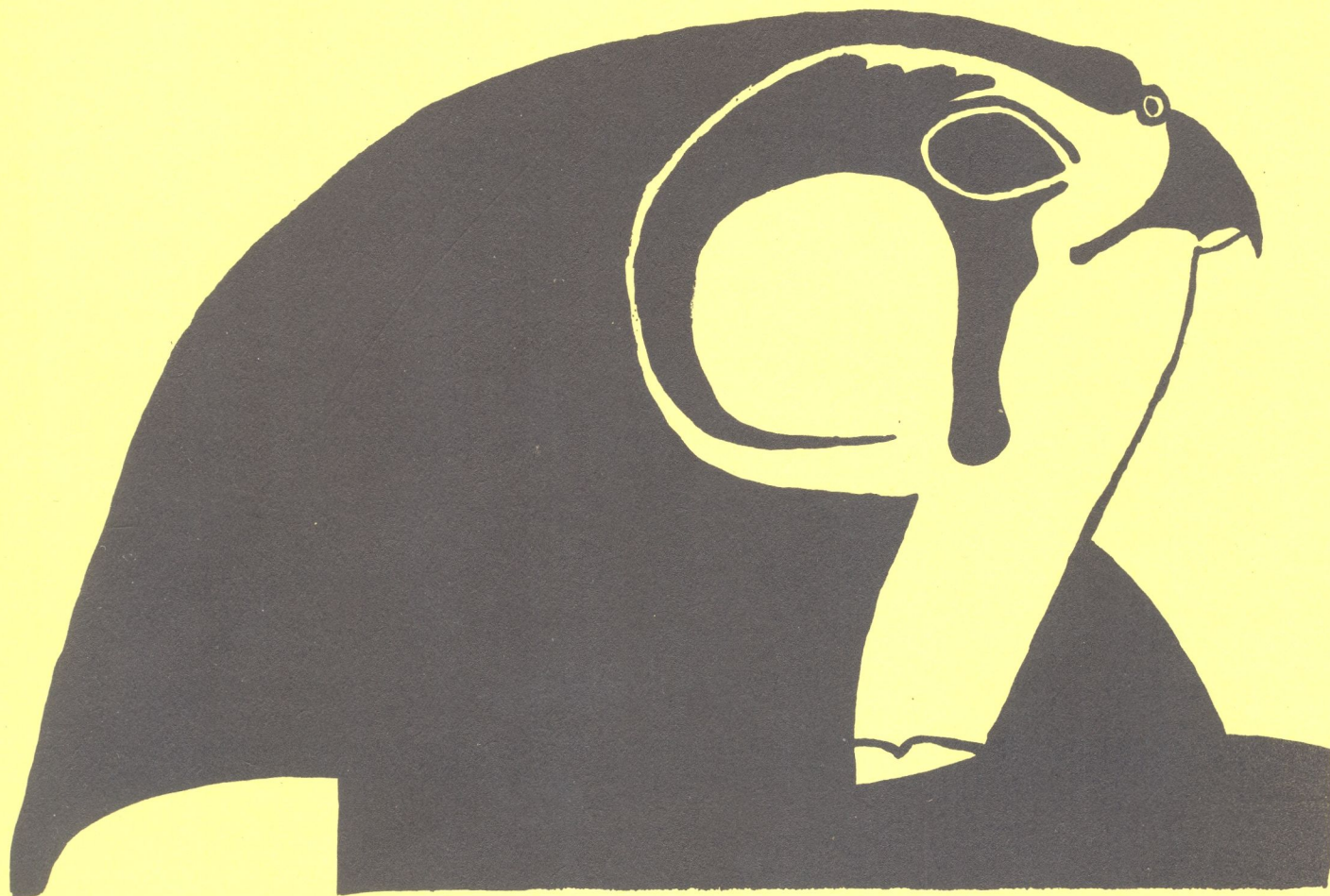


(R)EVOLUTION

A Journal of 21st Century Thought



Emma Goldman

Peter Kropotkin

Aleister Crowley

(R)EVOLUTION: A JOURNAL OF 21st CENTURY THOUGHT #1 AUTUMN 1985

COVER: RA-HOOR-KHUIT, the ancient Egyptian Solar diety, is a form of Horus, the androgynous offspring of Isis and Osiris, and is prophetically hailed as the Lord of the New Aeon or Aquarian Age, the next 2,000 years of Earth's history. Art by G. Charles Samuel.

REGULAR FEATURES:

EDITORIAL: WILL THERE BE A 21st CENTURY? _____	3
NETWORKING DIRECTORY: (R)EVOLUTIONARY RESOURCES _____	73
BRIEF REVIEWS AND RECOMMENDED READING _____	65
CLASSIFIED NOTICES _____	31

ARTICLES:

A BRAVE AND BEAUTIFUL FUTURE COULD START NOW! by Ernest Mann_	14
TIME-BINDING AND VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SYSTEMS by Bruce Webber ____	32
AN ANARCHIST VIEW OF MARXISM by the Lone Wolf Collective ____	34

CLASSIC REPRINTS:

EMMA GOLDMAN: AN INTRODUCTION _____	39
PATRIOTISM: A MENACE TO LIBERTY _____	40
PETER KROPOTKIN: AN INTRODUCTION _____	50
ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES _____	51
ALEISTER CROWLEY: AN INTRODUCTION _____	59
HUMANITY FIRST _____	60
LIBER OZ: A DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS _____	62
STEPPING OUT OF THE OLD AEON INTO THE NEW _____	63

FICTION:

THE SPRINGING by Ruth Mueller _____	66
GOODBYE TO RAMS GULCH by Dale R. Gowin _____	70

POETRY:

TRANSCENDED WILDERNESS by James T. Smith _____	72
--	----

(R)EVOLUTION is a non-profit, independent quarterly publication. Address all communications to P.O. Box 306, Onondaga Hill Station, Syracuse, NY 13215, (315) 475-0820. Subscription is by donation. Bulk copies and ad space are available. All contents (except as noted) are not copyrighted and may be reprinted freely. Written contributions and artwork welcome; please include return postage. Your money donations will allow this work to continue.

EDITORIAL

Welcome to (R)EVOLUTION, a journal of 21st century thought.

This first issue is being published at the half-way point in the next to the last decade of the 20th century.

We who are alive now share the rare opportunity of witnessing not only the turn of the century, but the beginning of a new millenium. The year 2000 will mark the turning of the second millennial page of human history since that pivotal point on which our common dating system hinges, marked by the birth of the mythical martyred prophet from Galilee.

From this historical perspective, the evolution of the human species can be observed as we developed, outgrew, and transformed a succession of social systems, world-views, and philosophies. A pattern can be traced through the many complex stories that our lives are heir to: a pattern of progress. We have continued to grow in knowledge, intelligence, creativity, and practical use and control of the elements of nature.

Our evolution has not occurred in a steady progression, like the growth of a tree; rather, we have progressed by sudden lurches and spurts of growth -- quantum leaps -- followed by setbacks, periods of chaos and darkness.

Closer analysis shows the pattern of our progress taking shape: when evolving creative forces reach the requisite pitch, the minds and hearts of humanity rebel against the limiting forms and structures left by previous stages of our development. New structures are envisioned that will allow the expansive development of newly evolving modes of being. The repressive establishment defends the limits and restrictions of tradition, and a battle ensues between the upholders of the "status quo" and the rebels imbued with the new vision.

The first wave of each evolutionary surge is unable to prevail against the forces of convention; prophets are stoned, philosophers executed, scientists banished. But the new ideas inevitably escape and ferment in the minds of the masses, and the longing for new liberties becomes common. Eventually the pressure builds to explosive levels, the old order crumbles, and new elements are introduced to the consensus reality.

Revolution is a stage of evolution.

So much can be determined by looking back at the path our species has taken through the last two millenia.

What can we foresee when we turn our attention ahead, to the new millenium?

