Monthly Meander*) Vol.3, #4/May-July '91 (Carl Bettis, POB 32631, Kansas City, MO. 64111) is a 6-page "Newsletter of evolutionary anarchists" consisting of letters from contributors (including a well-written letter from Tundra Wind in this issue). Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Brick #7/undated (POB 1153, Russellville, AL. 35653) is an 8-page streetsheet; this issue announces a Southeast "anarchist gathering to be held either later this year or early next." Send 50¢ for a sample copy.

Wind Chill Factor #1/Aug. & #2/Sept.'91 (POB 81961, Chicago, IL. 60681) is a new 50 to 56-page "freeform journal of ideas, action, news, creativity and more." The first issue includes lots and lots of short items, along with articles like "The family" by Bill, and Sprite's "The rising tide of friendly fascism." The second issue "salutes the Russian people, who threw off the yoke of their communist oppressors in favor of the 'freedom and democracy' of capitalism. Meet the new boss, same as the old boss." It includes "Punk and politics: Report from the youth lib gathering" by Sprite & Auntie W@r, and "Torture: Police brutality Chicago style." Send \$1.44 in stamps for a sample copy.

The State Adversary #17/April '91 (AAA, POB 78-104, Grey Lynn, Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand) is a 12-page newsletter with lots of local & international news shorts, along with commentary & letters. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Lesbian & Gay Freedom Movement #5/Summer '91 (BM Box 207, London, WC1N 3XX, England) is a 16-page zine campaigning for sexual liberation. This issue includes thoughts on "Pornography" ("a complete distraction from the real causes of sexism and sexual violence"), "Sexual fantasy & sexual politics," and "How you can help end the oppression of fat dykes." Single copies are 50p postpaid.

NON-ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PERIODICALS RECEIVED:

Umanita' Nova Vol.71, #10/Mar.24 & #12/Aprile 14 thru #25/Luglio 28 '91 (c/o G.C.A. Pinelli, via Roma 48, 87019 Spezzano Albanese (CS), Italy) is the 8-page, Italian-language weekly newspaper of the Federazione Anarchica Italiana. Issue #10 includes "La duplice faccia dei militaristi." Issue #15 includes a 12-page anti-clerical supplement titled *Il Peccato* (The Sin), launching a campaign against the Italian "Pope tax" (which supports the Catholic Church). Issue #22 includes information on the rebirth of anarchist movements in Paraguay and Colombia. Issue #24 includes "Jugoslavia: Quale guerra." Each issue also includes an English-language summary. Subscriptions are US \$55.00/year.

Disturb@nce #2/undated & 47/Map.'91 (POB 31261, 10035 Athens, Greece) is an 8-page, Greek-language newspaper. Issue #4 includes articles on the Paris Commune and the English Class War federation. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Mordicus #4/Avril-Mai & #5/Juillet '91 (BP 11, 75622 Paris Cedex 13, France) is one of the most interesting publications to come out of France. Issue #4 of this 24-page, French-language tabloid features articles like "Indiens de Banlieue" by Karoly Goulash & Sergio Tortellini, and "La preuve par les armes" by Ali Rodjo, along with a translation of John Zerzan's review of Baudrillard's *America*. Issue #5 is up to 32 pages, including articles on "Forteresse Europe," "Le temps de catastrophes" by C. Logre, and "Le retour du temps perdu" by D. Jajadis. The cover price of this issue is 15F; Subscriptions are 100F/year (12 issues?).

Noir et Rouge #3/Mai-Juin '91 (Stephen Hellon, Ave. des Klauwaerts 6, 1050 Bruxelles, Belgium) is a poster-sized, 2-page French-language periodical. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Foglio Mensile di Anarcoscetticismo #8/Guigno & #10/Agosto '91 (Alfredo Salemi, Via Merulana 209, 00185 Roma, Italy) is a poster-sized, 2-page Italian-language publication. Send a contribution for a sample.

Social Harmony #1/April & #2/June '91 (POB 76148, Nea Smirni 17110, Athens, Greece) is a new 4 to 8-page, Greek-language anarcho-communist/communist bimonthly. Issue #1 includes an article "On state terrorism and armed struggle" (in opposition). Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Le Libertaire; Revue de Synthèse Anarchiste #115/Avril, #117/Juin & #118/Juillet '91 (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).

Solidaridad Obrera #217/Marzo-Abril, #218/Abril-Mayo, #219/Junio & #220/Julio-Agosto '91 (Ronda de San Antonio, 13 pral 08001-Barcelona, Spain) is the 12-page, Spanish-language regional newspaper of the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. in Catalonia. Issue #217 features an article titled "La catástrofe del golfo." Issue #218 includes a multitude of short selections from the international anarchist press condemning the Gulf War. Issue #219 includes a cover piece titled "Por un municipio libre," along with the usual array of anarchist & workers' news. Cover price: 65ptas (plus 20ptas postage) for a sample.

Rosso e Nero Vol.3, #18/Guigno '91 (Via del Campani n.69, 00185 Roma, Italy) is a 6-page, Italian-language newsletter. Send a contribution for a sample.



Guángara Libertaria #46/Primavera '91 (ISHSS, POB 1516, Riverside Station, Miami, FL. 33135) is a neatly-produced, 32-page, Spanish-language journal produced by Cuban anarchist exiles. This issue features the final part of "Ejecución en Santa Águeda" by Frank Fernández. Send a donation for a sample copy.

Rojo y Negro #25/Mar. & #26/Mayo '91 (Sagunto 15, pal., 28010 Madrid, Spain) is 16-page, Spanish-language newspaper of the reformist anarcho-syndicalist C.G.T. (Confederación General del Trabajo), better known outside of Spain as the "Renovados" (a minority split from the more traditionally anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. in Spain). These issues include a plentiful array of pieces on workers' issues, strikes, and union news. Subscriptions are 1,000-ptas/year (12 issues).

Második Látás #7/Junius 1991 (c/o Rác Mihály, XIII. u. 35, Budapest 1172, Hungary) is a 72-page Hungarian-language anarcho-punk zine, self-described as an "individualist, direct action zine." This issue features a piece on "Neozimusz," Pinter Tibor on "Neorealizmus," "Rap and soul underground," and a piece on "Anarchizmus Bulgáriában," along with interviews, comics, zine and music reviews, etc. Sample copies are available for \$1 postpaid.

CNT #126/Junio, #127/Julio & #128/Agosto '91 (CNT-Periódico, Apartado, n.º 282, 48080 Bilbao, Spain) is the 20 to 24-page, Spanish-language newspaper of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Workers union) in Spain. Issue #127 includes articles on "Abstención ¿Para qué?" by Xavier Bermúdez, and Abraham Guillén on "Los robots industriales en los umbrales del año 2000," along with lots of other workers' news. Issue #128 includes an editorial titled "Los intelectuales y el Movimiento Obrero Libertario." Subscriptions are 2,200ptas./year (12 issues).

Telegraph Vol.2(?), #3/März, #4/April, #5/Mai #6/Juni & #7/Juli '91 (Schliemannstr. 22, Berlin O-1058, Germany) is a 48 to 60-page German-language publication from Eastern Berlin. Issue #3 includes articles like "Waffenhandel international im Dienste der Stasi II" and "Dresdner Neonazis im Vormarsch." Issue #4 contains opinions on the latest RAF actions and its undercover relationship to the DDR. Issue #5 includes a long interview with Israeli peace-activist Adam Keller. Subscriptions are 34DM/year.

Ektos Nomoy #13/Iouvns '91 (POB 11251, 54110 Thessaloniki, Greece) is professionally produced 12-page, Greek-language newspaper. Sample copies are 150 drachmas plus postage.

Perspectief #23/undated (Libertaire Studiegroep, Dracenastraat 21, 9000 Gent, Belgium) is a 58-page Dutch-language journal of libertarian perspectives. This issue features articles on "Anarchisme en organisatie" by Francis Faes, "Patria o Morir" by Willie Verhoysen, and "Bakoenin en het nationalisme" by Serge Cipko. Single copies are 40Fr. plus postage.

Brand #45/Sommar '91 (Box 150 15, S-104 65 Stockholm, Sweden) is a 32-page Swedish-language magazine which usually includes an English-language summary of contents in each issue. Issue #45 starts off with an article titled "Amerika invaderar" (on the European invasion of America), along with anarchist & antifascist news, and a story on the second annual "Libertarian Football Cup" held in Stockholm. Cover price is 15KR; send a contribution for a sample.

Schwarzer Faden #39/March & #40/April '91 (Postfach 1159, 7043 Grafenau-1, Germany) is a lively, well-produced 72-page, German-language magazine. Issue #39 includes articles like "Wer eine 'Krise' braucht, produziert sie" by Phillip Agee, "Krieg und Geschwindigkeit: Paul Virilio's 'Dromologie'" by

Ulrich Bröckling, and an interview with p.m. (author of the utopian tract 'bo'lo'bo'). Issue #40 includes Claudia Bernhard on "Patriarchale Mogelpackung? Die 'multikulturelle Gesellschaft' und die Frauen." Subscriptions are 50.-DM/8 issues.

The Anarchist #48/Mah '91 (Y.Kastanaras, Argiroupolos 27, Athens 11471, Greece) is a 4-page Greek-language street-sheet from Athens featuring anarchist news. Send a contribution for a sample.

Exegersi (Riot) #3/undated & #4/MAPTHZ (A/Coil, POB 30658, Athens 10033, Greece) is an 8 to 16-page, Greek-language newspaper including "articles about the situation in Greece, from the anarchist view" according to the publishers. They also promise to publish an English-language bulletin "from time to time." Cover price is 200 Drachmas for #3 & 100 Drachmas for #4.

Ekintza Zuzena: Revista Libertaria #7/undated (Ediciones EZ Argitaraldiak, Apdo. 235, Postakutxa, 48080 Bilbo, Bizkaia, Spain) is a well-produced, 52-page Spanish-language "libertarian review" from the Basque country. This issue includes "Delincuencia y terrorismo dos enfoques deformantes," and "Mujer y lesbiana, Marginación dentro de la discriminación." Subscriptions are 800 ptas/year (4 issues).

Liberecana Ligilo #72/J. & #73/J.'90 (P.Persson, Svartviksvägen 14, S-123 52 Farsta, Sweden) is the 20-page bulletin of the libertarian/anarchist faction of the Esperanto-language workers' organization S.A.T., headquartered in Paris. Issue #72 includes "Mizero de inoj en eks-socialismo." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Le Monde Libertaire #825/25 Avril thru #834/27 Juin '91 (145 rue Amélot, 75011 Paris, France) is the 8-page, French-language weekly of the anarcho-syndicalist Federation Anarchiste Française. Issue #825 includes a 4-page supplement on the Nov.'90 congress of the l'Internationale des fédérations anarchistes (IFA) in Valencia, Spain. Issue #830 includes a cover article titled "A bas les frontières!" (on the May demo in Paris "en faveur du droit d'asile"). And issue #834 contains a cover story titled "Polynésie Française: Tchernobyl du Pacifique." Subscriptions are 400F/year.

Trafik #34 (Eduardstrasse 40, D-4330 Mülheim 1, Germany) is a well-produced 100-page, German-language "International Journal for Libertarian Culture and Politics." This issue is dedicated to "Libertäre Musik von Folk bis Punk" in celebration of Emma Goldman's famous words, "Wenn ich nicht tanzen kann, ist es nicht meine Revolution." Joe Hill, Georges Brassens, Crass, Zyxelyx, and John Cage are all covered in detail. Single copies are 10DM plus postage.

The anarchist scene

Compiled by Lev Chernyi

THE WEST COAST FREEDOM FEDERATION (c/o Friends of Durruti, POB 790, Stn. A, Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2N6, Canada) is "a collective of militant anarchists, who have come together" to create "a stronger, more united west coast community." The WCFF proposes the creation of a *West Coast @ Directory* to help build regional communication. Contact WCFF for more information.

C@FÉ POST-MORTEM (208 E. 7th St., NYC) is now open Fridays and Saturdays from 1PM till closing at @ Central Anarchist/Alternative Bookshop. Video nights 8PM Wednesdays; performers & poets welcome.

PERENNIAL BOOKS (POB B14, Montague, MA. 01351), a relatively new mailorder anarchist book service (which has just moved to a new address from its original residence in Valley Cottage, New York) has recently issued a new book catalog for Autumn '91 which includes new, remaindered and used books.

MATRIX RESOURCE CENTER (333 SE 3 Ave., Portland, OR. 97214/Phone: [503] 238-1927) has scheduled a series of Sunday videos and Friday Night Anti-Authoritarian Coffeehouses hosted by Anarchists Anonymous 8PM till 11PM.

THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN JUBILEE (Oct. '92-Oct. 2002) has been proclaimed by James Koehnline (POB 85777, Seattle, WA. 98145-1777). Nominations for people to include in "a Calendar of Jubilee Saints" (no living persons, no Popes, no heads of state) are now being taken. Write for more information.

THE SPRING '91 CATALOG of anarchist publisher Black Rose Books (3981 Boul. St-Laurent Suite 444, Montréal H2W 1Y5, Québec, Canada) is out, featuring new reprints of classics by Peter Kropotkin, along with new works by Murray Bookchin and others.

LIVE IN PARADISE with playful erotic beings. Traverse the Belizean rain forest scouting for a Southern Base for an Experimental Hypermedia Permaculture site with Schiz-Flux and other nifty folks. Projected excursion Jan. '92. Write: Drake Scott, 1805 Pearl St., Austin, TX. 78701.

Anares #29 & #30/undated (Rathausgasse 28, Postfach 229, CH-3000 Bern 8, Switzerland) is the 12-page newsletter of this archive and library. Write for more information.

El Libert@rio #20/Abril-Mayo '91 (Brasil 1551, 1154 Buenos Aires, Argentina) is the 4-page, Spanish-language newspaper of the Federación Libertaria Argentina. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Le Musicien Exécute le requiem au 38 Special #24/Juin '91 (no address given) is a 54-page, French-language zine with lots of articles of analysis & news on subjects like "Kronstadt 1921," "Kosovo: Ecrasons tous les états, toutes les nations!," and "Nagasaki nightmare." Cover price is \$2.

Omutirão #1/Março-Abril, #2/Maio-Junho & #3/Julho-Agosto '91 (Caixa Postal 15001, Cep 20155, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil) is a new 4-page Portuguese-language tabloid featuring cover stories like "Trabalhadores rurais se organizam e agem," and "Resistência e ação direta pela posse da terra." Send a contribution for a copy.

Cuban greens need aid

Orlando Polo and Mercedes Paez of Cuba's anti-authoritarian/ecological/anti-militarist Green Path group have been touring the U.S. recently. Arrested many times in Cuba, they are now being refused re-admission to Cuba by Cuban authorities.

A campaign for them is being organized by Latin American-Neither East Nor West (in Miami) and New York City Neither East Nor West.

You can help them by addressing protest letters to the "Cuban Interest Section" demanding Orlando and Mercedes be allowed to return home and not face repression there. Mail to:

Neither East Nor West
c/o Bob McGlynn
528 5th Street
Brooklyn, NY 11215

For more information, a 2-page *Love and Rage* interview with Orlando and Mercedes is available for \$1 from Neither East Nor West at the above address.

SELECTED BACK ISSUES OF ANARCHY: A Journal of Desire Armed (C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446) are available for free distribution in bulk for the cost of postage and packaging. We have extras of several issues including #19, #22, #23, #24, #25 and a few of #26 still available. For those living in the U.S., we suggest you send about 15¢ to 20¢ (depending on the size of the issue[s] requested, and your distance from Missouri) for 50 to 150 copies (send a minimum of \$7.50, and make any checks out to "C.A.L." only). Those outside the U.S. obviously need to send *much* more to cover the higher costs of postage. Copies will all be marked "FREE" on the cover. To order bulk copies for resale, see the terms listed in the masthead box on page 3.

A COUPLE HUNDRED BULK COPIES OF North American Anarchist Review #4/Spring-Summer '91, are still available for free distribution by bookstores, anarchist centers, and others who want to promote anarchist publishing and distribution. Send \$5 for 50 copies, \$8 for 100 copies, or \$10 for 200 copies to C.A.L. (POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65202-1446) and make any checks out to "C.A.L." only). In addition, a few individual copies of *NAAR* #2 are still available for an SASE.

THE UNITED ANARCHIST FRONT (POB 11036, Whittier, CA. 90603) has published several flyers ("Freedom from the State," "Society without the State," a contact list titled "Anarchism Everywhere") and a "NO PIG ZONE" poster.

THE 1991-2 DIRECTORY OF ALTERNATIVE AND RADICAL PUBLICATIONS is now available from the Alternative Press Center (POB 33109, Baltimore, MD. 21218) for \$4. Over 350 periodicals are listed.

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. Please remember, for more information, or for ordering materials listed in this column, you must write to the addresses given above and not to C.A.L.

Anarchy in the CS

A paraphrase of the title of the Sex Pistols LP laid the foundation for the punk movement in the mid-70s and shows that there is continuity between Bakunin, Kropotkin, or in our case maybe the villa of Olsany of S.K. Neumann. Many can remember learning in school about the beginnings of anarchism, but few know that the traditions of this movement have been renewed. This is interesting both from a cultural and a political viewpoint.

The encyclopedia tells us that anarchism is the idealistic expression of the positions and moods of ruined small town residents, regionally revolutionized by capitalism, but at the same time individualistic, lacking a sense for organization, discipline, and revolutionary stubbornness. But this dictionary definition, along with many others, fortunately belongs to the past.

So what are the anarchists about?

"General freedom is dependent on freedom of the individual," says Bakunin, in contrast to Marx, who in the interest of freeing the masses talks about the possibility of individuals sacrificing for the greater, common good. This philosophy rejects forced, violent tools of the state and the power structure to limit people's freedom, but does not advocate a state of chaos.

The thoughts of Bakunin and Kropotkin spread throughout the world at the beginning of the century. But even between these two leaders there was a major disagreement in terms of method. Bakunin wanted to eliminate the state through individual terror and violent conspiracy. Kropotkin advocated non-violent agitation among the people and open resistance to power through peaceful means.

Unfortunately, Bakunin's concepts are the reason many people equate anarchism with violence today. There also are differences among factions within the movement. And so it is possible to trace the development of anarchism from Tolstoyan anarchism to collectivist anarchism (enforcing only common ownership of productive means) to communist anarchism (asking also for the common ownership of consumer goods). All factions agree with the rejection of the compulsory role of the state.

The new ideas soon found a response in a large strata of people. In our conditions rose the well-known group of "anarchist stormers" associated with S.K. Neumann (K. Toman, F.

Gellner, F. Sramek and others), who later took part in the creation of the Czech anarchist federation, which was oriented rather intellectually. Also they founded anarcho-syndicalism, propagating anarchist ideas between workers, who tried to tear down the social order not by revolution led by the communist party, but rather by free unions. The streams did not merge, and didn't gain the support of large groups and gradually died away in the time of economic crisis and the changed political situation of the thirties. Some anarchists accepted the ideas of communism.

Bakunin said about it, "I hate communism, because it rejects freedom and because I don't understand humanity without freedom."

The ideas of anarchism are changing because of the decline in the countries of the socialist bloc and thanks to totalitarian pressure. In an individualistic form, they accompany punk music; in a more developed form they appear also as a political idea. How are things with anarchism now in our country? I spoke to one of the activists of the Czechoslovak Anarchist Association (CAS), Mr. Jakub.

The Student Paper (TSP): When and how was the CAS created?

Mr. Jakub (J): "The idea to create an anarchist group emerged last year on the Charles bridge, where people of the most different points of view, including anarchists, met and discussed. We issued the first declaration in October. Despite working on a secretive basis, we attracted the attention of the state security police and were later marked as fools, more sick than dangerous. In October, we started making contacts with other groups in Czechoslovakia and even in foreign countries. We made the first leaflets, and we carried out a large action for the defacing of the new Gottwald 100 Crowns banknote. Obviously we were not missing at the demonstration of October 28th. After November 17th, our group became, for a time, silent, so that the anarchists wouldn't get a blow from the communists. But all anarchists worked diligently in the strike com-

mittees."

TSP: What is the anarchist movement doing now?

J: "In the public mind an anarchist is a man in a leather coat with pistols and bombs in his pockets, spreading chaos and violence. We start from the methods of Peter Kropotkin. We want to enforce our ideas by peaceful means of general culture and demonstrative resistance; we reject all force. Against force we fight in reality, we want to do away with the enforcing means of the state and the states themselves. There should be a society of free consent, autonomous economic units with a leadership that could be revoked at any time, and a leadership originating in natural authority. All would be directed by coordinating institutions without repression and without force. Money should exist only as an equivalent of barter, not as an instrument of power, which today dominates, for example, the western world. We greatly fear that the heavy sticks of the communists will be exchanged for manipulation with the help of money. The final situation is, however, always a hypothetical construction, because aside from anarchist communities or farms of hippies in the United States, nobody has had the opportunity to test this mechanism on a larger scale. Our present work tends to the creation of a parallel structure in society. CAS is only one of the coordinating centers, and in our country there exists more anarchist groups. We publish a propaganda periodical and we try, by all means, to spread our ideas in society. We stand on the left, despite [the fact] that, in the past forty years, the positions of the 'left' and 'right' substantially mixed. We consider the KSC to be a fascist organization on the extreme right.

TSP: What are your concrete demands?

J: The minimum influence of the state on the rights of the individual, the immediate dissolution of the state secret police (StB); the demilitarization and neutralization of the state. The systematic solution of ecological problems; monitoring the activities of the KSC; stopping the penetration of commercialism and consumerism."

TSP: You want a lot. And what do you consider to be your biggest successes?

J: "First, the existence of a net of anarchist groups throughout the whole republic, collaborating with anarchist movements all over the world. On January 27th our first congress took place, and on February 11th our colleagues in Olomouc succeeded in disrupting the nationalist meeting of the Society of Moravia and Silesia. Nationalist tendencies are outmoded, and therefore we reject the petty disputes about the name of the Republic, and we are for the elimination of the borders. We don't feel like we are Czechs or Slovaks, but first of all world-citizens. On April 2nd, we organized a demonstration against the KSC and OF ("Civic Forum") on the Prikopy street."

TSP: Why organize a demonstration against

the OF? Shouldn't we all unite in the fight against communists?

J: "At the beginning of the revolution, we naturally unanimously supported OF and we were a part of it. Even today, we understand the important role of OF as an antithesis of the fascist KSC. The old structure of power was changed very slowly. The old structure still works; the OF didn't make radical changes. OF sometimes uses undemocratic methods, maybe for the reason that many former communists and careerists are its members, and we don't have confidence in them. During the election, OF united all anti-communist forces, but now it is necessary to dissolve them."

TSP: And how do you see the chances of the anarchists in Czechoslovakia?

J: "Our people are typical collectivists. During our history, the myth of freedom was always united with the nation and not with the freedom of the individual. Therefore there was an eighty-year gap between the Czech Anarchist Federation and CAS. We have possibilities among students. The uniform student movement has crumbled. In all parts of the world exist autonomous student movements, which often profess the ideas of anarchism. Maybe the way is leading there."

CAS can be contacted at P.O. Box 223, 111 21 Praha 1, Czechoslovakia. -Ivan Brezina

Reprinted from *The Student Paper: Independent Magazine of Czechoslovak Students Summer '90*, courtesy of *On Gogol Boulevard News Service* (c/o Bob McGlynn 528 5th St., Brooklyn, NY. 11215).

A letter from Bulgaria

Hello Dear Brother and Sister Anarchists!!!

We are the Federation of Anarchist Youth from Bulgaria. In Bulgaria there are two mass organizations of anarchists—FAM (Our organization—Federation na Anarhistichnata Mladej) and FAB (Federation of Anarchists in Bulgaria). There is something of a group of anarcho-syndicalists and an anarcho-pacifistic group in Plovdiv. FAM has about 100 members and sympathizers (50/50). FAB has about 400 members, mainly veteran anarchists who passed from fascist concentration camps to communist concentration camps. In 1990 the magazine "Free Thought" ("Svobodna Misl") was printed—the first legal anarchist magazine after 1947. FAM was participating in street actions in the months of June-August in Sofia—street blockades and barricades, protesting in a tent camp on the Presidential square, etc. Now we are in the process of organization. We are a young organization—on June 22 we held our constituent meeting. We suppose that soon we shall have serious enemies in the face of different nationalistic and conservative religious parties. With the democratic movements and organizations we have tacit coalition now. But we suppose that they first will start the war against us (We hope not to the letter). It shall be interesting to know something about your organization and your way of life. What kind of books and magazines do you read, what magazines do you edit? In general we want to know everything about you as people and anarchists.

The last of our actions was a protest funeral march on against Marxist rule and a demonstration in front of the Soviet embassy after the "Bloody Sunday" in Vilnius.

We send you issues 1,2,3,4 of "Free Thought" (Practically it's a newspaper of FAB, but 3rd page of 3rd issue is about our FAM). The first issue is partially translated to English*. That's all now.

Your friends: Georgi, Micky, Bobby, Nicola, Konstantini, Mariola, and all from FAM

Our address is:
Federation of Anarchist Youth
Todor Riznikoff
Tr. Kostov No.4 ET.4
Sofia, Bulgaria

* For the 16 pages of translated "Free Thought", send \$3.00 cash to: On Gogol Boulevard (c/o Bob McGlynn, 528 5th St., Brooklyn, NY. 11215).

Bob Z wins battle with poster police

On January 5, 1988, Bob Z, the designer of some flyers for a local punk underground show, was fined \$3,700 by the New York City "Poster Police." Through bogus phone calls, the "Poster Police" determined that Bob Z was guilty of 'littering' and proceeded to jack up the initial fines to over \$22,200 when they learned of his organizing activities against New York's anti-postering law.

Incensed over the unfairness of this practice—while large corporations responsible for movie posters and the like went unharassed by these same Poster Police—Bob Z began to organize grass roots support against the enforcement of this law. Four demonstrations were held outside the Sanitation Department offices, leading to national press coverage of the issue and political pressure that eventually convinced the city council members to put a ceiling of \$250 in fines for first offenders. Ostensibly, this left the law intact, however, and enforcement of the statute continued regardless of its unfairness and unconstitutionality. Pressed by the city of New York into a court battle, Bob Z succeeded in having the \$22,200 fine thrown out and reduced back to \$3,700 during the first testimonies in administrative court. Presided over by Sanitation Department lackeys, the ultimate judgment at this court was finalized at \$3,700. The shoddily worded anti-postering statutes were upheld and the law left on the books so that others could be similarly harassed and prosecuted. With widespread support from the underground music community, Bob Z was able to continue the fight despite having paid over \$2,000 in legal fees out of his own pocket. In order to appeal the decision levelled against him and constitutionally challenge the postering law, however, \$10,000 would need to be raised. Bob was forced to turn to legal organi-

zations which might adopt the case without demanding a fee. After much hard work publicizing the issue and picketing in front of the Sanitation Dept. offices along with diverse grass roots organizations interested in overturning the law, Bob managed to convince the ACLU to take up the court battle. Attorney C. Edwin Baker did the lion's share of the legal work and nearly all the exhaustive research needed to challenge the law at this level. After a decision in New York State Supreme Court reduced his fine to \$250 but left the law enforcement policies intact on a technicality, Bob appealed to New York State Appellate Court. The judge there found the postering law to be unconstitutional as it is currently being enforced, and demanded the city pay all of the ACLU's legal costs as well.

This means that the city of New York will not be able to randomly attack posterers without having any evidence, without physically seeing them in the act of postering. Many anti-war groups in that city who rely on street posters to inform the public of demonstrations have been harassed in the past several months.

It should be noted that in 1990, while an international furor was being raised over the unfairness of the enforcement of this law, Sanitation Commissioner Brendan Sexton, the prime architect of the law, was fired from his job. Letters of outrage from as far away as Poland (where a petition with over 500 names was signed) were directed at Sexton in a steady stream. As the message of this ridiculous fine spread through the underground press, Bob Z received donations of all kinds, including over \$2,000 worth of flyers and much needed printing of envelopes and stationery from a well-known underground press in the Southwestern U.S. Bob Z says this aid was invaluable in helping to appeal the court decision and maintain pressure on the authorities.

"The defeat of New York City's postering statute is a victory for anyone who puts up a poster on any street in the U.S." said Bob Z, who recently moved to the San Francisco area.

Bob Z can currently be contacted at POB 28, 2336 Market St., San Francisco, CA. 94114.

ANet/@ Media Net/Anarchist Media Network/@Net/Anarchist Network

is a loosely self-organized, voluntary & international network established to encourage and practice mutual aid, inspiration and support in the conception, production, realization & distribution of anarchist media of all kinds—PRINT, FILM, VIDEO, RADIO, POETICS, MUSIC, COMICS, SOUND RECORDINGS, LIBRARIES & DOCUMENTATION CENTERS, BOOKSTORES & ANARCHIST CENTERS, ETC. Any anarchist-identified project is welcome to join this network by declaring its affiliation (and communicating a version of this notice if possible). No member of the network has any specific obligations to any other members beyond its general adherence to the spirit of this statement as interpreted by that member.

Send an SASE for an updated copy of our current list of members c/o: C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446, or: *Acts of Resistance*, 537 Jones #1584, San Francisco, CA. 94102, or: James Koehnline, POB 85777, Seattle, WA. 98145-1777.

Note: These observations, though they were written over a year ago, have not been published before. We are presenting them now because we believe they still present valuable insights into current conditions in Eastern Europe.

Have been in Prague for five days. Travelled with others from East Berlin to attend a weekend planning meeting for the East European Anarchist Congress. Previous intention had been to travel to Soviet Union and to take there a package of North American anarchist publications which Bound Together books sent to Berlin. Problems. A letter from Moscow said that the anarchist camp at the former house of Bakunin was forbidden and that my application for a visa was not accepted. Because several weeks ago visa requirements for Americans travelling to Czechoslovakia were abolished and because I was invited to travel with others in a car, I decided to come here.

EAST BERLIN:

On June 27, 1990 there was an anti-fascist demonstration. Neo-Nazis have grown strong enough that they have squatted three houses. They use them as a base for attacks on left projects and squats. Supposedly they even have weapons inside. Yet many rumors float around. They definitely are a threat though and have caused much worry amongst people I spoke to. The demonstration of approximately 5,000 was directed against these houses. A smaller contingent of mostly West Berlin autonomen attacked the police protecting the neo-Nazis. The intention was to break through the lines to get to the houses and if possible try to destroy them. In the process a water cannon and three police cars were set on fire. A number of police were hospitalized. East German police have no experience with the street fighting tactics of the West German autonomen. People from East Berlin who I spoke to were very critical of this violence, which they saw mostly as a Western initiative and method. They think it will do more harm than good. Whatever support they had from the police against the Nazi attacks they believe is now over. People speak about the violence on both sides as escalating very quickly. One person thought that it was very likely someone could be killed. Already a young woman has suffered from severe burns, the result of a molotov thrown into a left bar by skinheads. Many people have been beaten. This is the environment in which radicals and anarchists in East Berlin are now working. People compare it to the '30s when there were also roving bands of fascists. This is all very far from the rosy picture of German unification presented in the mainstream press.

EAST BERLIN TO PRAGUE:

Travelled with three others, two East Berliners and a Swiss man, to Prague. The two Berliners have been politically active long before the wall fell and everybody else jumped on the bandwagon. One is involved in the Libertäre Zentrum, an anarchist project, just two months old, which has a library, archive, and small print shop. They have connections with most all of the other groups in the GDR and are working together with people in Dresden and Leipzig to publish an anarchist paper for all of East Germany. The other is from the Umwelt Bibliothek (Environ-

mental Library), an important part of the history of the people's struggle there. They publish every two weeks a paper called *Telegraph*. Both of these young men said that they have received very little information about anarchist or other opposition movements in North America. At the Libertäre Zentrum they only know about *On Gogol Boulevard* and *Processed World*. The man from Switzerland is from Bern and a writer for the anarchist paper *Megaphon*.

We stopped in Dresden on the way to visit someone from the group Wolfspelz. She also spoke about Nazi attacks. One young man was jumped by a group of skins. He now lies in the hospital in very critical condition with a fractured skull.

At the border we had to wait for a long time because of problems with the Swiss man. Met a young man from Florida just fresh out of the states. Part of the American tourist invasion of Eastern Europe this summer.

The Czech countryside is really very beautiful, many rolling hills, very green now and full of flowers.

PRAGUE:

We go directly to Jiris house. To the bar down the street, Hostinec u Smrčku. Back to Jiris house. Eat in the street. Food from young East Germans from Dresden. Finally end up at the 'squat' of CAS (Czech anarchist group). Top floor flat. Two rooms. Sparse. We see a letter from Autonomía dated in mid May [1990]. Letter speaks about their willingness to help with organizing August meeting. Learn that no one from C.A.S. actually answered this letter. (Later learn that there is a huge build up of unanswered mail. Main reason is that only a few people know English.) Seems that CAS did nothing to publicize this meeting. Also learn that a few people who had been in Trieste have just 'disappeared'. And as well that there have been some big personal conflicts and the group has sort of

Notes from Eastern Europe

A report from Stefan Wray

split up. All in all there is a great feeling of disorganization. We all sleep in the squat. A hot sweaty night. In the morning Marcin and I go into a cheap restaurant. Mostly old people. Eating quietly. Bad food. One man rambles incessantly. Background noise. Strange looks from other people. Van Gogh on the wall.

PLANNING MEETING:

The planning meeting for the East European anarchist conference lasted all weekend. Since it was only in Polish, Czech, and German, I had a hard time understanding anything, and of course could not take good notes. Perhaps the only outstanding point to mention is the conflict that arose over the question of feminism or women's emancipation. This turned into some heated arguments.

The Poles didn't see the relevance of women's issues to this meeting. In fact, later that evening I spoke to one of them, who said many strange things. For example, he said that most women in Poland were satisfied with their position and that if this is true, why should anarchists try to make a big deal out of the oppression of women. He said that feminist ideas are very 'Eurocentric'. He went on and on trying to explain why talking about oppression of women wasn't important for him, and also saying that in many families women are the 'bosses' and men are oppressed (similar to what a Soviet anarchist told me). This all contradicts very strongly what a Yugoslavian woman who had been in Poland said about their society. She felt that it was very sexist, in her view, due to the strong Catholic tradition. A Polish woman living in Amsterdam said much of the same. Not only on this point, but on others, the Poles seemed to have traditional or conservative ideas. It is difficult to explain. Yet it raises some questions about the support of Western groups to the new 'movements' in the East. Should we unconditionally offer our assistance, just

because these are 'anarchist' groups, even if in some cases like the Soviet Union or Poland, they have very reactionary social ideas? I don't think there is an easy answer. Unfortunately the tendency at the moment seems to be amongst Western groups to look at the East as the new beacon of hope, but many are doing so without really knowing what's going on there, other than the fact that there are 'anarchists'!!

THE CAS GROUP:

To be honest, there is not a whole lot to say about this. The reality is that there are only a few people doing things and what they are doing is not clear. They have been inundated with lots of mail from anarchist groups all over the world and they themselves don't know what to answer. Most of the mail is still sitting there. Huge problems with infrastructure. They have nothing. They say this. Okay. They now have this 'squat', a two room flat on the 4th floor of a building. A few tables, three chairs, a borrowed manual typewriter, some posters that others have sent them. What they say they want is to have some good typewriters and printing equipment and money.

In the Czech language there is next to nothing written on anarchism. A big fat book written by the Communist Party explaining all the reasons why anarchism is not good is available. It includes a bibliography of anarchist writers like Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta. Some of these are in the state archive. CAS has been cooperating with a Trotskyist group so they can print some articles in the Trots paper. Why? Because they have no money and printer. They have all sorts of magazines from western anarchists, but only two or three people know foreign languages enough to read them. The time it would take to translate one article is just too much for them right now. Essentially they are starting at ground zero. For them to be organizing this Eastern European anarchist meeting is a big undertaking. They are a bit worried about being able to pull it off. Last night I learned that they had organized a concert against racism not too long ago. But I also learned about many personal conflicts and divisions about which directions they should take.

THE NEW CZECHOSLOVAKIA:

The 'revolution' and the creation of 'democracy' may be true from a liberal point of view. But the basic structures of the state, the police, the secret police, the military remain intact. The people are not running the show, just another government. Many of the people in 'power' now are ex-hippies from the '60s, including the president and the mayor of Prague. On the surface they have a friendly face. But the people in the CAS group say that Havel is fairly limited to what he can do. He has a whole group of advisors around him. Of course there are bizarre things that would never happen in the states. Can you imagine Bush going to an anarchist demonstration on May First unattended by security guards. Havel did this. Wearing dark sunglasses wasn't enough of a disguise though, and someone recognizing him shouted "Havel is here" and soon he was running from an excited crowd back to his limo. He is still living in a very run down flat just like he always has.

Some people here are worried about

Continued on page 23



Recent anarchist demo in Paris, May 25th. Photo: Howard Besser.

The Rebellion that Never had a Chance

*A report from
behind the Moscow
barricades
by Laure A.*



Soviets atop a barricade in front of the White House. Photo: Laure A.

Early Monday morning, Aug. 19th, I called a friend. When he said that there was a state of emergency in the country, it just didn't sink in at first. This was not a comment on some action that went down; it was a coup d'état. I immediately found out that Gorbachev had been forced to 'resign' due to 'ill health'. We knew he had been arrested and at that time suspected he had been killed.

Meanwhile, somebody said that a few blocks away on Leninsky Prospect tanks were in the street. Most people I encountered began to panic.

My friends and I rode around the city to assess the situation. I counted 160 tanks; it was still 10:00 in the morning. The Union Treaty was to be signed the next day. We smelled foul play by the hardliners, martial law or perhaps worse for the country.

The radio offered no news. They were listing the sins of Gorbachev: the ethnic unrest that grew in his era, the crumbling economy...Gorby had to be stopped. Then the classical music came. (That's always the way when there's an emergency—play some classical music.)

Few people have a love of Gorbachev in the Russian Republic, but far fewer want to see the country ruled by hardline Communists, or by their agents in the KGB. The reaction, contrary to what has been said in the North American media, was no show of support for Gorbachev, and initially not even a show for Yeltsin, but rather a rebellion by people who were fed up with the political shenanigans of its law makers. It had, in part, elements of a popular rebellion.

People began to act on their own initiative, perhaps long before any of the famous Yeltsin decrees were made.¹ When I arrived downtown, people were taking direct action against the tanks. This was really about the best action I've ever seen. People (including members of the Moscow Union of Anarchists) were removing trolley buses from their wires, parking them, and at times even lifting them, in order to block the movement of tanks. People climbed on top of the tanks. People

actively engaged in talking to the soldiers, trying to convince them not to go against the people. These actions were done not on anybody's command, but were carried out by people trying to do something to affect what at first looked like a potentially explosive situation.

Sometime probably in the early afternoon, Yeltsin appealed to supporters because there was a demonstration of pro-Yeltsinites. Most people active in the resistance were not waiting around for Yeltsin to tell them what to do. You

see tanks, see the Post Office barricaded, and knowing history, people reacted. Only late in the evening did people even hear that Yeltsin supported a general strike. People had been talking about it all afternoon. (A KAS [soviet anarcho-syndicalist group] meeting held in the late afternoon, had already discussed the possibilities of appealing for workers to strike.) The reports of Yeltsin mobilizing the people are, for the most part, myth.²

After a few minutes at the KAS meeting, I left with a friend. We went to the Krasnopresenskaya area where the metro is named 'Barrikadnaya'. Lots of barricades had been built there before. (We now joke that they probably *won't* change the name of the metro station.) Located nearby is the "White House" where the deputies meet.

It's not quite clear to me if people were called to meet there or whether people just started gathering there. People obviously were afraid that the People's Deputies would be wiped out, particularly the more radical or liberal ones. I assume, however, that like me, many people in the early hours of the drama just went there because they heard other people had gone there. Many people who came on the second and third days, and many who joined the citizen's militia, could be said to have come to protect the institutions of Russian democracy. But for many other people there, this was the beginning of a revolt, and perhaps a prelude to what might have turned into civil war.