Strange as it sounds, although we stand a mere 15 years from the turn of the millenium, we cannot guarantee that we will survive to cross the threshold.

Unprecedented dangers face us on every side.

Greatest among them is the spectre of nuclear annihilation. Scientists widely agree that the "nuclear winter" effect, which would destroy all life on Earth, is possible if only one percent

of currently existing nuclear arsenals were detonated. These weapons are still being mass-produced; military aggression and hostility continue to dominate world politics.

The rapid deforestation of the planet and chemical contamination of our air and water pose serious threats to the continued health and survival of life as we know it -- of Gaia, the interdependent ecological matrix that we are a part of.*

Never in known history have we faced such a crucial possibility: the catastrophic end of the four-billion-year-old evolution of Life on Earth.

Yet, correspondingly, never have we experienced an acceleration of human knowledge and discovery such as we are undergoing today. We are witnessing exponential expansion in the scope and magnitude of all fields of human endeavor.

Never have we witnessed attainments such as the present developments in space travel, genetic engineering, computer technology, quantum physics, and entheogenic psychochemistry.**

Science stands ready to usher in a new era of human civilization undreamed of even by our parents.

In the next few decades we will be able to move the most ecologically harmful of the heavy industries into space, to the optimum orbits between Earth and Luna, where they will be able to experiment freely at a safe distance from Earth's fragile biosphere. Space development will expand the frontiers of human living space by a factor of infinity. The vast mineral wealth and constant free solar energy of space will provide such abundance that the squabbling over limited terrestrial resources which characterized 20th century economics will be forgotten along with poverty and wage slavery. 21st century civilization may be able to afford a lifestyle of wealth and leisure for everyone. (R. Buckminster Fuller goes so far as to say that we can make every Earth citizen a billionaire.)***

Medical and genetic research may soon be able to isolate and counteract the human aging process, resulting in an expanding life expectancy and the eventual hope of a limitless lifespan with voluntary termination.

Advances in our understanding of the nature of consciousness may lead to new sciences of consciousness expansion, in which proven formulas derived from empirical research replace the dogma and superstition of mysticism and religion -- resulting in a general increase in human intelligence, so that the exceptional genius of an Einstein or a Beethoven may be the norm among the new generations of our children.

* "Gaia" is an early Greek name for the Earth Goddess. "The Gaia Hypothesis" views Earth as a living organism. James Lovelock, Gaia (Oxford, 1979), Peter Russell, The Global Brain (J.P.Tarcher, 1983).

** "entheogens" = producers of divine or mystical consciousness.

*** R. Buckminster Fuller, Grunch of Giants (St. Martins Press, 1983).

If the great experiment of human evolution is allowed to continue, the 21st century could become a golden age that outstrips the utopian longings of all time.

Our first task in formulating a study of 21st century thought, then, is to find a way of ensuring that there will be a 21st century.

What causes resulted in the present ecological impasse, in which all life is threatened with serious harm or extinction? What complexes of social, political, and economic structures and philosophies set the stage for this bizarre melodrama which hangs a pall over our future?

It must be our task to trace out the roots of these catastrophic human errors, and find workable ways to eradicate them from our world. We must be ruthless and thorough in our examination of all human institutions and beliefs.

The continued existence of all sentient life known to exist in the universe literally hangs in the balance.

"To be or not to be" is indeed the question.

A cursory examination shows that the power structures now in control of our planet are ill-suited to guide the human family into the new millenium.

Nation-states and empires compete with each other for control of the lands and peoples of Earth, subjecting the masses to lives of degrading slave-like obedience to the whims of authoritarian rulers. Governments wield vast military forces to protect the privileged indulgences of tiny elite ruling cliques while the vast majority live in drudgery and terror. Many millions are left to starve to death in the deserts; millions more are tortured and slain; flaming petroleum jelly rains down from the skies. This is all just a part of the "business as usual" of 1985, written off in corporate budget analyses, winked at in the press, executed by the Pentagon and the Kremlin in joint session assembled.

Nuclear weapons, chemical and bacteriological weapons, particle-beam weapons, and other fiendish megadeath devices are all being mass-produced and stockpiled. These weapons obviously have no survival value for the human race; they serve no rational purpose in the scheme of any conception of civilization. They are the twisted, archaic aberrations of obsolete evolutionary epochs, like bizarre skeleton hands reaching up from our developmental closet, threatening the ordered sanity of human progress.

These evolutionary throwbacks characterize the governments of Earth as the curtain falls on the 20th century. In pursuit of short-range profit and power, they have unleashed rampant, blind technology that is doing serious harm to Earth's ecoplasm.

Acid rain, caused by coal-burning power plants, has already killed many of the lakes in the forests and mountains of the Northern Hemisphere, and is steadily eroding the sugar maples, the pine, spruce, birch, and all the other trees beloved to the pagans of old.

Toxic chemicals are leaching into the groundwater, poisoning even the fresh bubbling springs. Poisons are still being dumped into our lakes, rivers and streams that used to teem with fish.

Cool green mountainsides are being torn up and devoured by monstrous strip-mining machines to produce the coal that fouls the air we breathe. The taxes we pay support the energy monopolies that prevent free solar energy from being used to supply the energy needs of consumers. Profiteers dig deeper into the bowels of Earth and compete for her few dwindling carbon deposits.

Our last few old-growth forests are being clear-cut, leaving ravaged wasteland behind, felling trees that have grown for literally thousands of years for newsprint and toothpicks, destroying the last refuges for the wild, free living creatures that have evolved in harmony on this unique planet for billions of years.

The sources of this self-destructive trend in human planetary management can be easily identified.

They are rooted in the archaic, pre-civilized attitudes of greed and selfish power: control of human lives and resources (property) for personal advantage (profit) at the expense of all other considerations.

In the American Empire, these attitudes are sanctified and idealized as "the profit motive" and "the free enterprise system" administered under the benign guidance of the State. In theory, the authority of the State is derived from the consent of the governed through the checks and balances of constitutional democracy. But in reality, the authority of the State is maintained through violence and the threat of violence, by the policeman's gun and billy-club and the clanging steel of the cell-block door.

In the Soviet Empire, these attitudes are idealized and rationalized as steps in the five-year-plan toward gradual socialization of the eventual goal, administered by the benign hand of the State. In theory it is a socialist state established as the revolutionary tool of the working class, deriving its authority from the historical necessity of the struggles of the oppressed proletariat. But in reality it is the authority of violence and the threat of violence, the gun and the club and the cell-block door.

In both empires the result is similar: toil and want for the many, opulent indulgences for the ruling class; rampant desecration of the Earth, our living environment; and the threat of nuclear annihilation hanging over the heads of all sentient beings.

In those vast regions of our planet that lie between these two empires, life is terror from dawn to dusk, grueling toiling dirt-poor desperation for a daily diet whether you like it or not.

In Afghanistan, the empty shells of villages and towns bear silent witness to the new chemical neurotoxins that are being tested on the people. Men, women and children are being massacred wholesale, with the direct, specific complicity of the government whose necktied diplomats sip vodka at U.N. functions.

In Guatemala, the "desaparecidos" are taken away in the night and are never seen again, or their mutilated corpses are found in the village streets along with other men, women and children who have

fallen victim to the latest paramilitary purges, for breathing a whispered word of dissent to a sister at midnight, or for the sake of blood-lust alone. These crimes are perpetrated by the legally designated government of the land, the government that Reagan applauds for human rights improvements with a pat on the shoulder and a handshake under the table.

Similar tales are told in El Salvador, Argentina, Chile, the Philippines, South Africa... Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Albania....

It looks grim.

One wonders if there can realistically be any hope for an end to the madness, for a new order of sanity, peace, cooperation, and mutual progress.

This question will form the first area of inquiry to be taken up by this Journal. We seek to illuminate the various aspects of this central question, to aid in the search for possible solutions.

We hope to serve as a voice for those whose devotion to life, liberty, and love is not extinguished by the terror of the times -- those whose will it is to aid the struggle for ecosurvival and human liberation, whatever the personal cost, whatever it takes to prevail.

We begin with the belief that, evil as the portents seem, there is hope: it is still possible that we can turn the tide and prevail against the madness that threatens the continued evolution of Life.

We seek to unite idealism with realism, to bind them together into a potent weapon with which to defend the sacredness of Life and the freedom and dignity of all sentient beings.

We work toward an alchemical marriage of spiritual revelation and political revolution as one wholistic struggle uniting true, deep vision with concrete action.

To this end, in this issue and in future issues of this Journal, we will examine the ideas of important thinkers of the past whose insight and vision may aid us in the revolutionary task our destiny has placed before us. Particular emphasis will be given to those writers, artists, and speakers who were banned and suppressed during their lifetimes. We begin with the writings of Emma Goldman, Peter Kropotkin, and Aleister Crowley in this issue.

We will temper the vision with the definite, documented data that is needed for an unbiased appraisal of all relevant aspects of the question before us. Facts and figures will be uncovered and names will be named and no holds will be barred.

We will examine many theoretical approaches to a saner society, many models of alternative methods of human organization that would allow continued survival and peaceful evolution of Life. We will serve as a forum for approaches to our emerging revolutionary culture -- blueprints for a nonviolent, voluntary, cooperative world society. Our policy will be firmly pragmatic and unbiased, with a special effort to develop meaningful dialogue between differing points of view. We hope to sow the seeds of a new synergy that may emerge through the cross-fertilization of revolutionary ideas.

We intend to contribute in every way we can conceive of to the new emergence of the ancient, honorable tradition of community sharing, of mutual aid and voluntary cooperation.

The following ideas are submitted as a suggestion of the essential principles upon which a nonviolent society might be based which could survive into the new millenium.

All human beings are, first and foremost, citizens of the Universe. As such, each person should be entitled to the basic rights of universal citizenship, among which are: Life (and the sustenance thereof, food, shelter, clothing, medical care, education); Liberty (each one's right to do as she pleases, without coercion or restraint, so long as she does not violate the freedom of another); and the Pursuit of Happiness (a reasonable chance to attain those potentials inherent in one's genetic blueprint).

Social organization naturally evolves in human cultures to facilitate and ensure the Life, Liberty, and Happiness of all members of the human family.

If a social organization fails in this task -- or perverts it into an insane parody of sadistic horror, as has been the case with 20th century governments generally -- then it is the clear and unavoidable duty of the people to "alter or abolish" the offending forms of social organization, and replace them with new forms, which more accurately serve the needs of the people.

This holy task of revolution is a karmic housecleaning of the human gene pool that is long overdue, this task which falls on the shoulders of me and you, we who share the threat of nuclear winter.

All social structures which claim moral legitimacy, yet enforce their rules with violence and the threat of violence -- with the policeman's gun and club, for instance, and the steel jail door -- are tyrants using the "social contract" as a smokescreen for their tyranny.

The only legitimate authority is the authority of free agreement between free beings. Any "authority" imposed without consent is tyranny.

This is "common sense": it is the law of decency, of fairness, that we all knew by heart when we were children. It is the same "law" that teachers and prophets have returned through the ages as avatars to tell us again and again: the "golden rule" of simple, decent respect.

No politician's doubletalk, no Madison Avenue subliminal soft-sell can disguise this simple, obvious truth.

And this equal truth: cooperation benefits everyone and hurts no one.

In the American colonies, community barn raisings and quilting bees emerged as natural forms of mutual aid among pioneers.

In times of natural disaster or misfortune, mutual relief efforts spontaneously arise to mend the damage done to human life.

Mutual aid is innate, instinctual law.

If someone hungers, feed them. If they have a broken leg, mend it.

If they're OK, leave them alone.

What would happen if this attitude of voluntary cooperation, of mutual aid, were adopted on a planetwide scale?

Suppose that you, as a child in school, were taught that you were a member of a free cooperative society -- that it was up to you to contribute however you choose to the production of society. Education would then shift from the search for specific market-correlated career goals, to a real discovery of your own creative potentials. You would seek to sharpen your own unique gifts to maximize the contribution you could make to the common human struggle -- for your own benefit, and that of the community of which you are a part -- sisters and brothers united through the world, united in contributing the highest, wisest and best they can produce, for the mutual benefit of all sentient life.

Implicit in the idea of a cooperative economy is the realization that the Earth is the common heritage, the common "property" if you will, of all sentient beings naturally born into Her.

This means that as a citizen of the universe, you have a natural right to live in your natural habitat, to breathe air, drink water, sit by the warm hearthside when the cold winds blow, and partake of the bounty of the Earth in Her seasons.

In the cooperative economy there will be no more exclusive property rights over the elements of Earth: the Sun shines alike upon the just and the unjust; the Earth belongs to all.

Wherever we look in 20th century society, we find that those who have been entrusted with stewardship of our common heritage have obviously, grievously and tragically failed in their duties. Untold millions of human souls perish today for lack of bread -- while a few squander a year's rations in an afternoon's idle frivolity. Meanwhile governments are paying farmers to leave farmlands idle, to "stabilize prices", and tons of grain and dairy products rot in storage bins. Even a child could see that this arrangement is grotesquely wrong.

Today they are strip-mining the ancient sacred hills for uranium, to fuel nuclear power plants which routinely spread a plague of cancer and birth defects in their wake, and to manufacture megadeath doomsday devices. Nuclear wastes are buried in the ground or dumped in the sea in containers that will corrode away long before the radiation has died down, like time bombs of deadly poison, many of them still highly toxic hundreds of thousands of years from now -- is it a gift we chose to leave for our children, for future generations? To remember us by?

They loot the inner carbon layers and fluids of the planet, billions of years in the making; and they grow rich like bloated vampires on the energy profits while acid rain eats our environment away.

These things were done in the name of the Profit Motive, and of State Authority.

Consider a voluntary/cooperative alternative:

The Earth is constantly bombarded, 24 hours a day, with free solar energy. We now know how to transmute sunlight into electricity, quite efficiently, by a number of proven methods -- from the ancient windmill to the latest photovoltaic cell.

We can build decentralized energy systems that will enable each community to utilize the free solar energy that is constantly radiating out from Sol, bathing our bluegreen world in His wake. Individual homes and factories can become energy-self-sufficient, or nearly so, in most parts of the world, by combining the various types of solar energy technology.*

Beamed back from a satellite, solar energy could power our most ambitious industrial plants, could supply our most demanding energy needs.**

No need to send each consumer a "utility bill" for the use of solar energy: the Sun belongs to all. Under the principle of mutual aid, society will organize optimum energy hookups to meet specific individual needs.

The same principle should apply to all commodities, to all goods and services offered in the commercial marketplace. Communities will create the diversity of production that their consensus demands with the insight and craftsmanship of which they are capable, freely arguing over and agreeing on the parameters and quotas, trading for equal value with other communities. Regional cooperative networks will evolve and dissolve and re-emerge as need and inspiration dictate.

The authority with which collective decisions will be enforced will be the authority of each person's free choice.

True civilization will then begin.

The next question is: granted a voluntary/cooperative society is the preferred path for our species, a path back to sanity, that leads past the hurdles of ecodeath into the new millenium: how do we implement it? What is the next step in bringing such a society into being?

These questions outline the second area of inquiry to which this Journal will be devoted.

The first step in the liberation of society is the personal liberation of each of us as an individual. We must learn to be free. Our social conditioning, from infancy onward, has instilled attitudes of authority and competition in us. We have been trained to think like slaves or masters. The struggle against this conditioning is the first great arena of revolutionary battle.

* Farrington Daniels, Direct Use of the Sun's Energy (Yale, 1964, Ballantine, 1974) -- a good scientific overview of the subject.