When I arrived at the White House, there were about 100-200 people, not more. The first thing I recognized was

a black flag and members of the Moscow Union of Anarchists (MUA). They said they were going to stay the night. I got busy hauling lead pipes to build barricades.

The first night was the worst because only a few thousand people were around—many less after 11 P.M. Excellent barricades were built but we were expecting to be attacked and we didn't have weapons. Some friends and I went about getting bottles (difficult in Moscow) and gasoline for the molotovs. Anarchists and punks who barricaded a bus helped out. Some young boys helped syphon gasoline with their small hands. We also collected pipes. In all we had a few dozen lead pipes and 30 molotovs for our defense against tanks.

Had we had time to prepare on the first night, we could have somehow rounded up weapons, but we had to keep our position against the military. Upon hearing that a citizen's militia was being formed, it was decided that a friend and I would go get guns. We never managed to get any and kept hearing reports that at 4 A.M. we would be attacked.

The first night there were 40 or 50 people with us; we were known as the 23rd division and formed the rear flank of the defense.³

All sorts of people brought us what we needed, ranging from plastic to weather the rain, to gas masks, to explosives, to food. People just seemed to be stealing stuff. A man who delivers bread to stores delivered it to us instead. We had enough food to last us through a long time if necessary; even deficit items—cheese, good chocolates and cigarettes—made their way to us.



Soviet civilians in possession of a tank. This one reads "Communist Party Shame!" Photo: Laure A.

People thanked us for what we were doing and were ready to support us. People were organizing themselves. People were breaking the law, doing direct action. (The first night an edict was declared saying that all opposition activity was to be punished severely.) The important thing for most of us was to know that there were people willing to act against the state, or, at the very least, against the existing one.

During the night tanks came by us. These units defected onto "our side." (What side this was was becoming increasingly more fuzzy. Of course, the main thing was fighting the army and the coup, but after that, people had different politics. Had civil war broken out, a mess would have ensued.) On the one hand this defection was good, but on the other, this told a few people that matters could get very serious.

We kept hearing radio reports that this was going on all over the Soviet Union. Then 4 A.M. came and all were silent as death. We heard the tanks start. But then the noise stopped. They weren't going to fire on us.

The morning came and we were in a state of confusion. Some of us left for a while thinking this was the end of that occupation. When we returned, we found that the number of people there had increased dramatically. Legends were around of Yeltsin speaking on a tank; people found out where the battle was to take place. (When Yeltsin did appear on a tank, it wasn't in front of the brigadists, but somewhere close by—a grand media show.) The people behind the barricades (including us) were now in less danger because there were a lot more people in front of them. We found that the MUA was joined by other groups at their post, including the radical Democratic Union (DU), the Moscow Student Club, the unstoppable radio station Echo, and various anarchists of individualist or Orange Alternative tendencies. At times there were close to 150 people with us.

The outcome is history and is probably not so interesting. Tuesday night was tense as we were hearing shooting. (We couldn't see it from where we were.)

Two days later when the MUA and DU called for the crushing of the KGB, they were greeted receptively by hundreds of people.

Upon demanding the release of our

political prisoners, one woman, Valeria Novodvorovskaya, was released. She spoke to the crowd. She warned about desires to start a revolution. After all, she pointed out, only 700,000 people took part. This, although a massive crowd, was still a small part of Moscow.

In a sense I felt she was right. I remember some incidents when I went over the barricades to do some things. I recalled I could make a phone call immediately (a rarity in Moscow) because the operator saw by my gear that I was a brigadist. On the other hand I was nearly arrested for stealing pieces of plastic (it was raining terribly) and couldn't buy Pepsi because I hadn't brought in any bottles in return. (Procedure in many places. Needless to say, I stole the Pepsi right there and hailed the revolution to an astonished crowd who were stuffing their faces and discussing events.) For many people it was business as usual. Some didn't want to get involved. Others called us extremists. (Nothing is too extreme when 400 tanks are facing you.)

On the first night some pro-government liberals were angry at us for having weapons. (You know you can't trust those radicals with weapons!) I went to take a piss at one point and on the way back met thugs trying to get rid of the armed individuals. I had to beat them with my pipe. At one time when we heard tanks and ran to see them, one of

the thugs came along and 'confiscated' our molotovs. This meant when 4 A.M. rolled by and shooting could have started, we had only lead pipes and a few knives.

Was the coup manufactured? We all know that Yeltsin is a tyrant in sheep's clothing. He doesn't seek to destroy instruments of oppression, nor does he even necessarily want a "kinder, gentler" KGB. He just wants them under his control; after he consolidates his power, he needs to be able to turn them on the people he deems dangerous.

The KGB (maybe) were supposed to kill Yeltsin. They (supposedly) refused and protected him.

Someone suggested that Yeltsin orchestrated the whole thing to make him look good. I don't know how much truth there is in that. After all, those hardliners wouldn't have sacrificed themselves to Yeltsin. However, word has it that in Poland Soviet troops knew about the coup the day before. So just who else was in on it?

1. Yeltsin made a series of decrees which were posted and probably read on the radio. These were calls for resistance. The first one I saw, late the first night, was marked 9 A.M. but doubtless was not printed and dispersed until hours later. In this leaflet Yeltsin did not mention tactics, yet people knew what to do. Of the many people acting, some were doubtless Yeltsin supporters, but they acted without the direction Yeltsin. Many people did not even bother to stop to read his decrees.

2. I say "for the most part" because Yeltsin is tremendously popular. With his involvement numbers probably grew immensely. The amount of people estimated to have played a role in these events was 700,000. These numbers, while strategically securing a 'victory' for the Yeltsinites and ensuring a defeat for the coup also had a negative effect. The revolt was no longer a revolt but was reduced to a protest.

3. There were also the 30 anarchists and punks on the bus in front of the barricades. The next day 5 KAS members also took a bus.

Priorities

What Soviet anarchists are thinking about

1) The destruction of the Communist mob and its institutions.

Any anarchist can argue that this alone is no road to anarchy. Still this is both in the interests of greater freedom and a realizable goal. There is no arguing that the Communists' policies have not left an indelible mark upon society. The results of their rule are an atrocity.

2) The elimination of police repression.

People still get arrested for holding signs at demonstrations. Enough said.

3) The destruction of personality cults.

Perhaps deeply ingrained into the Russian psyche, personality cults are as popular as ever. The Yeltsin effect (currently thought to be the main thing curbing further radicalism) is a good example. As long as people are looking for a savior, they aren't going to be able to save themselves.

4) Experiments in alternative forms of education.

At a time when people know the existing system is heavily 'flawed', people can be more receptive to new ideas in education.

5) The improvement of peoples' standard of living.

The first step is to decentralize the control of the market. Previously, the state determined how much of what was to be produced and how it would be distributed. Most times this was determined by what would profit the bureaucracies rather than by what people needed. Now reforms allow only for speculation and large-scale investment; the average person is still powerless to affect the economy. While the per capita GNP of the Russian Republic is about \$6,000 per person per year, the average person sees about \$125 of it. People must take control of the wealth (their production) away from the government.

6) The abandoning of national hatreds and other abstractions.

This will have to begin with the end of the exploitation of minorities.



Buses used for barricades to defend against tank attack. Photo: Laure A.

The Catastrophe of Postmodernism

by John Zerzan

Madonna, "Are We Having Fun Yet?", supermarket tabloids, Milli Vanilli, virtual reality, "shop 'til you drop," PeeWee's Big Adventure, New Age/computer 'empowerment', mega-malls, Talking Heads, comic-strip movies, 'green' consumption. A build-up of the resolutely superficial and cynical. Toyota commercial: "New values: saving, caring—all that stuff;" *Details* magazine: "Style Matters;" "Why Ask Why? Try Bud Dry;" watching television endlessly while mocking it. Incoherence, fragmentation, relativism—up to and including the dismantling of the very notion of meaning (because the record of rationality has been so poor?); embrace of the marginal, while ignoring how easily margins are made fashionable. "The death of the subject" and "the crisis of representation."

Postmodernism. Originally a theme within aesthetics, it has colonized "ever wider areas," according to Ernesto Laclau, "until it has become the new horizon of our cultural, philosophical, and political experience." "The growing conviction," as Richard Kearney has it, "that human culture as we have known it...is now reaching its end." It is, especially in the U.S., the intersection of poststructuralist philosophy and a vastly wider condition of society: both specialized ethos and, far more importantly, the arrival of what modern industrial society has portended. Postmodernism is contemporaneity, a morass of deferred solutions on every level, featuring ambiguity, the refusal to ponder either origins or ends, as well as the denial of oppositional approaches, "the new realism." Signifying nothing and going nowhere, pm [postmodernism] is an inverted millenarianism, a gathering fruition of the technological 'life'-system of universal capital. It is not accidental that Carnegie-Mellon University, which in the '80s was the first to require that all students be equipped with computers, is establishing "the nation's first post-structuralist undergraduate curriculum."

Consumer narcissism and a cosmic "what's the difference?" mark the end of philosophy as such and the etching of a landscape, according to Kroker and Cook, of "disintegration and decay against the background radiation of parody, kitsch and burnout." Henry Kariel concludes that "for postmodernists, it is simply too late to oppose the momentum of industrial society." Surface, novelty, contingency—there are no grounds available for criticizing our crisis. If the representative postmodernist resists summarizable conclusions, in

tion theory, linguistics, cybernetics, and computer languages demonstrates a similar emphasis over several decades in science and technology. This very pronounced turn toward language itself was embraced by Foucault as a "decisive leap towards a wholly new form of thought." Less positively, it can be at least partially explained in terms of pessimism following the ebbing of the oppositional moment of the '60s. The '70s witnessed an alarming withdrawal into what Edward Said called the "labyrinth of textuality," as contrasted with the sometimes more insurrectionary intellectual activity of the preceding period.

Perhaps it isn't paradoxical that "the fetish of the textual," as Ben Agger judged, "beckons in an age when intel-

struments of theory, but must forge new and necessarily arcane means for undermining the pieties of reason."

The immediate antecedent of postmodernism/poststructuralism, reigning in the '50s and much of the '60s, was organized around the centrality it accorded the linguistic model. Structuralism provided the premise that language constitutes our only means of access to the world of objects and experience and its extension, that meaning arises wholly from the play of differences within cultural sign systems. Levi-Strauss, for example, argued that the key to anthropology lies in the uncovering of unconscious social laws (e.g. those that regulate marriage ties and kinship), which are structured like language. It was the Swiss linguist Saussure who stressed, in a move very influential to postmodernism, that meaning resides not in a relationship between an utterance and that to which it refers, but in the relationship of signs to one another. This Saussurian belief in the enclosed, self-referential nature of language implies that everything is determined within language, leading to the scrapping of such quaint notions as alienation, ideology, repression, etc. and concluding that language and consciousness are virtually the same.

On this trajectory, which rejects the view of language as an external means deployed by consciousness, appears the also very influential neo-Freudian, Jacques Lacan. For Lacan, not only is consciousness thoroughly permeated by language and without existence for itself apart from language, even the "unconscious is structured like a language."

Earlier thinkers, most notably Nietzsche and Heidegger, had already suggested that a different language or a changed relationship to language might somehow bring new and important insights. With the linguistic turn of more recent times, even the concept of an individual who thinks as the basis of knowledge becomes shaky. Saussure discovered that "language is not a function of the speaking subject," the primacy of language displacing who it is that gives voice to it. Roland Barthes, whose career joins the structuralist and post-structuralist periods, decided "It is language that speaks, not the author," paralleled by Althusser's observation that history is "a process without a subject."

If the subject is felt to be essentially a function of language, its stifling mediation and that of the symbolic order in general ascends toward the top of the

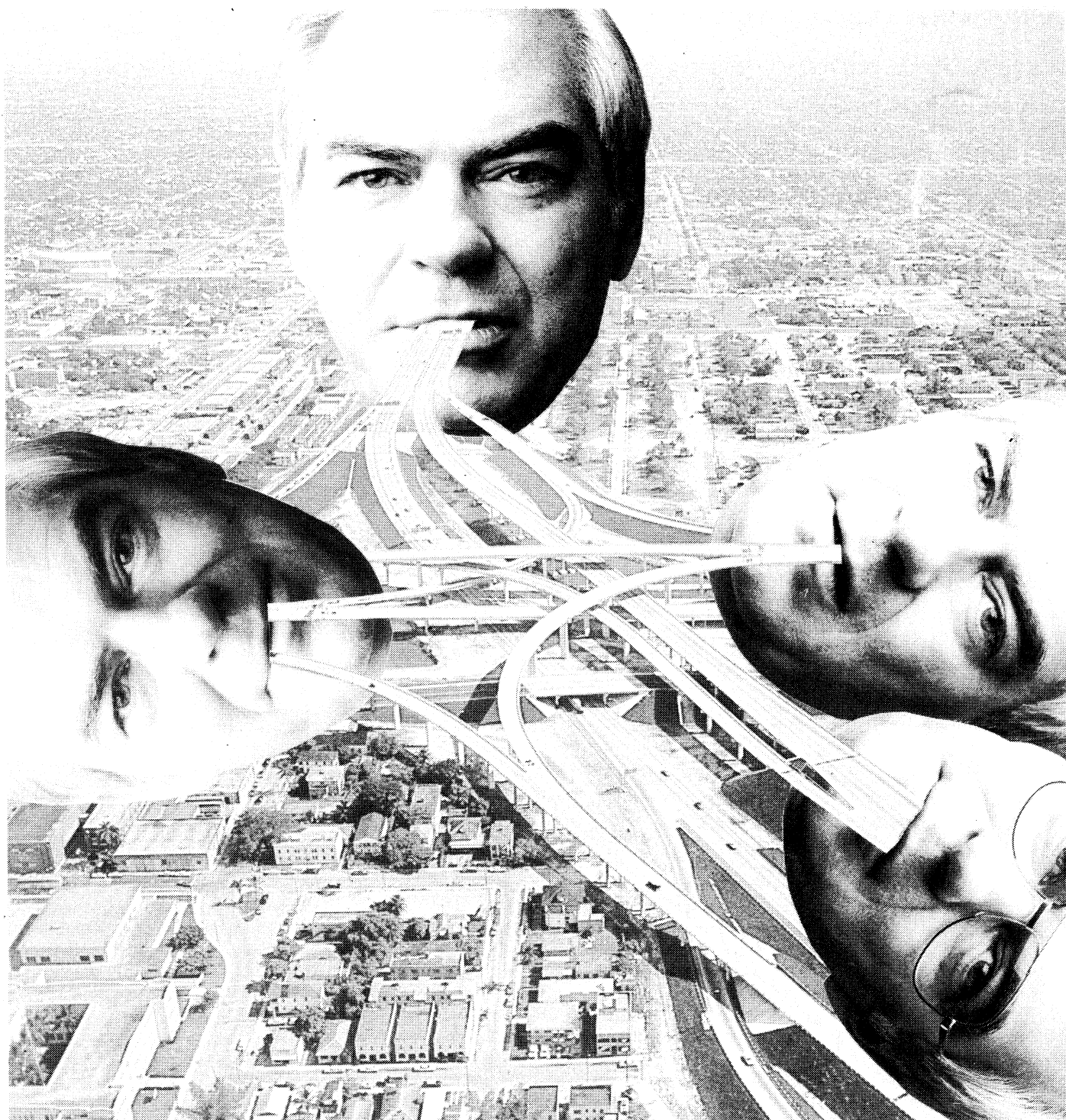
"...Postmodernism is contemporaneity, a morass of deferred solutions on every level, featuring ambiguity, the refusal to ponder either origins or ends, as well as the denial of oppositional approaches, "the new realism." Signifying nothing and going nowhere, postmodernism is an inverted millenarianism...."

favor of an alleged pluralism and openness of perspective, it is also reasonable (if one is allowed to use such a word) to predict that if and when we live in a completely pm culture, we would no longer know how to say so.

The primacy of language & the end of the subject

In terms of systematic thought, the growing preoccupation with language is a key factor accounting for the pm climate of narrowed focus and retreat. The so-called "descent into language," or the "linguistic turn" has levied the postmodernist-poststructuralist assumption that language constitutes the human world and the human world constitutes the whole world. For most of this century language has been moving to center stage in philosophy, among figures as diverse as Wittgenstein, Quine, Heidegger, and Gadamer, while growing attention to communica-

lectuals are dispossessed of their words." Language is more and more debased; drained of meaning, especially in its public usage. No longer can even words be counted on, and this is part of a larger anti-theory current, behind which stands a much larger defeat than the '60s: that of the whole train of Enlightenment rationality. We have depended on language as the supposedly sound and transparent handmaiden of reason and where has it gotten us? Auschwitz, Hiroshima, mass psychic misery, impending destruction of the planet, to name a few. Enter postmodernism, with its seemingly bizarre and fragmented turns and twists. Edith Wyschograd's *Saints and Postmodernism* (1990) not only testifies to the ubiquity of the pm 'approach'—there are apparently no fields outside its ken—but also comments cogently on the new direction: "postmodernism as a 'philosophical' and 'literary' discursive style cannot straightforwardly appeal to the techniques of reason, themselves the



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA).

agenda. Thus does postmodernism flail about trying to communicate what lies beyond language, "to present the unrepresentable." Meanwhile, given the radical doubt introduced as to the availability to us of a referent in the world outside of language, the real fades from consideration. Jacques Derrida, the pivotal figure of the postmodernism ethos, proceeds as if the connection between words and the world were arbitrary. The object world plays no role for him.

The exhaustion of modernism & the rise of postmodernism

But before turning to Derrida, a few more comments on precursors and the wider change in culture. Postmodernism raises questions about communication and meaning, so that the category of the aesthetic, for one, becomes problematic. For modernism, with its sunnier belief in representation, art and literature held at least some promise for providing a vision of fulfillment or understanding. Until the end of modernism, "high culture" was seen as a repository of moral and spiritual wisdom. Now there seems to be no such belief, the ubiquity of the question of language perhaps telling as to the vacancy left by the failure of other candidates of promising starting points of human imagination. In the '60s modernism seems to have reached the end of

its development, the austere canon of its painting (e.g. Rothko, Reinhardt) giving way to pop art's uncritical espousal of the consumer culture's commercial vernacular. Postmodernism, and not just in the arts, is modernism without the hopes and dreams that made modernity bearable.

A widespread "fast food" tendency is seen in the visual arts, in the direction of easily consumable entertainment. Howard Fox finds that "theatricality may be the single most pervasive property of postmodern art." A decadence or exhaustion of development is also detected in the dark paintings of an Eric Fischl, where often a kind of horror seems to lurk just below the surface. This quality links Fischl, America's quintessential pm painter, to the equally sinister Twin Peaks and pm's quintessential television figure, David Lynch. The image, since Warhol, is self-consciously a mechanically reproducible commodity and this is the bottom-line reason for both the depthlessness and the common note of eeriness and foreboding.

Postmodern art's oft-noted eclecticism is an arbitrary recycling of fragments from everywhere, especially the past, often taking the form of parody and kitsch. Demoralized, derealized, dehistoricized: art that can no longer take itself seriously. The image no longer refers primarily to some 'original',

situated elsewhere in the 'real' world; it increasingly refers only to other images. In this way it reflects how lost we are, how removed from nature, in the ever more mediated world of technological capitalism.

The term postmodernism was first applied, in the '70s, to architecture. Christopher Jencks wrote of an anti-planning, pro-pluralism approach, the abandoning of modernism's dream of pure form in favor of listening to "the multiple languages of the people." More honest are Robert Venturi's celebration of Las Vegas and Piers Gough's admission that pm architecture is no more caring for people than was modernist architecture. The arches and columns laid over modernist boxes are a thin facade of playfulness and individuality, which scarcely transforms the anonymous concentrations of wealth and power underneath.

Postmodernist writers question the very grounds for literature instead of continuing to create the illusion of an external world. The novel redirects its attention to itself; Donald Barthelme, for example, writes stories that seem to always remind the reader that they are artifices. By protesting against statement, point of view and other patterns of representation, pm literature exhibits its discomfort with the forms that tame and domesticate cultural products. As the wider world becomes more artificial

and meaning less subject to our control, the new approach would rather reveal the illusion even at the cost of no longer saying anything. Here as elsewhere art is struggling against itself, its prior claims to help us understand the world evaporating while even the concept of imagination loses its potency.

For some the loss of narrative voice or point of view is equivalent to the loss of our ability to locate ourselves historically. For postmodernists this loss is a kind of liberation. Raymond Federman, for instance, glories in the coming fiction that "will be seemingly devoid of any meaning...deliberately illogical, irrational, unrealistic, non sequitur, and incoherent."

Fantasy, on the rise for decades, is a common form of the postmodern, carrying with it the reminder that the fantastic confronts civilization with the very forces it must repress for its survival. But it is a fantasy that, paralleling both deconstruction and high levels of cynicism and resignation in society, does not believe in itself to the extent of very much understanding or communicating. Pm writers seem to smother in the folds of language, conveying little else than their ironic stance regarding more traditional literature's pretensions to truth and meaning. Perhaps typical is Laurie Moore's 1990 novel, *Like Life*, whose title and content reveal a retreat from living and an inversion of the American Dream, in which things can only get worse.

The celebration of impotence

Postmodernism subverts two of the over-arching tenets of Enlightenment humanism: the power of language to shape the world and the power of consciousness to shape a self. Thus we have the postmodernist void, the general notion that the yearning for emancipation and freedom promised by humanist principles of subjectivity cannot be satisfied. Pm views the self as a linguistic convention; as William Burroughs put it, "Your 'I' is a completely illusory concept."

It is obvious that the celebrated ideal of individuality has been under pressure for a long time. Capitalism in fact has made a career of celebrating the individual while destroying him/her. And the works of Marx and Freud have done much to expose the largely misdirected and naive belief in the sovereign, rational Kantian self in charge of reality, with their more recent structuralist interpreters, Althusser and Lacan, contributing to and updating the effort. But this time the pressure is so extreme that the term 'individual' has been rendered obsolete, replaced by 'subject', which always includes the aspect of being subjected (as in the older "a subject of the king," for example). Even some libertarian radicals, such as the Interrogations group in France, join in the postmodernist chorus to reject the individual as a criterion for value due to the debasing of the category by ideology and history.

So pm reveals that autonomy has largely been a myth and cherished ideals of mastery and will are similarly misguided. But if we are promised herewith a new and serious attempt at demystifying authority, concealed behind the guises of a bourgeois humanist 'freedom', we actually get a dispersal of the subject so radical as to render it impotent, even nonexistent, as any kind

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The Catastrophe of Postmodernism

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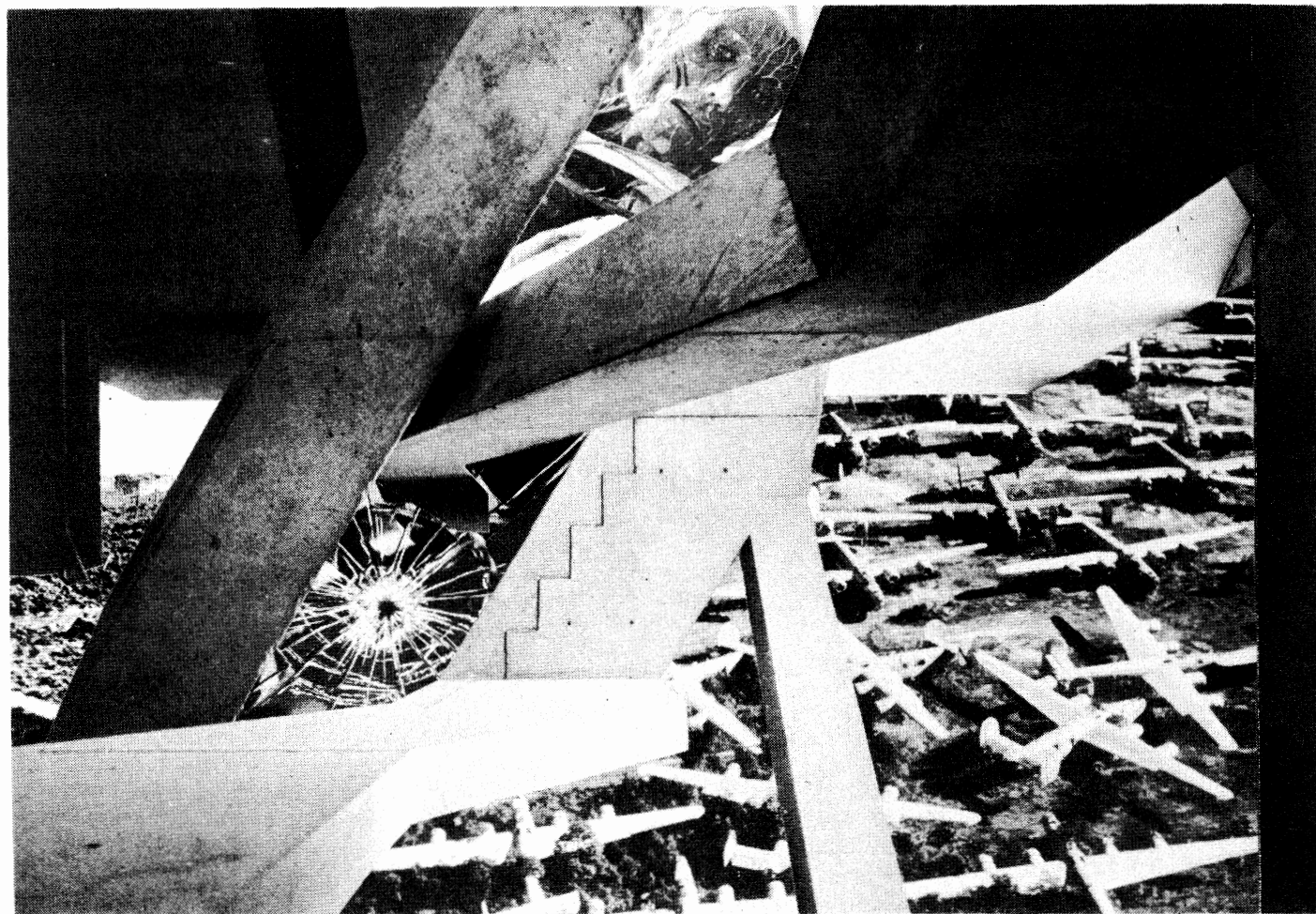
of agent at all. Who or what is left to achieve a liberation, or is that just one more pipe dream? The postmodern stance wants it both ways: to put the thinking person "under erasure," while the very existence of its own critique depends on discredited ideas like subjectivity. Fred Dallmayr, acknowledging the widespread appeal of contemporary anti-humanism, warns that primary casualties are reflection and a sense of values. To assert that we are instances of language foremost is obviously to strip away our capacity to grasp the whole, at a time when we are urgently required to do just that. Small wonder that to some, pm amounts, in practice, to merely a liberalism without the subject, while feminists who try to define or reclaim an authentic and autonomous female identity would also likely be unpersuaded.

The postmodern subject, what is presumably left of subject-hood, seems to be mainly the personality constructed by and for technological capital, described by the Marxist literary theorist Terry Eagleton as a "dispersed, decentered network of libidinal attachments, emptied of ethical substance and psychical interiority, the ephemeral function of this or that act of consumption, media experience, sexual relationship, trend or fashion." If Eagleton's definition of today's non-subject as announced by pm is unfaithful to their point of view, it is difficult to see where, to find grounds for a distancing from his scathing summary. With postmodernism even alienation dissolves, for there is no longer a subject to be alienated! Contemporary fragmentation and powerlessness could hardly be heralded more completely, or existing anger and disaffection more thoroughly ignored.

Derrida, deconstruction & *différance*

Enough, for now, on background and general traits. The most influential specific postmodern approach has been Jacques Derrida's, known since the '60s as deconstruction. Postmodernism in philosophy means above all the writings of Derrida, and this earliest and most extreme outlook has found a resonance well beyond philosophy, in the popular culture and its mores.

Certainly the "linguistic turn" bears on the emergence of Derrida, causing David Wood to call deconstruction "an absolutely unavoidable move in philosophy today," as thought negotiates its inescapable predicament as written language. That language is not innocent or neutral but bears a considerable number of presuppositions it has been his career to develop, exposing what he sees as the fundamentally self-contradictory nature of human discourse. The mathematician Kurt Gödel's "Incompleteness Theorem" states that any formal system can be either consistent or complete, but not both. In rather parallel fashion, Derrida claims that language is constantly turning against itself so that, analyzed closely, we can neither say what we mean or mean what we say. But like semiologists be-



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).

fore him, Derrida also suggests, at the same time, that a deconstructive method could demystify the ideological contents of all texts, interpreting all human activities as essentially texts. The basic contradiction and cover-up strategy inherent in the metaphysics of language in its widest sense might be laid bare and a more intimate kind of knowing result.

What works against this latter claim, with its political promise constantly hinted at by Derrida, is precisely the content of deconstruction; it sees language as a constantly moving independent force that disallows a stabilizing of meaning or definite communication, as referred to above. This internally-generated flux he called '*différance*' and this is what calls the very idea of meaning to collapse, along with the self-referential nature of language, which, as noted previously, says that there is no space outside of language, no "out there" for meaning to exist in anyway. Intention and the subject are overwhelmed, and what is revealed are not any "inner truths" but an endless proliferation of possible meanings generated by *différance*, the principle that characterizes language. Meaning within language is also made elusive by Derrida's insistence that language is metaphorical and cannot therefore directly convey truth, a notion taken from Nietzsche, one which erases the distinction between philosophy and literature. All these insights supposedly contribute to the daring and subversive nature of deconstruction, but they surely provoke some basic questions as well. If meaning is indeterminate, how are Derrida's argument and terms not also indeterminate, un-pin-downable? He has replied to critics, for example, that they are unclear as to his meaning, while his 'meaning' is that there can be no clear, definable meaning. And though his entire project is in an important sense aimed at subverting all systems' claims to any kind of transcendent truth, he raises *différance* to the transcendent status of any philosophical first principle.

For Derrida, it has been the valorizing of speech over writing that has caused all of Western thought to overlook the downfall that language itself causes philosophy. By privileging the spoken word a false sense of immediacy is produced, the invalid notion that in speaking the thing itself is present and representation overcome. But speech is no more 'authentic' than the written word, not at all immune from the built-in failure of language to accurately or definitely deliver the (representational) goods. It is the misplaced desire for presence that characterizes Western metaphysics, an unreflected desire for the success of representation. It is important to note that because Derrida rejects the possibility of an unmediated existence, he assails the efficacy of representation but not the category itself. He mocks the game but plays it just the same. *Différance* (later simply 'difference') shades into indifference, due to the unavailability of truth or meaning, and joins the cynicism at large.

Early on, Derrida discussed philosophy's false steps in the area of presence by reference to Husserl's tortured pursuit of it. Next he developed his theory of 'grammatology', in which he restored writing to its proper primacy as against the West's phonocentric, or speech-valued, bias. This was mainly accomplished by critiques of major figures who committed the sin of phonocentrism, including Rousseau, Heidegger, Saussure, and Levi-Strauss, which is not to overlook his great indebtedness to the latter three of these four.

As if remembering the obvious implications of his deconstructive approach, Derrida's writings shift in the '70s from the earlier, fairly straightforward philosophical discussions. *Glas* (1974) is a mishmash of Hegel and Gent, in which argument is replaced by free association and bad puns. Though baffling to even his warmest admirers, *Glas* certainly is in keeping with the tenet of the unavoidable ambiguity of language and a will to subvert the pretensions of order-

ly discourse. *Spurs* (1978) is a book-length study of Nietzsche that ultimately finds its focus in nothing Nietzsche published, but in a handwritten note in the margin of one of his notebooks: "I have forgotten my umbrella." Endless, undecidable possibilities exist as to the meaning or importance-if any-of this scrawled comment. This, of course, is Derrida's point, to suggest that the same can be said for everything Nietzsche wrote. The place for thought, according to deconstruction, is clearly (er, let us say unclearly) with the relative, the fragmented, the marginal.

Meaning is certainly not something to be pinned down, if it exists at all. Commenting on Plato's *Phaedrus*, the master of de-composition goes so far as to assert that "like any text [it] couldn't not be involved, at least in a virtual, dynamic, lateral manner, with all the words that composed the system of the Greek language."

Related is Derrida's opposition to binary opposites, like literal/metaphorical, serious/playful, deep/superficial, nature/culture, *ad infinitum*. He sees these as basic conceptual hierarchies, mainly smuggled in by language itself, which provide the illusion of definition or orientation. He further claims that the deconstructive work of overturning these pairings, which valorize one of the two over the other, leads to a political and social overturning of actual, non-conceptual hierarchies. But to automatically refuse all binary oppositions is itself a metaphysical proposition; it in fact bypasses politics and history out of a failure to see in opposites, however imprecise they may be, anything but a linguistic reality. In the dismantling of every binarism, deconstruction aims at "conceiving difference without opposition." What in a smaller dosage would seem a salutary approach, a skepticism about neat, either/or characterizations, proceeds to the very questionable prescription of refusing all unambiguity. To say that there can be no yes or no position is tantamount to a paralysis of relativism, in which 'impotence' be-

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Zenarchy

Reviewed by Ben G. Price

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Zenarchy by Kerry W. Thornley (Iluminet Press, POB 746, Avondale Estates, GA, 30002, 1991) 119pp. \$9.98 paper.

Kerry Thornley's *Zenarchy* is a book with its roots in the psychedelic past and a point of view somewhere beyond the veil of history. To those who watched the seventies and eighties roll over the nascent and perhaps naive hope for social reform born and buried in the dying days of the sixties, Thornley's *Zenarchy* might seem like Rip Van Winkle's waking attempt to make topical conversation. But it would be too easy to dismiss the message of this book as a case of attempted exhumation. Rather, we should heed it as we might an alarm clock set years ago to go off at just the right historical hour. But if we insist that in this book resides the ghost of the sixties come back to haunt the anarchist movement, we should not blame Thornley for the whiff of decomposition among our own political bedfellows.

I admit to having succumbed to a certain degree of nostalgia as I read *Zenarchy*. Thornley reminisces about the early days of what became known as the "hippy movement," recalling how it was a spontaneous phenomenon that was brought down by the weight of other people's awareness of it. At some length he decries the attention of the media which pigeonholed as a single phenomenon the creative lifestyles of those in the counter-culture. The labeling of 'movements' and caricaturization of the counter-culture's quirks by the image manipulators turned spontaneity into a cliché and the cliché into a recruiting device for the would-be hip into a subculture that wasn't looking for rookies or converts.

Thornley was an early participant in an alternate lifestyle that he considers to have been made up of diverse groups of self-sufficient craftspeople and less optimistic beatniks; they were not a monolithic cadre of malcontents but tolerant individualists. He answers critics who accuse this counter-culture of having enforced a conformity of nonconformity with a shrug, saying that "only stepping back into the plastic world of mindlessness was discouraged."

At the time he decided to drop out of the body bag of mainstream society, Thornley was editing a libertarian newsletter in California. "As a libertarian," he writes, "I was acquainted with that astute minority among us calling themselves anarchists. That they were not a bunch of psychopathic bomb throwers out to stir up chaos and violence, but a group of sociologists independent of the constraints of institutional financing, was just beginning to dawn on me." Aside from the media's boosterism, Thornley attributes the counter-culture's impetus to LSD. It lent "cosmic confidence" to the already gregarious pot heads. When the paraphernalia of light shows, psychedelic boutiques, and lectures by luminaries of the head-set caught on, the magical mystery tour was under way.

Thornley developed contacts with others who shared his interest in Zen, the art of not-doing. His friend John Overton, who was to change his name and persona to Camden Benares, wrote *Zen Without Zen Masters* (Falcon Press, 1985) based on "stoned 1967 discussions [with Thornley] about mysticism and authority." Benares' book is the inspiration for this one, according to Thornley.

The cross pollination of Zen and anarchism was suggested to Thornley by Gary Snyder, who was fictionalized as Japhy Ryder in Jack Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums*. *Zenarchy* was a notion that was latent in Thornley's thinking until 1968. After moving to Florida, Thornley maintained contact with his California friends through his flyer "Zenarchy", the first issue of which appeared August 19, 1968. In it he defined the term: "ZEN is Meditation. ARCHY is Social Order. ZENARCHY is the Social Order which springs from Meditation. As a doctrine, it holds Universal Enlightenment

a prerequisite to abolition of the State, after which the State will inevitably vanish. Or—that failing—nobody will give a damn."

Elsewhere he says that Zen embodies the natural lifestyle that is implied by anarchist politics: they constitute the Yin and the Yang of a synergistic creative power. Anarchist politics without the prerequisite subjective revolution of Zen, he seems to imply, would reflect an accurate picture of much of the anarchist scene today: infighting and squabbles over the 'correct' nomenclature and specific agenda to be adopted by the cause. Anarchy without Zen, without a subjective overthrow of the hierarchy of ideas, is thus like being a hippy without being hip. A system that requires adherence to expected behavior and definitions is already obsolete as a vehicle for liberation.

Thornley's debt to Alan Watts as an interpreter of Zen is evident in the many references to him. Also mentioned as a correspondent is Robert Anton Wilson, who participated with Thornley, Gregory Hill and others in the creation of the pseudo-religion 'Discordianism' and its comic-scripture *Principia Discordia*. Here and in Wilson's *Illuminatus!* Thornley goes by the moniker Malaclypse the Younger, while elsewhere he used what he calls his *nom de guerre*, Ho Chi Zen.

In his regular column published by *Factsheet Five* (#35) he states quite directly: "My ideological ideas are largely the result of my association with Wilson," and Wilson has become known for his particular brand of ideological sparring, which he calls "guerilla ontology."

What Zen offers that anarchism does not, claims Thornley, is freedom here and now. He systematizes the steps to zenarchy through a progressive "Yin Revolution" that starts with the subjective liberation of Zen, then evolves through to economic independence, parallel communications, liberated trade, and finally objective political freedom. The advantage to this unobtrusive revolution of lifestyles is that an individual or any size group "can proceed directly to freedom without waiting until all society joins the struggle. Without a transition phase where a self-appointed vanguard rules on behalf of the masses, it avoids the danger that such an elite will never relinquish power in the end," according to Thornley.

Perhaps because we are born into and taught to expect hierarchic rule, a system of thought, whether Zen or some other, is needed to overcome that conditioning and illustrate the possibility of transcending it. Zen seems up to the task of offering subjective transcendence of authoritarian constraints on individual freedom. Whether or not these subjective benefits can be translated into the objective freedoms we associate with economic and personal liberties remains to be demonstrated.

Thornley argues that an undogmatic form of self liberation, such as Zen, is the first necessary step. But if he is right, we seem to be left with the unresolved problem of converting "the masses" to a plan that only a few are convinced is in their best interest. Against the unrelenting subversion of 'Greyface', Thornley's personification of authoritarian propaganda, conditioning and coercion, the Yin Revolution appears no better placed, either in historical, social or dialectical terms, than countless other humanitarian liberationist systems that have succumbed to co-optation and dilution by the forces aligned against them.