** G. Harry Stine, Space Power (Ace Books, 1981).

We must unlearn the stimulus/response attitudes of unthinking obedience to "because-I-told-you-so" authority, attitudes which our society has drilled into us through the media, the education system, the church and the state; we must learn to recognize the inner voice of authority which is our own will.

We must overcome the ingrained compulsion to think of "profit" as personal advantage at the expense of others, which leads to the primitive competitiveness of "the law of the jungle" and fosters the crime and violence that runs rampant through 20th century society. We must learn instead to develop attitudes that reflect the mutual benefit of all sectors of society, the value of combined resources and teamwork.

We must reject the selfishness and egoism that characterizes our culture; we must strive to liberate our consciousness from the limitations of the finite ego and recognize the interconnectedness of all life.

This process of deconditioning and reprogramming necessarily involves a radical critique of all aspects of one's personal life -- one's attitudes about work, family life, sexuality, child raising, spirituality, social relations. It involves a search for personal moral principles and a struggle to harmonize all parts of one's being with those principles.

To aid this quest, the pages of this Journal will carry information on various approaches to personal liberation. This may include such areas as psychology, spiritual paths, yoga techniques, use of entheogenic herbs and drugs, and anything else that appears to offer empirically verifiable results or valuable insights.

The next step is coalition building, connecting with others both locally and internationally who share the essential concerns of the need to reverse the arms race and ecodestruction, and the creation of a worldwide voluntary/cooperative society.

Coalition building is based on the recognition of the supreme importance of these issues. It involves a willingness to "agree to disagree" with others on other issues, and a willingness to engage in open-minded dialogue, to compromise, negotiate, and concentrate on essential agreements.

Revolutions are made by the spontaneous emergence of a wide-based consensus among the people, a recognition that things have gone too far and that a change is necessary.

In 1985, there are signs of an emerging worldwide revolutionary coalition.

In Poland, the outlawed "Solidarity" trade union movement provided the world with a model of a grassroots, spontaneous, decentralized workers' movement.

In West Germany, the Green Party has won access to the political power structure of the state with a platform that stressed a rejection of nuclear power and nuclear weapons, and a responsible attitude to the environment. (A copy of their Programme is available for \$3.50 from Inland Book Co., 22 Hemingway Ave., East Haven, CT 06512.)

In America, the "Green politics" movement is taking root, linking nuclear freeze advocates, activists opposed to apartheid in South Africa and nazi tactics in Central America, environmentalists, advocates of women's, children's, and gay rights, anti-prohibitionists, socialists and libertarians in a wide, computer-linked information and action network. (Write to: North American Greens Coalition, P.O. Box 392, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10012 -- phone (212) 533-5028.)

In Britain, coal mine workers have engaged in protracted struggles against the brutal exploitation that is forced on them by the economic system of their country.

Oppressed minorities in the U.S. are moving toward political unity and activism. The "Rainbow Coalition" capitalized on by Jesse Jackson does exist, and is a natural ally of the "Green" movement. The struggles of Native American and other indigenous peoples for self-determination and against exploitation are an equally important part of the emerging coalition.

All of these are potential components of a powerful movement that could change the course of history for all of us.

Such a movement could achieve change in two basic ways.

The first is overt political pressure. This includes such measures as a worldwide general strike, a tactic that could shut down the existing system in a single day; as well as civil disobedience, tax resistance, boycotts, mass demonstrations, and the like.

The second is the development of alternative economic and social institutions that can provide employment and life-support to members of a community. These can include worker-and-consumer-owned businesses of all kinds, co-ops, land trusts, communal farms and industries.

Thus the movement would work toward the elimination of the old, exploitive, survival-threatening system, while developing embryonic components of the new voluntary/cooperative world society.

The above suggestions illustrate that revolution need not involve violence. While it is true that violence may be forced on us by the oppressors, it should only be used as a final resort, after every peaceful means of redress has been exhausted. The ancient karmic law, "as you sow, so shall you reap", reflects a law of nature. Means and ends cannot be separated: by the nature of our struggle, we set into motion the forces that will define the new society.

In this editorial we have attempted to outline the essential features of the challenges we face as we approach the new millenium. The ideas sketched here are intended to describe areas of study and research which we hope to promote, for which we hope to provide a forum.

This Journal is an experiment in anarchocommunist economy. It is written, printed, and distributed by volunteer labor, and paid for by voluntary contributions.

You can become a co-conspirator with this work in a number of ways. Subscribe to future issues by sending in a contribution, an amount you reasonably asses you can afford.

Become a "sustainer" by agreeing to send a monthly "pledge" to help pay for printing, postage, and other production costs.

Become a distributor: place (R)EVOLUTION in bookstores, record shops, libraries, bus depot cafeterias and dentist's offices. Bulk shipments can be arranged; write for information.

Become a contributor: send letters, articles, ideas, criticisms, suggestions; share your viewpoint on our common struggle. We need clearly elaborated expressions of the revolutionary struggle, its philosophy, its strategy and tactics. We need the inspiration of your poetry, fiction, plays, essays, artwork.

This magazine is communal property. If it is not going to be retained in a permanent file, pass it on to another reader. Keep it circulating so that it can reach as many minds as possible.

This is an urgent appeal to all members of the human family. We have the power, if we can unite in time, to reverse the suicidal trend of 20th century society, and establish a sane and harmonious world where our children may live in peace, free from the threat of nuclear annihilation and the institutionalized terror of the State.

This is the evolutionary choice our species must make. Each one of us will be a part of this decision, one way or the other.

written by Dale R. Gowin
June 21, 1985 e.v.

(R)EVOLUTION is the product of a group of students, workers, and unemployed persons. It grew out of an anarchist study group which has been meeting for about a year.

Other projects our study group is working on include the establishment of a computer telecommunications system and data bank that will provide access to the emerging network for a coalition of groups in our area, and the establishment of a library and archives, materials for research and education.

In the future, we hope to publish a range of books, pamphlets, and other communication media. We are interested in working out an alternative press distribution system to facilitate the exchange of independent periodicals and small press publications.

We offer to exchange copies and ad space in (R)EVOLUTION with any other independent publication.

We offer free "classified" ads or notices to anyone, space permitting.

We offer subscriptions based on your ability to pay; choose your own subscription price.

Send all correspondence to:
(R)EVOLUTION, P.O. Box 306, Syracuse, NY 13215.

"The great communism-vs.-capitalism, politico-economic world standoff assumes a fundamental inadequacy of life support to exist on our planet.... Jointly, we Earthians have always had adequate physical resources to take care of all humanity, but lacked the metaphysical know-how resources with which to employ Earth's wealth!"/R.B.Fuller

A BRAVE AND BEAUTIFUL FUTURE COULD START NOW!

by Ernest Mann

"They" have told us in the news that they will make this Depression a little less severe than the one they made in the 1930's.

Shall we tolerate another depression?

If big-money people control government, cause recessions, start wars and pollute our environment for bigger profits... what can we do?

We can bankrupt them!

You mean, bankrupt all the multinational conglomerate dinosaurs?

Yes!

Why? The country would go into chaos and we would starve.

We must! The world is in chaos and people are starving and the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. Besides that, they are getting 16 hours of work out of most young families instead of the 8 they got out of us a generation ago. They are destroying our life-support system. With their manipulation of the prime interest rate they are causing deep recession and maybe a depression. (They have already foreclosed on thousands of farms which will probably be added to their vast agribusiness holdings.) This has caused a large increase in crime. Are they getting us ready for World War Three? Also, they are breaking the unions.

Yes. I grant you all that, but how is breaking the corporations going to solve anything?

The corporate leaders are not bad people. They are just getting good at playing the "profit" game. In the end (in this game of Monopoly) there can be only one winner and the rest losers.

Ya... but what can we do?