If Kerry Thornley is right, social reform begins at the individual level and benefits anyone willing to renounce control and material attachments. But it will take a revolution within the human noosphere to bring about the objective phenomenal revolution those in the political counter-culture demand. Until significant numbers of

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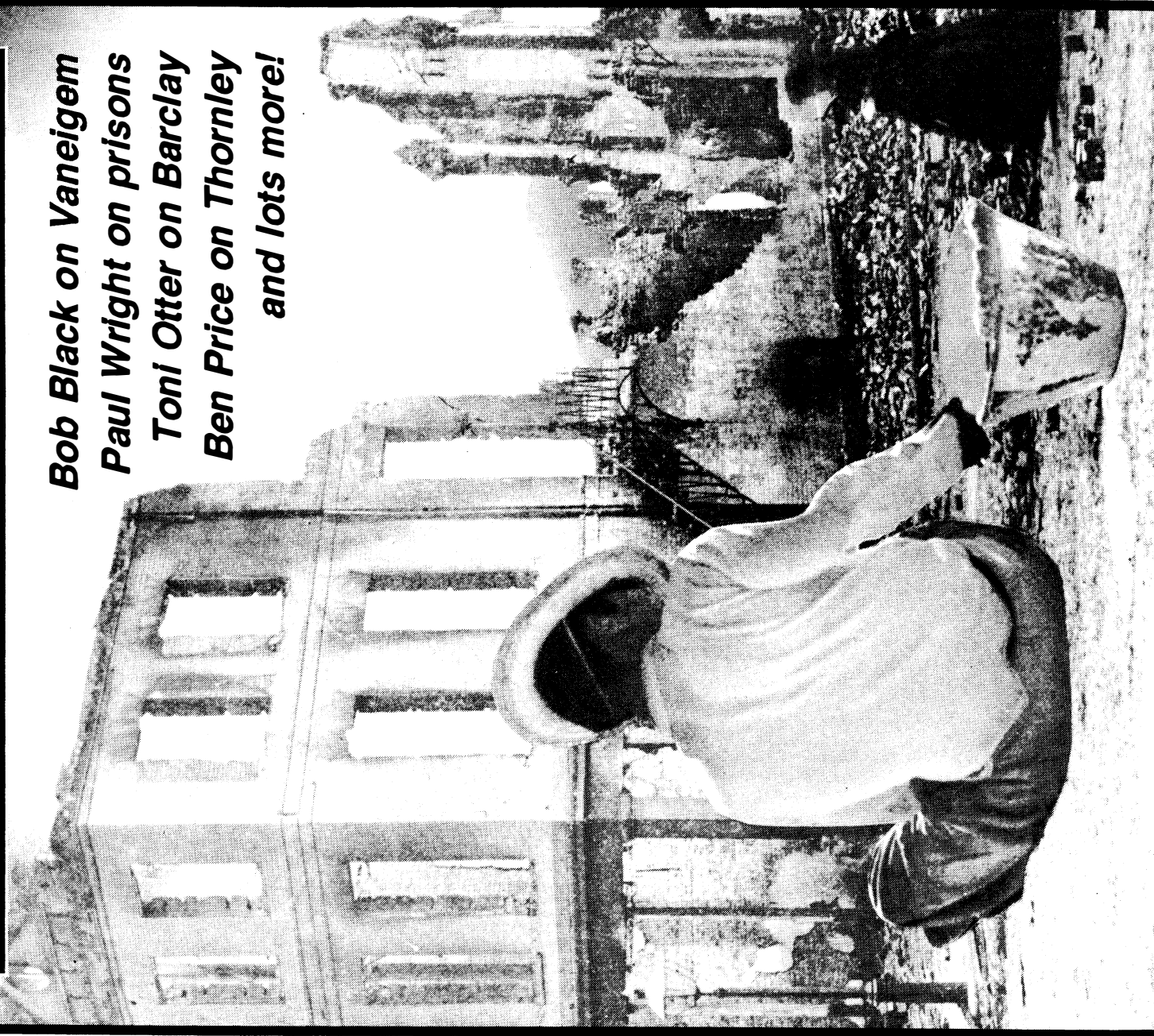
NORTH AMERICAN ANARCHIST REVIEW

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Free!

Bob Black on Vaneigem
Paul Wright on prisons
Toni Otter on Barclay
Ben Price on Thornley
and lots more!



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA).

The Book of Pleasures by Raoul Vaneigem, translated by John Fullerton (Pending Press: London, England, 1983).

The nostalgia rage has caught up with the situationists, although a reunion with comeback tour is unlikely. From the nadir of the mid-'70s, when the American pro-situationist groups fought themselves to exhaustion, interest in the sits has been on the rise in the English-speaking world since Ken Knabb published his anthology and Greil Marcus revealed the situationists as the occult inspiration of punk. Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* has been available from Black & Red for twenty years, and the 'authorized' translation of Raoul Vaneigem's *Revolution of Everyday Life* has been around for eight years, unofficially for longer. 'Situationism' is back, if only as an object of contemplation, but it has no avowed practitioners except possibly the animate absurdity, Bill Brown. As *Newsweek* used to say, "Where Are They Now?"

For the Situationist International the flush times were the early and middle '60s. Even for cynics there is a time of innocence. Having ousted the aesthetes, the triumphant politicized faction of Debord and Vaneigem turned its mercilessly lucid scorn on global 'spectacular' society at its zenith. The spectacle is capital self-confident and fully realized, a self-subsistent structure of appearances which the situationists supposed they saw through the welter of 'issues' and correctable contingent shortcomings. Weberians in Hegelian drag, the sits (Debord above all) constructed an ideal type, the spectacle, which they were wont to treat as a form of society which was in its purest, maturest form. And it must have seemed that managed capitalism had left behind colonialism, world wars and other distractions from the business of realizing itself as a totality. The most radical possible opposition, that of the situationists, was called forth by capitalist class society at its acme. Soon economic decline, military disaster and thwarted expectations—in the U.S.A. at least—were to exhumate, then rebury the more archaic leftist versions of ostensible opposition, but the sits failed to foresee this. The final showdown was in the cards: the spectacle vs. the situationist workers. Everything else—Third World revolutions, for instance—was a sideshow, part and parcel of the main show, the spectacle.

Now it was the partial success of the situationists which was to prove their undoing. As they were fond of quoting, Saint-Just (a salutary example, actually) said that "those who make half a revolution dig their own graves." Their half-revolution was in May-June 1968 and for all their subsequent boasting, they were as surprised as all their enemies. In France there was no war, no economic crisis, no serious political conflict, even the students who started it all had only petty grievances. Which suggests that the grievances were really just initial pretexts for the release of deep-seated antagonism for the *status quo*. A few situationist-influenced students, *enragés* and anarchists, early appreciated the opportunity and effectively acted on it. Situationist theory was indeed practical. Ten million French workers walked away from work in solidarity with students they had never been particularly fond of. Since they made no demands, their traditional leaders supplied some, mainly that old standby, more money (or as the philistine technocrat C.P. Snow would say, *more jam*). The French Communist Party in what was surely its final consequential act (through its unions) separated workers from students, and more importantly, workers from workers on the way to restoration. The massive multi-media agitational campaign of the situationists, by no means reluctant to deploy their artistic talents to intensify a crisis of order, lent belated credence to their boast that their ideas were in everybody's heads; but during a rather brief period of time. The bad old days returned. Even de Gaulle enjoyed an Indian summer. The sits had given him too much credit the time they said, slugging the left, that at least the Gaullists understood modern society well enough to administer it.

The return to normalcy was so rapid and so seemingly complete that the situationist claims regarding the May days themselves as well as their part in them sounded empty and self-serving when announced over a year later. Rene Viénet had within a few weeks produced a short account with much documentation but the full-blown analysis and critique came

Quit while you're ahead!

The Book of Pleasures reviewed by Bob Black



Collage by James Koehnline from *Legend of the Great Dismal Maroons*.

curiously late. If May '68 was "the beginning of an epoch" what came next? If it was time to put situationist theory into practice, what was the role of erstwhile theorists? They suggested that further theoretical progress would be informed by renewed working-class militance, but it never was. If the theorists were now to play a purely pedantic part, restating and popularizing a theory considered complete or at least presented that way for pedagogic purposes, then the situationists fell victim to the very critique they'd aimed at the anarchists. What is to be done? When in doubt, do more of the same, or else stall for time. Debord went the first way, Vaneigem the second. The Debord control group, now including the *enragés* Viénet and Riesel, campaigned against anonymous others—namely, Vaneigem—for resting on their laurels. Stung by the accusation of indolence, Vaneigem resigned in 1970, invoking a "taste for pleasure" he later went to great lengths to justify. In 1971, the year Riesel was purged, the two-member American Section staged its 'scission', Debord and Sanguinetti responding with a tedious volume, *The Real Split in the International*, the S.I. writing its equivalent of *The German Ideology* at the end of its career instead of the beginning. Debord awoke to his embarrassing resemblance to the quixotic conquistador in "Aguirre, the Wrath of God" when he finds himself alone on a raft. The S.I. dissolved in 1972.

But there was always tension between Debord's and Vaneigem's visions, even if Vaneigem—the first *non*-artist of any importance in the S.I.—gained his combat experience as a partisan of Debord in the campaign against the aesthetes. Debord, though an artist, was a classicist. Vaneigem, not an artist, was nonetheless a romanticist. Debord's spectacle is objective, static, a structure (as in structuralism—which in hindsight 'situationism' is closer to than any situationist ever did or will admit). Vaneigem's more diffuse book is more

'subjective' as well as dynamic in its historical sweep. Putting it another way, Debord is like Robespierre, Vaneigem is like Danton. Debord is Apollonian, Vaneigem is Dionysian, etc. The Knabb anthology heavily emphasizes the texts of Debord and those reflecting his Hegelian-cerebral influence at the expense, first of the aesthetic faction (which is virtually suppressed) and later of Vaneigem. Not that Vaneigem was a hippie, in fact, he might have been just what the '60s counterculture needed, the infusion of lucidity which might have made some sense of its sensibility and deepened its differences with the dominant death-culture. It was a job too big for any and all the gurus, for Herbert Marcuse, Ché Guevara, Paul Goodman, Norman O. Brown, Theodore Roszak, the whole lot of them. Not surprisingly the trickle of translations from Debord and his ilk made no impact on '60s America.

But if Vaneigem was more the man for the '60s than the '60s set have yet to learn, the '70s took their toll on him as on them. *The Book of Pleasures* (1979), translated in 1983, takes its place among the many monuments to contrived nostalgia which so many found so soothing at the time. The formulations once urgently explicated with furious intelligence recur as stilted self-simulations. As at a retro-rock reunion, all the old superstars put in an appearance: "survival sickness," "reversal of perspective," and the familiar antitheses of gift-and-exchange, life-and-survival. But they shuffle on-stage stiffly, slowly, self-consciously. Vaneigem, formerly a situationist, is now a pro-situ. He's watering down the epigones who'd already watered down what he, in his prime, used to be. He is something less but not something else than a situationist.

It was under Vaneigem's leadership that the S.I. recovered for radical critique the achievements of Wilhelm Reich when he was known for the orgone/UFO paranoia of his last years if he was remembered at all. (No disrespect for Reich intended; anybody persecuted succes-

sively by Freudians, Stalinists, Nazis and the U.S. Government can't be all bad.) Vaneigem appropriated Reich's concept of 'character', the protecting-restricting 'armor' which discloses the normal-normative nature of neurosis. The medical model of mental illness realizes and exhausts itself when it concludes that society is sick. Reich took it from there, Freud shrank from the implications. But as Jean-Pierre Voyer observes, "While Reich concluded in a very ambiguous manner that character was an obstacle to work," rather "character is an obstacle to the critique of work." Vaneigem's formulation, also 'ambiguous' in keeping with situationist deference to Marxism, came as close to relating the suppression of character to the suppression of work as the S.I. ever got. He linked character via the playing of roles to the division of labor and thus with the totality of exchange-based sociality.

Freud was conservative—fatalistic in fact—about sexuality. Reich's was a radically positivist approach with a slight savor (and *savoir*) of Saint-Simon or Bentham. But social engineering and social revolution are—and where more than in the bedroom?—strange bedfellows. Reich's Freudian contribution to Marxism was additive; where there was one grievance, economic exploitation, now there was also another, sexual repression. Reich never regarded character and work from the standpoint of the totality as exercising a coercive co-dominium over everyday life. Reich called for radical reforms in the norms of morality and the organization of work, but nothing more. Whatever advance Vaneigem made on Reich in *The Revolution of Everyday Life* was lost by *The Book of Pleasures*.

Now that Masters and Johnson have taken the input-output sexology model to the far-point for positivism, Vaneigem complements their parodic Reichianism with a parodic *situationism*. There are two (count 'em, two) points made in his *Book*. Sex is good. Trade is bad. Sex is good, trade is bad. Four legs good, two legs bad. It is impossible to enjoy any commodity: "Even stolen, it is tainted with the infamy of price." Whereas "intense pleasure" implies the end of work, exchange, guilt, the state and the intellect! It was so obvious, right under our nose, sitting on our face. Love the one you're with. All you need is love. Now Vaneigem is a hippie. How the mighty have fallen.

In *Revolution* Vaneigem's critique of exchange was subtle and far reaching, converging from all human time and space upon the apotheosis of exchange, bourgeois society. Vaneigem ferreted out exchange in even its most deceptive and successful disguises—religious sacrifice, for instance, is (*vide* Christ) a form of exchange with unusually confused bookkeeping. In contrast the *Book* bookishly rails against even the *gift* as suspect, conceivably concealing some claim to reciprocity. Like John Zerzan, Vaneigem is looking for the fall from grace, the original sin, and he has possibly gone about as far back, since what Marshall Sahlins calls "generalized reciprocity" (ongoing donative relations with expectations of long-run approximate equality) characterize existing stateless and classless societies—hunter-gatherers and some others—and presumably also the earliest human societies. In becoming human we lost our humanity. Vaneigem once held up as instructive the play-element in the *potlatch* of the Northwest Coast Indians, now it is, indeed everything is, 'tainted' by exchange. Committed to an absolutely anti-economic moralism, Vaneigem cannot distinguish the cross-currents in exchange society since *ex hypothesi* there aren't any (except, anomalously, *intense pleasure* which has to have some element of reciprocity or is *masturbation* the solvent of all alienated relations?). "It is impossible," he explains, "to enjoy anything made by work and constraint." What a cross to bear! Intense pleasure spells the end of guilt, but not before Vaneigem makes us feel guilty for feeling guilty, and for a whole lot of other things including practically everything which we, huddled in darkness, supposed to provide us with some satisfaction however partial and bittersweet.

So if trade is sickening, the cure is—literally, it seems—at hand. You can fuck your way to freedom, unless some trace of reciprocation taints your ecstasy with exchange. This not only dissolves the callus of character, somehow it eradicates the state. "As sure as work kills pleasure, pleasure kills work." That is their respective *tendencies*, not their complete

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Surviving in Prison

A review from the inside by Paul Wright

Surviving in Prison by Harold S. Long (Loompanics Unlimited, POB 1197, Port Townsend, WA. 98369, 1990) 122pp. \$14.95 paper.

I was asked to do this review of *Surviving in Prison* by the editors of **NAAR** who felt that it would be more appropriate for an actual prisoner to evaluate the book rather than someone who hasn't been in prison as was the case with the first reviewer, Toni Otter. My 'qualifications', such as they are, consist of having been in four maximum security Washington state prisons since 1987 and also I co-edit and publish a monthly prison newsletter, *Prisoners' Legal News*, which brings me into contact with prisoners across the world and especially in the US.

The first comment about this book is that those persons most likely to come to prison, i.e., the young, poor, and minorities, are the least likely to read it and probably already have family members, friends, etc., in prison where the "prison experience" is as much part of growing up as going to college is for the white middle class. For the vast majority of its readers, this book is as close to prison as they are likely to get. From the viewpoint of **NAAR's** readers, this book doesn't have a class-based or political approach and doesn't approach prison in that manner. It views prison as something to be survived and endured at worst and used as a period of introspection and study at best. A political activist looking for advice on continuing the class war behind prison walls a la George Jackson won't find it in this book. Nor does it cover the harassment and more intensive persecution that political prisoners and politically active social prisoners undergo in the gulag, but then, if the goal is to 'survive' then a low profile approach, not questioning one's captors, is the way to go.

The book has eight chapters taking the reader from day one through 90 of prison with comments on control units, programs and recreation, and power structures. Long doesn't deal with a person's experiences in county jail, where everyone will start off spending anywhere from days to even years before getting to prison. Of course, with little to do, a lot of the time would be spent by the person who knows they're going to prison in questioning jail prisoners who have already been through the system. I think it odd that Long doesn't advise people to start asking questions about the desirability of various prisons from prisoners who have been there (always the best source of information for the important things about a prison) rather than just jumping blind into the system.

In day one through ninety, he goes into the reception center which every prisoner goes through and is accurate in the depiction of the dehumanization present there, and throughout the system as well. He doesn't mention that in most states that have parole boards, a minimum term of confinement will be set for the prisoner at this time. While he goes into the "classification process" which determines what



Collage by James Koehnline from *Legend of the Great Dismal Maroons*.

prison a prisoner will be sent to, he doesn't say anything about influencing the process. While there is not a lot that can be done in terms of custody levels and such, there will be prisons which will be easier for friends and family to visit, that may have programs or vocational courses that one wants to take, etc. It doesn't hurt to ask to go to these prisons or to have family members call the DOC [Department of Corrections] asking for this or that prison, writing legislators, etc. Prison bureaucracies are like any other and Long doesn't really make that clear.

Chapter 6 on internal litigation is too long and of little interest to the casual or prisoner reader. It would be enough to say, using one or two examples, that most prison 'hearings' processes are arbitrary and capricious and shams. Instead it goes into excruciating detail of relatively minor incidents to illustrate this point.

However, Long gives short shrift to using the courts to challenge prisoncrats actions and abuses. Historically, most of the 'rights' prisoners now enjoy have come from litigation, much of it begun and carried through by prisoners. Long complains that the courts don't pay attention to prisoner lawsuits and while that is true to an extent, especially in the era of the Reagan-Bush judiciary, a lot has to do with the fact that most prisoners are uneducated and lack the skills to present their claims. Yet any person going to prison concerned about protecting their rights in prison has to be aware of those rights and how to vindicate them, which means going to the prison law library and studying the law. The situation also varies from states such as New York that have large legal services to help prisoners to states that have little or no outside help available. In my experience I have noted that prison officials pay more attention to the appeals and complaints of prisoners who have successfully sued them and are willing to take things to court than of those prisoners who just complain and are

unwilling to assert their rights. All prisons have "jailhouse lawyers" of varying quality that can help in this area.

Long also doesn't mention that the most likely avenue of getting out of prison is by appeals and petitions to the court system, which after a direct appeal will likely have to be done by the prisoner him/herself. Newcomers should also be wary of those prisoners who 'guarantee' to get newcomers out of prison with petitions to the courts and such in exchange for a small fee.

While the book purports to instruct on surviving in prison, it says that the prison officials will very 'tactfully' tell prisoners to report homosexual advances, extortion attempts, etc. to the guards and points out this is a good way to get hurt or killed, but doesn't offer any advice on what the person should do as an alternative to being a rat. It doesn't mention that in most maximum security prisons, new arrivals that are young, effeminate looking, old, or who are perceived to be weak are preyed upon the moment they step into the prison yard and what should be done to avoid being victimized.

He also doesn't mention that many times new arrivals are approached by prisoncrats to become informants and this approach may involve threats or pressure. And that in most prisons, talking to guards or prison employees any more than absolutely necessary, preferably in public, is looked upon with suspicion by most prisoners, as prisons are riddled with informants.

Long gives basic common sense advice on some of the do's and don'ts of prisons, but leaves out some of the common traps, such as new arrivals being offered 'gifts', which are in reality loans at exorbitant interest rates and that it's best not to go into debt at all.

A point that was raised by the other reviewer of this book was Long's advice telling readers not to get involved in homosexual relationships

in prison. I would say that homosexuality is accepted to a large degree in prison but there is all the sexist and homophobic bullshit in prison as well as out. The 'problem' is that effeminate gays are sometimes perceived as being weak and easy prey and are then raped or otherwise victimized. A lot of prisoners have gay relationships, but with role playing of 'male' and 'female' roles, where the 'male' dominant is perceived as being more acceptable than the 'female' submissive member.

I think that Long should have gone beyond 'surviving' and gotten into a few basics that people going to prison for the first time should be thinking of, especially if they lack outside financial support for basics like toiletry items, snacks, etc., for example, the comparative advantages and 'hustles' in various jobs such as kitchen worker (stealing and selling food to other prisoners) and laundry worker (stealing state clothes for resale), or, in states like Texas where prisoners are expected to do hard labor in the fields, how to avoid such labor due to claiming medical problems or getting easier clerical or other jobs.

For activists likely to come to prison, I wouldn't recommend the book. A better buy is *Prisoners on Purpose* by Nukewatch, written by Plowshares prisoners, which offers more of this type of information in a cheaper, better manner. It is relevant to activists and contains the experiences of several prisoners as well as their 'reviews' of various federal prisons (a drawback is these are all minimum security prisons, not max). If people want a better idea of what the American gulag is like, they should read publications like *Prison News Service*, *Prisoners' Legal News*, etc., that regularly cover prisons, usually written by prisoners themselves. And, of course, they can always write prisoners directly and ask them whatever question they may have.

[Readers may write Paul Wright at: #930783, Box 5000 HC63, Clallam Bay, WA 98326. Please enclose SASE if you would like a response.]

Anarchist Mailorder Retail Distributors

The following are all retail distributors of anarchist publications—mostly 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*).

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.*).

A Distribution
339 Lafayette, #202
New York, NY. 10012
(*good mailorder catalog*)

A.Y.F. Distribution, POB 8585, Minneapolis, MN. 55408 (*new mailorder anarchist/punk music & periodicals distributor*).

Any Time Now, Affinity Place, Argenta, B.C., V0G 1B0, Canada (*short mailorder list*).

AK Distribution, 3 Balmoral Place, Stirling, FK8 2RD, Scotland (*big mailorder distributor of anarchist books & periodicals*).

Black Rose Anarchist Bookshop, 583A King St., Newtown 2042, Sydney, Australia (*anarchist book mailorder*).

Perennial Books, POB B14, Montague, MA. 01351 (*new anarchist book/periodical mailorder catalog*).

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

Quit while you're ahead!

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invariant effect, or else one or both of them cannot now exist. Raising the suspicion Vaneigem's *pleasure* is nothing anybody has ever experienced (we are painfully certain we've experienced work), it is something transcendent-like God. Whence come Vaneigem's mystic insights into the universal solvent, *intense pleasure*? Where can I get his aphrodisiac?

The Book of Pleasures reads like *Cliff Notes* for *The Revolution of Everyday Life* compiled by an uncomprehending exegete. Ideas are nothing else but what you do with them, and in this sense Vaneigem has run out of ideas, even his own, although he remembers their names. He once cut deep with his critique of roles, now he hates them too much to understand them. He's too afraid of playing roles to play with them. His monomaniacal cult of the abstract orgasm is pathetic. Some people *should* rest on their laurels and quit while they're ahead.

This essay will appear in Bob Black's forthcoming book, *Beneath the Underground*. Bob Black can be contacted at POB 66153, Albany, NY. 12206.

People Without Government: An Anthropology of Anarchy by Harold Barclay (Left Bank Books, 4142 Brooklyn NE, Seattle, WA. 98105, 1990) 162 pp. \$14.50 paper.

Alex Comfort writes in the Preface to Barclay's book: "Where Barclay's anthropological accounts are important is not as blueprints for complex societies, but as expositions of the attitudes of humans who have found no need of Authority." (p.9) Barclay reflects in this volume on the nature and function of anarchy and looks at various cultures, past and present, which exhibit strong anarchic features. He describes social interaction among hunter-gatherers, gardeners, herders, agriculturalists, and also anarchic polities in the modern era.

Whether Barclay is critiquing Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin, or discussing how social sanctions are used among the Pygmies, his writing is accessible and stimulating. He is familiar with Sahlins, Clastres, and Levi-Strauss as well as anarchist literature and social struggle. Barclay is no less critically interested in Spain, 1936, Nestor Makhno, or modern international communities than the Lugbara, Imazighen, or Inuit.

In the introduction, Barclay remarks, "it has been my experience in more than 30 years of teaching anthropology that, among students, about the most firmly held myth is the one that no society can exist without government—and its corollary that every society must have a head. If modern students have given up the religion of the church, they have not budged from the religion of nationalism and statism...Thus the myth of the necessity of the state and of government is...as decisive as belief in God was for the unity of Medieval Society." (p.12) Outlining his reasons for writing the book, Barclay suggests, in part, that "anarchy is by no means unusual; that it is a perfectly common form...of political organization...probably the oldest type and one which has characterized most of human history." (p.12) Barclay addresses the notion that anarchy can exist only in the smallest, least complex cultures and examines the "dynamic interplay between freedom and authority which characterizes human society. In connection with this we must observe how anarchy can...degenerate into despotism, a process which also entails a consideration of the origins of the state." (p.12)

What are some of Barclay's theoretical perspectives? He comments that few societies, including most anarchic ones, were or are characterized by gender equality, and relative to this writes: "A hypothesis developed in the 19th century and in the last decade or so given some publicity by the Marxist wing of the women's liberation movement, holds that in the most archaic societies men and women were equal and that the development of 'property' and agriculture led to male domination. It is certainly true that there is greater equality between the sexes in hunter-gathering societies than in most agricultural ones. But this 'greater equality' is still within the parameters of male pre-eminence. Two notions which frequently appear in conjunction with that of an ancient sexual equality are the views that the older human society was matrilineal and that originally something called group marriage was practised. There is no substantiation for such views in the data of anthropology. Indeed, if anything, the evidence is against them. Oldest human societies were probably neither matrilineal or patrilineal, but rather were bilateral (non-lineal)." (p.38)

Barclay realizes that while anarchic cultures have been historically "perfectly common," contemporary trends are quite the opposite. He titles one section, "Does anarchy have a future or is history a one-way street?" (p.142), and considers options for social change. He favors non-violent direct action and explains why.

As we attempt to move from where we are toward an anarchic future, Barclay notes that the most anti-authoritarian cultures described in his book are those in which "each person and group was involved in a complex web of mutual relations such that each bond within that web would act as a counter-balancing force to every other. In this way every participant would be constrained and unable to expand his or her realm at the expense of any other." (p.150) In discussing the Santals of the Bihar region of India, he observes that they "have a healthy distrust for power and have therefore not only developed techniques to minimise its concen-



Collage by James Koehnline from Legend of the Great Dismal Maroons.

tration, but have been diligent in preserving and enforcing them." (p.101) Barclay also relates his anthropological information to such matters as group decision-making, the balance between structure and anti-structure, conflict resolution, the types of leaders who may evolve in anarchic groups, and the origins of the state.

Barclay's discussion of relatively anarchic cultures is fascinating and his application of data to contemporary issues is topical, as, for example, when he discusses the historical role of feuding in anarchic polities. I first read the book about 8 years ago and found it even

more thought-provoking this time around. We cannot, of course, model ourselves after any particular anarchic group. Still, Barclay's discussion of anarchy, past, present and future, is instructive. As we attempt to find our way in 1991, there is strength in knowing how other 'anarchists', for tens of thousands of years, have survived and flourished, no matter how grim prospects may appear: "Yet one !Kung San in response to a question as to whether his group had headmen replied: Of course we have headmen! In fact we are all headmen...each one of us is headman over himself." (p.46)

Bricks and Anchors

Review by Toni Otter

Bricks and Anchors by Jon Longhi (Manic D Press: POB 410804, San Francisco, CA. 94141, 1991) 128 pp., unpriced, paper.

Parties, drugs, weird scenes and weirder people, crumbly or no job, little or no money—if you've been there, or near there, or want one person's view of the terrain, *Bricks and Anchors* may be the point from which to set sail. This collection of 26 short stories by Jon Longhi is notable for its somewhat surreal character sketches and strange goings-on.

"Bricks and Anchors" is also the title of the book's longest short story, which might well be titled "The Housemates from Hell": "Kidney never cleaned anything. She rarely even bathed. Instead of washing her clothes, every month she dyed them a darker shade of black. She'd eat our food and leave the dirty dishes on the counter. After her rituals she often left the candles burning until they scorched holes in the floors. Cleaning up after her and Vicki was a full time job. One day I was mopping the

kitchen while she sat at the table, cross-referencing the alignments of Saturn with the predictions of Nostradamus. When my mop picked up a chicken liver left over from one of her sacrifices, I blew a gasket.

"Kidney," I screamed, 'why don't you ever do any fucking cleaning around this place?!'

"What do you mean?" she replied, genuinely shocked. "Last week I cleaned up thirteen buckets of black tar from the kitchen and hallway. It was over a foot deep and all bubbling and throbbing. One of the biggest ecto-plasmic flows I've ever seen. It took me most of the day to clean up all that sticky goo."

"Maybe," I said, "but couldn't you do some dishes too?"

Longhi's players run the gamut of absurdly real life: Brother Bob, Joe Candybar, Pumpkin Man, and Hard Luck Chuck. *Bricks and Anchors* is a unique and sometimes disgusting group of short stories, which Longhi adds to his previously published *Zucchini and Other Stories*.

Get Free

How to Get Yourself Free by Chuck Taylor (Fat Tuesday Publications, 8125 Jonestown Rd, Harrisburg, PA. 17112, 1990) unpaginated, \$4.00 booklet.

How to Get Yourself Free is a "practical manual" on achieving freedom in one's own everyday life. Taylor discusses freedom not from a political or legal standpoint but from a personal perspective, including various metaphysical aspects of freedom. For example, when liberating oneself from a boring or oppressive situation, faith that things will work out in the new surroundings is involved with those people who maintain their freedom (happiness) successfully. Relevant personal examples spice up Taylor's 'practical' explication of freedom. Taylor's enthusiasm for freedom and life matches Leo Buscaglia's excitement about love. At times, this book seems somewhat mainstream since it tends to focus on the personal philosophical part of freedom, mostly leaving out the radical, political critique and perspective on freedom. Thus, it is somewhat tame, yet pertinent to figuring out how to live your life. Taylor's discussion on alternative cultures (like musical, artistic, political, and even god-worshippers) is sometimes rather negative and cynical, but nonetheless interesting. However, overall I found this essay engaging and finished it hoping there were more pamphlets about how people maintain and live their alternative lifestyles—especially anarchists. Reviewed by Mark E.

NORTH AMERICAN ANARCHIST REVIEW

Fall/Winter 1991
Press run: 5,000

North American Anarchist Review is a semi-annual tabloid primarily intended to let the libertarian community know about interesting new (and old) books, journals and publishers. Due to a lack of advertising this issue of *NAAR* has only been published as an insert to *Anarchy*; *A Journal of Desire Armed* #30—although editorially it is independent from that journal.

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The Idle Warriors

Reviewed by Ben G. Price

The Idle Warriors by Kerry W. Thornley (IllumiNet Press, POB 746, Avondale Estates, GA. 30002, 1991) 202 pp. \$10.98 paper.

History is the nightmare from which Kerry Thornley has been trying to awaken for almost three decades. His first novel, *The Idle Warriors*, entered the public domain as a historical artifact rather than a work of art. In 1964 the Warren Commission investigating the murder of John Kennedy subpoenaed Thornley as a witness because of his personal acquaintance with Lee Oswald, the man accused of committing the crime. Oswald and Thornley met in 1959 in Japan, where they were both stationed as Marines. Thornley was an aspiring writer. Oswald's aspirations are still a mystery. But when Oswald 'defected' to the Soviet Union, Thornley knew he'd found the focus for his first attempt at a novel.

The Idle Warriors is more "a portrait of the artist as a young man" than a window on the mind of Oswald. It is not, by Thornley's own admission, a work of great art. It is flawed stylistically and in some annoying instances typographically. But it has value in its historical context. It should be read as part of a baroque official record that fails to explain how an overabundance of information is lacking much relevance about this famous murder. The Warren Commission, which held the manuscript of this book in its archives for twenty-five years, yielded no believable conclusions. Kerry Thornley can not be blamed for that.

In the absence of indisputably demonstrated criminal motives or a credible resolution to the crime, Kerry Thornley, his book, and the whole milieu of mid-twentieth century America became props and plot devices in a multi-media docu-drama of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. It took years to manufacture and assemble the surrealistic plot in the groove tube of the public mind. The monument of memory fails in this instance to be representational and resorts to an abstraction of sharp angles and twisted Mobius loops, like those characteristic of officially commissioned sculptures erected in front of countless public buildings throughout the ensuing decades. What passes for a shared national memory seems a clear case of "information poisoning," to use Philip K. Dick's terminology.

The death of the "good king" was temporarily adopted as a central myth to explain twentieth century America to approximations of twentieth century Americans. Subsequent political events were contextualized in this myth, so that 'history' was readily transformed into the symbolism of a psychological referent rather than being a commonly accessible political resource. It was a stopgap approach that worked beyond anyone's expectations in the era of TV mediated consciousness.

Thornley's fiction became part of the myth-making process. The chimeric John Kennedy, once and future resident of Camelot, is a collage pasted back together from the published pictures and clippings of his bullet-scattered life. But all the king's horses clattering down the streets of D.C. dragging his coffin behind, and all the king's men, cowering in the shadows, haven't replaced the mythic sense of national confidence that was more accurately recorded by Thornley as an a-political disregard for what the politicians are really up to behind the scenes.

Times changed. Doubts and skepticism touched the common man as the hero-shimic after-glow of world war victory was replaced by the realization of how collapsible was the nuclear umbrella and if that then why not the rest of the official promises of umbrage?

By now, a parallel history of Kennedy's libidinal prowess has been precipitated upon the desert of lost faith by the scandal sheets. History as sanctioned myth has turned out to be a landscape left as barren as if the bombs had actually dropped. The cold war, a psychological war, has no victors. The whole noosphere has been left poisoned in the aftermath. And the history books are bland and silent tally sheets that have no comment on the nagging questions central to so many minds taken in by the fast evaporating myth of Camelot on the Potomac. Although, in what has become the century's biggest cliché, most Americans alive at the time "remember where they were when they heard..." almost as many are beginning to wish they could forget what has come after.

Thornley's remembrance of Kennedy's assassin, written before the president's death,



Collage by James Koehline from Legend of the Great Dismal Maroons.

not only participates in the record, but catalyzes a strange loop in the fabric of history's frayed tapestry. To Jim Garrison, once a New Orleans district attorney, now a Louisiana judge, Thornley's uncanny decision to fictionalize the character of Lee Harvey Oswald prior to November 22, 1963 constituted a "strange attractor" in the chaos that became the investigation into the assassination. Garrison accused Thornley of lying to Congress about his association with Oswald, and in 1968 claimed Thornley's detailed testimony was part of a plot to portray Oswald as an early convert to Marxism in order to mislead and prevent the investigation of Oswald's 'real' motives for defecting to Moscow.

Were it not for its historical context, *The Idle Warriors* might never have been published. (It remained unpublished until IllumiNet Press brought it to print in 1991). Its commercial value seems doubtful, except that it is a newly unearthed assassination artifact. As such, its appeal will be more as a conspiracy buff's collector's item than as a vehicle of historical epiphany. But it has the potential for offering a degree of illumination.

This book is no 'blockbuster' or 'bestselling' novel, and it doesn't pretend to be one. But this is not to say it is utterly without literary merit. The Madison Avenue marketability of any work of fiction based on a real event is directly related to the script's potential effect on the genitalia and adrenal glands of the targeted audience. When Thornley first plotted his book, he was targeting the large gland housed in the skull of pretty much anyone who would read what he wrote. Admittedly, he was a novice.

Through countless suggested but not suggestive sexual encounters, Thornley narrates a mere supposition that his characters actually copulate. It's a form of fictional discretion that clearly dates the manuscript and the author. Which is not at all a criticism. His purpose is not to titillate but rather to portray the times,

the atmosphere of what, to a soldier away from home, must have been an approximation of the "free love." It's true that the ersatz love offered in the bars and on the street corners in the zones of American military occupation around the globe wasn't exactly 'free'. Prostitution remains a thriving cottage industry in and around American military bases. Sex as the currency of exchange between the conquered and the conquerors is a thread of continuity in Thornley's story.

The few "action scenes" consist of brawls: one between an atheist and a zealot Christian disputing theology, blasphemy, and the acceptability of openly spouting off within each other's hearing range. The other is characteristic of brawls in uniform the world over, initiated to defend the symbol superiority of an insignia and promote male-bonding.

On the whole, the novel is successful in creating what one imagines Marine life during the pre-Vietnam "cold war" must have been like. But Thornley wrote this novel with the political defection of his Marine Corps buddy as the focus. His friend Oswald, the "Johnny Shellburn" of *The Idle Warriors*, is portrayed as intellectually overactive. In the Preface Thornley apologizes for the macho attitude prevalent in his early writing, but it's an attitude that seems natural to his characters and the time.

Johnny Shellburn, however, is not comfortable among the young studs enjoying the whores and beer halls of Japan, the Philippines, and the rest of the military occupied foreign lands visited by his unit. Shellburn/Oswald spends his free time reading books of oriental philosophy, meditating in front of a candle that his barracks buddies keep blowing out, and staying critically aloof from the regular "good natured" mistreatment of the 'natives'.

The "normal red-blooded American guys" in Johnny Shellburn's/Lee Oswald's unit grouse among themselves about the sudden change that comes over him shortly after his arrival in

Japan. His transformation seems unheralded. It's as if he'd become one of the CIA's clandestine LSD experiments, where the unwitting subject doesn't know what's happening, but an unavoidable subjective revolution of perceptions swallows the old personality and coughs up a fuzzy ball of reality that, like it or not, must be re-condensed into the parameters of a workable life. Shellburn's bunkies speculate among themselves and finally pinpoint the exact day Johnny must've "fallen on his head." It was a Sunday.

Johnny and Yoko (was fiction foreshadowing rock n' roll history?) liked to tour the religious shrines of Japan together. He became temporarily obsessed with Amida Buddha at Kamakura, which he'd read about in a poem by Kipling. (It is certainly only a coincidence that the Amide ring is the central chemical structure common to most psychedelic substances). Back at the barracks the 'normal' guys rummage through his reading material. They find the works of Rudyard Kipling and snicker over them. "There's this one poem in there," says Willy Cecil, "about this here Kamakura where Johnny fell on his head. That place must be a bigger hangout for crackpots than Southern California!"

There are other transtemporal echoes such as this reference to California's as-yet unearthened reputation for eccentrics. They suggest Thornley may have touched-up his manuscript prior to publication. But in his book *Zenarchy* he writes that the "Bohemian craftspeople," later labeled 'hippies' by the media, "had been in existence in California at least since the early Forties."

Shellburn/Oswald's transformation from a U.S. Marine to a politically aware individual is only hinted at in *The Idle Warriors*. In his Warren Commission testimony, Thornley talked about his buddy's subscription to *Pravda* as an eccentricity. In *The Idle Warriors* he writes: "In the back hills of mindlessness, a monster prowled. The light of the Red Star put restless patterns in the storm. He liked to tune in on Radio Peking and Radio Moscow while on post, and listen to the latest Red blast."

But there is precious little indication of the depth of Oswald's political soul-searching in

Continued on NAAR page 6

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A study of the life and influence of the important French anarchist and geographer Elisée Reclus. 299pp./\$8.00 hardcover (limited supply)

The Idle Warriors

Continued from previous page

the novel. The dead and unconvicted suspect apparently had an affinity for Oriental philosophy and cosmology, and in a prophetic foreshadowing of Fritjof Capra's *The Tao of Physics* Johnny Shellburn talks about atomic energy and how energy is matter and how that means that everything is made up out of nothing. He says that modern science is catching up with the Oriental thinkers and philosophers. It is a rare and human moment spent with history's dehumanized Oswald.

Only the speculations of those who served with him, officially provoked and dutifully submitted in triplicate, may say anything specific about Shellburn/Oswald's attitude toward foreign policy and politics. These comments wouldn't have been compiled without coaching, and such as they are they come as unintegrated after-thoughts at the end of the story, after Shellburn's lonely and unexplained defection. Only then does everyone stand around trying to understand what happened.

It is art imitating life. Those left behind are not privy to the inner sanctum of the rebel's mind simply because they were afraid to take it seriously. Thornley was one of the few who took Oswald seriously, in fact seriously enough to write a book about him before he got famous again.