If they won't switch over to a game where everyone is a winner, we'll just have to beat them at their own game.

That's impossible! They have control of money and government.

For now they do, but not for long. "The bigger the Monster... the faster it falls."

Just what does that mean?

Big corporations are extremely inefficient, thus, vulnerable. They must hire people to watch people to watch people to watch people to see that they work. Even then workers slow down if they can get away with it. They steal and withhold their creative ideas and waste much material.

Everyone knows that.

They are usually mortgaged to the hilt... another vulnerable spot.

Yes. They use other people's money to make money. But what alternative is there?

There is the Priceless Society (sometimes called the Free System).
Yes, I know. That would be almost like paradise if we could get everyone to work for free, then all products would be free and there would be no profit in war and polluting; but corporations won't switch over.

We'll force them to change over or make them go bankrupt!
How can we do that?

IDEA ONE

We'll go into business and offer better products (without planned obsolescence) and better service.

Yes, we could easily do that.

Besides that, we'll sell for less.

Yes, if you could do those three things you could break them. But how could you undersell them?

We could eliminate our payroll expense and use dedicated employees who would be more efficient without supervisors.

Like who?

Volunteers!

You can't do that. People still need money to eat and pay rent or house payments.

We could buy cheaper in large quantities the things our volunteers need. We could live in group housing. We could share many things. We could make our production team a tight-knit family working for a common cause -- to break the corporations, i.e., to save our planet and our species. We will develop or find experts for buying, production, merchandising, etc.

Hey! That sounds pretty good. But would people want to live together like that?

They are already enjoying it in communities which are united under a common cause. When people are sharing and cooperating instead of competing they have a better chance to like and even love each other. When we share the profits equally -- instead of giving the cream of the crop to the few, and fighting over the skim milk -- we will have much better feelings for one another.

You mean your corporation will take care of all your volunteers' needs and wants?

Precisely! The volunteers will make the decisions about what our profit will be spent for. One share of stock and one vote for each person.

LEADERS

Will you have leaders?

Sure.

Will your leaders get paid or get more shares?

No. They will get what they need and want like everyone else.

Then why would anyone want to be a leader?

Because some people find more challenge in that job and are better

suited for it.

What does it take to be a leader?

Besides other things, a good leader is usually able to plan, i.e., to see ahead a few moves, can organize jobs and get people to work for her/him.

What if everybody wants to be leaders?

It won't take us long to decide who are the best leaders. We will all thrive more if we follow and seek advice from our best leaders, consequently the leaders will benefit as much as the rest.

I suppose you plan to be a leader?

If any of my ideas seem worthwhile to the organization, I'll willingly share them, otherwise I will be happy to do a work I'm better suited for. I am happiest doing a job I can handle. I have no desire to waste my energy fighting to get any job.

Where would you get money to operate?

Borrow it from volunteers and anyone else.

Would you pay interest?

Sure. However, we would grow faster if we didn't pay ourselves interest.

What would the stockholders of the multinationals do when they saw their stocks going down?

They would probably sell and loan their money to us. Everyone wants to be with the winners. That would speed up the fall or conversion of the multinationals.

Could these big corporations save themselves?

Sure! They could follow our example and hire all volunteers. Then it would be to their and our advantages to merge. We could then buy in larger quantities and our production and distribution systems could be combined. Thus we would gain more advantage over our remaining competitors.

Wow! That is beating them at their own game. But what if they refused to hire all volunteers?

We'll undersell them right out of business. Then we would need more help, so their employees could join us.

But would they?

If we could show them that we were not only having more fun and less worries, but that we had everything we needed and wanted, they might even desire to join us before their company went broke.

What would happen when you got total control of your industry?

We would branch out and begin competing in all the rest of business and industry.

Now, wait just a darn minute. They will stop you with the anti-trust laws.

No. We will use the same loopholes that they are using.

Then what... after you control all industries and all businesses?

There would then be no one left to sell to... so everybody would be volunteers and everything would be free for everybody.

What good will this do?

What good??? Why... there will no longer be a reason to steal,

to have war, to pollute and destroy our environment, and no reason to starve!

I can understand why no one would have a reason to "steal" or "starve" when everything is free, but what about "wars"? We have always had wars. People like to fight.

So we are told. But take the Swedes and the Swiss. They have both managed to stay out of wars for over 150 years. Also, take yourself as another example. Would you like to go to a foreign country and kill some mother's sons? And destroy some families' homes and crops?

No. Of course not!

Do you know any of your friends who would want to?

No.

It's not the working people who start wars. They do the "dirty work".

Then who starts the wars?

The politicians.

Why?

The super-rich industrialists who donate millions to the politicians' campaign funds, give the orders.

Oh? I thought politicians listened to the pulse of the voters.

Are you kidding? You don't bite the hand that feeds you millions, do you?

OK. I guess they do make gigantic profits from war. But what about "pollution"? Wouldn't the factories (the major polluters) still pour smoke from their stacks, chemicals from their sewers and caustic wastes into their trash?

They do it now because they make more profit by not recycling those wastes. With all volunteer help, it will make more sense to reclaim all waste and turn it into usable byproducts.

That seems like reasons enough to get this show on the road. How can we get it started?

There are probably many ways. One might be to attract a few conscientious people with an awareness of the problem and the vision to see the solution, i.e., people who are angry with business* for raping our forests and killing off species just for profit, people who would like to see the Earth remain habitable and peaceful for themselves and the little children who will follow.

What would these people do?

Start a business producing a product or service that people really need.

Are you saying, quit griping and just "go for it"?

Can you think of anything more effective?

* For example, a giant Australia-based lumber corporation is systematically stripping California of her redwoods and selling much of the lumber to Japan. These people are gobbling up our forests for their personal monetray profit! (Author's note.)

MERGING

What if hundreds of little companies like this sprung up?

Then the merging process would begin earlier.

But if the companies which merged produced different products, how would that be beneficial?

Then each company (family) would lower its expenses by getting another product it needed at cost.

You mean instead of two families producing two products it would be like one larger family producing two products?

Right.

Let's suppose we do create this one grand family of man on Earth with everyone working for free and everything we wanted being free... would there be a place for individuals or groups who wanted more privacy or just wanted to be independent?

Of course. The world is a big place. There are 7.88 acres of food growable land per person on this planet.* Far more land than we need. Plus mountains, deserts, rivers, lakes and oceans which produce food and are lived on. After we stop producing for profit there will be no reason to hoard (own) land if we are not actually using it. There will be plenty of space for us all.

Will we all have to move back to the land?

No. Only those who wish to. Cities and factories not motivated by profit can be remodeled to be beautiful and healthful places to live.

But machines are destroying us.

When production is motivated by need, we may be able to use technology to make technology safe and beneficial.

Could this volunteer system happen in just one country, one city or one area?

Sure. Just as a family operates for free internally and deals with outsiders with cash or credit. However, more than likely this volunteer system will catch on in other countries as well. Of course, what we need now is a few examples in operation with our motivation.

Have we overlooked anything? Are there any obstacles that would keep this volunteer system from working?

GREED

Yes. You have forgotten about people's inherent greed and selfishness.

I think not. We'll use the two emotions to help create our dream. Most people want the very best they can get for themselves. Part of our job will be to show people that our system will give them a better life.

* Production Year Book, 1977, Vol. 31, published by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Land use figures from 1976 and population from 1977.

Well, maybe. But people will take too much if everything is free in the family.

We have the technology, the land and the other resources to produce abundance. When there is plenty, there is less tendency to hoard. Take toilet paper, for an example. There is a great supply in this country. People could easily steal it from the rest rooms, however they seldom do. But in Asia, where it's scarce, even Americans steal it.

But we could never produce enough for $4\frac{1}{2}$ billion people to have everything they wanted.

Just look at our gigantic mass production. Industry today has big layoffs. They stop producing until we buy their huge inventories. They create scarcity as one excuse to raise prices. Instead, we will begin to design products to last a long time and be trouble-free. We'll learn the advantages of sharing rather than owning. We'll stop producing "junk products" which have to be "pushed" on people with millions of dollars of advertising.

Have we overlooked something important, a catch 22?

I can't think of any. But if we could just get people to love each other, that would solve all our problems. Help us with the "Love Everybody Project".

Profit is "taking more than your share". How can you expect people to "love" each other when they must pick each other's pockets in order to survive? A sensible economic system comes first -- then "loving" comes naturally.

Sounds logical.

OK, let's get together and start an essential business.

Sorry. I'm too busy right now. I have bills to pay, people to see and lots of things to do. What's your name, anyway?

Dreamer. Henry David Dreamer. What's yours?

John Q. Workman. Not only that, Mr. Dreamer, but I'm breaking up with my lady and I'll be busy looking for another. I must see my psychiatrist. I have TV to watch, papers to read, movies to see, cars to fix and a house to paint. I have an anti-nuke march to prepare for. I'm working for the "Please Give Us Pure Air" committee. I need a bigger color TV and a sailboat. Now you tell me where I'll find time to help you get this volunteer company started? Not only that, but I actually wrote to the president and told him to straighten things out. I went right to the top! Don't worry, the government will fix everything.

Yes, I know, I wrote to him 13 years ago. He sent me a nice form letter but things are still getting worse. I sure wish you were right, Mr. Workman, but don't you think that stopping the profit monster should have a higher priority on your list?

Yes, of course it should. I only wish I had time to help you with your worthy project. Tell you what. You get it started, and by then I'll probably have time to help.

Thanks a lot!!!

CO-OPS

Say, aren't the alternative hippie co-ops doing this already?

Partly. Most of them are offering better products. They have dedicated (but paid) employees. However, most co-ops are not priced below the competition. Some are living together in group housing. Most are not. Co-ops have tried since 1844, but have not broken the big corporations. I don't know what their purpose is, perhaps it's to coexist with corporations. That is what they have done. They seem to be lacking part of the formula to achieve the goals we have talked about.

Say! Is there any other reason why you won't help?

Well, yes. Your cause is hopeless.

That's what they told the Wright Brothers and Henry Ford, but look at all the cars and planes around.

What does that prove?

Nothing, really.

And besides that, no one is going to work without pay.

What about Boy Scout, Girl Scout, and Cub Scout leaders? What about hospital volunteers and people working for free with the aged and with AA?

That's different. They don't need the money. They already have what they need.

So will the workers in our volunteer companies.

It's no use, I tell you! Why don't you write about something else? Besides, some people have families to raise. They have no time either.

Actually none of us may have much time. Who knows when they (the super-rich) will hire another nation to drop a missile on one of our cities like they did on Pearl Harbor? Then fear and anger will polarize everyone into accepting WW3. Then... when will people get time to enjoy their family (if they survive)?

Hey man! You're always looking at the worst things that could happen.

No! I didn't mention the possibility that our "crazy" war lord monsters might start pushing buttons in the U.S. and in Russia... then, puff!

They wouldn't do that.

But, "there have always been wars." The atomic missiles are ready to go. They make far more profit selling weapons and supplies to governments when they are busy at war using up weapons, munitions and supplies (including oil), than in peacetime. So the drive for profit will push the button.

That sounds reasonable. But I sure don't want to be part of WW3. In this war all countries will be within range of the intercontinental ballistic missiles, fired from half way around the globe or from satellites.

Yes. The profit system is crying for a war. If you could get your volunteer system going, there would no longer be a profit in war. I sincerely wish I had the time to help you. But your way to install

this Free System seems like such a tremendous all-out undertaking.

Yes. It will be one Hell of an effort.

Ain't there an easier way?

IDEA TWO

Sure. If we had the use of the mass media for one year, we should be able to convince the whole world to change over to the Free System.

Then why don't you do that?

You mean buy a radio and TV station, a motion picture and recording studio, a major newspaper and magazine?

Just buy a radio station. You couldn't afford the rest.

I have already made two interviews on radio and one on TV, and I gave out my address twice each time.

I suppose you got loads of mail.

Not one letter!

What's wrong with people?

They must all have the death wish prematurely. They just won't help themselves. Maybe they are hypnotized by the media to be passive and obedient and resigned to a pending annihilation.

Hey man! These are good people you are talking about. They are just like you were 13 years ago, before you dropped out and had time to observe and put 2 and 2 together. They are busy busy busy, trying to cope with work, status symbols, relationships, bills, TV commercials, and you name it.

You're right! Let's start or buy a radio station and spread the word.

I would help you if I had the faintest hope that people would listen.

They listen to and obey the hypnotic propoganda of the Profiteers. We just have to learn to be more convincing.

You mean beat 'em at their own game?

Right! Truth should be easier to promote. When shall we start?

As soon as I get my mortgage paid off, I'll have more time.

Isn't there a simpler way to accomplish the change-over?

IDEA THREE

Perhaps. Let's allow the "profit potential" of this volunteer system to leak out and get into the hands of an intelligent business executive.

Who would that be?

Someone who would like to be "President of the World"!

What do you mean?

The person who starts this big volunteer corporation might easily absorb all of his/her competition. A leader who took an equal share of the profit with each of his/her followers might also achieve something which money can't buy -- love and admiration. This our greedy leaders lack.

You can say that again!

We have highly competitive leaders in industry today. This idea could give one of them an "edge" over the rest.

You mean they could eliminate their payroll expense and gain more efficiency with volunteer employees?

Wouldn't that give them an edge?

Sure would. This sounds like the best idea yet. But how do we leak this information out to one of those executives?

I wish I knew.

UTOPIA?

Tell me something.

What?

Would you like to live in a society where everyone had free choice, I mean really free choice? Like... you could work wherever you wished ...chose your own hours... chose how many hours... get free training on the job... use your creativity to improve your job, product or service?

That sounds like fun... like a hobby.

A society in which everyone had equal access to everything they wanted?

Yes!

A society in which there were no taxes, rent, interest, mortgages, barter, credit, or money?

Wow!

A society where you could go to the store and take whatever you wanted -- free of charge?

Yes! Yes!

Go to a lumber yard... get free building material... deliver it to a space no one was using and build a house... any way you please? (With no building codes.) You could even build it from corrugated cardboard and cover it with fiberglass, or whatever.

I'd like it. I'd like it.

How would it feel to be able to travel any time you pleased, for free?

Great! If only we weren't packed like sardines on busses and trains. It surely won't take much imagination to remedy that.

We might even set up clothing stores which would accept the clothes we're wearing. They might mend and launder them and put them back on the racks. We could walk out with a clean change of clothes.

Say, then we could really travel light, just a tooth brush and comb.

Could we work in foreign countries if we wished to?

Sure. Everyone will be happy to have more volunteers. Then they can divide the day into more shifts, giving more people a chance to help and thereby let everyone work less hours.

That's neat. I wish I could speak all the different languages of the world. But that is a hopeless desire.

No, it's not. There is a short cut. With our computers we should be able to invent a simple logical language that would be easy for people

from all cultures to learn and use.

Say, then we could all use this universal language as our second language and be able to communicate with everyone.

Yes. That will be a giant step in bringing our world's people together in peace, understanding and love.

Wow!!!

But, won't everyone want to travel, if it's free?

Sure, there will probably be much more traveling, so we'll build more and better transportation systems. Who knows what kinds of swell systems they may invent when the transportation industry operates for all people. And the fuel suppliers start; then we may be able to use some cheap fuels like the sun, wind, water, gravity, tide, thermal, etc. for power.

What about patents and copyrights, will we still use them?

No reason to. Instead inventors and writers will progress much faster by sharing their ideas instead of hiding and protecting them.

That makes sense.

How would it feel not to worry about someone stealing your possessions? With everything being free there would be no reason to steal. No more need for locks or prisons.