Thornley obviously prefers the qualities of character he gives Shellburn over the boorish and barbaric attributes so common to the rest of his soldier friends. In an attempt to understand Oswald's radical departure from the 'norms' of conservative social behavior, a departure Thornley himself was to take in later years, the author lends his protagonist his own character and motivations. Again borrowing from his book *Zenarchy*, Thornley tells us that as a child he watched the Bohemians in and around Hollywood with admiration, recalling "I asked my mother what they were and she said they were crackpots; I determined then and there that when I grew up I was going to be a crackpot."

And so it seems he identified Oswald as a fellow crackpot, an iconoclast who deserved not to be defined too narrowly nor written-off as a non-entity. Nor has Thornley quite pinned himself down. And that seems quite acceptable in his cosmology. The context, whether a military tour of duty or an assassination con-

spiracy, should not be a pretext to simplify the human character or to prejudice what we will accept as rational behavior. Context should act more as a compass that always points North. Although the indicated direction is invariant, people with free will do not always choose to go that way.

That Jim Garrison accused Kerry Thornley of sharing in Oswald's alleged murderous conspiracy seems less a mystery if we take into account the blending of identities in the looking glass of fiction. Garrison seems to have confused Thornley's story with the facts he was in the process of creating on the basis of his need to confine all 'crackpot' to the same political path. It isn't surprising that a conspiracy theorist like Garrison couldn't fathom two 'crackpots' trudging off the beaten path of conformity in different directions.

Thornley, a conspiracy buff himself, has been looking for villains of another sort who keep throwing roadblocks across his life line. To hear him tell it, those roadblocks are really wormholes in spacetime, and he's fallen into a maze of unexplained coincidences.

Synchronicity is a heavy dew in the tangled forest of facts, lies, myths, and deceptions overgrowing the murder of John Kennedy. The once wisecracking jarheads of Marine Air Control Squadron One (MACS 1), Thornley and Oswald, have been wandering the shadowy thickets of America's collective unconscious for years. Oswald's place in history, rightly or wrongly, seems secure. With the publication of this book we might have expected that Thornley would at last emerge from the shadows of history. But Thornley is doomed by his voluntary participation in the mythos to panoply of innuendo and speculation that threatens to enslave him as one of the denizens of that dark pit.

Thornley has never stopped trying to contextualize his life in the mineshaft of historical events that collapsed in on him. History itself has collapsed to a single event, a point of irritation from which he recoils but to which he is also inexorably drawn. It produces a constraint on his ability to exist beyond it. This struggle is not recorded in *The Idle Warriors*, but hinted at in the preface to the book and documented in a paper trail of rants, philosophizing, and conspiracy theorizing that dates back to the sixties and continues uninterrupted to this day in Thornley's marginal publications, including *Kultcha*, *Out Of Order*, *The Promised Land Times*, *The Decadent Worker*, *The Cactus Flower Gazette*, *How to Forget Jesus And Change Your Whole Life*, and his columns regularly appearing in *Factsheet Five*, "Conspiracy Corner," and "Possibly Subversive Flower Arrangements."

I think Kerry Thornley has nothing more he can tell us with certainty about Lee Harvey Oswald or the death of John F. Kennedy, although he theorizes about his frequent and unwitting proximity to assassination conspiracy suspects before and after the fact. These coincidences are at least uncanny but, as presented, only thicken the black tar pit in which history has been trapped. But what he

can and does tell us about is the chaotic epic of our own latter day confusion in the shadow of political intrigue. At the knees of a mountain of official lies, we are all humbled. His odyssey is no more scatological than the version of reality for which we've had to settle in this era of the national security state. If we can pity his plight, what can we make of our own?

Ace Backwards' Twisted Image

Reviewed by Ben Price

Twisted Image by Ace Backwards (Loompanics Unlimited, POB 1197, Port Townsend, WA. 98368, 1990) 128pp. \$12.95 paper.

After you've thoughtfully turned the last page of *Fifth Estate*, retired the last copy of *Anarchy* to the growing stack of political mulch, you may have flipped through Mike Gunderloy's *Fact-sheet Five* looking for more perverse, yet heartfelt, literature. (There are those among us who hope to touch base with humanity without going through the Madison Avenue middle-men who shape the bulk of mainstream periodical literature.)

If you've ever actually mailed for copies from the eclectic selection of underground and marginal literature catalogued by Gunderloy and others like *Amok* and *Loompanics*—or if you've come across samples independently—you may have noticed an uncommon thread running through the best of them, something that stood aside from the gray page assaulting your gay matter. Something truly funny.

In recent years, the most consistent whiff of folly anywhere in the catacombs of American samizdat print has streamed out of the frames of Ace Backwards' iconoclastic cartoon strip, which can at last be snorted, line after hilarious line, straight from the pages of *Twisted Image*.

What's so damned funny about these strips is that they don't let 'movement' bandwagoners get away with just checking their image of themselves against the latest manifesto or rant. Because at the bottom of the page, in the 'zines' where they first appeared, Ace Backwards presented the real countenance of the

cowled followers of ideas like 'anarchy', 'peace' and 'love', 'punk', in fact a broad spectrum of ideas entertained by the self-illuminated. He showed the real, stripped of the hip hype, in strip after strip.

These boxed bon-bons of irreverence squirt everything from blood to sperm and napalm when you bite into 'em. They may even make you break out: in hives or from that boxed-in feeling you get whenever you start taking yourself too seriously.

The whole collection is a Rorschach test for anal retentives: you know you're one if all you see in it is filth and smut. True, there are lots of caricatures of penises and vaginas and what people do with them, if often only symbolically or in their imaginations. But what we do in dead seriousness is often animated by the ridiculous. Ace Backwards is adept at capturing and captioning just that.

A good comedian is a talented observer who knows when to reach inside our guts and dredge up some old bone of contention long lodged under the heel of occupying armies of our ideologies. It takes timing and guts to do that, to invoke an upheaval of rage, or, more appropriately, laughter—the natural gag reflex we've been conditioned to repress while swallowing hype, propaganda, guilt conditioning and the rest of the swill over a lifetime.

Ace Backwards adds graphic dimensions to this subversive scheme of comedy. And *Twisted Image* is the handbook of revolting images: images in revolt against the humorlessness of everyone whose bowels are in an uproar over the hilariously ridiculous state of everything.

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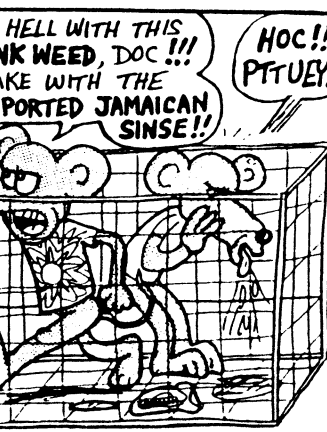
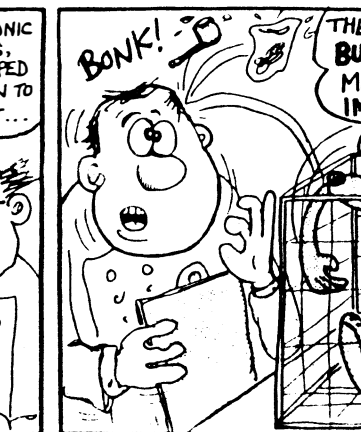
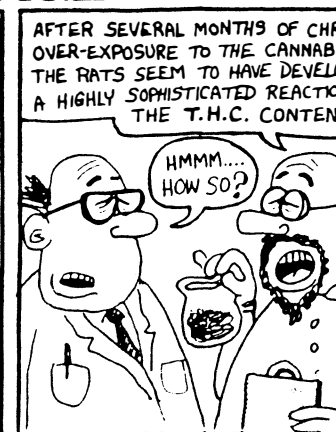
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Anarchy #1 (4pp., photocopy only) [Jan. 1980] Contents include a short story, "Ausma," by Badguy.

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

Anarchy #6 (12pp., tabloid) [Aug. 1985] Contents include a story by William Cottrell titled "Mother Love," and a section on "Native American News."

Anarchy #7 (12pp., tabloid) [Sept. 1985] Contents include "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 Badguy on Julian Beck, Freddie Baer's "The daily battle" and "The abolition of work" by Bob Black.

Anarchy #9 (12pp., tabloid) [Dec. '85/Jan '86] Contents include Gerry Reith's "Foreign Policy," "Cooperation is anarchy," and Noa's "The Plague (Central America)."

Anarchy #10 (12pp., tabloid) [Feb./March 1986] Contents include the first installment of "The Papalagi" by Tuiavii of Tiavea, and the 1985/86 revision of *As we see it!*

Anarchy #11 (12pp., tabloid) [April 1986] Contents include "A history of the Anarchist Black Cross," part 2 of "The Papalagi," and Gerry Reith's "Winning hearts and minds."

Anarchy #12 (12pp., tabloid) [Summer 1986] Contents include a report on the "Haymarket '86 anarchist gathering," part 3 of "The Papalagi," "Let us prey! Smash the state!" by Bob Black, and "Notes on playing for keeps" by Alf Sprack, plus an insert of the 12-page Summer '86 issue of *The Gentle Anarchist*.

Anarchy #13 [Weekly World Anarchy issue] (20pp., tabloid) [Fall/Winter 1986] Contents include part 4 of "The Papalagi," "The bioregional vision—far-sighted or myopic?" by Lev Chernyi, and "Theses on libertarian municipalism" by Murray Bookchin.

Anarchy #14 (28pp., tabloid) [Summer 1987] Contents include "Anarchy in Greece," part 5 of "The Papalagi," "Vagaries of negation" by John Zerzan, and "Intervention in Vietnam and Central America: Parallels and differences" by Noam Chomsky.

Anarchy #15 (32pp., tabloid) [Winter 1988] Contents include "Propping up the cities; a review of Murray Bookchin's *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship*" by John Zerzan, "The Papalagi" part 6, "The realization and suppression of religion" by Ken Knabb, "Anarchy & religion; a dialogue" (contributions from Fred Woodworth, Jay Kinney, & Lev Chernyi).

Anarchy #16 (32pp., tabloid) [Summer 1988] Contents include "Native American guerrillas in Colombia," "Rabl Rousers protest in Minneapolis," "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, and "Anarchy & religion—the dialogue continues."

Anarchy #17 (32pp., 10 1/2"X14 1/2"/stitched) [Fall/Winter 1988/89] Contents include "Stumps Suck! on the Okanogan" by Mikal Jakubal, "Chaos and anarchy" by Kansas Slim, part 8 of "The Papalagi" "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), and the first installment of "The nihilist's dictionary" by John Zerzan.

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, "Current controversies concerning the annual continental anarchist gatherings" by Lev Chernyi, part 9 of "The Papalagi," 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," a continuing discussion of "Biocentrism vs. the critique of ideology" between Feral Faun, Lone Wolf Circles, and Lev Chernyi, and more discussion on anarchy and religion.

Anarchy #19 (32pp., 10 1/2"X14 1/2"/stitched) [May-July 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 Papalagi" part 10, "Pedophilia: Views from the other side," "Liberating sexuality" reviews of Richard Walters' *Sexual Friendship* and Will McBride & Helga Fleischhauer-Hardt's *Show Me!* by Lev Chernyi, "Laure A.'s 'Sexuality and the mystique of innocence,'" "Save the children" by Richard Walters, "Biocentrism: ideology against nature" by Mikal Jakubal, & Feral Faun's "Beyond Earth First!"

Anarchy #20/21 Double issue (48pp., 10 1/2"X14 1/2"/stitched) [Aug.-October 1989] Contents include "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," 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 titled "I'll Remember You," the newly revised version of "As we see it!," 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 lots of columns including John Zerzan on the "Feral," and Mikal Jakubal's "Effects without a cause." [Note: this issue is double the price of other back issues]

Anarchy #22 (32pp., 10 1/2"X14 1/2"/stitched) [Nov./Dec. '89] Contents include "Without Borders 1989; Reports on the gathering and Day of Action," the first chapter of Raoul Vaneigem's *The Revolution of Everyday Life* on "The insignificant signified," "In search of the New Age; The infinite egress of you" by Janos Nehek, "Kid's Sexuality" by K@nalratten, "In the wake of the Exxon Valdez; World capitalism and global ecocide" by Will Guest, as well as an insert of the first 4-page issue of *North American Anarchist Review*.

Anarchy #23 (36pp., 10 1/2"X14 1/2"/stitched) [Jan./Feb. '89] Contents include "An interview with a W.

Berlin autonomist," "Seven theses on play" by Paul Simons, "The population myth" by Murray Bookchin, "Propaganda American-style" by Noam Chomsky, "Contradictions of cocaine capitalism" by Jefferson Morley, and Raoul Vaneigem on "Humiliation."

Anarchy #24 (36pp., 10 1/2"X14 1/2"/stitched) [March-April '90] Contents include "At the Berlin Wall" by Laure A., Hakim Bey's "Boycott cop culture!," Raoul Vaneigem on "Isolation," "Misinformation and manipulation: An anarchist critique of the politics of AIDS" by Joe Peacock, An exchange on "Anarchy and the sacred," Ben Price's "Talking to ourselves."

Anarchy #25 (36pp., 10 1/2"X14 1/2"/stitched) [Summer '90] Contents include "Death of a revolutionary" by Max Anger, "Bonanno & Stasi in Italy," "Anarchy in Eastern Europe" by Stefan Wray, Raoul Vaneigem on "Suffering," "The mass psychology of misery" by John Zerzan, "Ecocide on the east side" by Will Guest, plus an 8-page insert of the *North American Anarchist Review* #2.

Anarchy #26 (40pp., 10 1/2"X14 1/2"/stitched) [Fall '90] Contents include "What went wrong with the anarchist convention" by Eliza, "News from Italy" by Stefan Wray, "East-West @ Confernece: Trieste Italy" by Laure A. & Stefan Wray, "More news from Yugoslavia, Austria, Germany & Holland" by Stefan Wray, Raoul Vaneigem on "The decline and fall of work," Bob Black's "No future for the workplace," "Vendorman" by Avid Darkly, "Take things from work" by bp ummfatik, Kevin Keating's fiction titled "The Good, the Bad, and the Angry," B. Edna's "On resuming a language of anarchy: Heidegger's flower" with responses by John Zerzan & Lev Chernyi, plus a 4-page insert of *North American Anarchist Review* #3.

Anarchy #27 (36pp., 10 1/2"X14 1/2"/stitched) [Winter '90-91] Contents include "Soviet anarcho-syndicalism: An interview with a member of the KAS," Vaneigem on "Decompression and the third force," Su Negrin on "Ageism," "Some notes on the reproduction of human capital" by Robert Cooperstein, "As soon as you're born they make you feel small..." by Wendy Ayotte, "Hearts and minds; The failure of sex abuse education" by Joel Featherstone, & Schaun Perry's "Child/adult sex: A continuum."

Anarchy #28 (36pp., 10 1/2"X14 1/2"/stitched) [Spring '91] Contents include Charlatan Stew's "No state solution is a good solution" & "Myths of the anti-war movement," Piotr Tyminsky's "Eastern Europe: Real revolution?," Vaneigem on "The age of happiness," "James Koehnline's 'Legend of the Great Dismal Maroons,'" and Stefan Wray's report on the Berlin "International anarchist meeting" (on communications), plus an 8-page insert of *North American Anarchist Review* #4.

Anarchy #29 (36pp., 10 1/2"X14 1/2"/stitched) [Summer '91] Special issue on "The Situationists and Beyond..." Contents include "Our dreams will become their nightmares: Student uprising in Greece," Vaneigem on "Exchange and gift," John Zerzan's "Just another brick in the wall," the Bureau of Public Secrets' "The war and the spectacle," Bob Black's "The realization and suppression of situationism," "Drifting with the Situationist International," part 1 of Tom Ward's "The situationists reconsidered," and René Viénet's account of "The Sorbonne occupied" (Paris '68), along with "A brief interview with Noam Chomsky on anarchy, civilization & technology."

Nude Pacific Travel Guide

Nude Pacific Travel Guide (Tahanga Research Association, POB 8714, La Jolla, CA 92038-8714, updated July '91) unpaginated \$7.00 photocopied & stapled.

For those with the means to travel and the desire to do it as bare as possible, this may be an indispensable compilation of reasonably up-to-date, though often sketchy, information on where to expect hospitality and where to expect trouble in Pacific travel. This isn't really a travel guide in the usual sense of a series of narrative descriptions of countries & regions, cultures & conditions. Instead, it's more a compilation of notes and updates which happen to (un)cover an area not usually treated in orthodox travel guides. If you're thinking of heading to Kiribati or Nouvelle Calédonie, Samoa or Vanuatu, or any other of the 61 lands mentioned in this guide, it'll probably be worth the price to you.

[Note: Due to restrictive press freedom laws in the U.S. the publishers "will not provide NPTG to persons under 18."] -L.C.

The Primer of English Violence

The Primer of English Violence: Being a chronological survey of uprisings, invasions, riots and disaffections in the British Isles (1484 to the present day) by Cokayne (No publisher listed. Available from: Counter Productions, P.O. Box 556, London SE5 0RL, England) No price listed. 20 pp. pamphlet.

The title of this pamphlet is somewhat self-explanatory. The publication contains a short introduction, a brief bibliography, and is largely a listing of violent events in English (Irish, Welsh, Cornish, Scots) history, 1484-1974.

The pamphlet might be improved by updating it through at least the 1980s. One item reads "1588-1620 Mass witch hunts in England." Nine entries later: "1603 James introduced witch hunting to England. Over 1,000 executed." The discrepancy between 1588 and 1603 is obvious, and should have been noted and corrected, since accuracy of dates seems of some importance in a "chronological survey." Many entries are puzzling unless one is better acquainted than I with British history, though others are clear enough:

"1776 Portsmouth dockyard burnt by John the Painter as retribution for British troops burning his house in America. He also proclaimed his intention to kill the King. Hung in chains."

The back cover reads:

"England the home of peaceful change. How true is this portrait that the English have of their country? Through this study passes a parade of the hidden British: arsonists, bombers, assassins, wreckers, revolutionaries, bandits, agitators, outlaws...armies of beggars living off cities...mutinous sailors... food rioters, factory smashing, cathedral burners...workers refusing to fight the Great War. And the forgotten heroes: Kid Wake...Jake of the Style, Richard Parker, Dick Penderm.... It is a paradox that the English who pride themselves upon their history should know so little about it." -T.O.

Yugoslavery

Yugoslavery: Yugoslavia, Capitalism and Class Struggle 1918-1967 by BM BLOB (London WC1N 3XX, England, 1991) 32 pp. no price listed, 8.5"x11" pamphlet.

"Yugoslavia, Capitalism and Class Struggle 1918-1967" is also the title of this pamphlet's longest article by Neil Fernandez. The introduction to the booklet or pamphlet is dated Winter, 1991, and certain events of 1987-88 are discussed, so the publication is more current than one might suspect. In 32 pages or less (with photos, illustrations, and a sense of humor), it may be difficult to find a more succinct analysis of Yugoslavian history and social dynamics, which are, of course, pertinent to recent occurrences in that region. The back cover displays a simple, multi-colored map of Yugoslavia, its various republics, and bordering areas.

The authors "... dispel the crap that these upheavals [in Eastern Europe] represent a triumph of capitalist democracy over communist dictatorship. What we are witnessing is the collapse of Bolshevism, a particularly tightly regulated, ideologically totalitarian, ultimately backward form of State capitalism which appeared to be virtually unassailable. It is now giving way to a more market oriented version of the same thing." (p.1)

Besides the title article, some other sections are: 1) "Some basic ingredients of Yugoslav ideology," 2) "The National Question: Ideology and Power of Containment/Regimentation of Yugoslav Social Contradictions," which includes "Some Aspects of Yugoslavian Nationalist Spectacles," and 3) "Albona-Yugoslavia Miners on Strike."

Yugoslavery is informative and may set a few brain cells aglow. -T.O.

Review Shorts

Reviews by Lev Chernyi (L.C.), Mark E. (M.E.),
Toni Otter (T.O.) & Ben G. Price (B.P.)



Soy!

Soy, Not Oil! Over 100 Recipes Designed to Destroy the Government by Hippycore Krew (Box 195, Mesa, AZ 85211, 1991) 111pp. no price listed, paper.

Soy, not Oil! is a charged vegan cookbook that mixes food and radical politics: "We hope to not only help you make delicious vegan food but to reclaim the art and joy of cooking that has been stripped away from us over the years by our anomic/anemic postindustrial hyperstress culture." (p. 3) This collection of recipes goes one step further than vegetarianism, providing creative recipes without relying on the animal slavery behind cheese, milk, and eggs. Interspersed among the excited (and entertaining) descriptions of food ideas by the Hippycore Krew are personal essays which elucidate their veganism. In respecting all animal life, the vegan avoids the wasted resources and subsequent human starvation, Third World poverty, environmental destruction, and unhealthy meat diet that meat and milk production enforce.

This "anarchist cookbook" includes vegan recipes for everything from "home brew" to main dishes and cookies. The cookbook introduces non-mainstream ingredients like arrowroot and soy milk. The punk musical suggestions and friendly illustrations add to the "we want to play, all the time, all our lives" attitude of *Soy, not Oil!* I made the eggless peanut butter chocolate chip cookies, and they were great! If you are interested in a spirited cookbook that will inspire you to get a step closer to veganism by providing yummy recipes, get this book! -M.E.

Freedom Road

Freedom Road by Harold Hough (Loompanics Unlimited, POB 1197, Port Townsend, WA 98368, 1991) 174pp. \$16.95 paper.

Straight from the Suburbanite Liberation Front's back yard, Harold Hough brings you his manifesto against meddling neighbors, his rant repudiation ranchers, his one way Winnebago back to the garden. *Freedom Road* is a kinder, gentler guidebook for ex-mainstream conformists who have been marginalized by poor results in the pursuit of the American dream. It is advice for the life-lorn who may also have ventured too close to the boundaries of the fiscal playing field. It's Mickey Mouse psychology for everyone who has run the rat race and been lost in the maze. And it's a morale booster for suckers who want practical ideas about how to get out of the tangle of consumer debt and job nausea.

This is *Walden* for the WASP, Kerouac for the chiropractic set, a sabbatical for sedentary Sinbad. In short, it is a cautious but well reasoned alternative to mid-life crises and suicidal thoughts brought on by the sudden realization that up until now your life has been wasted.

With information on almost every contingency, Hough instructs us how to settle debts, buy a recreational vehicle (RV) and hit the Freedom Road. There's information on what to insist on and what to avoid in purchasing the vehicle in which you'll be living. Sections are devoted to flexible jobs like writing and photography that will make the traveling life possible and practical. Where to park, what to stock, how to be thrifty, brushes with the law, staying in touch with friends, health tips and recipes for rovers are all included.

Freedom Road will be of interest to those intrepid enough to chuck or at least postpone the demands of bosses and other habitual nags. There are no arcane secrets to liberation along the Way of "Freedom Road" in this book, but here is a handy compilation that can help you avoid a premature return to the grind. -B.P.

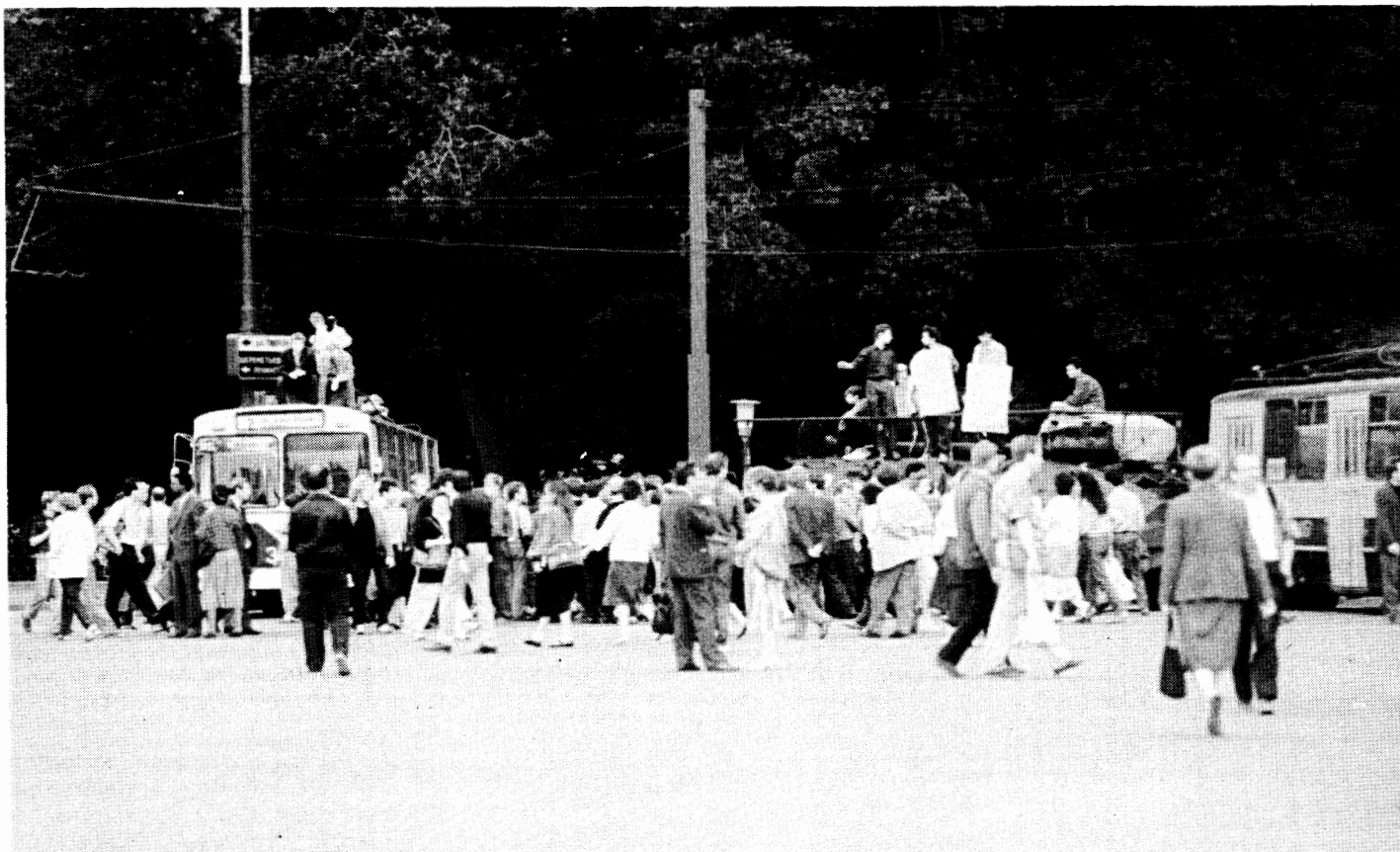
Zenarchy

Continued from NAAR page 9

people share in a gregarious detachment from power and property, satori is doomed to the status of a mystical vacationland, a place to which quieter minds can retreat and abandon the less harmonious fray of history.

Thornley says that Zenarchists "seldom call ourselves Christians or Buddhists, for that would make us useful to organized religion. And for the same reason we call our politics the No Politics—to avoid becoming useful to politicians." This may be his most practical contribution to the cause of objective liberty. After the subjective denunciation of attachments, if we remove the 'handles' with which imperial forces grab hold and manipulate us, the ease and utility of enslavement is limited. Power can scarcely motivate where fear is eliminated, and fear is the visceral avoidance of loss. It is never desire that is controlled by tyrants, but only the objects of desire to which slaves are habituated.

The last quarter of Thornley's *Zenarchy* is a collection of "Zenarchy Stories" previously published by Elayne Wechsler in *Inside Joke*. They are very brief, hip epiphanies that do for anarchism what koans do for Zen: they exist somewhere between summary and illustration. What is needed now is a concrete demonstration of how a Yin Revolution can benefit the mindful as well as the mindless. Any volunteers will receive a sharp crack on the head.



Soviet civilians blocking tanks with buses, talking with soldiers while standing on the tanks. Photo: Laure A.

The Catastrophe of Postmodernism

Continued from page 18

comes the valorized partner to 'opposition'.

Perhaps the case of Paul De Man, who extended and deepened Derrida's seminal deconstructive positions (surpassing him, in the opinion of many), is instructive. Shortly after the death of De Man in 1985, it was discovered that as a young man he had written several anti-semitic, pro-Nazi newspaper articles in occupied Belgium. The status of this brilliant Yale deconstructor, and indeed to some, the moral and philosophical value of deconstruction itself, were called into question by the sensational revelation. De Man, like Derrida, had stressed "the duplicity, the confusion, the untruth that we take for granted in the use of language." Consistent with this, albeit to his discredit, in my opinion, was Derrida's tortuous commentary on De Man's collaborationist period: in sum, "how can we judge, who has the right to say?" A shabby testimony for deconstruction, considered in any way as a moment of the anti-authoritarian.

Derrida announced that deconstruction "instigates the subversion of every kingdom." In fact, it has remained within the safely academic realm of inventing ever more ingenious textual complications to keep itself in business and avoid reflecting on its own political situation. One of Derrida's most central terms, dissemination, describes language, under the principle of difference, as not so much a rich harvest of meanings but a kind of endless loss and spillage, with meaning appearing everywhere and evaporating virtually at once. This flow of language, ceaseless and unsatisfying, is a most accurate parallel to that of the heart of consumer capital and its endless circulation of non-significance. Derrida thus unwittingly eternalizes and universalizes dominated life by rendering human communication in its image. The "every kingdom" he would see deconstruction subverting is instead extended and deemed absolute.

Derrida represents both the well-traveled French tradition of *explication de texte* and a reaction against the Gallic veneration of Cartesian classicist language with its ideals of clarity and balance. Deconstruction emerged also, to a degree, as part of the original element of the near-revolution of 1968, namely the student revolt against rigidified French higher education. Some of its key terms (e.g. dissemination) are borrowed from Blanchot's reading of Heidegger, which is not to deny a significant originality in Derridean thought. Presence and representation constantly call each other into question, revealing the underlying system as infinitely fissured, and this in itself is an important contribution.

Unfortunately, to transform metaphysics into the question of writing, in which meanings virtually choose themselves and thus one discourse (and therefore mode of action) cannot be demonstrated to be better than another, seems less than radical. Deconstruction is now embraced by the heads of English departments, professional societies, and other bodies-in-good-standing because it raises the issue of representation

itself so weakly. Derrida's deconstruction of philosophy admits that it must leave intact the very concept whose lack of basis it exposes. While finding the notion of a language-independent reality untenable, neither does deconstruction promise liberation from the famous "prison house of language." The essence of language, the primacy of the symbolic, are not really tackled, but are shown to be as inescapable as they are inadequate to fulfillment. No exit; as Derrida declared: "It is not a question of releasing oneself into an unrepresentative new order (there are none)."

The crisis of representation

If deconstruction's contribution is mainly just an erosion of our assurance of reality, it forgets that reality—advertising and mass culture to mention just two superficial examples—has already accomplished this. Thus this quintessentially postmodern point of view bespeaks the movement of thinking from decadence to its elegiac, or post-thought phase, or as John Fekete summarized it, "a most profound crisis of the Western mind, a most profound loss of nerve."

Today's overload of representation serves to underline the radical impoverishment of life in technological class society—technology is deprivation. The classical theory of representation held that meaning or truth preceded and prescribed the representations that communicated it. But we may now inhabit a postmodern culture where the image has become less the expression of an individual subject than the commodity of an anonymous consumerist technology. Ever more mediated, life in the Information Age is increasingly controlled by the manipulation of signs, symbols, marketing and testing data, etc. Our time, says Derrida, is "a time without nature."

All formulations of the postmodern agree in detecting a crisis of representation. Derrida, as noted, began a challenge of the nature of the philosophical project itself as grounded in representation, raising some unanswerable questions about the relationship between representation and thought. Deconstruction undercuts the epistemological claims of representation, showing that language, for example, is inadequate to the task of representation. But this undercutting avoids tackling the repressive nature of its subject, insisting, again, that pure presence, a space beyond representation, can only be a utopian dream. There can be no unmediated contact or communication, only signs and representations; deconstruction is a search for presence and fulfillment interminably, necessarily, deferred.

Jacques Lacan, sharing the same resignation as Derrida, at least reveals more concerning the malign essence of representation. Extending Freud, he determined that the subject is both constituted and alienated by the entry into the symbolic order, namely, into language. While denying the possibility of a return to a pre-language state in which the broken promise of presence might be honored, he could at least see the central, crippling stroke that is the submission of free-ranging desires to the symbolic world, the surrender of uniqueness to language. Lacan termed *jouissance* unspeakable because it could properly occur only outside of language: that happiness which is the desire for a

world without the fracture of money or writing, a society without representation.

The inability to generate symbolic meaning is, somewhat ironically, a basic problem for postmodernism. It plays out its stance at the frontier between what can be represented and what cannot, a half-way resolution (at best) that refuses to refuse representation. (Instead of providing the arguments for the view of the symbolic as repressive and alienating, the reader is referred to the first five essays of my *Elements of Refusal* [Left Bank Books, 1988], which deal with time, language, number, art, and agriculture as cultural estrangements owing to symbolization.) Meanwhile an estranged and exhausted public loses interest in the alleged solace of culture, and with the deepening and thickening of mediation emerges the discovery that perhaps this was always the meaning of culture. It is certainly not out of character, however, to find that postmodernism does not recognize reflection on the origins of representation, insisting as it does on the impossibility of unmediated existence.

In response to the longing for the lost wholeness of pre-civilization, postmodernism says that culture has become so fundamental to human existence that there is no possibility of delving down under it. This, of course, recalls Freud, who recognized the essence of civilization as a suppression of freedom and wholeness, but who decided that work and culture were more important. Freud at least was honest enough to admit the contradiction or non-reconciliation involved in opting for the crippling nature of civilization, whereas the postmodernists do not.

Floyd Merrell found that "a key, perhaps the principal key to Derridean thought" was Derrida's decision to place the question of origins off limits. And so while hinting throughout his work at a complicity between the fundamental assumptions of Western thought and the violences and repressions that have characterized Western civilization, Derrida has centrally, and very influentially, repudiated all notions of origins. Causative thinking, after all, is one of the objects of scorn for postmodernists. 'Nature' is an illusion, so what could 'unnatural' mean? In place of the situationists' wonderful "Under the pavement it's the beach," we have Foucault's famous repudiation, in *The Order of Things*, of the whole notion of the "repressive hypothesis." Freud gave us an understanding of culture as stunting and neurosis-generating; pm tells us that culture is all we can ever have, and that its foundations, if they exist, are not available to our understanding. Postmodernism is apparently what we are left with when the modernization process is complete and nature is gone for good.

Not only does pm echo Beckett's comment in *Endgame*, "there's no more nature," but it also denies that there ever was any recognizable space outside of language and culture. 'Nature', declared Derrida in discussing Rousseau, "has never existed." Again, alienation is ruled out; that concept necessarily implies an idea of authenticity which postmodernism finds unintelligible. In this vein, Derrida cited "the loss of what has never taken place, of a self-presence which has never been given but only dreamed of..." Despite the limitations of structuralism, Levi-Strauss' sense of affiliation with Rousseau, on the other hand, bore witness to his search for

origins. Refusing to rule out liberation, either in terms of beginnings or goals, Levi-Strauss never ceased to long for an 'intact' society, a non-fractured world where immediacy had not yet been broken. For this Derrida, pejoratively to be sure, presents Rousseau as a utopian and Levi-Strauss as an anarchist, cautioning against a "step further toward a sort of original an-archy," which would be only a dangerous delusion.

The real danger consists in not challenging, at the most basic level, the alienation and domination threatening to completely overcome nature, what is left of the natural in the world and within ourselves. Marcuse discerned that "the memory of gratification is at the origin of all thinking, and the impulse to recapture past gratification is the hidden driving power behind the process of thought." The question of origins also involves the whole question of the birth of abstraction and indeed of philosophical conceptuality as such, and Marcuse came close, in his search for what would constitute a state of being without repression, to confronting culture itself. He certainly never quite escaped the impression "that something essential had been forgotten" by humanity. Similar is the brief pronouncement by Novalis, "Philosophy is homesickness." By comparison, Kroker and Cook are undeniably correct in concluding that "the postmodern culture is a forgetting, a forgetting of origins and destinations."

Barthes, Foucault & Lyotard

Turning to other poststructuralist/postmodern figures, Roland Barthes, earlier in his career a major structuralist thinker, deserves mention. His *Writing Degree Zero* expressed the hope that language can be used in a utopian way and that there are controlling codes in culture that can be broken. By the early '70s, however, he fell into line with Derrida in seeing language as a metaphorical quagmire, whose metaphoricity is not recognized. Philosophy is befuddled by its own language and language in general cannot claim mastery of what it discusses. With *The Empire of Signs* (1970), Barthes had already renounced any critical, analytical intention. Ostensibly about Japan, this book is presented "without claiming to depict or analyze any reality whatsoever." Various fragments deal with cultural forms as diverse as haiku and slot machines, as parts of a sort of anti-utopian landscape wherein forms possess no meaning and all is surface. *Empire* may qualify as the first fully postmodern offering, and by the mid-'70s its author's notion of the pleasure of the text carried forward the same Derridean disdain for belief in the validity of public discourse. Writing had become an end in itself, a merely personal aesthetic the overriding consideration. Before his death in 1980, Barthes had explicitly denounced "any intellectual mode of writing," especially anything smacking of the political. By the time of his final work, *Barthes by Barthes*, the hedonism of words, paralleling a real-life dandyism, considered concepts not in terms of their validity or invalidity but only for their efficacy as tactics of writing.

In 1985 AIDS claimed the most widely known influence on postmodernism, Michel Foucault. Sometimes called "the philosopher of the death of man" and considered by many the greatest of

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The Catastrophe of Postmodernism

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Nietzsche's modern disciples, his wide-ranging historical studies (e.g. on madness, penal practices, sexuality) made him very well known and in themselves suggest differences between Foucault and the relatively more abstract and ahistorical Derrida. Structuralism, as noted, had already forcefully devalued the individual on largely linguistic grounds, whereas Foucault characterized "man (as) only a recent invention, a figure not yet two centuries old, a simple fold in our knowledge that will soon disappear." His emphasis lies in exposing 'man' as that which is represented and brought forth as an object, specifically as a virtual invention of the modern human sciences. Despite an idiosyncratic style, Foucault's works were much more popular than those of Horkheimer and Adorno (e.g. *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*) and Erving Goffman, in the same vein of revealing the hidden agenda of bourgeois rationality. He pointed to the 'individualizing' tactic at work in the key institutions in the early 1800s (the family, work, medicine, psychiatry, education), bringing out their normalizing, disciplinary roles within emerging capitalist modernity, as the 'individual' is created by and for the dominant order.

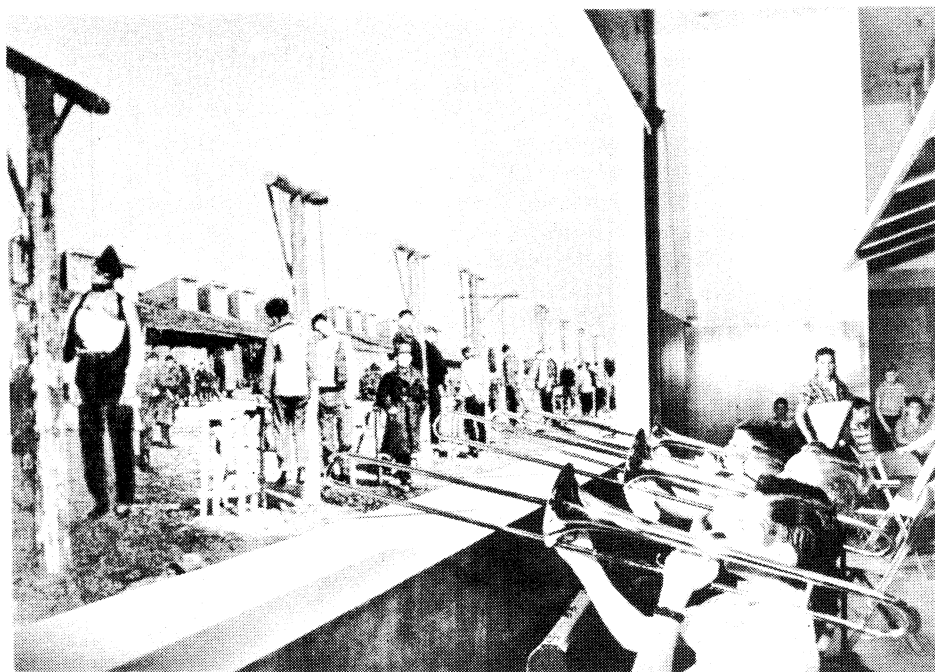
Foucault, typically pm, rejects ordinary thinking and the notion that there is a 'reality' behind or underneath the prevailing discourse of an era. Likewise, the subject is a delusion essentially created by discourse, an 'I' created out of the ruling linguistic usages. And so his detailed historical narratives, termed 'archaeologies' of knowledge, are offered instead of theoretical overviews, as if they carried no ideological or philosophical assumptions. For Foucault there are no foundations of the social to be apprehended outside the contexts of various periods, or *epistemes*, as he called them; the foundations change from one *episteme* to another. The prevailing discourse, which constitutes its subjects, is seemingly self-forming; this is a rather unhelpful approach to history resulting primarily from the fact that Foucault makes no reference to social groups, but focuses entirely on systems of thought. A further problem arises from his view that the *episteme* of an age cannot be known by those who labor within it. If consciousness is precisely what, by Foucault's own account, fails to be aware of its relativism or to know what it would have looked like in previous *epistemes*, then Foucault's own elevated, encompassing awareness is impossible. This difficulty is acknowledged at the end of *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), but remains unanswered, a rather glaring and obvious problem.

The dilemma of postmodernism is this: how can the status and validity of its theoretical approaches be ascertained if neither truth nor foundations for knowledge are admitted? If we remove the possibility of rational foundations or standards, on what basis can we operate? How can we understand what the society is that we oppose, let alone come to share such an understanding? Foucault's insistence on a Nietzschean perspectivism translates into the irre-

ducible pluralism of interpretation. He relativized knowledge and truth only insofar as these notions attach to thought-systems other than his own, however. When pressed on this point, Foucault admitted to being incapable of rationally justifying his own opinions. Thus the liberal Habermas claims that postmodern thinkers like Foucault, Deleuze, and Lyotard are 'neoconservative' for offering no consistent argumentation to move in one social direction rather than another. The pm embrace of relativism (or 'pluralism') also

out.

Castoriadis once referred to Foucault's ideas on power and opposition to it as, "Resist if it amuses you—but without a strategy, because then you would no longer be proletarian, but power." Foucault's own activism had attempted to embody the empiricist dream of a theory- and ideology-free approach, that of the "specific intellectual" who participates in particular, local struggles. This tactic sees theory used only concretely, as ad hoc "tool kit" methods for specific campaigns.



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA).

means there is nothing to prevent the perspective of one social tendency from including a claim for the right to dominate another, in the absence of the possibility of determining standards.

The topic of power, in fact, was a central one to Foucault and the ways he treated it are revealing. He wrote of the significant institutions of modern society as united by a control intentionality, a "carceral continuum" that expresses the logical finale of capitalism, from which there is no escape. But power itself, he determined, is a grid or field of relations in which subjects are constituted as both the products and the agents of power. Everything thus partakes of power and so it is no good trying to find a 'fundamental', oppressive power to fight against. Modern power is insidious and "comes from everywhere." Like God, it is everywhere and nowhere at once.

Foucault finds no beach underneath the paving stones, no 'natural' order at all. There is only the certainty of successive regimes of power, each one of which must somehow be resisted. But Foucault's characteristically pm aversion to the whole notion of the human subject makes it quite difficult to see where such resistance might spring from, notwithstanding his view that there is no resistance to power that is not a variant of power itself. Regarding the latter point, Foucault reached a further dead-end in considering the relationship of power to knowledge. He came to see them as inextricably and ubiquitously linked, directly implying one another. The difficulties in continuing to say anything of substance in light of this interrelationship caused Foucault to eventually give up on a theory of power. The determinism involved meant, for one thing, that his political involvement became increasingly slight. It is not hard to see why Foucaultism was greatly boosted by the media, while the situationists, for example, were blacked

Despite the good intentions, however, limiting theory to discrete, perishable instrumental 'tools' not only refuses an explicit overview of society but accepts the general division of labor which is at the heart of alienation and domination. The desire to respect differences, local knowledge and the like refuses a reductive, totalitarian-tending overvaluing of theory, but only to accept the atomization of late capitalism with its splintering of life into the narrow specialties that are the province of so many experts. If "we are caught between the arrogance of surveying the whole and the timidity of inspecting the parts," as Rebecca Comay aptly put it, how does the second alternative (Foucault's) represent an advance over liberal reformism in general? This seems an especially pertinent question when one remembers how much Foucault's whole enterprise was aimed at disabusing us of the illusions of humanist reformers throughout history. The "specific intellectual" in fact turns out to be just one more expert, one more liberal attacking specifics rather than the roots of problems. And looking at the content of his activism, which was mainly in the area of penal reform, the orientation is almost too tepid to even qualify as liberal. In the '80s "he tried to gather, under the aegis of his chair at the College de France, historians, lawyers, judges, psychiatrists and doctors concerned with law and punishment," according to Keith Gandal. All the cops. "The work I did on the historical relativity of the prison form," said Foucault, "was an incitation to try to think of other forms of punishment." Obviously, he accepted the legitimacy of this society and of punishment; no less unsurprising was his corollary dismissal of anarchists as infantile in their hopes for the future and faith in human potential.

The works of Jean-Francois Lyotard are significantly contradictory to each other—in itself a pm trait—but also ex-

press a central postmodern theme: that society cannot and should not be understood as a whole. Lyotard is a prime example of anti-totalizing thought to the point that he has summed up postmodernism as "incredulity toward meta-narratives" or overviews. The idea that it is unhealthy as well as impossible to grasp the whole is part of an enormous reaction in France since the '60s against marxist and Communist influences. While Lyotard's chief target is the marxist tradition, once so very strong in French political and intellectual life, he goes further and rejects social theory in toto. For example, he has come to believe that any concept of alienation—the idea that an original unity, wholeness, or innocence is fractured by the fragmentation and indifference of capitalism—ends up as a totalitarian attempt to unify society coercively. Characteristically, his mid-'70s *Libidinal Economy* denounces theory as terror.

One might say that this extreme reaction would be unlikely outside of a culture so dominated by the marxist left, but another look tells us that it fits perfectly with the wider, disillusioned postmodern condition. Lyotard's wholesale rejection of post-Kantian Enlightenment values does, after all, embody the realization that rational critique, at least in the form of the confident values and beliefs of Kantian, Hegelian and Marxist metanarrative theory, has been debunked by dismal historical reality. According to Lyotard, the pm era signifies that all consoling myths of intellectual mastery and truth are at an end, replaced by a plurality of 'language-games', the Wittgensteinian notion of 'truth' as provisionally shared and circulating without any kind of epistemological warrant or philosophical foundation. Language-games are a pragmatic, localized, tentative basis for knowledge; unlike the comprehensive views of theory or historical interpretation, they depend on the agreement of participants for their use-value. Lyotard's ideal is thus a multitude of "little narratives" instead of the "inherent dogmatism" of metanarratives or grand ideas. Unfortunately, such a pragmatic approach must accommodate to things as they are, and depends upon prevailing consensus virtually by definition. Thus Lyotard's approach is of limited value for creating a break from the everyday norms. Though his healthy, anti-authoritarian skepticism sees totalization as oppressive or coercive, what he overlooks is that the Foucaultian relativism of language-games, with their freely contracted agreement as to meaning, tends to hold that everything is of equal validity. As Gerard Raulet concluded, the resultant refusal of overview actually obeys the existing logic of homogeneity rather than somehow providing a haven for heterogeneity.

To find progress suspect is, of course, prerequisite to any critical approach, but the quest for heterogeneity must include awareness of its disappearance and a search for the reasons why it disappeared. Postmodern thought generally behaves as if in complete ignorance of the news that division of labor and commodification are eliminating the basis for cultural or social heterogeneity. Pm seeks to preserve what is virtually non-existent and rejects the wider thinking necessary to deal with impoverished reality. In this area it is of interest to look at the relationship between pm and technology, which happens to be of decisive importance to

Lyotard.

Adorno found the way of contemporary totalitarianism prepared by the Enlightenment ideal of triumph over nature, also known as instrumental reason. Lyotard sees the fragmentation of knowledge as essential to combatting domination, which disallows the overview necessary to see that, to the contrary, the isolation that is fragmented knowledge forgets the social determination and purpose of that isolation. The celebrated 'heterogeneity' is nothing much more than the splintering effect of an overbearing totality he would rather ignore. Critique is never more discarded than in Lyotard's postmodern positivism, resting as it does on the acceptance of a technical rationality that forgoes critique. Unsurprisingly, in the era of the decomposition of meaning and the renunciation of seeing what the ensemble of mere 'facts' really add up to, Lyotard embraces the computerization of society. Rather like the Nietzschean Foucault, Lyotard believes that power is more and more the criterion of truth. He finds his companion in the postmodern pragmatist Richard Rorty who likewise welcomes modern technology and is deeply wedded to the hegemonic values of present-day industrial society.

In 1985 Lyotard put together a spectacular high-tech exhibition at the Pompidou Center in Paris, featuring the artificial realities and microcomputer work of such artists as Myron Krueger. At the opening, its planner declared, "We wanted...to indicate that the world is not evolving toward greater clarity and simplicity, but rather toward a new degree of complexity in which the individual may feel very lost but in which he can in fact become more free." Apparently overviews are permitted if they coincide with the plans of our masters for us and for nature. But the more specific point lies with 'immateriality', the title of the exhibit and a Lyotardian term which he associates with the erosion of identity, the breaking down of stable barriers between the self and a world produced by our involvement in labyrinthine technological and social systems. Needless to say, he approves of this condition, celebrating, for instance, the 'pluralizing' potential of new communications technology—of the sort that de-sensualizes life, flattens experience and eradicates the natural world. Lyotard writes: "All peoples have a right to science," as if he has the very slightest understanding of what science means. He prescribes "public free access to the memory and data banks." A horrific view of liberation, somewhat captured by: "Data banks are the encyclopedia of tomorrow; they are 'nature' for postmodern men and women."

Frank Lentricchia termed Derrida's deconstructionist project "an elegant, commanding overview matched in philosophic history only by Hegel." It is an obvious irony that the postmodernists require a general theory to support their assertion as to why there cannot and should not be general theories or metanarratives. Sartre, gestalt theorists and common sense tell us that what pm dismisses as "totalizing reason" is in fact inherent in perception itself: one sees a whole, as a rule, not discrete fragments. Another irony is provided by Charles Altieri's observation of Lyotard, "that this thinker so acutely aware of the dangers inherent in master narratives nonetheless remains completely committed to the authority of generalized

abstraction." Pm announces an anti-generalist bias, but its practitioners, Lyotard perhaps especially, retain a very high level of abstraction in discussing culture, modernity and other such topics which are of course already vast generalizations.

"A liberated humanity," wrote Adorno, "would by no means be a totality." Nonetheless, we are currently stuck with a social world that is one and which totalizes with a vengeance. Postmodernism, with its celebrated fragmentation and heterogeneity, may choose to forget about the totality, but the totality will not forget about us.

Deleuze, Guattari & Baudrillard

Gilles Deleuze's 'schizo-politics' flow, at least in part, from the prevailing pm refusal of overview, of a point of departure. Also called 'nomadology', employing "rhizomatic writing," Deleuze's method champions the deterritorialization and decoding of structures of domination, by which capitalism will supersede itself through its own dynamic. With his sometime partner, Felix Guattari, with whom he shares a specialization in psychoanalysis, he hopes to see the system's schizophrenic tendency intensified to the point of shattering. Deleuze seems to share, or at least comes very close to, the absurdist conviction of Yoshimoto Takai that consumption constitutes a new form of resistance.

This brand of denying the totality by the radical strategy of urging it to dispose of itself also recalls the impotent pm style of opposing representation: meanings do not penetrate to a center, they do not represent something beyond their reach. "Thinking without representing," is Charles Scott's description of Deleuze's approach. Schizo-politics celebrates surfaces and discontinuities; nomadology is the opposite of history.

Deleuze also embodies the postmodern "death of the subject" theme, in his and Guattari's best-known work, *Anti-Oedipus*, and subsequently. 'Desiring-machines', formed by the coupling of parts, human and nonhuman, with no distinction between them, seek to replace humans as the focus of his social theory. In opposition to the illusion of an individual subject in society, Deleuze portrays a subject no longer even recognizably anthropocentric. One cannot escape the feeling, despite his supposedly radical intention, of an embrace of alienation, even a wallowing in estrangement and decadence.

In the early '70s Jean Baudrillard exposed the bourgeois foundations of marxism, mainly its veneration of production and work, in his *Mirror of Production* (1972). This contribution hastened the decline of marxism and the Communist Party in France, already in disarray after the reactionary role played by the Left against the upheavals of May '68. Since that time, however, Baudrillard has come to represent the darkest tendencies of postmodernism and has emerged, especially in America, as a pop star to the ultra-jaded, famous for his fully disenchanted views of the contemporary world. In addition to the unfortunate resonance between the almost hallucinatory morbidity of Baudrillard and a culture in decomposition, it is also true that he (along with Lyotard) has been magnified by the space he was expected to fill following the passing, in the '80s, of relatively deeper thinkers like Barthes and Fou-

cault.

Derrida's deconstructive description of the impossibility of a referent outside of representation becomes, for Baudrillard, a negative metaphysics in which reality is transformed by capitalism into simulations that have no backing. The culture of capital is seen as having gone beyond its fissures and contradictions to a place of self-sufficiency that reads like a rather science-fiction rendering of Adorno's totally administered society. And there can be no resistance, no "going back," in part because the alternative would be that nostalgia for the natural, for origins, so adamantly ruled out by postmodernism.

"The real is that of which it is possible to give an equivalent reproduction." Nature has been so far left behind that culture determines materiality; more specifically, media simulation shapes reality. "The simulacrum is never that which conceals the truth—it is the truth which conceals that there is none. The simulacrum is true." Debord's "society of the spectacle"—but at a stage of implosion of self, agency, and history into the void of simulations such that the spectacle is in service to itself alone.

It is obvious that in our "Information Age," the electronic media technologies have become increasingly dominant, but the overreach of Baudrillard's dark vision is equally obvious. To stress the power of images should not obscure underlying material determinants and objectives, namely profit and expansion. The assertion that the power of the media now means that the real no longer exists is related to his claim that power "can no longer be found anywhere"; and both claims are false. Intoxicating rhetoric cannot erase the fact that the essential information of the Information Age deals with the hard realities of efficiency, accounting, productivity and the like. Production has not been supplanted by simulation, unless one can say that the planet is being ravaged by mere images, which is not to say that a progressive acceptance of the artificial does not greatly assist the erosion of what is left of the natural.

Baudrillard contends that the difference between reality and representation has collapsed, leaving us in a 'hyper-reality' that is always and only a simulacrum. Curiously, he seems not only to acknowledge the inevitability of this development, but to celebrate it. The cultural, in its widest sense, has reached a qualitatively new stage in which the very realm of meaning and signification has disappeared. We live in "the age of events without consequences" in which the 'real' only survives as formal category, and this, he imagines, is welcomed. "Why should we think that people want to disavow their daily lives in order to search for an alternative? On the contrary, they want to make a destiny of it...to ratify monotony by a grander monotony." If there should be any 'resistance', his prescription for that is similar to that of Deleuze, who would prompt society to become more schizophrenic. That is, it consists wholly in what is granted by the system: "You want us to consume—O.K., let's consume always more, and anything whatsoever; for any useless and absurd purpose." This is the radical strategy he names 'hyperconformity'.

At many points, one can only guess as to which phenomena, if any, Baudrillard's hyperbole refers. The movement of consumer society toward both unifor-

mity and dispersal is perhaps glimpsed in one passage...but why bother when the assertions seem all too often cosmically inflated and ludicrous. This most extreme of the postmodern theorists, now himself a top-selling cultural object, has referred to the "ominous emptiness of all discourse," apparently unaware of the phrase as an apt reference to his own vacuities.

Japan may not qualify as 'hyperreality', but it is worth mentioning that its culture seems to be even more estranged and postmodern than that of the U.S. In the judgment of Masao Miyoshi, "the dispersal and demise of modern subjectivity, as talked about by Barthes, Foucault, and many others, have long been evident in Japan, where intellectuals have chronically complained about the absence of selfhood." A flood of largely specialized information, provided by experts of all kinds, highlights the Japanese high-tech consumer ethos, in which the indeterminacy of meaning and a high valuation of perpetual novelty work hand in hand. Yoshimoto Takai is perhaps the most prolific national cultural critic; somehow it does not seem bizarre to many that he is also a male fashion model, who extols the virtues and values of shopping.

Yasuo Tanaka's hugely popular *Somehow, Crystal* (1980) was arguably the Japanese cultural phenomenon of the '80s, in that this vacuous, unabashedly consumerist novel, awash with brand names (a bit like Bret Easton Ellis's 1991 *American Psycho*), dominated the decade. But it is cynicism, even more than superficiality, that seems to mark that full dawning of postmodernism which Japan seems to be: how else does one explain that the most incisive analyses of pm there—*Now is the Meta-Mass Age*, for example—are published by the Parco Corporation, the country's trendiest marketing and retailing outlet. Shigesatu Itoi is a top media star, with his own television program, numerous publications, and constant appearances in magazines. The basis of this idol's fame? Simply that he wrote a series of state-of-the-art (flashy, fragmented, etc.) ads for Seibu, Japan's largest and most innovative department store chain. Where capitalism exists in its most advanced, postmodern form, knowledge is consumed in exactly the way that one buys clothes. 'Meaning' is passé, irrelevant; style and appearance are all.

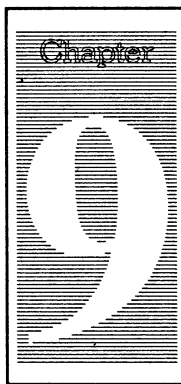
We are fast arriving at a sad and empty place, which the spirit of postmodernism embodies all too well. "Never in any previous civilization have the great metaphysical preoccupations, the fundamental questions of being and the meaning of life, seemed so utterly remote and pointless," in Frederic Jameson's judgment. Peter Sloterdijk finds that "the discontent in culture has assumed a new quality: it appears as universal, diffuse cynicism." The erosion of meaning, pushed forward by intensified reification and fragmentation, causes the cynic to appear everywhere. Psychologically "a borderline melancholic," he is now "a mass figure."

The postmodern capitulation to perspectivism and decadence does not tend to view the present as alienated—surely an old-fashioned concept—but rather as normal and even pleasant. Robert Rauschenberg: "I really feel sorry for people who think things like soap dishes or mirrors or Coke bottles are ugly, be-

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The Revolution of Everyday Life

by Raoul Vaneigem



*The impossibility of communication:
Power as universal mediation*

The same bankruptcy is evident in non-industrial civilizations, where people are still dying of starvation, and in automated civilizations, where people are already dying of boredom. Every paradise is artificial. The life of a Trobriand islander, rich in spite of ritual and taboo, is at the mercy of a smallpox epidemic; the life of an ordinary Swede, poor in spite of his comforts, is at the mercy of suicide and survival sickness.

Rousseauism and pastoral idylls accompany the first throbbings of the industrial machine. The ideology of progress, found in Condorcet or Adam Smith, emerged from the old myth of the four ages. Just as the age of iron preceded the golden age, it seemed 'natural' that progress should fulfill itself as a return: a return to the state of innocence before the Fall.

Belief in the magical power of technology goes hand in hand with its opposite, the tendency to deconsecration. The machine is the model of the intelligible. There is no mystery, nothing obscure in its drive-belts, cogs, and gear; it can all be explained perfectly. But the machine is also the miracle that is to transport man into the realms of happiness and freedom. Besides, this ambiguity is useful to the masters: the old con about happy tomorrows and the green grass over the hill operates at various levels to justify the rational exploitation of people today. Thus it is not the logic of desanctification that shakes people's faith in progress so much as the inhuman use of technical potential, the way that the cheap mystique surrounding it begins to grate. So long as the labouring classes and underdeveloped peoples were still offered the spectacle of their slowly decreasing material poverty, the enthusiasm for progress still drew ample nourishment from the troughs of liberal ideology and its extension, socialism. But, a century after the spontaneous demystification of the Lyons workers, when they smashed the looms, a general crisis broke out, springing this time from the crisis of big industry; fascist regression, sickly dreams of a return to artisanry and corporatism, the Ubuesque master-race of blond beasts.

Today the promises of the old society of production are raining down on our heads in an avalanche of consumer goods that nobody is likely to call manna from heaven. You can hardly believe in the magical power of gadgets in the same way as people used to believe in productive forces. There is a certain hagiographical literature on the steam hammer. One cannot imagine much on the electric toothbrush. The mass production of instruments of comfort-all

In the realm of Power, mediation is the falsified necessity wherein people learn to lose themselves rationally. Mediation's power to alienate is now being reinforced, and also brought into question, by the dictatorship of consumption (chapter seven), by the predominance of exchange over gift (chapter eight), by cybernetization (chapter 9), and by the reign of the quantitative (chapter ten).

Technology and its mediated use

Contrary to the interest of those who control its use, technology tends to demystify the world. The democratic reign of consumption deprives commodities of any magical value. At the same time, organization—the technology of new technologies—deprives modern productive forces of their subversive and seductive qualities. Such organization is simply the organization of authority (1). Alienated mediations weaken men by making themselves indispensable. A social mask conceals people and things, transforming them, in the present stage of privative appropriation, into dead things—into commodities. Nature is no more. The rediscovery of nature will be its reinvention as a worthy adversary by building new social relationships. The shell of the old hierarchical society will be burst open from within by the growth of material equipment (2).

equally revolutionary, according to the publicity handout—has given the most unsophisticated of men the right to express an opinion on the marvels of technological innovation in a tone as blasé as the hand he sticks up the barmaid's skirt. The first landing on Mars will pass unnoticed at Disneyland.

Admittedly the yoke and harness, the steam engine, electricity and the rise of nuclear energy, all disturbed and altered the infrastructure of society (even if they were discovered, when all is said and done, almost by chance). But today it would be foolish to expect new productive forces to upset modes of production. The blossoming of technology has given rise to a supertechnology of synthesis, one which could prove as important as the social community—that first technical synthesis of all, founded at the dawn of time. Perhaps more important still; for if cybernetics was taken from its masters, it might be able to free human groups from labour and from social alienation. This was precisely the project of Charles Fourier in an age when utopia was still possible.

But the distance between Fourier and the cyberneticians who control the operational organization of technology is the distance between freedom and slavery. Of course, the cybernetic project claims that it is already sufficiently developed to be able to solve all the problems raised by the appearance of any new technique. But don't you believe it.

The constant development of productive forces, the exploding mass production of consumer goods, promise nothing. Musical air-conditioners and solar ovens stand unheralded and unsung. We see a weariness coming, one that is already so striking that sooner or later it is bound to develop into a cri-

tique of organization itself.

For all its flexibility, the cybernetic synthesis will never be able to conceal the fact that it is only the transcending synthesis of the different forms of government that have ruled over men, and their final stage. How could it hope to disguise the inherent alienation that no power has ever yet managed to shield from the weapons of arms and the criticism of arms?

By laying the basis for a perfect power structure, the cyberneticians will only stimulate the perfection of its refusal. Their programming of new techniques will be shattered by the same techniques turned to its own use by another kind of organization. A revolutionary organization.

2

Technocratic organization raises technical mediation to its highest point of coherence. It has been known for ages that the master uses the slave as a means to appropriate the objective world, that the tool only alienates the worker as long as it belongs to a master. Similarly in the realm of consumption: it is not the goods that are inherently alienating, but the conditioning that leads their buyers to choose them and the ideology in which they are wrapped. The tool in production and the conditioning of choice in consumption are the mainstays of the fraud: they are the mediations which move man the producer and man the consumer to the illusion of *action* in a real *passivity* and transform him into an essentially dependent being. Controlled mediations separate the individual from himself, his desires, his dreams, and his will to live; and so people come to believe in the legend that you can't do without them,

or the power that governs them. Where Power fails to paralyse with constraints, it paralyzes by suggestion, by forcing everyone to use crutches of which it is the sole owner and purveyor. Power as the sum of alienating mediations awaits only the holy water of cybernetics to baptize it into the state of Totality. But total power does not exist, only totalitarian powers. And cyberneticians make such pitiful priests that their baptism of organization will be laughed off the stage.

Because the objective world (or nature, if you prefer) has been grasped by means of alienated mediations (tools, thoughts, false needs), it ends up surrounded by a sort of screen so that, paradoxically, the more man transforms himself and the world, the more they become alien to him. The veil of social relations envelops the natural world inextricably. What we call 'natural' today is about as natural as Nature Girl lipstick. The instruments of praxis do not belong to the agents of praxis, the workers: and it is obvious because of this that the opaque zone that separates man from himself and from nature has become a part of man and a part of nature. Our task is not to rediscover nature but to remake it.

The search for the real nature, for a natural life that has nothing to do with the lie of social ideology, is one of the most touching naïvetés of a good part of the revolutionary proletariat, not to mention the anarchists and such notable figures as the young Wilhelm Reich.

In the realm of the exploitation of man by man, the real transformation of nature takes place only through the real transformation of the social fraud. At no point in their struggle have man and nature ever been really face to face. They have been united yet kept apart by what mediates this struggle: hierarchical social power and its organization of appearance. The transformation of nature is its socialization and it has been socialized badly. If all nature is social, this is because history has never known a society without power.

Is an earthquake a natural phenomenon? It affects people, but it affects them only as alienated social beings. What is an earthquake-in-itself? Suppose that at this moment there was an earthquake disaster on Alpha Centauri. Who would it bother apart from the old farts in the universities and other centres of pure thought?

And death: death also strikes people socially. Not only because the energy and resources poured down the drain of militarism and wasted in the anarchy of capitalism and bureaucracy could make a vital contribution to the scientific struggle against death. But also, and above all, because it is in the vast labo-



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).

ratory of society (and under the benevolent eye of science) that the foul brew of culture in which the germs of death are spawned is kept on the boil (stress, nervous tension, conditioning, pollution, cures worse than the disease, etc). Only animals are still allowed to die a natural death—some of them.

Could it be that, after disengaging themselves from the higher animal world by means of their history, men might come to envy the animal's contact with nature? This is, I think, the implicit meaning of the current puerile cult of the 'natural'. The desire which this cult mobilizes, however, is one which in its mature and untwisted form makes the quite reasonable demand that 30,000 years of history should be transcended.

What we have to do now is to create a new nature that will be a worthwhile adversary: that is, to resocialize it by liberating the technical apparatus from the sphere of alienation, by snatching it from the hands of rulers and specialists. Only at the end of a process of social disalienation will nature become a worthwhile opponent, in a society in which man's creativity will not come up

against man himself as the first obstacle to its expansion.

Technological organization cannot be destroyed from without. Its collapse will result from internal decay. Far from being punished for its Promethean aspirations, it is dying because it never escaped from the dialectic of master and slave. Even if the cybernauts did come to power they would have a hard time staying there. Their complacent vision of their own rosy future calls for a retort along the lines of these words from a black worker to a white boss (*Presence Africaine*, 1956): "When we first saw your trucks and planes we thought you were gods. Then, after a few years, we learned how to drive your trucks, as we shall soon learn how to fly your planes, and we understood that what interested you most was manufacturing trucks and planes and making money. For our part, what we are interested in is using them. Now, you are just our blacksmiths".

Notes from Eastern Europe

Continued from page 13

what they call the "New Totalitarianism." I don't have more details, but on August 21, the anniversary of the invasion in '68 by the Soviet army, there is going to be a demo concerning this, the new totalitarianism, reconsolidation and monopoly on power. All the East anarchists coming here for the meeting will participate.

THE AMERICAN INVASION:

This place is infested with Americans. It's disgusting. Everyday. Everywhere I go, even in the most obscure neighborhoods, I see and hear other Americans. The vast majority are either young fresh college students or business people. I have overheard numerous conversations discussing new business deals on the subway, in a bar, or on the street. At the same time there is an evident adoration of Americanism. Everywhere little American flags. On kiosks or sewn onto jackets. Even at last night's concert of independent groups, one man with long hair, a freak, part of Czech underground culture, had a US flag on his jeans jacket. For him it was a symbol of resistance against the communists. In a bar one man whose eyes lit up when I told him I was from the United States said that Bush and Havel are best friends now. I told him I thought Bush was a fascist and he said I must be a Communist. The general feeling is that anything Western is good and that the States symbolizes this. It's the same thing I saw in Hungary and in Yugoslavia. I feel powerless to do anything about it. What needs to happen is that people here need to know the truth about the realities of capitalism, of the West, and of the United States. Unfortunately, the number of Westerners here who want to speak about these realities and the number of Easterners willing to listen is a very, very, very small minority. It seems that for many years people will have illusions about our 'freedom' and 'democracy'.

FINAL THOUGHTS:

When I have written before about Eastern Europe, I spoke about a 'resurgence' of the anarchist movement. I think that it should be clear that it is not a movement. Most or all of these groups are very small, new, inexperienced, and in general isolated from the rest of political society. What is more likely to shape the future of the East is western capital and nationalist ideologies. I think that there is a tendency to look at these new 'movements' in the East as a hopeful sign for recreating international anarchism, but I think that we need to be realistic. In Europe generally the shift to the right is much stronger than the other way. Fascist ideologies will probably play a greater role in the shaping of a new Europe than anything else. This may be a pessimistic attitude amidst all the euphoria of the new "freedom and democracy." But it may be the sad truth. I hope this isn't so, but I think we should be looking at the changes here with these sorts of critical eyes.

Ten days that shook Iraq

Continued from page 4

victims, ripe for patronizing by the charities, grateful for the spectacles of pop stars flogging the Live Aid horse once more. For those that remembered the uprising a "Let It Be... Kurdistan" t-shirt was the obvious answer. Whilst the uprising was defeated we cannot allow its aims and the manner of its defeat to be distorted without challenge: hence this text.

The failure of the working class to recognize its own class interests as distinct from the "national interest" and sabotage the war effort can only serve to deepen the divisions amongst our international class along national lines. Our rulers will now be that much more confident of conducting murderous wars unopposed elsewhere in the world, a confidence they have lacked since the working class ended the Vietnam war by mutinies, desertion, strikes and riots.

-BM CAT (London WC1N 3XX, U.K., or POB 3305, Oakland, CA. 94609, U.S.A.)

A's for Attitude

Affluent countries: Consumed by consumption

Affluent countries face two basic problems: a) that they're affluent and b) that they're countries.

What does affluence do and how is it created? Affluence is not trickled down to others, but rather robbed from others. It's hoarded by individuals, kept within borders, used to buy over the lives of others, and gives its holders power. Countries create structures to support capitalism, state or private. Capitalism and stratified wealth flourish where consumerism is encouraged; one must convince another that their commodity is necessary or is worth the price, to ensure that other people don't keep the money in their hands. Consumerism is only one of the support systems of capitalism, but it is the one that we may have the most control over.

The amount that a person consumes depends on desire, ability and need. Some people choose to spend thousands on diamond dog collars, others buy themselves into debt, and yet others refuse to buy anything. How do we determine what to buy, and how to get the money to do it?

I don't spend much on food or shelter. However, if I want to do my translation work, which I do, I must purchase wildly over-priced reference books. So I must get money for this. On the other hand, I don't need money for concerts or movies 'cause I don't go to them; I feel my time is better spent working on things I enjoy more, and I don't need to earn extra money to support this activity. On the other hand, others may have more interest in shows

than dictionaries. Or maybe someone is a radio pirateer, or inventor, or artist, and needs to spend even more than I to do what they want. Under the present economic system, we all don't have the

means to do as we choose. What effect does that have and how does it limit our possibilities?

Some people are small-time Imelda Marcoses. The desire to consume has

consumed them; they seek to portray something about themselves through what they own. Wherever possible, there's always been the status quo. Advertising helps the capitalist convince us that we'll be better off with their product. All the beautiful women come on to the man with the sportscar, and all the men give flowers to strange women who wear a certain cologne. In the meanwhile most of us work, hoard our money and go into debt for this illusion. All this while people eat hundred dollar lunches, buy fur coats and give token contributions to gain the position of benefactor. I don't want to rely on benefactors to make decisions about what they deem worthy of their support; I want equal say about economic decisions that affect my life, but not if it has to be equal to that of a powermonger, or if others are denied in the process. I don't want to *want* a designer watch or a diamond ring; they are used as status symbols to hierarchize all of us. And although most of us find it extremely difficult to refuse the system, we can all find ways to stick a monkey wrench in the big consumer conspiracy.

The anarcho-communist says, "From each according to his/her ability, to each according to her/his need." How is this going to work? Won't people tend not to give according to their ability and take more than they need? Perhaps. Perhaps not. But how does what we have now work and what would be the difference? The difference would be that the have-nots would become haves, and maybe, given more beneficial economic conditions, attitudes about property would change. Why should most of us in this world live in poverty?

What I want to know is why anyone would want to believe the empty promises that you can be the economic equal of the rich, or that your labour and/or money goes to the state so they can work in your interest? What is really in it for you?

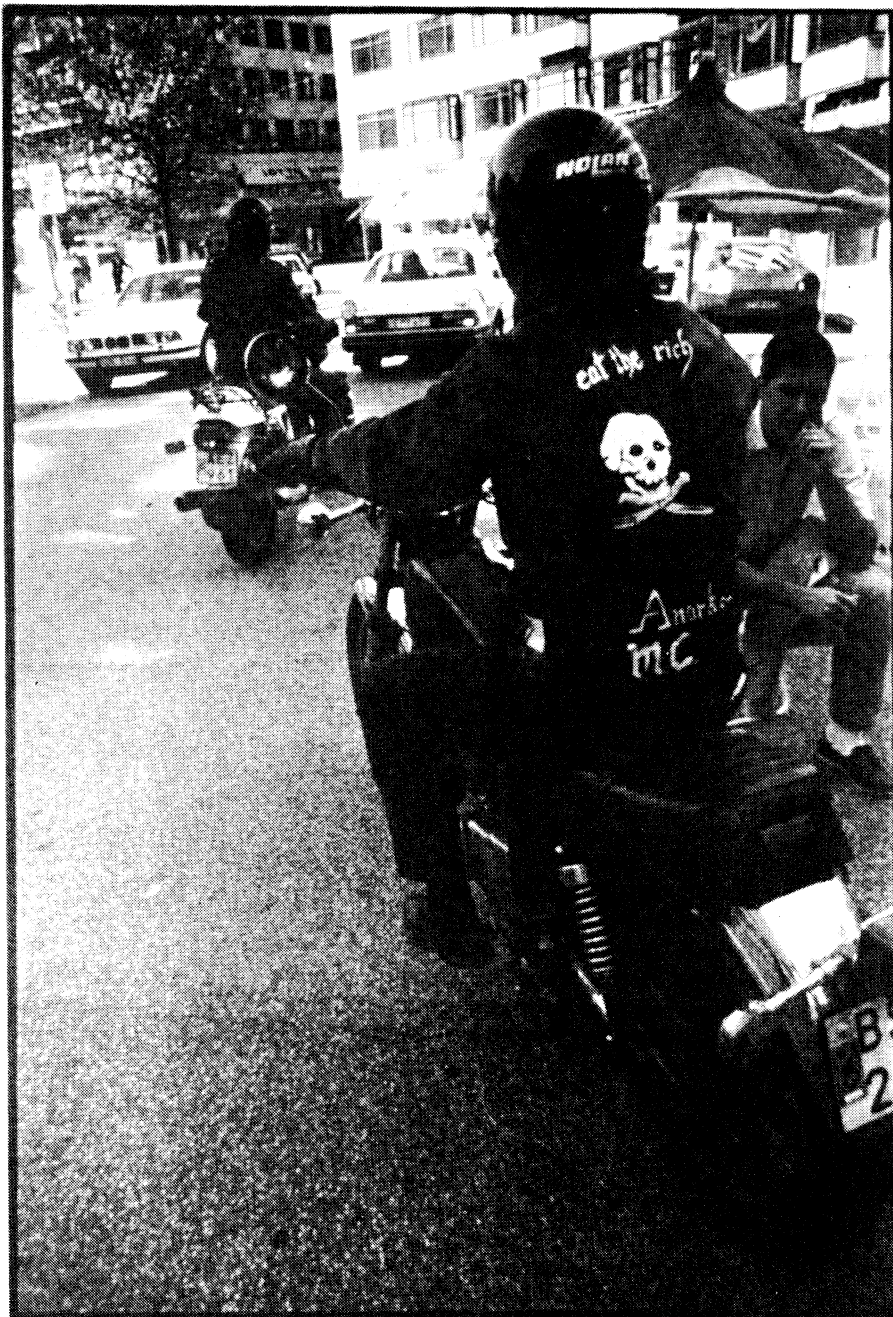


Photo: Magnus Christiansson/Frontmedia. From *Brand* #37-38/Sommaren '90.

Guest Column:

Loose Cannons

The anti-anarchist conspiracy: An empirical test

There are many proffered explanations for the oblivion into which anarchism in America and most other countries descended after the First World War. The anarchists favor those that blame their enemies, especially the state, instead of themselves. It is certain, however, that state repression cannot completely explain the anarchist collapse and cannot begin to explain—what is more important—the anarchist inability to bound back in times of tolerance. Taking the long view we are in a relatively tolerant time now, yet it is gay artists, rap groups, punk and heavy metal bands, not the anarchist media, which are fighting off censorship. Despite a modest resurgence in the '70s and again in the '80s the anarchists remain insigni-

ficant, their invisibility in contrast to their (albeit lurid) visibility in Victorian America.

Undeniably the anarchists were brutally crushed during and after the war to end all wars, their leaders imprisoned or deported, a number of their activists murdered or lynched, their presses shut down and so forth. The rest of the left met with the same fate, though, yet the Socialists recovered a much diminished place and the Communists went on to claim a modicum of power in the '30s. The CP even stole the anarchists' own martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, and (obscuring their actual politics) publicized them as generic progressive victims. The unofficially anarcho-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World took a bad beating from the state but it was the defection of many of its members to Communism in 1924 which reduced this once feared organization to a social club for aging leftists, as it remains to this day. When it ceased to be a union it ceased to be what it aspired and claimed to be, effectively it ceased to be at all.

There is simply no basis for the self-serving, self-pitiful anarchist line that this noble doctrine has failed to enlist the millions whose interests it serves because it has been concealed and maligned by the ideological apparatus

of the state. Hardly a man is now alive who recalls a time when the cry of anarchy struck terror in the bourgeois bosom. Anarchism is omitted from the curriculum, as are Theosophy and Georgism and Anti-Masonry because it is not important enough to be included. Historically, the most important thing any American anarchist did was assassinate McKinley, thus inaugurating Teddy Roosevelt's Progressive period—an important, but in no way anarchist, effect. Anarchism got plenty of publicity back then, and if most of it was bad, nonetheless this bad publicity—concerning the Haymarket anarchists for instance—attracted to the movement many of its leading lights like Voltairine de Cleyre, who gave it such intellectual distinction as it enjoyed in *fin de siècle* America, the Golden Age of American anarchism.