SEX

What about sex crimes? Will your priceless society eliminate them? Maybe. At least it should lessen them. Having no money worries and having happier, more satisfying work, we may get along better.

But what about sex maniacs -- will you keep them in prison?

We may be able to create a therapeutic method to cure these people. We may teach them how to get all they want. We might even give them an overdose of love and sex. Wear them out. Then they may be satisfied with a natural level of love and sex.

Sounds good. Will we still need hospitals?

The more we reduce the "stress" in people's lives with our new, happy Priceless Society... the less need we will have for doctors, nurses, medicine and hospitals.

Your Free System is going to put a lot of people out of work.

Yes it will. Bankers, stockbrokers, sales and advertising people won't be needed. There will be no more lawsuits over property and money, so lawyers, judges, courts and maybe jails will not be needed. Insurance and tax collectors won't be needed, nor will people in the government centers. The millions of soldiers can go home. The people producing "junk" products will quit.

How will they eat, if they don't have a job?

They will get everything for free, just like the rest of us. They will have plenty of time to choose a new kind of work. As our essential industries absorb these millions of new workers, they will have to divide the day into more shifts. This will give everyone a chance to the fun and satisfaction of doing a share.

But wouldn't they have to have really short shifts to absorb all

these new workers?

Yes. And with the free use of automation and robotics, we will probably only need to work about an hour a day or one seven-hour shift a week.

Wow wow wow!!! That's for me. This sure sounds like "Utopia" to me.

No. Utopia is perfection. We'll probably still have mosquitoes and our mates may still nag once in a while. Some people may like their job so well that they will want to work longer hours.

I wouldn't mind if they did.

There are many things we aren't allowed to do because of "Profit". Like we may be able to heat our cities and get power by drilling a deep hole and getting heat from the Earth's core in each city. This would be almost free. [Or turn free sunlight into power? -- ed.] Of course today the fuel cartel will not allow it.

We may be wise enough to allow buffalo, deer, whales, seals, fish, rabbits, birds, etc. to multiply until they roam in huge numbers again. We may learn to just take what we need instead of wasting them just for profit or sport. They feed, water, and care for themselves. This would save farmers a lot of work and provide fun occupations for hunters and fishermen.

What about check-out clerks? Will you keep track of how much each person takes?

No. There will be no reason to take too much. We won't be able to sell it, so, to take too much will be a burden or make one sick.

POLITICIANS

OK. Will you still have politicians?

If we still have a need for them. But at this moment I can't think of any need for them in the Priceless Society. When they aren't getting paid, they may get bored sitting around in congress arguing and making crazy laws that nobody will listen to any more.

Yes, but we need policemen to protect us from one another.

That's what they have been preaching, but maybe we won't, when there is no reason to steal.

Right. But we'll still need our armed forces.

If we are giving everything away for free, we won't need an army to protect us. We'll even go over to the other country and help them produce an abundance of what they want.

Ya, why not.

Some people don't like to cook. Can they eat in restaurants all the time?

Sure. Then the people who really like cooking can enjoy their work more by having really appreciative customers. When cooks are not trying to make a profit, they can produce more delicious and nutritious meals.

Do you think we will stop having home kitchens?

If that is what people want... that's the way it will be. We'll do as we wish.

With free access to materials and volunteer labor, we should be able to design and build some very beautiful, peaceful and efficient restaurants. How pleasant it will be to share delicious food and interesting conversation with friends and travelers in such surroundings.

Yes, it will be.

What about the team or "family" of people who run these beautiful restaurants, will they have any fun?

Volunteers may find it fun and challenging to develop the best ways to operate "their" restaurant. Customers will become their friends with much jovial interchange. With short shifts the workers won't need to be "worn ragged" as they are today. It may be very satisfying to provide meals that people rave about in a beautiful peaceful setting.

How about some nice dinner wine with our meals?

Why not, for those who wish it.

FREE DRUGS

Won't free drinks and drugs make everyone become addicted?

No. Many people have enough money to become addicted but they choose not to indulge that much.

Then why do some people get addicted?

They may be the people who "postpone" solving their problems by getting drunk or spaced out with drugs. In the Priceless Society we won't have so many problems. If we do have some, we'll have free counseling available for everyone.

Will you still need a lot of laws to govern behavior?

Nature and science have a few laws we must obey. But for human behavior there is only one law. It should be easier to obey in the Priceless Society.

What law is that?

"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

That's a religious law -- the "Golden Rule".

No. That is a law of nature. It was here long before religion. Even animals use it.

That's true. That's all we need. It covers everything. I'm always happiest when I observe it.

Sure, we learned it as babies relating to each other and to adults. When we got displeasing results we changed our approach until we got pleasing reactions.

This law doesn't need to be written. It is just there. We are using it all the time... for our good and for our detriment. It takes care of its own punishing and its own rewarding.

Yes, humans have never made such a good law.

What about having policemen to protect us in case some family wants to take over our house?

I suppose a few people may choose to be policepeople if there is a need. However it is hard to foresee what kind of housing we may all gravitate to. For instance, if we lose our attachment to "things", we may just wish to have a quiet, warm place to sleep, like a hotel room. Or maybe we'll want to sleep like puppies in a big room with loads of

people. We will each decide for ourselves.

What will our libraries and TV be like when we drop the profit system? Will TV have an unlimited number of channels?

We may need only one huge library to service the whole world. With each family having some sort of computer hook-up that could use a wall-sized TV projector. Because there would be no profit in movies, they could be released immediately for home reception.

It would be great to see first-run movies at home on a big wall screen. Why not!

I suppose everyone will be fighting over the best cars, like everyone will want Cadillacs. Who will have to take the Fords?

We'll redesign all vehicles to be beautiful, long-lasting, trouble-free, non-polluting and efficient. Or perhaps we'll prefer to have an automated, comfortable mass transit system. We'll stop producing undesirable vehicles anyway.

ART

Yes, I can see that. What about one-of-a-kind objects, like paintings and sculptures?

This could be a problem. However, we may not want the responsibility of guarding such objects. We may instead find it simpler to keep them on display in free art museums. We'll have lots more free time, so there will probably be an abundance of art.

That would save a lot of worry. "Things" really are burdens. The less things I have, the less I worry.

Yes, we may find it less hassle to share "things". Like, be able to take a machine from a central supply depot where they are serviced and maintained by experts. We wouldn't have to have "extra" space to store it at our place, nor would we have to build as many.

Will we continue to have newspapers and magazines?

If we choose to, however they will be a lot thinner without advertising.

Yes.

I don't think you'll be able to get anyone to pick up garbage.

We should be able to automate jobs we don't like. Garbage for instance we may be able to eliminate. We may wish to have only reusable containers. We may leave all old clothing at the store for recycling. We may all choose to eat in restaurants. Restaurants may make leftover and spoiled food available to chickens and animals in their back yards, or farmers may wish to pick it up.

Yes, it seems smarter to recycle instead of pollute our countryside with landfills.

What about the age-old problem of our human body waste?

Some cities are already recycling this by turning it into fertilizer.

That makes more sense than dumping it into our rivers.

Will everyone have the same religion?

Why should they? If they still have a need for their religion, they will keep it.

(R)EVOLUTION

You say we won't use money.

Right.

What about capital? Capital is needed to produce goods.

We will have the use of land, buildings and machines. The buildings and machines were all produced by people's labor or by other machines which labor produced. The land was always here. No one needs to "own" these to make them produce.

So you'll just build 'em and use 'em?

Right.

WORKER TREATMENT

How will bosses treat volunteers at work?

They will have to treat us pretty good or we'll leave and work for someone else who will.

Yes. How will volunteers treat each other?

Work will be more enjoyable if we treat each other with respect and friendship. A cooperative atmosphere is more pleasant than a competitive one. Not only that, but it will be to everyone's advantage to have as many employees as possible.