When I was in junior high school, in the '60s, we read Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience." Spontaneously and as one the students (I was probably one of them) rose up, in this liberal middle-class venue to denounce Thoreau's madness. The teacher didn't tell us to react that way. It came naturally to those habituated to hierarchy by schooling and suburban life, even if they believed in civil rights and pretty soon smoked pot and opposed the Vietnam

War. The teacher had to play the Devil's (Thoreau's) Advocate as no student would. Thoreau is as good an introduction to anarchism as anybody, with the added advantage of being a native-born Yankee, not an immigrant and/or Jew, and consecrated by the curriculum as a 'classic' American author. If he met with unanimous dismissal it is because his ideas were unpopular. They still are.

Anarchist ideologues propound still sillier explanations for their impotence, one Chaz Bufe, for instance, blaming "fashion anarchists" for the enduring unpopularity of a doctrine which was unpopular long before teenagers in black leather jackets decorated them with circle-A's and hung out at punk gigs. These punks are actually the recruits who account for the recent increase in anarchist ranks. If (as charged) their acquaintance with anarchist tradition is scanty that is perhaps a point in their favor, it is always better to be uninformed than misinformed. The ignorant can always learn. The deluded weed the harder row of mis-education. If anarchist fathers like the goof Bufe really mean to dictate a *dress code* to young people attracted to anarchism they will be received, as well they should, like the high school principals these kids have had quite enough of already. Better fashion anarchists than

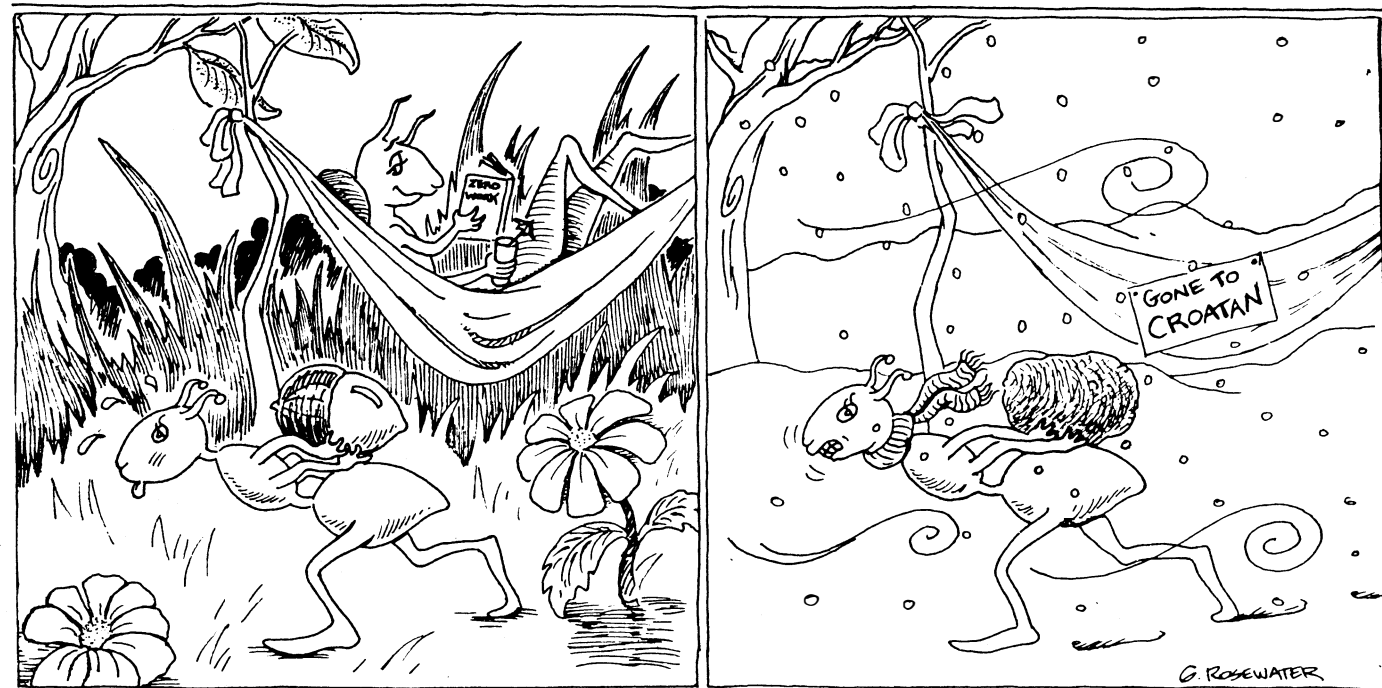
fascist anarchists.

Insofar as anarchism is genuinely revolutionary it would be its success, not its failure which would need explaining, as it's uphill all the way for revolutionaries. That would explain, at least up to a point, why Marxism prevailed over anarchism—it was more conservative, in opposition it was more elastic in its adjustments to the *status quo*, and as a ruling power it was predisposed to assimilate the bureaucrats and managers and military officers into its own apparatus as it had no fundamental objection to their functions, only to their loyalties. The temporary anarchist success in Spain proves the point; the anarcho-syndicalist leaders joined the government as the militants enforced labor discipline and sacrifice on the shop floor and in the fields. Their defeat by Franco saved them from exposure of their counter-revolutionary coercion of a decidedly refractory working class.

A couple year's ago an anarcho-syndicalist, one Michael Kolhoff, issued a 'Call' for an official authoritative North American anarchist organization in which he doubtless expected an appointment. At the San Francisco anarchist gathering (or *blathering* as I'd tag it) in 1989 those attending overwhelmingly rejected this overture, as American anarchists always have, even the collectivists like Goldman, Berkman, etc. It was not so much a considered anti-organizational position (although not a few had reflectively arrived at one) as an instinctive recoil from control which repelled the vast majority of attending anarchists. Just about the only point everybody agreed upon was rejection of this ploy. It was just too obvious the organizers were power-hungry schemers. Even the fashion anarchists steered clear of the proto-officialdom.

Why then is the revealed truth of anarchism disbelieved by almost all and sundry? Several reasons, but for now let us focus on the illusions of the anarchist believers. Kolhoff indignates that the average, working-class Joe requires nothing but a little anarchist propaganda to bring him around, however, his supporting argument is flimsy. Kolhoff says the aspiring anarchist, turning to his (or her) local library for guidance, will find nothing but 'lies' about anarchism. *This* then is the secret reason for anarchism's insignificance.

I put this claim to the test of fact, as Kolhoff, a positivist, should accede to. I perused the heading "Anarchists & Anarchism" in the card catalog of the Albany Public Library. Albany is an old declining city with a population just under 100,000; most Americans live in cities as large or larger. I did discover books a doctrinaire like Kolhoff might regard as lying about anarchism. But I discovered many more books which espoused anarchism or recounted it sympathetically. These included three books by Michael Bakunin, one by Giovanni Baldelli, five by Murray Bookchin, two by Emma Goldman, one by Daniel Guérin, two by Peter Kropotkin, one by John M. Hart, one by David De Leon and three on explicitly anarchist subjects by Paul Avrich, plus two more of related interest (*Kronstadt 1921* and *Russian Rebels, 1600-1800*). Most North American anarchists have probably not read 19 books on anarchism. Anyway, the subject heading seriously understates the anarchist presence on the



AESOP'S FABLES REVISITED: The Ant & the Grasshopper. Concept: Bob Black/Cartoon by: Gwen Rosewater

shelves. Thoreau isn't placed in the category, nor are historical and cultural studies by sometime anarchists like Paul Goodman, George Woodcock and Herbert Read. My book, *The Abolition of Work and Other Essays* is assigned another heading—and so forth.

One might well imagine a bigger and better selection which would present the anarchists in a more comprehensive and representative way. (Although no two anarchists are likely to agree on that selection.) The point is that Kolhoff's imaginary playmate Joe Average can probably learn more about anarchism than, perhaps, some anarchists would like him to at the local library. And if Joe is really Average he has had what the survey researchers call "some college" where he had access to what was probably a much better collection relating to anarchism. The problem is maybe that Joe doesn't use the library at all, not that it denies him the anarchist verbiage he craves. (And there is always inter-library loan.)

I may be taxed for taking the library lament literally, but I don't know how else to take the complaints of ideologues otherwise innocent of irony, humor and metaphor. As an "as if" sort of a thought-experiment which others are welcome to replicate, my card catalog excursion does dramatize a point of interest. Before leaving the library for good, let's consider what is to be done if affairs are as Kolhoff depicts them. Instead of bemoaning our martyrdom, why not take *direct action* and donate books to libraries as I donated mine? (In fact, at cost—\$3.00—I will send my book to any library someone nominates.) Librarians, like anarchists, judge a book or periodical by its cover—if its production values are high they take it (seriously), even if it has the content of, say, *Processed World*. Why not get up a campaign to induce Black Rose Books to donate books at cost along the lines of my offer? Or Left Bank Books? If there is anything anarchist about these enterprises besides their merchandise they should applaud the idea.

Some anarchists are mailing their literature to their struggling comrades in Eastern Europe. That is well and good, but why not send it also to the small towns, the totalitarian horror-shows in Utah or the Bible Belt? Joe might not appreciate it but maybe his son the skateboarder would. And if

scandal and censorship sometimes ensue, so much the better. In 1984, Garrett O'Hara was detained on suspicion of 'sedition' for placing flyers by agitators like Gerry Reith and myself under windshield wipers in the parking lots of Junction City, Kansas. We got the word out and the local daily was deluged with letters extolling anarchy and maligning the police, some of which were printed. No charges were pressed, and the locals got a faceful of anarchy.

Anarchists have always placed great stock in the print media—Proudhon, indeed was a typesetter—but in the electronic age their technology, like their traditional ideology, is at risk of anachronism. Joe may not read much but he might listen to one of the two radio shows (there may be more) audible in New York City and hosted by anarchists; there are others in Detroit, Chicago and, until recently, even here in Albany. Until he was purged Neal Keating had a cable TV talk show in Woodstock, New York. If Joe is a techie he can interface with the computer bulletin board version of *The Alembic*, Rick Harrison's journal of unorthodox anarchism. Harrison also pioneered anarchist pirate radio in a previous life. I am no high tech enthusiast myself, but it's curious the syndicalists and other conservatives who buy into industrialism, compulsory work and the self-management of business-as-usual look to be the last to exploit the technological 'progress' they are the last anarchists to believe in.

This is not an explanation of the anarchist demise (which, I confess, eludes me) but a prolegomenon to any future analysis which wades in bathos—or as Ken Knabb says: "Be cruel to your past and those who would keep you there." Again: failure is the default position for a revolutionary movement, as for revolutionary transvaluations of values. The other side was too strong. Its power was what the anarchists at best opposed, at worst envied. The anarchists increase their relative power as they identify and dispense with disabling illusions and grapple with the real forces arrayed against them. Anarchists are, if not the worst, the *first* enemies of anarchy, and this enemy at least they lack not the power but only the will to defeat.

The Catastrophe of Postmodernism

Continued from page 21

cause they're surrounded by things like that all day long, and it must make them miserable." It isn't just that "everything is culture," the culture of the commodity, that is offensive; it is also the pm affirmation of what is by its refusal to make qualitative distinctions and judgments. If the postmodern at least does us the favor, unwittingly, of registering the decomposition and even depravity of a cultural world that accompanies and abets the current frightening impoverishment of life, that may be its only 'contribution'.

We are all aware of the possibility that we may have to endure, until its self-destruction and ours, a world fatally out of focus. "Obviously, culture does not dissolve merely because persons are alienated," wrote John Murphy, adding, "A strange type of society has to be invented, nonetheless, in order for alienation to be considered normative."

Meanwhile, where are vitality, refusal, the possibility of creating a non-mutilated world? Barthes proclaimed a Nietzschean "hedonism of discourse;" Lyotard counseled, "Let us be pagans." Such wild barbarians! Of course, their real stuff is blank and dispirited, a thoroughly relativized academic sterility. Postmodernism leaves us hopeless in an unending mall; without a living critique; nowhere.

John Zerzan is author of *Elements of Refusal*, published by Left Bank Books in Seattle in 1988.

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LETTERS

Have something to say? Write us!

We would like to encourage you to write us in order to continue this dialogue, whether you are sympathetic or critical of anarchist theories and practices. All letters to *Anarchy* will be printed with the author's initials only, unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous, or the name already appears in the paper—as in the case of an author of an article or the creator of artwork published in *Anarchy*.

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

A great "void"

Anarchy,

I'd like to be added to your network. I just moved to Florida and have found a great "void"—much of the time I attribute this to the "sun"—the "fun"—the absolute mindlessness of a subtropical atmosphere.

When I try to tackle even the most minute aspects of "tribal anarchy," the idea that democracy is only an evolution in the political process—not the "answer"—I'm met with blank stares and comments about my breasts!

Imagine the *absolute* alienation. I'm hoping to begin a 'zine...something small and poignant. I'm becoming rather obsessed by the idiocy of a society that ingests hates, digests intolerance, excretes petty cruelties, yet places a great value on recycling the very "street person's" beer can they passed in the street without a 2nd glance. I'm either convinced or deluded I'm not the only one who *notices* this! Even in Florida's west coast.

Please list my name and/or intent in your much respected periodical. It has served to help me network *out* of this "paradise."

Thank you!

Rhonda K. Kitchens

POB 20872

Tampa, FL. 33622-0872

Bitching about liberals

Dear people,

First, I've enclosed a check for ten dollars. Please send me as many back issues of *Anarchy* for free distribution as that pays for.

Next, I'd like to bitch a little about the terms "people of color," "womyn," etc. that are being used by the "liberals." It's now hip to use these words instead of "Blacks" and "Women." The fools who insist on arguing over what to call people are doing exactly what the Pig Empire wants them to. By spending your time whining about words, you ignore the real issues: racist brutality by the pigs, sexual and racial discrimination in the workplace (and everywhere else), and government operations against black and feminist liberation movements. Words are just *symbols*, like the U.S. flag. Symbols are exactly what the pigs want you to depend on, and you're playing right into their hands.

Third, about Robert Carson of the Order of the Flame who had his letter printed in the last issue. He says he "dares" to speak his mind and do his own thing; and he's a member of a religion? A free-thinking religion? What a fuckin' oxymoron. All religions, no matter who they worship, are designed to give the National Slave-driver maximum benefits. Satanists

are as blind as the fundamentalist Christians.

The Progressive Student Alliance at my high school wants me to give a speech on Anarchism within the next month. I need some books to help me with my research. Can you suggest any?

Thanx.

Here's to trashing the pigs,
Willie Bogue

5206 Jackson St.

Omaha, NE. 68106

Ps. Anybody out there gotta copy of *Steal This Book* they wanna sell?

Total cooperation

Hello....

Some thoughts. Been doing some reading lately, and it fits into some ideas I've been toying with for some time. It's got to do with living with a group of people, and the need to try and radicalize our lives together. I was lucky enough to fall into relationships and a living situation with some people who share similar ideas, and we've been working on revolutionizing our connections & friendships.

In hunter-gatherer societies (the Dobe !Kung San of Namibia—forget all the anthropological bullshit, it's the source I found) they use reciprocity/gift giving/sharing as a form of internal & inter-tribal conflict resolution. By giving everything they have to others, there is no source of power for one individual over another.

My thoughts have to do with applying this sort of idea to my current situation. I've heard the stories of communes, and how they've broken down & the people have come away from the experience hating each other. But I've also heard of instances where people have pooled everything: if one or a couple persons have a job or manage to scrape something together, it goes into the pot. And if someone needs something, they dig in and get it. But it would take total co-operation on everyone's part. It would involve a lot of trust, effort, desire to change, and a will to keep it up. Most of all it would take openness and a lot of communication.

If anybody has any ideas on the subject, I'd like to hear. A positive experiment, a revolution in reality, attempt to change, all the time.

Thanks.

With love,

Jacques Casamajor

769 Cessna Ave.

Chico, CA. 95928

The economy of war

To the editor,

War, like all disagreement, is a difference of opinion over who will be disadvantaged. Aggressors

always feel disadvantaged—full of invented self-pity. This is how it is possible for murderous "Christians" to justify their blood lust. It is why no one ever thinks of himself as the villain.

An aggressor argues (or propagandizes) among followers that a defined deficit in his larder of wealth is unfair. Then, having aroused the emotions of those over whom *he* (usually) has influence, the aggressor proposes and then implements a mass-enforced policy of imposing an even greater disadvantage on others, as a means of extracting from them his initial, unstated, perhaps even unconscious goal: an unfair advantage.

War is hence an economic transaction: it is a unique form of trade in which ersatz "poverty" (such as a shortage of a natural resource, like oil, in an oil-dependent economy) wields power and demands, in exchange for peace, wealth.

Those petty, every-day aggressors we meet as "business acquaintances", boorish neighbors, and the rest of the neurotics we frequently must appease, use us against ourselves to their advantage no less than do military powers whose strength is in arms of destruction. The difference being the breadth, not the depth of the victimization.

All war is, as a coerced economic transaction, theft. Of life, of goods, of self-esteem, of freedom. Just so, all conscription is slavery, and manipulating the disadvantage of a subjected population into an economic need for self-betrayal in the form of so-called "voluntary" conscription is a clever and immoral social algorithm set up to implement a collective denial of the economic chains that bind a true underclass to true, not ersatz, slavery.

Propaganda meant to justify economic conscription will, per capitalist tradition, resort to argumentation in terms of contractual law. Only in this way can warriors be persuaded that the risks they run are "just", and the tasks they are drilled to perform unquestioningly are "normal" social duties. By elevating the argumentation that attempts to justify military obedience to the level of contractual law, sucker soldiers are persuaded that, rather than slaves, they are victims of their own greedy miscalculations in an attempt to gain economic advantage.

Having already been conditioned to accept the universal applicability of the will to greed as the driving force in the economic/social sphere, the poverty conscript's failure to have triumphed in the contractual arena is swallowed fatalistically, as if a buck in the state lotto was all that had been at stake and lost. But then when war breaks-out of the doors of the Pentagon like a cattle-prodded bull in china closet, the good-sport fatalism, which really amounts to a colloquial morality, is enough to cause most all to cower and accept the lousy outcome of their rigged gamble.

A contractual agreement between rulers who wage war and their psychologically enslaved warriors, if not clearly delineated as "slavery", must be admitted to be a mercenary relationship, at least. Even if warriors submit to martial law "in the service" of a nation-

state's vital economic interests, in exchange for potential (if he or she lives) educational, housing, and retirement advantages, such an arrangement must be admitted to be *mercenary*.

To what, if not his or her own advantage, does a mercenary soldier pledge allegiance? A conscript slave lacks self-ownership, and may deserve pity, though in the murderous employ of a tyrant ought still be opposed. But the mercenary, who pledges to go to war to kill strangers if commanded, in exchange for economic advantages, and whose "booty" will be paid-for by conquering resource-rich lands, or by skimming more taxed wages from the general populace, is a crass and murderous opportunist who has not learned the meaning of morality, which is a simple thing: it means to avoid becoming the tool of evil.

It has required a lot of symbolism, flag-waving, and obvious commercialism to turn the armed spectators of the video war in the desert into mythic "heroes". Yellow ribbons, though tied in knots of deception, are the appropriate color to attribute to America's video heroes. Sheer human cowardice, however, was never given a chance to excel because unthinking and unemotional machines did all the killing in the Iraqi desert. And they killed so well and so swiftly that no human consciences had a chance to kick into gear and wonder if any of it was right or wrong.

This ignorance of morality, even if it is not a denial or rejection of it, has seen to it that the heart and mind of the average citizen has remained absolutely silent, while their conditioned mouths cheered and celebrated the unabashed acquisition of global advantage for "America", and uncared-for conscripts in the employ of another national tyrant.

I say as a matter of caution: wait and see what jingoism the history books try to pass off as objective sociological "fact" in the next few years. To the victor goes the spoils, which include the minds of future generations. Perhaps the best argument for opposition to the present tyranny.

Ben G. Price, Hagerstown, MD.

Abolish prisons

There are about one million people in jail, prison and correctional facilities in this country. This is the highest rate among industrial nations. Some are political prisoners. Others are victims of political and economic relations of power. Prisons are racist institutions that maintain class domination. They destroy individuals and communities and take away possibilities for positive empowerment.

Despite these high rates of incarceration, there is a big push by the government to increase the number of prisoners. The Bush administration wants an increase of 24,000. The Graham Gingrich bill seeks to create a National Drug and Crime Emergency. This would make cruel and unusual punishment legal. People would be thrown into overcrowded prisons, or prisons without air conditioning, or tents in inhospitable climates. These concentration camps could not be contested in court. It would legalize prison-produced products for interstate sale and

make prison labor mandatory. This at a time when there is a swelling number of homeless and poverty stricken women and children, an environmental crisis, AIDS, and millions of illiterate people.

Prisons function to control people of color and attack leaders of political movements. In 1984, the rate of incarceration for black people was 713 per 100,000, compared to 114 per 100,000 for white people. This is twice as high as the rate for black people in South Africa that same year. Prisons are racist institutions that control and murder black people. The death penalty is used to murder black people at a rate six times greater than white people.

Incarceration isn't the only way they destroy the black community. In the period from 1968-72 38 Black Panthers were gunned down by various police forces under the direction of the FBI's COINTELPRO operations. Another 12 died in "shooting wars" provoked by COINTELPRO agents. Hundreds of members and supporters experienced gunshot wounds and serious beatings. With many of the leaders rounded up in prison or killed, the positive power of the Black Liberation Movement was destroyed.

According to Ralph Arons former warden of Marion penitentiary in Illinois, "The purpose of the Marion Control Unit is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and the public at large." There are at least 150 documented political prisoners and Prisoners of War (POW) in the U.S. They are in prison because they fought for the Black Liberation Movement, Puerto Rican independence, the American Indian Movement, or to stop imperialism and nuclear weapons. These prisoners are subject to physical and psychological torture to break down their political beliefs. They are cut off from family, friends and community. Prolonged isolation and inactivity break down the prisoners' basic feelings of what it means to live.

Political prisoners and others who refuse to submit to authoritarian conditioning are subject to physical and mental torture at the Marion Control Unit. Prisoners are forced to spend 22 hours a day locked up in a single cell. The goon squads beat and chain prisoners to concrete slabs for hours and sometimes days at a time. Contact with the community is discouraged and almost nonexistent. They are subject to unevenly and selectively enforced petty rules, regulations and requirements. Penalties for the most insignificant transgressions are severe; another year of confinement at Marion. Everything—education, medical treatment, personal property, food—is a potential weapon of physical and psychological assault against prisoners.

This is a violation of the Eighth Amendment which makes cruel and unusual punishment illegal. Amnesty International condemned the prison for what "appeared to violate the United Nations standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of prisoners...conditions...amount to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment." Yet, the U.S. courts refuse to take action against it. They won't allow prisoners' testimony in court. The prison administrators fail to comply with

these laws. Many prisoners see the administrators as a lawless body unwilling to follow legal rules and procedures, which conceals its activities from the public.

Marion plays a role in the larger scheme of the U.S. gulag. Prisoners are sent from Marion to other prisons. These prisoners tell others of the severe and unusual punishment. This fear is a control mechanism to keep prisoners in line with brutal punishment. Marion is the prison other prison administrators look at when they design a new prison. They use some of the design, technology and methods for new prisons.

There are international laws that entitle POWs and political prisoners to rights that other prisoners don't have. Recognizing the political aspect of their actions internationally can clarify how the U.S. government represses opposition to its policies and won't acknowledge it. By focussing international attention on the issue, pressure is put on the government to stop the repression.

Yet, why are there so many people in prison? Looking at the larger picture, we can see corporations scrambling for markets to fill their pocketbooks. With so much overproduction in the U.S. already, there are few markets to fill. The result is massive unemployment and international wars to make more markets for capital to flow into. Without decent jobs and with no money to live, people are forced to find other methods of getting the things they want and need.

They commit crimes in order to survive, or to acquire social status as promoted by the advertising industry, or to escape the miserable conditions of the inner city by taking drugs or beating and killing family and friends.

Prisons are big industries in the U.S. It costs \$20,000 per year per prisoner. People within a congressional district will support the continuation of prisons for economic reasons. New prisons are big money for construction firms and a new long term industry for depressed communities. For some, prisons are the next big market to exploit.

Corporate media shows crime in a distorted way. They tend to portray crime as an action that happens in the street, yet more crimes happen around peoples' homes. There is a very strong tendency to cover crimes with white victims and ignore those with black victims. A media stereotype of a typical crime is: 1) most victims are white, 2) most criminals are black, 3) the average murder occurs in a mugging. Yet the chances of being in an auto accident are 16 times greater than being a victim of a crime on the street. They show violent crimes in order to attract viewers and sell advertising. They don't mention that most of the crimes are non-violent.

There is a myth that prisons function to keep criminals away from society. This is clearly false. Most crimes don't even get reported, and most criminals get re-

leased, so most 'criminals' are in public. Cars are more of a problem for public safety than criminals. So, why is there such a distorted perception of the problem?

Initiating a "drug war" is convenient for policy makers in Washington. It diverts attention from the real problems. AIDS, homelessness, poverty, racism, illiteracy and others fall to the way side in order to fight a "drug war." In a climate of national hysteria, it is easy to take away human rights. This allows them to round up political opposition they don't like. It would also make the prison industry expand and create new jobs.

Authoritarian punishment makes the problem worse. One study reported that prisoners in jail for violent crimes, committed less crimes when released early. Hostility and rage builds up in the prisoners that are kept in jail for long periods of time. Prisoners learn from others how to get revenge when they get out. Prisons become crime schools. Sometimes the conditions get so bad in prisons, the prisoners must riot to get authorities to deal with the problems.

Prisons are filled with people who refuse to accept the dominant paradigm for political, economic and cultural activities. Many are caught in a no-win situation. If they fight back to maintain their dignity, they get killed or thrown in prison. If they don't fight back, they are reduced to being slaves. Prisons take power away from people and the community and

give it to the state. The government proposes more prisons and more punishment. The prisons are already tremendously overcrowded. This would make a bad situation worse. Instead of putting more people in prison, they should abolish them.

Karen Eliot
c/o Schiz-Flux
POB 3502
Madison, WI. 53704

Highly impressed

Anarchy,

Thanks for the sample issue (#27) received through the *Ume Reader* (just to raise the hackles of all the *Ume* haters who litter the letters section). I know nothing...I repeat, *nothing* about anarchy. My only previous exposure to it has been the Sex Pistols and about 30 seconds of middle-school social studies ("Pay attention class, anarchy is the lack of any government! Isn't that silly? Now, an oligarchy is...") Needless to say it was a shock to me that anarchists aren't made up totally of violent-for-the-sake-of-being-violent skinheads and drugged out punk-rockers. You guys can think! I was highly impressed by the entire publication. Many things have been crystallizing for me. You have cleared up several things that I've been wrestling with for a few years and you stated perfectly things/ideas which I've fumbled over a long time.

I knew nothing about anarchy, however, I do know something

about zen. As I read through your magazine, especially your condensed "as we see it" statement, I was struck by a few similarities between anarchy and zen.

Both seem to focus on oppression. Zen with the oppression of the individual's consciousness by the conception that they are individual or distinct from the environment that they live in. Anarchy focusses on the oppression of the masses by governments, societies, and institutions. Both oppressing forces are man-made "for our own good." We are socialized into believing that we are somehow cut-off, or to use one of your themes, alienated from the universe, that we can control it and manipulate it without ourselves being affected. We are born into man-made organizations like governments, which have been created to control and manipulate the masses for "their own good" and in the process alienate us from ourselves and each other.

Both zen and anarchy seek to de-construct the oppressing forces to achieve a natural state which in zen is harmony with the universe (I know it sounds like drippy hippy shit but this pre-dates the sixties by a few thousand years!) and in anarchy is harmony with your fellow Earth inhabitants. To steal your creed on the front page, "Towards a society based on mutual aid, voluntary cooperation and the liberation of desire." Sounds pretty harmonious to me!

Anyway, being a newcomer to
Continued on next page

SERVICE SPECIAL Storm the Reality Asylum

- The Snakes Are Living in the Most Unbridled Technology
- Keep The Sharks From Your Heart
- Labels Limit More Than Empower
- Paradox is the Threshold of Truth

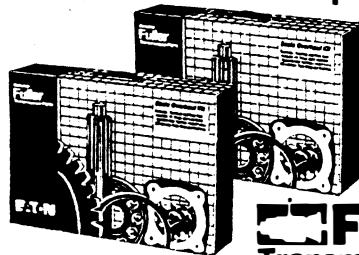
Mighty Few People Think What They Think They Think

- Perpetrators Become Victims of their Dominance
- Only Drugs Make You As Happy as the People in Ads
- Life is More Important Than Literature

Learn By Going Where To Go

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Sell Your Time to Buy the Time That Other People Sold



- Simple Joys Are The Strongest
- The More You Consume the Less You Live
- Play Fast and Loose

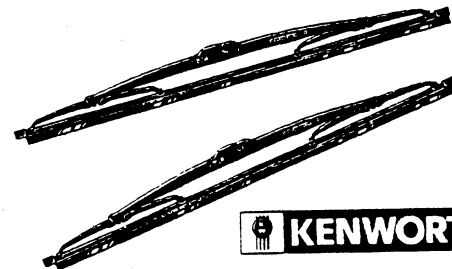
#KNOW
WHERE

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Autonomy and Cooperation Make Government Irrelevant



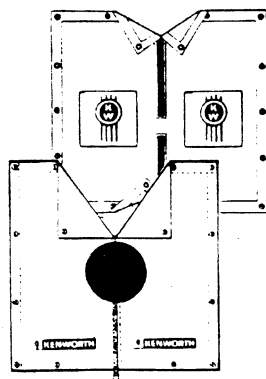
- C'eci N'est Pas Un Life
- Move Constantly in the Place Where the Mind Centers

#End One Way

499
LIVE

Evolution is a Virus

- Everything Changes
- Eternal Yearning for Eternal Learning is what Keeps Me From Burning
- Fortune Favors the Bold

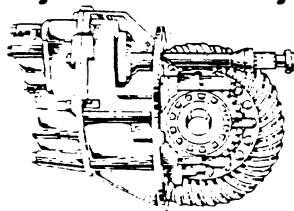


Conventional Wisdom
is a Lie
#Destroy All Genres
#Demolish Serious Culture

3188
NOW

autotron

Good Taste is the Chief Enemy of Creativity



EATON
Eaton Axle & Brake Parts

- Go Go Go This is It This is It
- Improvisation is Better Than Planning
- Notice What You're Noticing
- Participate in the Creation of Ruins
- Operate Outside The Paradigm

The Avant Garde is Obsolete

*THE MAP IS NOT THE TERRITORY
YOU NEVER KNOW WHEN CENSORSHIP WORKS

1949

Nature is Amoral

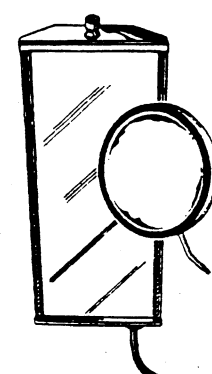
- By Projecting Your Anger You Will Never Examine Your Life
- Love is a Process
- Try Plan B
- No God, No Master
- No More If Onlys 1395
- #You Are Here WHY
- Collective Stupidity is the Real Conspiracy 1495
- #Art Is Infection BREATHE

Hope for Happiness

Freedom is Dangerous
Stay Awake 2395

#Habits Kill TALK

PACCARPARTS
A DIVISION OF PACCAR



Highly impressed*Continued from previous page*

your paper and to anarchy in general I was wondering if anybody else had any comments on these similarities. Is there a portion of you who follow the zen path or is there some reason that zen and anarchy can't coexist that I have completely missed? Have I grossly mis-understood either tradition? Help!

If my question isn't laughably naive please respond in some fashion.

Thanks,
E.L., Columbus, OH.

Lev comments:**Zenarchy or anarcho-zen?**

Your question may be more complicated than you think. Sure, there are similarities, but there are also differences, between anarchy and zen. But one problem in even talking about the subject is that one must specify which form of zen or which form of anarchy one is addressing before the similarities and differences can be determined.

That the anarchist and zen traditions have overlapped at their margins at times is evident in the number of anarchists who have become interested in zen themes, and the much smaller number (as I perceive it) of zen practitioners who have become interested in anarchy.

I would suggest that for more information you check out a couple of new books reviewed in this issue of *Anarchy* & *NAAR: Zenarchy* by Kerry Thornley and *The Relevance of Rexroth* by Ken Knabb. Other potential avenues for exploration which come to mind are the following recently-published pamphlets: *Anarchy and Ecstasy* by John Moore (reviewed in *Anarchy* #22), and *Autonomystics* by Dee Rail (reviewed in *Anarchy* #29). And still other relevant places to check include the works of Paul Goodman (*Gestalt Therapy*, *Kafka's Prayer*, and his fiction, poetry & other relevant essays)—although he was concerned more directly with the Taoist tradition than with that of zen. Perhaps there are some *Anarchy* readers who would like to suggest more sources?

Israeli anti-war news

Dear Lev Chernyi,

Thank you for your letter...Many of our contacts asked us for information on the present situation in Israel and our assessment of it. You may also be interested in publishing the following statement:

More than two months have passed since the termination of armed hostilities between the United States and Iraq; it is now clear—as, indeed, anti-war activists in many countries said in advance—that the war solved none of the Middle East's problems, and that it created serious new ones.

There can be no peace and quiet for this war-torn region until its problems are addressed in justice and reconciliation. In particular, the rights of oppressed peoples, such as the Kurds and the Palestinians, must be recognized, respected and implemented.

In Israel, we are now very busy with demonstrations against the settlements which the Shamir government is creating in the West Bank. We hope to have a big



"Zum Wohl Unserer Lieben Grossmutter Erde!" Reprinted from *Hotcha!* #67/68 (Urban Gwerder, CH-7243, Switzerland).

demonstration in Tel-Aviv on June 5, the anniversary of the occupation, and there is planned a giant petition calling upon the government to adopt the "Territory in return for peace" principle. On these issues, we can find support among many people who had supported the Gulf War.

Yours,
Adam Keller
The Other Israel
POB 956, Tel-Aviv
Israel 61008

Suffering from repression

Dear *Anarchy*,

...Well, I really digged #27 as I and everyone else I know is suffering from the repression from adults as kids. I feel like I can't get close to people that I have sexual relations with because as a child I had sex with my friends and one day my mother found out and so did my "babysitter." I was lectured and punished for giving love to someone and this wasn't the only time. Teachers and fellow students would also talk about what was sexually correct and with peer pressure I felt like a mat. It took me many years to fight feelings of guilt and confusion. I'm still fightin' and it's nice to see some people that give a shit.

Well love,
S., New London, CT.

With child/adult sexuality proof doesn't matter

Dear people,

As an aspiring anarchist, a long-time advocate of children's rights, and a survivor of childhood rape, I have had quite a lot of difficulty with your special issue on anarchy and children, particularly the debate on children and sexuality and more specifically, the article "Child/adult sex: A continuum." This being such an emotive issue for me, it has taken me a while to decide exactly what my own thoughts are on the matter.

I have been torn on the one hand by my belief that children of any age have the right to determine their own lives, including their own sex lives, and on the other, by my belief that children

do need protection from the sexual exploitation perpetrated by adults, as happened to me. For a while it seemed as though the two viewpoints were unreconcilable, but in fact, this is only so when the issues are taken out of context.

Schaun Perry's article is based on two separate premises. One is that children are capable of consent, and the other is that because the child perceives the sexual experience to be positive, it automatically becomes justified. Both of these are erroneous, the first from a psychological/sociological point of view, the second from a moral point of view.

To suggest a child can consent to sex with an adult is ludicrous. The power dynamic that exists between children and adults precludes this. For example, there is no way a child can know if they are being exploited or not. The adult may well claim they are concerned with the child's pleasure. But this is rarely the case. Adults always engage in sex with children exclusively for their own pleasure, and any pretence otherwise quickly crumbles when the child puts up any kind of resistance.

David Finkelhor says in his book *Child Sexual Abuse—New Theory and Research*, "The wrongness [of adult-child sex] is not contingent upon proof of a harmful outcome." The child's perception of the experience, whether at the time or in retrospect, is an issue quite independent to that of moral responsibility. If we are truly anarchists, we must accept that we have no right to impose our values on anyone, especially children. Even though a child may agree to (or even ask for) sex with an adult, their concept of sex, and hence the value they place on it, must inevitably be different to an adult's.

Children lack the process of sexual maturity, knowledge of sexual behaviours, and an understanding of society's attitudes towards sex. When one sexual partner lacks any one of these while the other does not, imbalance is inherent. Thus, there is a distortion of values. And this situation is exploited whenever an adult engages in sex with a child. Without

balance, the more powerful partner, which is always the adult, due to their greater knowledge, inevitably imposes their values on the weaker partner, which is the child. This, far from being anarchism, is in fact fascism, and in this context, the issue of a child's enjoyment becomes irrelevant.

If we anarchists are seriously concerned with children's rights, instead of trying to impose our sexual desires on children, we would do far better by campaigning for their rights to protect themselves. Given the choice between freedom to have sex with adults and the freedom to avoid the sexual advances of adults, most children, if not all, would choose the latter. And if we are not prepared to help them with this, we should leave them alone altogether.

Yours sincerely,
H.M., London, England

Lev responds:**Moralism has absolutely nothing to do with freedom**

As an anarchist, an advocate of children's freedom (in my opinion 'rights' are mystifications designed to fool those who also believe in laws), and a survivor of the myriad abuses one is typically exposed to in childhood, the suppression of children's freedom, including their sexual freedom, is of special concern for me.

Certainly, in any society there is a need to balance children's powers "to determine their own lives, including their own sex lives," with the desirability of providing some sort of real protection from unwanted exploitation, including sexual exploitation. However, the blanket prohibition of all child-adult "sexual contact" serves neither of these purposes. Instead, it primarily serves to help isolate & regiment adults' & children's lives in general, while at the same time suppressing any spontaneous and free bodily expression between children and adults in particular.

You can cite whatever scientific or moral "point of view" you wish to help justify the suppression of freedom. Obviously, the points of view of psycho-cops and moralists will always remain violently opposed to

the expression of individual & social freedom. But please don't fool yourself that you're doing anything but arguing for the suppression of freedom by any such citations. On the other hand, the value of having cops and moralists on your side evaporates when your goal has nothing to do with repression. And those genuinely concerned with freedom are more inclined to look at things sympathetically from the points of view of the victims of psycho-cops and moralists, rather than from the points of view of the enforcers of authoritarian norms.

It's revealing to see that from your new found "psychological/sociological" and moral points of view children are not only completely & absolutely incapable of consent, but that "adults always engage in sex with children exclusively for their own pleasure" (my emphases). I'll disregard this time around the questions of what it is that for you makes a person unable to consent to sex until s/he reaches the magical age of majority (18 in most states) and in what it is that 'sex' consists of for you. But I can't help but comment on how reassuring it must be to see the entire world so neatly divided up in moralistic blacks and whites! On the one side, adults can consent but children can never consent. While on the other side, adults must invariably exploit children if they are in any sense 'sexual' with them, while adults who aren't sexual with children are somehow immune to this "categorical imperative" of exploitation. In re-reading your own words I can only hope you begin to appreciate how bizarre they must appear to those not incapacitated by your moralism.

I usually don't like to engage in name-calling, but it should be quite obvious to any thinking person that your quote from David Finkelhor exhibits the mentality of a fascist. For him it apparently doesn't matter in the least what a child (or an adult) feels, experiences, or desires. Patriarchy knows best. What has this got to do with children's freedom, or even the muddled concept of "children's rights" you advocate? Nothing. But, it is completely useful as a tool for the suppression of children. This is blatant authoritarianism. No one with the slightest commitment to the actual freedom of children could possibly condone this sort of illogical 'argument'.

There also remains the unspoken question of how you think such a blanket ban is to be enforced in this society (or in an anarchist society) against the wishes of both parties to freely chosen relationships. Are you advocating that people be ostracized? That people lose their means of livelihood? That people go to prison? Does this mean that for you the state is a necessity? What are you arguing for? Who is supposed to prevent children and adults from interacting in ways that could be perceived as sexual when there is apparent consent? What will be done with those 'caught' kissing children? Or being naked with them? Or massaging them? Or even taking photos of them? What will you say to the children when you separate them from their friends or parents?

What is your position concerning all the other things that children are forced into in childhood? What about the forced submission to religious brainwashing, forced imprison-

ment in schools, and all the repressive laws against nudity, sexuality and play? Are you concerned about forced submission to the arbitrary authority of prudish, authoritarian, and usually petty whims of parents & teachers, social workers & cops?

Why not accept the actual implications of the *only* valuable thing you have to say on the subject ("we have no right to impose our values on anyone")? This means you and others who wish to suppress children's freedom have no 'right' to do so! This means that whatever specious arguments you can come up with for the suppression of their freedom, those arguments will mean nothing to anyone who actually values freedom! Please take your own advice and stop meddling in children's lives, as long as you feel compelled to impose your morality on them and their friends.

One question

Greetings Brothers and Sisters of *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*,

Thanks, I've finally received my first copy, after much debate over its contents from the guards here. I truly find this magazine as a fountain of inspiration and ignored truths. Though I have but one question to ask any and all willing to tackle such. Why is it when Europeans resist it's called Anarchy, and for some reason or another it's "allowed" to continue, though when it's an African or coloured uprising the powers that be come and name it Militancy, and kill its propagators? Just a question, for all that would care to respond, do so...furthermore, I would like to thank all the people who contribute extra so "us" persons who aren't capable can continue to enjoy this excellent and informative magazine.... Thanks.

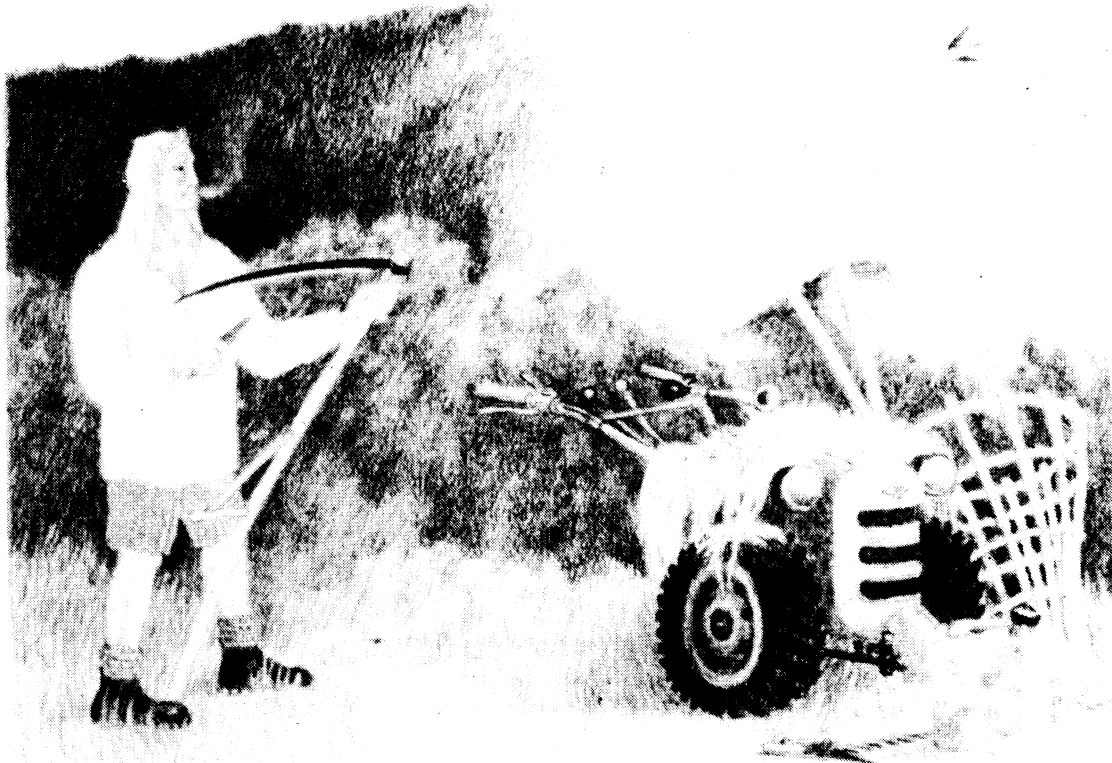
S.F., Waupun, WI.

Stupidity & death reign

Dear *Anarchy*!

Thank you for being here, for being an oasis to those of us thirsting for sanity and freedom in post(Gulf)war America. *Anarchy* provides some relief from the gigantic psy-war-op of the mass media. Flags, yellow ribbons, grinning yuppie-cretin reporters, the Big Lies amplified a million times over. Enclosed is a cash contribution—my statement against George "October Surprise" Bush, against his *New World Order*™, against the neopuritan christian nazification of society. I only wish this self-supporting 18 year-old woman, me, could afford to give you more.

Mass stupidity and death reign on planet Earth, and Amerika is their hired army. But even more than the *New World Imperium*™, I condemn the domesticated slaves of the Imperium. They are the one great idiot-herd, the one great instinct for submission. Never in America was there a mob hotch-potch so intoxicated by delusion & self-deception, so willingly had by flag and pulpit. Nothing eludes them more than facts, nothing thrills them more than sacred lies. The Imperium needs, it demands, the petty hysterical American of today. Meanwhile, the silly Liberal-Left dares not ridicule its imagined darlings, "the people." A choice between elitism and moron majoritarianism is no choice at all.



Untitled. Reprinted from *Hotcha!* #67/68 (Urban Gwerder, CH-7243, Switzerland).

This is where anarchism comes in—a possible way out of this agonizing catch-22. Let's throw off the whole master/slave syndrome.

May the yellow-ribboned flag-wavers choke on George Bush and his 1980 Election scandal! Is the real story of the 1980s finally going to be told? Not if the corporate media and the Congress have their way! The October, 1980 origins of Iran/Contra, the Paris Deal and the CIA/Pentagon-assisted coup d'etat against Carter,...the Israeli go-betweens, Shamir, and their blackmail card on Bush,...a hit list of hundreds handed to Khomeini by the CIA as another favor,...Arafat, Abu-Sharif, and the PLO's election-blackmail on Bush,...\$1.4 billion from Italy laundered through Panamanian banks to finance CIA/Contra operations ("I have Bush by the balls"-Noriega); ...the invasion of Panama to silence Noriega and smash Panamanian nationalism, drug-hysteria as the cover-story for "Just Cause," thousands of civilians killed as American forces wipe out pro-Noriega neighborhoods,...Licio Gelli's P-2, his "good friend Bush," Swedish arms to Iran, P-2 and the death of Palme;...and of course the mass media whipping up non-stop sex/drug/Rock&Roll hysteria to divert attention, to stampede the bovine American public ever rightward into the salivating maw of Church & State....

Is an overt military coup the next logical step? North's plans for martial law are already on record. Pinochet will finally come home to America! The New Right's facade has finally begun to crumble...just don't let it collapse on top of you....

S., Lexington, KY

Ps. Dump *Utne!* It's *Time* magazine in pseudo-hip drag!

SI out of balance

The SI, obsessed with the intellectual aspects of life. They were way out of balance. They didn't integrate or practice an ecological course of thought & action.

They formed an elitist cadre as they excluded people. This separation eventually led to a kind of individualism which excludes the possibility of collective action.

They didn't sustain their activity. It was the local variation of the political upheavals that were happening around the world at the same time. It was the "French" interpretation & action.

E., Madison, WI.

Social Harmony

Dear comrade(s),

We are a group of anarcho-communists-communalists publishing a bimonthly (or quarterly!) pamphlet titled *Social Harmony*.

We send you the first issue of this pamphlet. Its contents are: A commentary on the immoral condition of man in present society and an article "On State Terrorism and Armed Struggle." (Of course we reject both!)

Our vision of Anarcho-communism-communalism:

1) Down with power! In other words, *everyone* should have the right to participate in the management of the community's affairs.

2) Communism: "From each according to his faculties, to each according to his needs."

3) Communalism: Free self-managed communities, consisting of free people collaborating in harmony with other communities.

4) There is not an *a priori* "revolutionary subject." He who wants to change his life and the life of others towards a stateless and classless society is a potential revolutionary.

5) We are not "pacifists" or "non-violent" or—of course—"violent." We are able to judge on the methods we should use to spread our ideas or to defend ourselves against any given assault by the system.

6) The organization we prefer in the current situation is the affinity group.

For further information please contact us at the following address:

POB 76148
Nea Smirni 17110
Athens, Greece

Anarchists differ little

Anarchy folks,

Sorry to see the letter from Drake Scott on his experiences with the Official and Academic

anarchists of the Institute for Social Ecology and the Rainbow clique. It's something we all have to learn the hard way I guess but it has been true for a long time that anarchists differ little from the larger population when subject to cultural hysterias and moral panics.

Such behavior on the part of feminists and gays and lesbians has been well documented but it is good, in a perverse sense, to have an account on the anarchists too.

D.S., San Antonio, TX.

Mindblowing newspaper

Thanks for a truly great, mind-blowing newspaper. As soon as I get \$12 together, I'll be a subscriber.

But I wanted to get off a quick note in response to L. of San Francisco's remarks (Spring 1991). I like the listing of article titles in your press reviews. That's specific information which enables me to gauge rather precisely whether I want to see a copy. The general assessment of a magazine's tendency which L. advocates is pretty worthless to me; I haven't got time to follow up—or money—on 20-25 'maybes'.

Keep up the good job.

Best wishes,

A.R., Newport Beach, CA.

'ZOG' is a racist term

Dear Lev,

I cannot say how disappointed I am to see the "Order of the Flame" letter in *Anarchy* #28.

Although I've never heard of this order, your correspondent's use of the term 'ZOG' is the subject of this missive.

You may not have known it, but 'ZOG' is an abbreviation for "Zionist Occupational Government," which certain right-wing/fascist groups in the USA use to describe the federal government and/or anybody who disagrees with their racist views.

As a person of Jewish descent, and as an anarchist I was *very* upset to see a letter from a fascist in *Anarchy* calling for fellow right-wing nuts to take up arms. (What else could "The plan is now in effect" mean?)

Lev, I've never been so shocked and disappointed by another anarchist as I am now. I can't for the life of me understand how fascist ravings further the anarchist dialogue.

Maybe the letter was printed in error or in ignorance. If not, then I've misjudged you and the magazine. If you think I'm wrong, maybe you should remove my name/-address from your mailing list.

Yours in struggle (I think),
Anonymous

[Sorry you're so disappointed in us. No, we didn't know until after it was pointed out to us what 'ZOG' stood for. We'd have printed the letter anyway (since we want to encourage dialogue, not suppress it), but I can assure you our response would have been quite different! As it was, we didn't really know what the guy was talking about, and assumed it was just some sort of pseudo-Satanist bullshit which had little or no meaning. We have no desire to offend anyone but authoritarians by printing the letters we receive. -Lev]

Correction on LGN

To Lev Chernyi,

Your "Alternative Press Review" (Summer 1991 issue) correctly noted our letter in *Left Green Notes* #6 resigning from the Left Green Network. Upon reconsideration, we rejoined the LGN, in a letter that appeared in *Left Green Notes* #7, and are thus once again members.

Janet Biehl
Murray Bookchin
Burlington, VT.

Anything like 'prickish'?

Here's my renewal...re Bob Black's article last issue, could he please define a 'cuntish' question? Is it anything like a 'prickish' one? How are they different? Similar? A feminist, North Mankato, MN.

I was told to obey

Anarchy,

I have read a great deal on the issues of 'pederasty' and "sexual molestation." I read in *M.R.R.* that your issue #27 deals with these issues and I would like to hear what you have to say about it.

I was 'molested' as a kid by a man who I was told to obey. Now I obey no one. I feel it was our society's inability to deal rationally with its members who are geared toward sex with children that caused so many kids like me to be forced into sex acts that we would have probably indulged in with one another of our own free will. This is something that will not go away. We must face it, and each other....

Anonymous

Wonderful gift

Your publication is a fine effort and a wonderful gift to free thinkers in this time of drought. I like best the eclectic nature of your news, the explorations of sexuality and relationships, the letters columns, and many of the articles. I like least the intellectual armour that makes it so hard for many to admit the improvement or correction of their ideas by another, the sweeping and hypocritical generalizations by writers like Zerzan, the

Continued on next page

LETTERS

Wonderful gift

Continued from previous page

cataloguing of titles instead of meaningful reviews in the press review section. I'm looking forward to the continued success of your project!

B., Carlton, WA.

Ps. A couple more thoughts—what about some type of regular "bulletin board" to connect Rebels of similar interests e.g. discussion group forming in Chicago contact.... Perhaps you feel "Anarchist Scene" fulfills this need but I was thinking something more personal!

Also, what do you mean when you describe yourselves as post-situationist? That you are influenced by them? That they are your dominant influence more than any other? It seems like a bit of a 'mystifying' label itself.

[Thanks for the thoughts on your likes and dislikes concerning *Anarchy*. It helps us figure out what directions to put our efforts. The more readers who let us know their feelings about this magazine, the better!

Sure, if people want to submit notices for discussion groups, or other forms of group gatherings they'd like to start, we'd be happy to initiate a separate listing. Would you like to be the first?

Regarding the 'post-situationist' description. As far as I know, the only place it's been used by us has been in the "Anarchy contacts" listings in the last few issues or so. We certainly don't go around calling ourselves 'post-situationists' or anything like that. I merely used the word in this one limited context to help give people an idea about where the staff of this paper is coming from with its anti-ideological anarchist perspectives. Yes, I mean that we've been "influenced by them." And more, I mean that I think an encounter with the Situationist's projects and interpretations is almost essential for any anarchist(s) seriously interested in understanding our current situation. -Lev]

Poland's road to capitalism

Dear *Anarchy*,

Piotr Tymiński ("Eastern Europe: Real Revolution?" in *Anarchy* #28/Spring '91, p.12) touches upon some of the more important problems facing Poland today. Since his article has appeared, things have gotten much worse. Poland, of course, is rather advanced on the road to capitalism; this situation cannot be far off in other countries as well.

The difference between classes is growing deeper everyday. Usually the rich have gotten their money by either working abroad, or by doing business with foreigners, or importing foreign goods. It's not unusual now to see expensive cars, expensive homes, to see shops full of goods that people can't afford. But most people make less than \$150 a month and food, for example, often is more expensive than even in New York. In less than a year, the price of bread has more than doubled, as well as the price of transportation. Most people live in cramped apartments and don't have extra money. Things will only get worse because the prices will go up for medicines and students will probably have to pay to go to a university now. Of course, you know what this will mean.

Last month the zloty was deliberately devaluated almost 20% in relation to the American and Ca-

nadian dollars. This was done so that Poles can sell their goods abroad cheaply. Previously things could be exported to the Soviet Union, but the difference in the value of the zloty and the rouble makes it impossible. (Polish butter, for example, would cost about 50 roubles a pound.) This of course means that goods brought from abroad (in other words most stuff), is gonna be about 20% more expensive to buy. (This difference between zlotys and roubles has made Poland a popular place for Russians to come to. From a country with terrible consumer

shortages, goods are taken out by the carload to be sold here at much higher prices.)

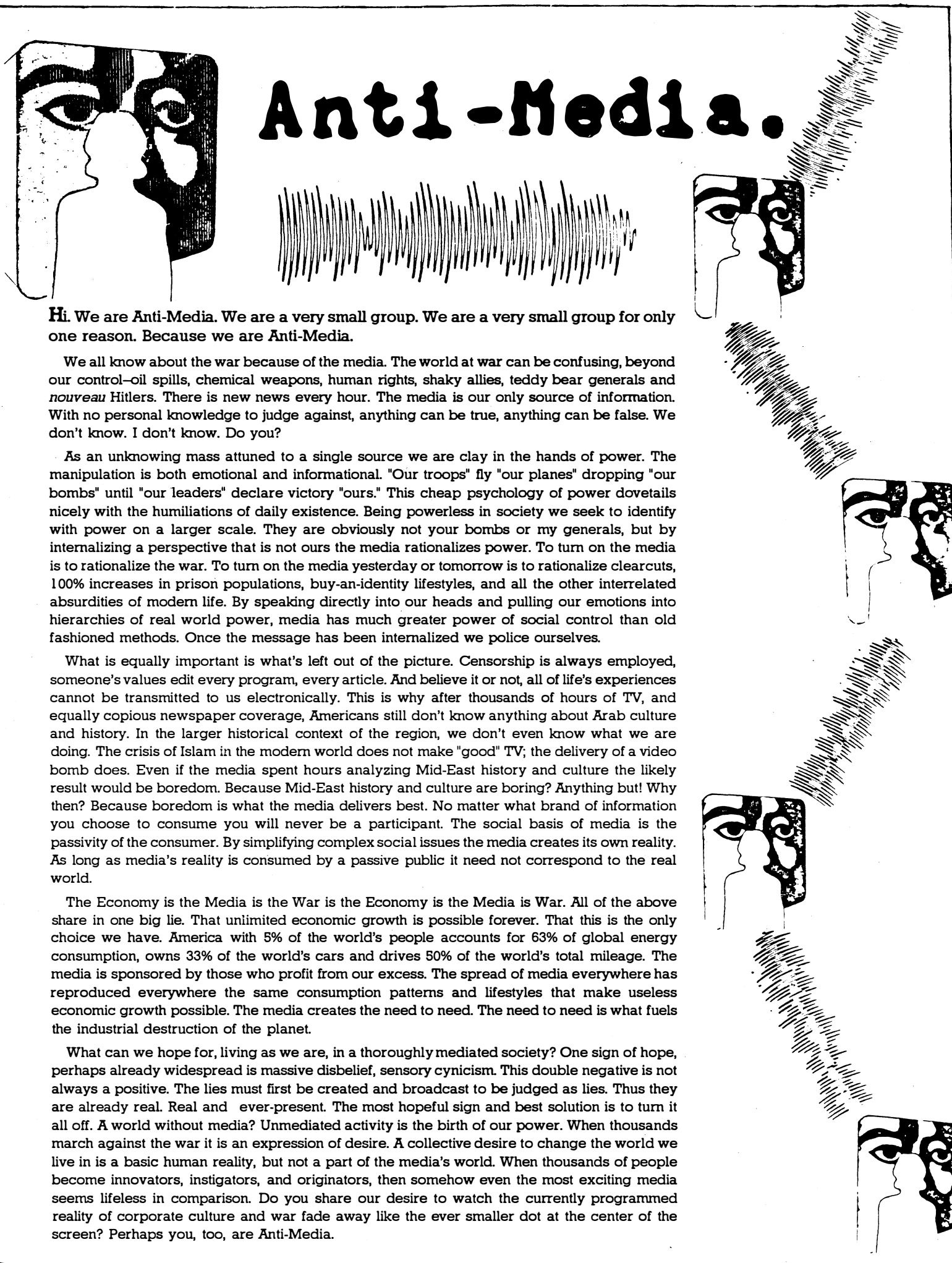
Still, the mystique of the wealthy west remains strong. As I said, almost all Poles have become rich by having some working relations abroad. Students by the hundreds try to get slave labour jobs so that they can buy one or two luxury items. Business people come here, assess the market and go around like millionaires. And people basically buy into it all, that same fucking myth seen all around the world, that maybe they'll get rich, that maybe things

will change for the better.... Above all it's important to realise that the current problems are not at all seen as part of capitalist economy, but that most people blame everything on the previous communist gov't and the Russians (because of course, no Poles were ever communists.)

Now however we are beginning to see a few incidents of class warfare. Most notably in my city, some people have been painting graffiti on brand new expensive cars.

But these actions are rare. More often we are confronted by the

actions of skinheads and the like. One of the more ridiculous episodes took place here in Wroclaw when some skins attacked the German consulate. This I found out, was in retaliation for German attacks on Poles in Germany. Of course, the attacks in Germany were most probably done by skins.... The press of course never understood the purpose of this, and this attack was just seen as radical fanaticism, no different from the attack done to protest the Berlin squatters' repression or attacks on the British counsel. (German speaking fascists, it



Hi. We are Anti-Media. We are a very small group. We are a very small group for only one reason. Because we are Anti-Media.

We all know about the war because of the media. The world at war can be confusing, beyond our control—oil spills, chemical weapons, human rights, shaky allies, teddy bear generals and nouveau Hitlers. There is new news every hour. The media is our only source of information. With no personal knowledge to judge against, anything can be true, anything can be false. We don't know. I don't know. Do you?

As an unknowing mass attuned to a single source we are clay in the hands of power. The manipulation is both emotional and informational. "Our troops" fly "our planes" dropping "our bombs" until "our leaders" declare victory "ours." This cheap psychology of power dovetails nicely with the humiliations of daily existence. Being powerless in society we seek to identify with power on a larger scale. They are obviously not your bombs or my generals, but by internalizing a perspective that is not ours the media rationalizes power. To turn on the media is to rationalize the war. To turn on the media yesterday or tomorrow is to rationalize clearcuts, 100% increases in prison populations, buy-an-identity lifestyles, and all the other interrelated absurdities of modern life. By speaking directly into our heads and pulling our emotions into hierarchies of real world power, media has much greater power of social control than old fashioned methods. Once the message has been internalized we police ourselves.

What is equally important is what's left out of the picture. Censorship is always employed, someone's values edit every program, every article. And believe it or not, all of life's experiences cannot be transmitted to us electronically. This is why after thousands of hours of TV, and equally copious newspaper coverage, Americans still don't know anything about Arab culture and history. In the larger historical context of the region, we don't even know what we are doing. The crisis of Islam in the modern world does not make "good" TV; the delivery of a video bomb does. Even if the media spent hours analyzing Mid-East history and culture the likely result would be boredom. Because Mid-East history and culture are boring? Anything but! Why then? Because boredom is what the media delivers best. No matter what brand of information you choose to consume you will never be a participant. The social basis of media is the passivity of the consumer. By simplifying complex social issues the media creates its own reality. As long as media's reality is consumed by a passive public it need not correspond to the real world.

The Economy is the Media is the War is the Economy is the Media is War. All of the above share in one big lie. That unlimited economic growth is possible forever. That this is the only choice we have. America with 5% of the world's people accounts for 63% of global energy consumption, owns 33% of the world's cars and drives 50% of the world's total mileage. The media is sponsored by those who profit from our excess. The spread of media everywhere has reproduced everywhere the same consumption patterns and lifestyles that make useless economic growth possible. The media creates the need to need. The need to need is what fuels the industrial destruction of the planet.

What can we hope for, living as we are, in a thoroughly mediated society? One sign of hope, perhaps already widespread is massive disbelief, sensory cynicism. This double negative is not always a positive. The lies must first be created and broadcast to be judged as lies. Thus they are already real. Real and ever-present. The most hopeful sign and best solution is to turn it all off. A world without media? Unmediated activity is the birth of our power. When thousands march against the war it is an expression of desire. A collective desire to change the world we live in is a basic human reality, but not a part of the media's world. When thousands of people become innovators, instigators, and originators, then somehow even the most exciting media seems lifeless in comparison. Do you share our desire to watch the currently programmed reality of corporate culture and war fade away like the ever smaller dot at the center of the screen? Perhaps you, too, are Anti-Media.

LETTERS

seems, have also appeared, maybe trying to resurrect Breslau—so maybe they'll just kill each other.)

Skins in fact have become a very serious problem in Poland (particularly Silesia), Slovakia, and Hungary. Talk of action against skins is in the air. All around nationalism is an overwhelming force. Recently speaking to Czech anarchists people expressed an interest in forming 'extra-nationalistic' alliances. Some of us are trying to organize a conference. (Of course this is difficult as people don't have too much \$ to travel.) Will keep people posted.

Laure A., Wroclaw, Polska

For deeper insight

Dear editor,

I recently had the opportunity to read for the first time an edition of *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* (#29/Summer 1991). It is thought provoking and detailed.

For a deeper insight and perspective, for those who are interested, relevant to the concept of anarchism historically, I suggest the study of the Spanish Civil War. The anarchists had a thriving community, and a practical alternative to wage slavery, during the epoch in Spain. But, the anarchist fell out with other organizations on hostile terms, noticeably the socialist and communist. It contributed to the defeat of the civil war paving the way for fascist Nicolas Franco [sic] to seize power. Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1939* (Princeton University Press, USA, 1965), is a good book to read on the subject.

I'm an artist-painter-writer confined on death row. Enclosed herewith please find a flyer ad for my poster 'Ourstory' [\$10.00], and my pamphlet *Who is the New African?* [\$2.50]. The proceeds from the sale of the pamphlet go to help pay for my defense on retrial, and the sale of the poster go towards the publication of my book titled *Uhuru* (pronounced: oo-who-roo), meaning freedom.

Zolo Agona Azania

Death Row #4969

Indiana State Prison

POB 41

Michigan City, IN. 46360

Lev comments:

Revolution or civil war?

It is true that during the Spanish Revolution the Spanish anarchist movement in many ways "had a thriving community"—until it was largely destroyed by the military attacks and the confusion resulting from Spanish Civil War. It should also be remembered that the Spanish anarchists were badly divided by the war, to the extent that several prominent anarchists joined the Republican government, collaborating with the liberal, socialist and communist parties whose primary interests lay in defeating the anarchistic social revolution which was taking place. Certainly, the falling-out between the revolutionary anarchists on the one side and the reactionary socialists, liberals, and communists on the other, "contributed to the defeat" of the republican government during the civil war. But it should also be remembered that the treachery, bureaucracy and authoritarianism of the parties in the republican government contributed

directly to the defeat of the Spanish Revolution during the civil war. The side of this fracture one wishes to emphasize (the responsibilities of the revolutionaries for the victory of Francisco Franco and the defeat of the republican government, or the responsibilities of the reactionary parties—liberal, socialist, and communist for the defeat of the revolutionaries and the victory of Franco) usually indicates whether one is actually supportive of people in revolution or of authoritarian parties in search of people to rule, exploit and humiliate.

To emphasize the importance of the success of the Spanish Revolution for a successful defense against Franco involves condemning the despicable practices of the reactionary parties. On the other hand, to emphasize the importance of the demands of the military campaigns of the Civil War was the tack taken by those who feared the revolutionaries above all, and wished to blame them for the government's defeat at the hands of Franco. In fact, many of the more brazen authoritarians actually blamed the revolutionaries for "opening the front" to Franco's troops at the same time as reactionary communist troops abandoned

the military front and were ruthlessly attacking the revolutionaries behind the lines.

Your recommendation of Gabriel Jackson's book (written from an authoritarian liberal perspective) indicates that you may not be aware of libertarian scholarship on the movements of this period. Or else, it indicates that your sympathies lie more with the authoritarian perspectives on the war than with the revolutionaries' perspectives. I'd suggest people read: Noam Chomsky's essay "Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship" (in his book *American Power and the New Mandarins*), Gaston Leval's *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*, David Porter's collection of Emma Goldman's essays in *Vision on Fire*, Murray Bookchin's *The Spanish Anarchists*, Sam Dolgoff's *The Anarchist Collectives*, Abel Paz's *Durruti; The People Armed*, Gerald Brenan's *The Spanish Labyrinth*, Daniel Guérin's *Anarchism*, Franz Borkenau's *The Spanish Cockpit*, Bernard Bolloten's *The Spanish Revolution* or his *The Grand Camouflage*, and/or George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* for alternatives to the usual array of Stalinist and liberal disinformation about the Spanish Revolution.

More letters on & from P.A.N.A.L. & Michael Stotts

Not my letter

Dear Lev,

The "To hell with *Anarchy*" letter [issue #28, p.30] you printed, with my name and the P.A.N.A.L. Headquarters address at the end, was *not* written by me.

I've been sitting back watching all this hype go on about the P.A.N.A.L. organization and myself, and I'm amazed at the energy being put into such madness!

Having been through eleven (11) state and federal trials, I'm certainly not gonna allow myself to be put on trial by people who don't even know me, and are supposed to be anarchists! And, I don't feel like I owe anyone an "explanation" to bogus allegations.

There is alot of work to do, and I'm having a hard time keeping up with the suits against prison officials (see most recent one at: U.S. v. Stotts, 925 F.2d 83 [4th Cir. 1991]), much less keeping up with gossip & rumors. And, of course, there is P.A.N.A.L. and *Behind The Walls*, which is an enormous amount of work as well. I note with disappointment that *Prison News Service* has just printed a rather large article on me ("Michael Stotts, Uncovered?") directing the reader to *Anarchy* for further discussion. The author of this article, Larry Giddings, is the very same man that P.A.N.A.L., my editor, and I, helped with his Freedom Now! Campaign to Gain Political Prisoner Adoption (we sent letters on his behalf). I'm shocked he would write such an outrageous article!

In closing, let me just say thanks to Paul Wright (PLN) and Bill Meyers (WSA) for their letters of support written on my behalf. Both of these people I consider friends and both know of the accomplishments made to help pris-

oners via P.A.N.A.L. and *Behind The Walls*. And, of course, a special thanks to Ted Beardsley, B.T.W. editor, for his commitment, loyalty and support.

Free the land!

Michael J. Stotts

Founder, P.A.N.A.L. USA

POB 4167

Halfmoon, NY. 12065

Ps. Oh, I just got word that J.M. (you know who you are) is sending around "paperwork" via Barry Carpenter (AKA Gizmo) which supposedly (I haven't read it) says I informed in a drug case. I was charged in this drug case, J.M. owes me alot of money, and that "paperwork" is phoney—so check it out good!

Credibility compromised

Greetings,

I am writing once again in regards to the allegations made against Michael J. Stotts (founder P.A.N.A.L./*Behind The Walls*) which have appeared in past issues of *Anarchy* as well as other publications.

I was not at all surprised by what Stotts wrote in *Anarchy* #28. It is understandable that at times one must use the judicial system in defense or to oppose the system. But it is an extremely impoverished act for one who claims to be an anarchist to threaten those in the struggle for liberation with a law suit.

Nowhere in Stotts' or Beardsley's letters were the allegations made by myself or others addressed. As for my motives in this, they are quite simple. I do not wish to see sincere people continue to be taken advantage of nor do I wish honest or innocent people in prison to be regarded as criminals & opportunists.

In response to Ted Beardsley's

comments: At no time have I ever claimed to be the "profound arbiter of who has appropriate concepts." It should go without saying that if a person claims to uphold certain principles & ideals but their actions & deeds are continually to the contrary of these principles/ideals then certainly this compromises their credibility. Also let me say that in my opinion when one is willing to dedicate their time, energy and (limited) resources freely to aid another then surely honesty is not too much to ask in return.

I have enclosed documents received from James McQuerry which I received some weeks back which implicate Stotts in a drug set-up of a fellow inmate, as well as a letter written by Stephen Czarny which states Stotts not only bragged about setting McQuerry up but also tried to set Czarny up. Copies of these documents will be sent to P.A.N.A.L. on the same day of this mailing (06-06-91). I will also make copies available to anyone who wishes to receive them for a SASE & printing costs (around 10 pages at this point).

Solidarity,

Barry Carpenter

POB 1153

Russellville, AL. 35653

[Note: Once again it should be noted that we here in Columbia involved with the *Anarchy* collective have no way of knowing directly which information we've received is reliable and which isn't. It should be noted, however, that the 'documentation' Barry Carpenter mentions speaks consistently of a 'Michael Stotts' rather than 'Stotts' for whatever it is worth. -Lev]

Repelled by thuggery

Anarchy,

Tad Kopley (*Anarchy* #27 letters, p.35) apparently hopes that, in the two years since the occasionally-Anarchist gathering, readers will have forgotten the oh-so-militant attack upon Berkeley. Relying upon this presumed ignorance, he floats a generalized attack on my "boldface lies" (a charge he repeats several times, though he offers scant evidence), "suburban-style intimidatory overtures" (we are mercifully spared examples, I've never lived in a suburb), "contradictory, confused, misspelt and misdirected editorials" (we are again spared examples; presumably he refers to the *Libertarian Labor Review's* editorials: ironically Kopley misspells my name throughout), and my alleged reliance on the tube (I don't even have one) for my information.

Kopley contends the trashing didn't happen. I wasn't there, but pretty much everyone who was agrees on the main details. *Eco-media* reported (#57, "Boneheads Bust-Up Berkeley"), for example, that "demonstrators...trampled on homeless people's gardens, and the homeless people ended up banding together to protect their cafe" from them.

Mayday (October 1989) reported that "Alleged Anarchists at the Day of Action in Berkeley taunted... [police and a truck driver] with epithets like 'Fag' and 'Cock-sucker'." "Idiotic actions that took place during the demonstration," they report, included "an attack on a soup kitchen operated by the

Catholic Workers and smashing the windows of an apartment where one of the marchers lives."

I could cite similar accounts by dozens of anarchists who witnessed, and were appalled by, this mindless thuggery.

As anarchists, I and many others were repelled by this thuggery (no other term quite fits).

Anarcho-syndicalism, 'moralism' (by which Kopley apparently means our suggestion that there is no room for thugs in the anarchist movement), and such may bore Kopley and friends. But the tactics he so mendaciously defends are not merely counter-productive—they are contrary to any vision of a free, self-managed society.

Jon Bekken

Box 1403

Conway, AR. 72032

Anti-work and "the average person"

Dear *Anarchy*,

Campus leftists like C.W. [see "Where are the practical alternatives to work" in *Anarchy* #29/Summer '91 p.32] invariably appoint themselves to speak for "the average person" when they defend the basic institutions of the existing order—like work. When C.W. says "the average person can't even contemplate a society where their (sic) needs would be met without work," what he means is, "I can't even contemplate a workless society, and since I'm so much smarter than the average person—even if I can't get my subjects and verbs to agree—it must be *she* can't even contemplate it either." What C.W. "can't even contemplate" is the fact that his adoption of an orthodox anarchist ideology afflicted by premature closure has disabled him to contemplate without prejudice the radical deepening of that ideology (to the point, I hope, it turns into theory). He has more to unlearn than most people.

Anarcho-workerists say zero-workers are direct and on target with a lot of their critiques of work, but what is their practical alternative? Liberals say, anarchists are direct and on target with a lot of their critiques of government, but what is their practical alternative? Both insist people are "frightened" and cling to the status quo. And many people do, C.W. included. C.W.'s case against anti-work is a case against his own anarchism.

My "No Future for the Workplace" (#26/Autumn 1990), the only anti-work text actually quoted by C.W., was an extremely streamlined summary of an argument I made much more fully in "The Abolition of Work" (widely available as the title essay of my 1986 book and elsewhere). I am coeditor of *Zero-Work: The Anti-Work Anthology* which is forthcoming from Autonomedia and also the author of *Friendly Fire*, forthcoming from the same publisher, both of which address more concrete criticism than C.W. has offered. Charles Fourier, William Morris, Tony Gibson, Ernest Mann and many others we anthologize have a lot to say about anti-work in practice.

The people who are "standing in a circle and talking to our own little clique!" are the leftists as

Continued on next page

Anti-work

Continued from previous page

they take turns attending each others' demonstrations and mail each other their ideologized re-writes of wire service stories about strikes in Lower Slobbovia. C.W.'s only known action is writing a letter to *Anarchy*, i.e. talking to his own little clique. I've insinuated the anti-work argument into the strangest places, among them a Miami business newspaper, the *Ume Reader*, an anthology in Yugoslavia, the *Wall Street Journal*, the IWW national newspaper and an avant-punk London magazine, *Vague*. I talk to anybody I can get to listen. If C.W. can get me into *USA Today* (so far I've only managed to get a front-page anti-work quote there) I'd appreciate it.

I think the problem is not what C.W. doesn't know but what he doesn't want to know. He shouldn't expect his professors to enlighten him on *this* point. He shouldn't look down on "the average person" either, as I've run into many kinds of people over the years who react with interest and sympathy to the anti-work critique. When my essay was first printed as a pamphlet, the boss said "it got quiet" when the workers got the manuscript and he thought they'd run off some extras for themselves. When C.W. goes out into the workworld, if he ever does, he too may see things differently.

The ideologue or the activist isn't likely to enlighten "the average person." As Marx put it, "the educator himself needs educating."

Take it easy, but take it,
Bob Black
POB 66153
Albany, NY. 12206

An emphasis on Child Sexuality

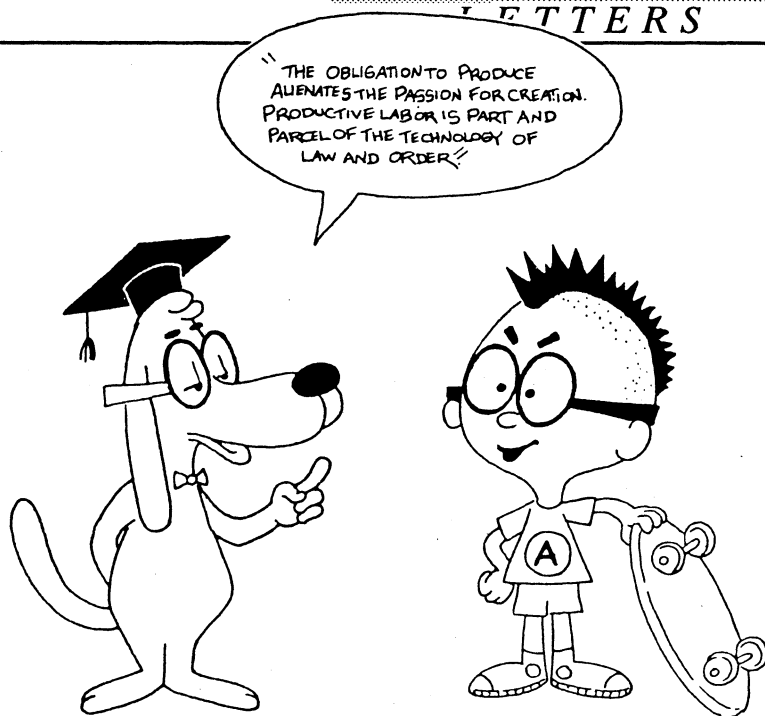
Dear *Anarchy*,

First off I'd like to thank you on an excellent zine; I really enjoy it and have gotten a lot out of reading it.

The reason I have written you is to request that you send me the address of *Girl Love*. I support their views as stated in the last couple of issues and would like to get more information from them. I am not only interested in their views personally, but also professionally. I am a medical student and will be entering a residency in Pediatric/Adolescent Medicine with an emphasis on Child Sexuality, Intergenerational Relationships and Social Influences on the Development of Sexual Behavior.

I wish to learn more about them in a genuine way, that is, from a viewpoint of understanding and support rather than from an intolerant, judging or attacking stance.

It is unfortunate that, while although there are many giving, caring, empathetic persons in medicine, there are many who are politically/socially unaware and/or ignorant. Many of my peers are so wrapped up in the "produce, produce, success, work, work" aspect of medicine that they don't realize that health and illness are directly related to the economic-political class structure and "moral ideology" of society. In my opinion—medicine and politics are inseparable—you can't help a child who is continually ill when (s)he goes home every night to a house with-



Concept: Bob Black/Quote: Raoul Vaneigem/Cartoon by: Gwen Rosewater

out insulation, adequate sewage-drainage systems, quality food, etc. Similarly, talking to teenagers about sexuality is affected greatly by the ideas they are taught in the media, literature, and at home—all propagated/originated by the joint religious/controlling class in an attempt to influence us via guilt and scare tactics.

I can see that I'm rambling on in an incoherent diatribe so I'd better stop while I'm ahead.

Please send me *Girl Love's* address and if you have any information or suggestions on child sexuality/liberation it would be much appreciated—the only stuff I have access to is traditionally conservative psychiatric/pediatric/medical literature.

Thanks again for your zine & time.

Sincerely,
D.D., Los Angeles, CA.

[We haven't the faintest idea of any address for *Girl Love*, and we're sure the publisher of *GL* is taking great pains to ensure that no one will ever know its address for rather obvious reasons. "Free speech" simply doesn't exist in the U.S. concerning certain topics, or at least concerning certain perspectives taken on those topics. Were *GL* to function out in the open, I suspect it wouldn't be long before the publisher would be imprisoned one way or another. Perhaps you aren't aware of the extensive entrapment schemes currently in operation to coax the unwitting into violating obscure & bizarre laws concerning "child pornography," etc. Even you could find yourself treading on very dangerous ground in soliciting this type of material if you're too open about it. I'd suggest checking out an article by Lawrence Stanley titled "The Child Porn Myth" (*Cardozo Arts and Entertainment Law Journal* Vol.7, #2/1989) before you investigate this topic much further academically. -Lev]

Sour apple

Please refrain from printing Bob Black—the sour apple is spoiling your barrel!

A.L., St. Louis, MO.

Sacrifice is beautiful

Anarchy,

This is a response to issue #29/Summer 1991, pp.34-35.

1) The definition of 'desire' is not a singular credo for revolution. Neither is it the problem in our capitalist society.

Rather than pit 'desire' against 'sacrifice', as both R.E., overseas and Lev Chernyi have done, we can resolve them by acknowledging the possibility that they can become synonymous. Desire for sacrifice is still desire. Desire for moral order is as legitimate as desire for amoral chaos, so long as we carry our definitions to their logical extremes.

All thought must reach its logical extreme, too, if humanity will ever be really liberated. Sacrifice is beautiful if it comes out of his/her own needs: physical, psychological, emotional. Desire can arise from the same examination, but does not always do so. Perhaps human beings should arm their needs and not their desires.

2) Similar reactionary-mindedness comes from Starry Wisdom Sect, to whom I address these questions:

-Are you liberated enough to ignore those who criticize you?

-Are you liberated enough to accept the possibility that boy-love and pedophilia are exploitative?

-Is 'family' dysfunctional? Or, once again, is it only our limited definition of 'family' that is dysfunctional?

That is all.

Sincerely,
Hairless Mastodon, L.A., CA.

[Playing with semantics does not somehow magically eliminate the distinction between desire and sacrifice! In general, what is suggested by use of the word 'sacrifice' obviously entails the repression & alienation of more basic desires. It is only when a 'sacrifice' is an expression of relatively unalienated desires that it makes much sense to characterize it as the same thing as a 'desire'; but in such cases it is rarely called a 'sacrifice' since it doesn't really conform to the usual meaning of the word in practice. When 'sacrifice' represents self-repression and the turning of the person against her/himself, this sort of identification with 'desire' becomes ludicrous. Of course, one can say that people in some sense may have 'desires' to suppress their most basic and genuine desires. But this merely reproduces the distinction between desire and sacrifice/repression on a more confusing semantic terrain. It does nothing in the least to 'resolve' anything! A question for you:

-Are you repressed enough to think that whole categories of consenting sexual relationships are always exploitative regardless of the individual persons and circumstances involved? -Lev]

I say poo pah

Hello anarchists,

Keep in mind that the only way to get from point b to point a is through structure!

Issue #27 was my introduction to *Anarchy* mag and I may say it hit the proverbial nail on the head for me in many respects—Bravo to the clear critical ejecta from what must be some well exercised thought processes—and to those articles (you know who you were!) for whom I have the criticism that the focus be on the quality and flow of concept rather than quantity of syllables per meaty sentence. I say poo pah—

A letter expressing the perceived lack of attention to the ends of the means (processes) throughout the critical theory espoused (chuckle at my choice of words or not) in the pages of *Anarchy* mirrors my own feelings of disappointment in general with much of any public dialogue or criticism concerning the spectacle—be it through graffiti plays painting print or whathaveyou. No one appears willing to express a feasible positive end result (beyond pointed questioning too wide in scope so as to be immune to criticism and too unfocused to be of value to a focussed movement)—perhaps it is a fear of misperceptions or perceptions which bring about labels such as fascist or perhaps it is a fear of the constitution—so what?

My thirsty mind is willing to weigh the realistic feasibility of your achievable utopian fantasy or theory—cause you see action is goaded by belief and belief is cultivated by desire and desire springs forth from fantasies of achieved or satisfied desires (such as the liberation of desire)—

And so my suggestion to you (*Anarchy* contributors) is to present an issue concerning the process achievement and end (achievement continuum) of a variety of Anarchist Utopias (Life systems Non systems Commun[e] ities Whathaveyou) which reflect upon the dissimulation of current systems (or conversion [and ideally non-violent {I know how absolutist of me} I would argue that violence is intrinsically authoritarian and obviously alienating in nature {besides violence begets more violence}—how about committed anarchists clawing their way up the multi national corporate ladders to then drive the shits and a piece of the power structure to bankruptcy?) including modes of communication (can English with all of its alienating and hierarchical symbols be the language of the revolution?) available temperate climates/population/food resources control of manufactured products sexuality and purpose in life (ha ha)—also I encourage a process of defining the limits of any given utopia (I myself have difficulty envisioning a functional anarchy [individually defined and need fulfilling] that does not encompass all peoples) and important is a documentation of the transition from commodity exchange to shared responsibility being—in an attempt to fuel the fantasies of anarchy in the minds of all who would care to join us in celebrating life with the living and working of it.

with love,
S, Seattle, WA.

News from the Netherlands

Dear *Anarchy*,

At first to be traditional I want to mention that I like to read your product. It's not one-sided @ and that's what I enjoy, although I have my preferences. Next I like the controversial subjects as they appear about troubles inside the @ movement, e.g. about P.A.N.A.L., about the @ shop in N.Y., about other @ papers (although perhaps sometimes are personal names too quickly used in public). It paints the @ movement as it is built up by all kinds of individuals in or outside groups with all their personal characters, habits, wishes, ambitions.

A difference between *Anarchy* and *Love and Rage* (the, as far as I see, 2 @ papers which cover in a way the whole of the USA) = *Anarchy* seemed to be more rooted in situationism and *Love and Rage* more in direct actions. Historical reasons?! None of them do have roots in the 'old' movement of the '60s and the 'foreign' worker groups? Italian, Jewish, Spanish, etc. (nearly all is foreign in USA/-Canada). Others are more on ecology, like *FE*, *KIO*, *GP* or on syndicalism *I&A*, *LRR*, *IW*, others more the native struggle, music, antimilitarism, feminism.... In *Anarchy* I like to read the information about the @ publications/-contacts. I try to do the same here by mentioning as much as possible @ publications to broaden the scope even inside the @ circles, and also public group/contact addresses here and elsewhere.

In *Anarchy* #28 is to be read an article on the Netherlands (not Holland, Holland is the Western part of the Netherlands and is/was the dominating part. It probably has points for discussion how states have grown till today since the 18th & 19th Century. The article is partly based on an interview of S.Wray with 3 persons of the 'Raaf' production collective (with their ideas, contacts).

Comments on the article:

The libertarian (= Free Socialistic) camp for "freedom reflection" has existed in this place since '33, before then @ people did meet as anti-militarists, anti-state, etc. in various places once a year. This place was never a 'real' @ camp or people would/could use it for anti-militaristic, anti-alcohol, anti-repression meetings. Except for the few international @ gatherings the traditional @ meeting camp on Whitsun weekend holidays attracts about 250-400 persons, depending on weather, information, and strength of @ movement. One can meet, 'real' activists, discussion lovers, @ material selling, people looking after an @ contact, @ people looking for a break in daily life. Older and some younger people have put there their caravan, but almost all on Whitsun do real camping. Almost all visitors are from Dutch-speaking areas (Netherlands & Flanders, a few from Germany).

To describe the actual @ landscape a bit more, I will mention some publications, groups, activities, and review the given addresses [in S. Wray's piece 'Anarchy in the Netherlands'].

I start in the north:

In Groningen town exist still a small publication called *Leven in Chaos* ("Life in Chaos"). The

LETTERS

squatters groups in that town are weakened by the crushing of one of their strongholds Wray wrote about. In the province of Friesland exists *Recht voor Allen* ("Right for All") from the end of the 19th Century started by Ferd. Domela Nieuwenhuis (he went from Christian pastor via socialism, 2 years in parliament to anarchism) as social democrat paper of the S.D. organization Soc. Dem. Bund (which at the beginning of the 20th Century split in @ and Soc. Dem./Socialist/Communist parts) When Nieuwenhuis became @ he started *Vrije Socialist* ("Free Socialist," still nowadays semi-@, in existence). After a longtime quarrel between older @ about the camp and the @ movement came a 'split', some at the camp produce *Recht voor Allen-Van Onder Op* ("Right for All-From Under Up").

In the West (= Holland provinces North/South), one finds *Raaf*, formerly *ASSW*, as such started at the end of the '70s by people unhappy with *Vrije Socialist* (sometimes libertarian Marxist, sometimes more individualistic...). *AS* was started too as a split off from *Vrije Socialist*, at first as @ socialists. Nowadays, a quarterly with one theme. *Alive* does not exist anymore as its founders stated: not enough/no information from outside Netherlands. It was meant for the whole world in English. Most of the leftist/left is nowadays weakened since the fall of the Wall, of the lighttower Moscow and part of Marxist (Leninist) doctrines. Some do keep their publications: the Trotskyists, a few Maoists, some radical modern social democrats. In general one finds them back in PvdA (Party of Labour-Soc. Dem.), Greek left (a mix fed. of Comm. Party, Radical Party, and Pacif. Soc. Party and Evangelical People's Party), SAP (Trotskyist), KEN (Maoist-M.L.), and FNV (the main trade union federation—a bit like AFL-CIO).

Some are active in networks: of women, for social benefits, environment, anti-militarism. In the 'new' activist circles, still the squatters, anti-militarists, not so influenced by M-Leninism, one sees many young people, although some became still attracted by RAF, IRA, ETA, etc.

The papers: After the above mentioned, we see an activist publication in province of Gelderland called *Lekker Fris* ("Delicious Fresh") in Arnhem, Nymegen, Wageningen; a small one in Utrecht called *Springstof* ("Explosive"); in Holland province, Haarlem area *Omslag* ("Cover/-Change") and *Haarlem N@chtblad* ("Nightpaper"), in Leiden *Peueraar*, Rotterdam *DE*; in prov. Brabant Noord, Eindhoven *Ous Dorp* ("Our Village"), in Den Bosch *Kleintje Muurkrant* ("Small Wallpaper"). In Amsterdam exists still the squatters' paper *Grachtenkrant* ("Canalpaper"), and the activist paper *N.N.* Other publications in the country are more specialized, in local squatting, anti-militarism, punk-music. Most of those mentioned above are more or less @ influenced, or focus on computers (*Hack-tic*). *AS* = ±300 impressions/print, *Raaf* ±300, *RvA* ±200, *N.N.* ±1100, *LF* ±400. The famous @ paper *Vrije Socialist* tries to become more widespread, less @, more magazine and they

have to pay a high price for this (lose the tie/link with @, and need a lot of money now). The former activist/anti-imperialist publ. *De Zwarte* collective is trying to set up a new paper with more background articles, called *Konfrontation*.

Addresses:

Camp tot Vrijheidsbeëindiging
Aeckingaweg 1
Appelscha

Recht voor @llen
pb 48
Oosterwolde

R.v.@. van Onder Op
pb 37
Appelscha

Leef in Chaos
Ooftskrant g
Groningen

Lekker Fris
pb 1610
Nymegen

Omslag
pb 934
Haarlem

Haarlem N@chtblad
pb 234
Haarlem

N.N.
v. Ostadestr. 233
Amsterdam

Grachtenkrant
pb 16544
Amsterdam

Springstof
OudeGracht 36
Utrecht

Raaf
pb 51217
Amsterdam

DE
Stieltjesstr 38
Rotterdam

Kleintje Muurkrant
pb 703
Den Bosch

Ous Dorp
pb 7585
Eindhoven

Peueraar
Koppenhinksteeg 2
Leiden

Free kids and sado-masochism

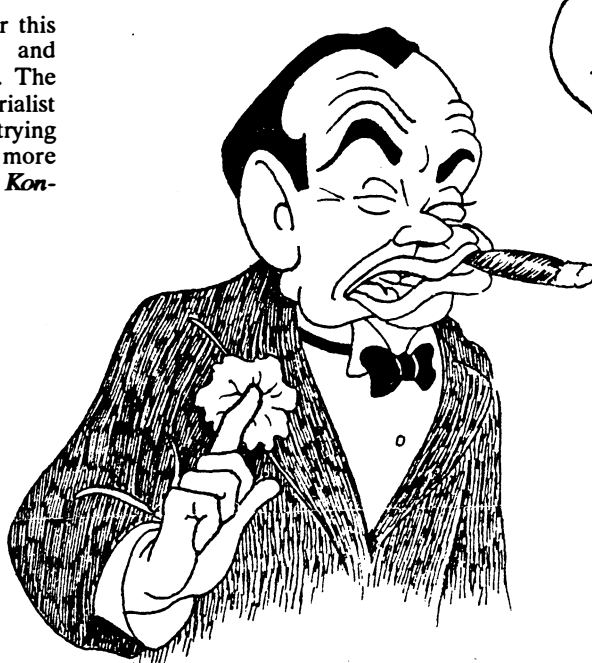
Your Free Kids issue and the resulting feedback concerning child sexuality was, for me, the most meaningful stuff I've gotten from your magazine (And I've admired this mag from the gitgo). I immediately found my way to Su Negrin's *Begin At Start* and have given away a few copies of that—one of the most honest books to have ever touched me.

Now, your readers have just about broken kids sexuality out of the closet. *Girl Love's* response [see *Anarchy* #28/Spring '91, p.32] made one most vital point which I could never put into words—partly because it didn't occur to me that others might feel similarly: loving sex relations with children are not, as a rule, penetration based.

The whole thing is different—as different as the meat and potato eater's approach to beans is from the versatile vegetarian's approach to the soy bean. These are different worlds.

On the other hand, the versatility and creativity which I find necessary for loving children is mirrored in how I love adults. What I call sex, in general, a lot of people might consider celibacy. Fine, so long as it's creative enough to satisfy all concerned.

Personal experience: In second grade in Montréal's Pasteur



Quote: Scarface/Cartoon by Gwen Rosewater

private elementary school, the second most powerful person—as I remember it—was a nun. End of the day, the whole school would congregate in the large green-walled basement.

Prayers would be said, announcements would be made, and then she'd read a list of kids' names and bring each up to the front of the crowd, pull down his pants, and spank.

This was the only intimate touch I know her to have had with any of us. No one ever reported this to our parents. I wasn't going to because, supposedly, this was my fault (a punishment). The other reason why I wasn't telling is that there were good things woven into this convoluted game.

The attention was enormous. It was an abuse of power to make the one case of total attention-getting something one was told to feel guilty about. Also, this was the most direct physical sexual interaction we were allowed (that is, that we were coerced into). And again, this was painted over with guilt.

I could never even remember what anyone (self included) was getting punished for. It was so long after the fact. This nun was too prudish to get her jollies without this sick cover which polluted me with guilt I'm just starting to overcome!

I'm just learning, furthermore, that I like being spanked; partly it's a psychotherapeutic help. But if I'm spanked rhythmically, I've discovered I start to resonate in a way that's immensely pleasurable. I was robbed of so much pleasure because of someone else's fears and taboos and of adult smoke screens for cowardice.

Another experience further confused me: about 5th grade, a stranger slid his hand into my pants and felt my butt. I felt so guilty about having a sexual nature at all that I let this event shake me up badly. But the lies which the nun in Canada smothered me in as well as other vile politics that polluted my stay at Pasteur—these hurt me longer than any physical action ever has. Including the spanking. And I've been mugged, beaten, violently assaulted by bullies and eventually cops.

As soon as I had begun going to school, I was railroaded into feeling evil for liking my body and feeling a joy about other bodies.

My point in sharing these experiences is that a lot more intergenerational sex goes on than adults care to admit. Lots of the punishment crap is sex—cowardly, denial-laden, coerced sex, but sex all the same.

In other words, the sex is turned into rape.

I'm no longer allowing my rapists to decide for me what I'll consider pain and what I'll consider pleasure. And my experiences have taught me not to be too presumptuous about other people's sexuality either.

G. Saintiny
Yonkers, NY.

Ps. Reading over my letter, I realize the tone is more gentle than I feel I am. I'm not a 'safe' person around kids. I'd just as soon people who whine that "if you give kids freedom you'll like what you get"—I'd just as soon they jumped over a cliff.

Love and lust are fierce. I guarantee that where kids (and folk in general) get personal power (rather than the weak milky shit that passes for 'freedom' [read 'privilege']), their past tormentors will be aghast!

You can learn from me or from kids. But you'll hate us all. At some point every person disagrees with every other person, and we discover that we're alone. Understand that kids have every reason to want to kill many (if not all) adults. There's nothing cute about accepting another's personhood.

Congratulations

Anarchy,

While I don't keep records, it must have been a year since I sent you a subscription, so please find another one enclosed.

Some of your writers seem hurt by Fred Majer's comments. One of Fred's beliefs is in a strong Anarchist Militia, and most of us in Chicago can't think of anyone more qualified to lead it than Fred.

It's more a matter of personality than issues. Fred has such a tremendous energy that few of us doubt his sincerity. The problem is that about half of Fred's energy is used to attack lesser Anarchists (including touchie feelies who somehow think Anarchy would increase the meaning of life, and pacifists who Fred personally offers to put in the hospital—Fred

does believe in capitalist science and medicine but otherwise is almost perfect).

Please consider it a minor honor to be attacked by Fred. My congratulations to all of you.

L.A., Chicago, IL.

Not the way to run a railroad!

Dear everyone and anyone,

...I am head of a novice anarchist/activist organization called Riotcross, but I have very few members—2. I used to have more, but they just sat around and expected things to just happen. They were unimaginative and uncooperative. I had to tell them what to do all the time. That's not the way to run a railroad! Voluntary and creative thinking and action make anarchist movements work! Don't you think so? But, what I mean is do you, or anyone you know have contacts in central Jersey so they can join? And we can make society realize how corrupt the world is. Society is committing suicide! But it is a long fucking process and we are all in the middle. Help me by trying to get contacts to contact me. You can contact me too, I don't discriminate. Long live anarchy...Thanx.

Sincerely,

John Joseph Funk
19 Liberty Place
West Keansburg, NJ. 07734

Latest word on Uncommon Desires

Dear C.A.L.,

The latest word on *Uncommon Desires* is that we are on indefinite hold for the time being. Our attorney, Larry Stanley, had his office raided some time back and our mailing list, which we naively imagined was safe with him, was seized. Larry has been on the FBI/Postal Inspection Service enemies list ever since he published his 1988 article "The child-porn myth" in *Playboy* magazine. This article exposed the massive U.S. government sting operation which constitutes the sole commercial source of child pornography in America. Many would-be victims of this sting operation read the article and realized that all of the 'penpals' or "video companies" or "sexual freedom groups" who had been writing to them trying to get them to order child porn were in fact federal agents. This caused numerous carefully planned government entrapment schemes to fizzle, and constituted a threat to the livelihood of the federal sex police/entrappers. Larry was also a thorn in their side in other ways, testifying as an expert witness for the defense in criminal trials of individuals who had been cajoled under false pretenses into ordering under-aged porn photos from the feds and then arrested by the feds for having done so.

The pretext for the raid on Larry's office was that he had received a suitcase containing four photos of naked girls. In fact, the suitcase belonged to one of his clients who had been trying to retrieve it from an airline which claimed to have misplaced it. The client had asked Larry, who had no way of knowing the photos were inside, to help get the suit-

Continued on next page

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Uncommon Desires

Continued from previous page

case back. FBI agents disguised as couriers delivered the suitcase to Larry in his office and then used the presence of the nude photos in the suitcase as an excuse to ransack the office. This routine of theirs was so ridiculously improper that a federal judge later ordered the case dropped, called the FBI's conduct "entirely unreasonable" and forced them to return everything they had seized (including our mailing list, which they were enjoined from using for targeting purposes). The FBI simply shifted their activities to a different federal district, the one in which the suitcase had originally entered the U.S., so that they could get a different judge. Also, while the first hearing was pending, they had obtained a warrant and searched Larry's apartment as well. Nothing illegal turned up in the apartment, but they obtained his address book. With the information contained therein they began targeting all of his friends' female children, trying to get the girls to say that Larry had molested them or forced them to pose for porn.

Why the FBI focused only on girls is unclear. Perhaps they planned to use the gender of the unclothed minors in the photographs in the client's suitcase or the presence of the *Uncommon Desires* mailing list in his office to prove that he had a 'predisposition' in that direction. On the other hand, maybe they just made the sexist assumption that girls would be more easily browbeaten into giving false testimony than boys. If so, they thought wrong. All of the children stubbornly told the truth despite lengthy interrogations by social workers. The FBI lied to social workers saying that they had photos of Larry having sex with girls, and that Larry was an indicted fugitive on the lam. These intrepid g-men urged the social workers not to take 'no' for an answer and to grill the little girls relentlessly to make them break and "tell the truth" about non-existent pornography and sex. The FBI was hoping, it would seem, for a McMartin-Preschool-style hysteria to mushroom out of nothing. The credulous social workers were later stunned to discover that Larry was still living and practicing law at his usual addresses in NYC and had not even been charged with anything, much less gone on the lam. He even offered to meet with them (which they didn't know quite how to deal with). Needless to say, no photos of Larry having sex with children exist. If a single such photo existed, the FBI would arrest him at once. What is so amazing here is not that the FBI lies, (we all know that they do), but that they would lie in such easily checkable, and hence refutable, ways. They are so desperate to find something, anything, with which to indict Larry, apparently, that they don't even seem to care about their credibility with other branches of the government.

The plot thickened in the Larry Stanley affair when a mysterious break-in occurred at the Florida condo of the elderly grandmother of one of the little girls sought by the FBI for questioning. The FBI had been unable to contact the

mother and daughter at the address in Larry's address book. Local Florida police at the scene declared that the break-in had been a professional job done by experts with sophisticated equipment. Yet cash, jewelry, and all other valuables were ignored by the burglars, who focused their attention only on address books and the like. Nothing had been taken from the condo. The very next morning, angry, grim-faced FBI agents came to this frail elderly lady's door and told her that she had better tell them the current address of her daughter and granddaughter or else. Eventually the FBI did locate this child and her mother, but all their subsequent attempts to pressure the two of them into making false statements about Larry failed as usual.

Getting back to *Uncommon Desires*, the upshot is that financial resources which would normally have gone into putting out our journal have been going to help defray Larry's legal defense costs instead. The state has still not brought a single charge against Larry after bogusly 'investigating' him for nearly two years. This is not surprising since he has broken no law. None of us expect an indictment against Larry now or at any time in the future. Nevertheless, the FBI's character assassinations, Big Lies, smears, and so-called "law enforcement" and 'child-protection' abuses continue and continue and continue. The anti-authoritarian community would do well to heed what has been happening to Larry. Whatever the government can do to him without criminal charges or evidence they can do to any of the rest of us as well.

It has been a radicalizing and grimly educational experience for me to see just how much havoc the FBI can wreak on someone's life for years on end on the flimsiest of pretexts, all without a shred of evidence of any criminal wrongdoing. What is more, the FBI has accomplished all of this without bringing a single criminal charge. Many times I have read indignant claims in the radical press that so-and-so was being railroaded or 'investigated' for non-existent crimes in an attempt to keep him or her from voicing dangerous opinions or for publicizing information embarrassing to the government. I confess that in each case, in the back of my mind, there lingered a tiny seed of doubt. Could this person actually be guilty after all? Are they and their supporters just pretending that the case is trumped up in the hopes of getting them off the hook? Now that I have seen this kind of garbage happen to someone I know personally, someone whom I know to be innocent, it is a chilling experience indeed.

Perversely yours,
Joel Featherstone
Uncommon Desires
POB 2377
New York, NY. 10185

Big baby hoodlums

Dear 'Anarchy',

Don't send me any more copies. I don't want my money refunded, but please don't send anymore copies of your misnamed magazine.

I am an anarchist. I cannot use

that term without disassociating myself from the big baby hoodlums that your magazine (and most of the world) calls 'anarchists'. The term means "no hierarchy"—i.e. respect for the product of their labor; in other words, for their property. To the degree that you oppose property, you are enemies of the workers. To seize property is to seize or claim someone's body/mind. The world without property is one where everything is up for grabs—a world of ceaseless violence, meaning unlimited government. The bulk of the self-described 'anarchists' are a bunch of would be governments, engaging in the same activities but with less success. You're no different from the Spartacists; or for that matter, from Operation Rescue. The typical 'anarchist' is a tantrum-thrower, violent, non-productive, and usually a gov't employee. You're George Bushes, Stalins, Pinochets.

In a century and a half anarchism has stuck to communist ideology and gone absolutely nowhere. No, I guess that's not completely true—you have a professional looking magazine and you did get me to send you \$9; but otherwise you're losers. And you're certainly not anarchists.

T.S., Somerville, MA.

[I think you might have your terminology a bit wrong. We're not 'pro-pertarians', which seems to be what you really mean by the word 'anarchist'. For someone who objects to 'tantrum-throwers' you're pretty good at throwing nonsensical verbal tantrums yourself. It might be worth repeating the words of the first person to positively label himself an 'anarchist' historically, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who coined the phrase "Property is theft." -Lev]

Being denied victims

Editor,

Starry Wisdom Sect from Providence, RI., who raved on for several letter columns in *Anarchy*, Summer 1991, told a lot more about themselves than they did the puritans and others who would prevent them from exploiting children. Why is this person or group so anxious about the sex rights of children? Few adults care enough about children to keep them in the house during an electrical storm, let alone free them from anything.

People who crusade for something are often borderlines, people with a crusade who are troubled about these matters themselves and conflicted about them. I once viewed a social agency film showing the Lambda outfit with young boys visiting slobbering old men. One older man spoke on the film, and he looked and acted like something that came out from under a rock. Would that I could show you this film.

But enough, it is the letter writer's own ranting and raving that gives away their real concern—being denied victims. The predisposing factors of pedophilia are: low self-esteem; narcissistic identification; oedipal conflict; castration anxiety—fear of adult females; inadequate social skills; impulse disorder; alcohol problems; psychosis; situational stress; failure of incest-avoidance mechanism; and others.

Pedophiles are often people who were abused and/or suffered abuse as children; they may not

have completed their emotional growth due to several adverse home factors in their parental homes. Whatever the cause, we need to think about restructuring our society for better health and development for males as well as women.

Thank you for listening. This was the first issue of *Anarchy* that I have seen and I think it is very well done.

M.G., St. Petersburg, FL.

Pathetic 'self-assurance'

Dear *Anarchy*,

The authors of "The war and the spectacle" made a very good point with their assertion that it was a "lack of community" that gave impetus to and sustained the pro-war movement.

It illustrates just how far-away the average Joe is from the true sense of community—i.e. one based on non-hierarchical, non-statist means. It's pathetic that one nowadays has to turn to war and the state for 'self-assurance' as well.

With the risk of having to experience this scenario of near fascism again, a greater effort must be made to expose and re-educate. Expose the depravity of the spectacle, and re-educate those who know no other foundation from which to build a sense of community other than the state. I guess we have our work cut-out for us!

Yours for autonomy and peace,
A.B., Queens, NY.

Ps. An issue on crime and anarchy is long over due.

Censorship rules

Title of publication: *Anarchy*
Summer 1991 N29.

The above publication has been reviewed and denied in accordance with Section 3.9 of the TDCJ Rules and Regulations for the reason(s) checked below:

*A specific factual determination has been made that the publication is detrimental to prisoner's rehabilitation because it would encourage deviate criminal sexual behavior.

Remarks: Page 35 contains graphic depiction of sex with a minor. (Qualifies for clipping. Page 35 [1 page].)

If there is a desire to appeal the rejection of the aforementioned publication, this may be accomplished by writing to the Director's Review Committee, POB 99, Huntsville, Texas 77340. The appeal must be mailed so as to arrive at the Texas Department of Criminal Justice, Institutional Division, within two (2) weeks of the date shown below.

Mail System Coordinators Panel
POB 99
Huntsville, TX. 77342-0099

[Note: Of course, this notice arrived just in time to make it impossible to respond by the arbitrary deadline.]

Hesitations about children's sexuality

Dear everyone at *Anarchy*,

As the mother of an adolescent, I found the Winter '90/'91 issue very important.

Young people have no rights and no power in our society. They have no possibility of meaningfully contributing to their community.

And the definition of 'youth' keeps extending to keep people dependent longer.

Those of us who attempt to give our children as much freedom and responsibility as possible, depending on their age, have no support beyond a limited group of friends and are constantly hindered by people and institutions that have values that are quite different than ours. While we encourage our children to use their judgment and to be confident, traditional education induces submission and obedience.

The "Hearts and Minds" and the "Child/Adult Sex" articles are the most coherent I've read on the subject. However, being aware of how many people have been fucked up by our fucked-up society, and were raised in fucked-up families, I have hesitations about young people—young adolescents and children—having sexual relations with people much older than themselves. I'm afraid that most people don't respect the rights of young people to make their own choices, especially in their sexuality.

Some parallels can be made between the position of women and young people in our society. Women are often pressured into sexual relationships and their socialization makes it difficult for them to assert their wishes. Children would surely endure this pressure as well. Women who are emotionally and financially dependent on a man—or on another woman—often submit to various levels of sexual abuse (making love when they don't want to, in ways they find unpleasant, having their desires ignored, being criticized when they initiate sexual contact, being forced to submit to painful sexual experiences, etc.). Since children are emotionally and financially dependent on adults, a similar pattern could emerge.

It is difficult to imagine young people who have been raised to submit to adult authority will be able to negotiate and assert their needs and desires with adults, especially in a sexual situation. For example, women I know have a great difficulty insisting that men they have confidence in use condoms. They fear disapproval and rejection. Children are even more powerless than women! They are supposed to obey adults.

Of course, there are loving adults who will approach children and young adolescents in a loving manner, who will encourage them to follow their own desires and preferences. The solution is not to forbid sexual contact between younger and older people, but to help young people develop the inner strength and self-confidence to become independent, responsible, unselfish and capable of making their own choices, even if these choices mean displeasing an adult.

Sandy
Montréal, Québec

Confusions

Dear C.A.L.,

I have received issue number 28 and I am very pleased with the work. At this moment, since I am unemployed, I have little money for a subscription. But I have seen contradictions and confusion about libertarians, and I have some ma-

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terial that will help clear up those problems. I hope they will make the Fall issue and I hope as well you can fit them in any way possible. The material is direct and informative, and since they were given to me by the Advocates For Self-Government it would be nice if you listed their address: 3955 Pleasantdale Road, Atlanta, GA. 30340

Thank you and happy anarchy to all!

J.F., Keansburg, NJ.

Vaneigem critique

Dear Editors:

I find Chapter 8 of Vaneigem's *The Revolution of Everyday Life* (*Anarchy*, #29) interesting, but in part unconvincing. Vaneigem poses the question: "Is it not thanks to the technical progress and the productive forces developed by capitalism that the proletariat is in a position to realize, through the scientifically worked-out project of a new society, its egalitarian visions, its dreams of omnipotence and its desire to live without dead time?" (p. 12) The answer to this question is clearly 'no', contrary to Vaneigem's Marxian, linear-time presuppositions.

We are undoubtedly faced with the political and technological accumulation of previous eras, and must simply deal with it as best we can by renouncing, destroying,

controlling, and/or adapting it, according to our needs. But to say that humanity, or any subgroup thereof, needed "technological progress" or capitalism is highly questionable. The Western Hemisphere, for example, minus the landing of Columbus' nautical spaceship, might have been a very different place today. If the French Revolution (1789) had superseded the nascent bourgeoisie, it might have found the future clear of capitalism as well as the aristocracy. Vaneigem seems to have plucked his great faith in science, transitional periods, and the march of History straight from Marx and/or television ads to which he was exposed as a child.

If we continue to assume that the horrors of history, of "civilization's advance" were all regrettable but necessary steps, we are severely, absurdly limited in our perceptions and actions.

B.T., Columbia, MO

This is not the '60s

Hi,

Had some comments on the last *Anarchy* [#28/Spring '91] which I wanted to share with you.

Generally enjoyed the "Legend of the Great Dismal Maroons," which I read as a pamphlet a while back. But I found the analysis of the counterculture faulty. To

say that it led to "liberal utopia—total private liberty and gratification of desire" is generally wrong. The Haight-Ashbury was first and foremost a community, as was the East Village. It was the driving of activity indoors which killed it. In this context, I find the author's warning to try the "tonics before 'narcotics' and the final solution" rather ambiguous, and possibly moralistic, of the neo-puritanical variety.

Vaneigem is very hard to read. I got through the book, but I wonder how many readers feel it flies right over their heads. By the way, you do realize his discourse is rooted in marxist analysis, no? (I don't object to that, I only wish to point out that many anarchists like to trash Marx and marxists, while embracing the situationists.)

The discussion of the Gulf War really bugged me. Lev's piece on the media should not have been printed if it couldn't be run as a complete article. As it was, it came off self-righteous and rhetorical. Is saying "what a mouthful of shit" analysis, or likely to convince anyone not already convinced?

Elsewhere, you failed to tackle what I see as the question: After the initial week, why did the anti-war movement fail to draw many people to its events? I feel that has to do with its boring nature, its appearance as a grouping of people who hate fun and can only

speak in rhetoric, who do not question the essence of this society, but only a particular policy.

People such as Noam Chomsky and Daniel Ellsberg supported the initial deployment of U.S. troops to the Gulf. They then moved to the position of supporting the defense of Saudi Arabia, and the use of sanctions vs. an offensive war. This amounted to the endorsement of the idea that the U.S. has a "national interest" in "defending" the Persian Gulf. The "national interest" is a mystification, a metaphor which treats a nation-state as a person with interests, a metaphor which hides radically divergent class interests within each state. It was not in the interests of the working people of the U.S., or any country, to defend Saudi Arabia's monarchy, or restore the Emir.

The government which deploys the troops is but an agent for the ruling elite. None of its policies are ever in our interest. But the anti-war movement's leadership did not wish to confront class society. It wanted to stay respectable. Its choice of a playing field doomed it from the start. Enough critiques of the government and the media. Papers such as *Anarchy* should be focusing on the supposed 'opposition', and the role it plays within the spectacle in furthering state policies.

We (this includes myself) have

to do some serious soul-searching. We tended to believe analyses which forecast a prolonged war with lots of casualties, mass unrest in the Moslem world, and mounting opposition here. We wanted such a scenario to materialize, hoping it may open the door to a renewed insurgent social movement. But this is not the '60s. Young people are not going to take to the streets in mass numbers, they are not a demographic wave. There is no alternative community to support and encourage dissent. And there is an institutional left to co-opt and limit any upsurge.

Jack Straw, Berkeley, CA.

Is Marx relevant?

Hello,

Two days after I wrote my last letter (*immediately above*), your Summer issue arrived. I'd like to add these comments to my previous correspondence. Please print it as well if you're planning to print the first.

Your section on the situationists called upon anarchists to "disentangle the rotting threads of Marxist ideology (within situationist thought) from the rest of the living body of libertarian theory," and to kick over "the massive corpse of Western Marxism," which has supposedly been deflated by the fall of the regimes in Eastern Europe.

I do not describe myself as a Marxist. Labeling myself with anyone else's name, especially someone who has been dead for over a century, is just not my style, even if I agreed with Marx on everything (which I don't). Nevertheless, I find Marx's analysis of the capital accumulation process and commodity exchange/fetishism, the key aspects of the functioning of capitalism, far superior to anything done before or since. It irks me that many anarchist publications treat correspondents who find some merit in Marx worse than they do Libertarians, who openly support capitalist social relations, or even Christians.

Many anarchists over the years have accepted this aspect of Marx's analysis. The ones who haven't have come up with the most ridiculous formulations to explain capital's functioning and a vision of how things should be. Malatesta asserted money is necessary to avoid authoritarian means of control. Tom Wetzel in *Ideas and Action* attempted to analyze the current global economic crisis without using Marx's analysis, and came out with an unreadable text employing the most mystified bourgeois jargon, as did *Freedom* magazine. In your publication, Stefan Wray related with approval the story of a workplace collective in Hungary which is one of the few profitable operations in the country, as if profit is the result of the functioning of the enterprise itself, a notion disproved 150 years ago. The "Dean" of American anarchism (i.e. anarchist thought made into ideology), Noam Chomsky, supports as a long-range goal the control of investment decisions by workplace collectives (i.e. self-managed capital/wage slavery).

Maybe we need a full-scale debate on whether Marx's analysis bears any relevance to the situa-

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DUKEAN ANARCHETYPES:

My own personal hallucinations, with which I have formulated a new and better theory of psychology to inflict upon the collective public. -By W.S. Duke, Doctor of Doodle-ology.



#1. THE BAG LADY: Crazy women, brave women, or the only true anarchists around? They live outside all social systems. Every now and then The Law comes and kicks them around, gives them drugs, and then tosses them back on to the street. Bag ladies are unhappy endings to former lives abandoned for reasons unknown and untold.



#2. THE SHOPPING BAG LADY: Far more prevalent than their impoverished sisters in industrialized nations, these voracious consumers may be found at better dress shops everywhere. They are married to men who order other people to produce harmful products. They live on the better side of town, drive better cars and eat out at better restaurants. Shopping Bag Ladies try to fill their lives with purchases—but they remain empty, empty.

Is Marx relevant?

Continued from previous page

tion we face, a debate which should address the question of what was the true nature of the now-defunct regimes in Eastern Europe. I'm game.

For *Collide-O-Scope*,
Jack Straw, Berkeley, CA.

Lev responds:

Who was the real Marx?

In social/economic analyses there will always be wide differences among libertarians (and I'm not talking about members of the misnamed 'Libertarian Party' or other semi-authoritarian capitalists in ill-fitting 'Libertarian' attire, I'm speaking of the genuinely 'anarchist' articles). That anarcho-syndicalists like Tom Wetzell and Noam Chomsky are these days among the least radical of libertarians seems to me partly a reflection of the closeness of their positions to those of traditional "libertarian Marxist" movements. That most anarchists are fairly confused, or more often simply uninterested, regarding the intricacies of economic critique is a fair observation. Though, unlike the vast majority of 'Marxists', 'socialists' and 'communists', at least anarchists for the most part don't confuse conquest of state power with "social revolution."

The argument can always be made that Marx was really much more radical than the movements which cloaked themselves in his name, eventually taking power in the Soviet Union, Republic of China, and other more or less independent or dependent regimes in Eastern Europe, etc. But one has to exercise quite a bit of selective inattention to imagine that these movements weren't in many ways genuinely following the authoritarian bent reflected in many of Marx's own writings and actions. Marx may have made excellent analyses and criticisms of capital accumulation and commodity fetishism. However, the blind spots in his critiques of state and capital were big enough to shelter the massive despotism of the regimes of Stalin and Mao-Tse-Tung, not to mention the minor dictators like Castro and Kim Il Sung. Clearly there is something inherently rotten in any social theory that isn't equipped to prevent itself from becoming the publicly proclaimed ideology of dictators, bureaucrats and commissars the world over.

Sure, the relevance of Marxist analyses can always stand to be reassessed. In fact, though, his work has been assessed and reassessed repeatedly since his death. Unfortunately, more people by far have found justifications for capitalism, statism and dictatorship in his works, than have found inspiration for libertarian social change. Whose fault is that?

With regard to your criticism of my essay on "The media war" in issue #28, I apologize for the poor editing job on its beginning portion. You're right, it probably should have been run "as a complete article" or not at all. However, due to last minute time and space constraints it wasn't clear until the morning of the day we went to press how extensively the essay would have to be cut back in order for it to fit. At that point, if there had been time to replace it with some other, shorter, article, I can assure you that would have been done. Such are the vagaries of producing a magazine and meeting deadlines.



Collage by Freddie Baer

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

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