Why?

Then we can divide the day into more shifts... thereby each person can work less hours.

That's a pretty good incentive.

Will you elect representatives to send to the government to represent the workers?

There will be no need to elect worker representatives, as each volunteer will exercise her/his control in at least two ways. We will contribute our work and ideas to a place we believe in. That is our "yes" vote. We will threaten to stop giving our energy if the company goes astray. This is a very powerful "no" vote. Production is impossible without workers.

You mean we won't have to trust "representatives" with our votes any more?

Right!

That eliminates another opportunity for corruption.

But without a government, who will tell the farmers and factories how much and what to produce?

The law of supply and demand.

How does that work?

When there is a demand for a product, we will produce it until the supply is sufficient to keep that demand filled.

And if people stop demanding a product, like aluminum beer cans, then what?

We'll stop producing them and retool our machines to fill some other demand.

This is another way that we exercise direct control in what is produced. If we refuse to use a product, that is our "vote" against it.

Very simple. No begging to representatives to get laws changed.

This Priceless Society sure simplifies government... makes it obsolete.

Will there be as much loneliness in your Priceless Society as we have today?

When we are cooperating instead of competing, we may start seeing our similarities instead of only our differences. We may like each other more this way. We may find it easier to be friends and perhaps even lovers with people at work and elsewhere.

I don't think people will work if they get everything for free.

Which came first -- the chicken or the egg? First of all people must understand that their contribution of a few hours' work per week will make this abundant, peaceful, priceless society possible. Without their help it can't be done. Therefore they will be stuck with what they have, and that is getting worse. Besides that, if the rest of us can "show" them that we are having more fun by contributing our time, energy, and creativity -- they may want a piece of the action. After all, to just "suck" and not contribute can get to be not only humiliating, but downright boring.

Yes. I have seen people on welfare who didn't look very happy.

We might decide to remove the concrete and blacktop from our cities. Our new transports might not require it. We may remove many of the structures, too. Then we could encourage edible plants, fruit and nut trees, berries, grapes, and edible animals to be there.

Hey! How about flowers?

Sure, flowers too.

That ought to make living easier, more peaceful and beautiful.

I really get excited about the possibility of outer space travel.

Will we still work at developing that?

With all volunteer labor and not being limited by government budgets, we should be able to progress much faster, if people wish to.

I wish I could work in this exciting field.

You will be able to find work in this field that you can handle, and get on-the-job training.

SCHOOLS

Will kids still have to spend 16 to 20 years locked up in schools?

Chances are, we'll find better ways to allow kids to learn what they wish. Perhaps through home hookups to giant computers and from kids a little older.

What about training for a job?

Kids will have the same access to jobs that adults will enjoy. When they feel ready, they can apprentice to any job that appeals to them. They can have access to all kinds of testing to show them their chances of mastering and enjoying the job.

Will people have to stick to the same job all of their lives?

No. If people get bored with their job, they will switch to another with more challenge. People will probably develop many skills over a lifetime.

Will old folks have to retire?

No. They will be allowed to work as long as they wish. Some of them may like to teach in the apprenticeship program at work.

This should make old folks feel more useful and happy. Probably keep them healthier too.

How would you like it if workers could refuse to work in a place if it polluted our air, water, or land?

Ya. If everything was free, we could refuse.

Would you like to have this Priceless Society?

Sure, who wouldn't? But people are too dumb to understand it.

Not dumb, but without hope of escape from their wage slavery and government tyranny, and lacking knowledge of this alternative.

Well, what can I do about that?

IDEA FOUR

1. Tell people about the Priceless Society.

2. Write about it and publish it.

3. Get on a radio or TV talk show.

4. Write a play.

5. Make a movie.

6. Do street theatre.

7. Have a debate.

8. Make tapes for radio.

9. Have this paper reprinted and distribute it.

You mean, like the people grapevine that can cover the entire country in a couple of weeks with a dirty joke?

Sure. And after everyone talks and argues until they understand it, we can set a date to change over.

Would everyone keep working at their present job?

Yes. And on the change-over date we would all refuse to take pay, and we would begin to give all products and services away free of charge.

Won't the owners stop us?

The owners of small industries will be far better off with all volunteers. The few "super-rich" families who control the world's largest corporations are not able to be at each point of distribution to see that their products are not given away free of charge.

But they have managers.

Their managers will stop taking pay too.

Then they will hire security guards to stop us.

Guards will be better off to stop taking pay too.

Well Hell, man, they will just call in the Army!

No. The army people will be far better off to stop taking pay (and BS orders) too.

You win. They couldn't stop us. But, won't they still want to be leaders?

We must show them that they will get everything for free and still be able to be leaders.

Ya, and instead of being hated they may be loved and admired, if they give us equal access to the goods.

Yes, and they will have an easier time as leaders, as we will take responsibility and work harder and better and get our jobs done in much less time. We will even welcome automation and robotics then.

Leaders are smart people. They will catch on.

What if we don't like our job?

If you couldn't make the job into something you'd like doing, you could change to another job and get free on-the-job training if you needed it.

I like the sound of that! Would people share housing, like living in communes?

No, not unless they wanted to. We could continue living where we were (but stop paying rent or mortgage payments), move into any vacant space, or build ourselves a house.

That sounds better to me. I couldn't live with a whole bunch of people. I like my privacy and peace and quiet.

Many people do.

Actually this method of change-over would require the least amount of energy and the least changes in our lifestyle.

But we sure will have to do a lot of talking and arguing and promoting to get everyone to believe that we can do it.

Right on!

What about the anti-war, anti-nuclear, anti-pollution, anti-government, anti-school, anti-sexist, anti-racist, etc., i.e., the "anti" people?

The Profit System uses the "divide and conquer" technique to get people to fight against each other. This diversion keeps them too busy to see who and what their real enemy is. We must convince them that their problems will disappear once we switch over to the Priceless Society. They may as well be helping us, as we will be getting rid of the cause of their (our) problems. We will bring people together with our common cause.

What is our common cause?

To save our planet! To rid it of the monster that is wantonly destroying it.

What monster is that? I seem to have forgotten.

PROFIT! Corporations do anything for their god, "profit".

Right. And workers do anything if the pay is high enough. "When we take pay, we must obey."

If we want world change for the good, we can't continue as we are.

Would this Priceless Society work for you? Would you do what you thought was your share of the work? Would you be happier to get everything you wanted, free of charge, without money, credit, barter, or accountability?

Is this idea of a Priceless Society beautiful enough to motivate you to focus time and energy on helping to get it started?

Your vote "for" the Priceless Society is as powerful as the amount of effort you expend to help make it happen. Your vote "against" the

Priceless Society is your silence and the withholding of your help.

We have a chance to get what we "go for", but no chance if we don't try. "The meek will inherit the wage-slavery of their fathers", i.e., they will remain the slaves of money and of those who control it.

If we lay back and wait... will "they" do as they always have done -- get us involved in another war?

Should we begin a "crash program" to explore the many possibilities, the feasibility and the best way to bring about this change?

If we can get this new idea moving... it will not only make big changes in our lives -- BUT IT MAY CHANGE THE ENTIRE WORLD!

Editor's note: This article by Ernest Mann was written on September 6, 1982, and was first published in booklet form by the Little Free Press, P.O. Box 8201, Minneapolis, MN 55408. Other titles are available from this address as well; all are free; a contribution would be appreciated. Feedback is important. Please let us know how you feel about the ideas expressed in this article. Write to (R)EVOLUTION, P.O. Box 306, Onondaga Hill Station, Syracuse, NY 13215.

NOTICES---NOTICES---NOTICES---NOTICES---NOTICES---NOTICES---NOTICES---

Send brief messages, ads, and notices to appear in this space in future issues to the address above. Ads will be included without charge, space permitting; contributions are of course welcome.

SABOTAGING THE DISSIDENT PRESS:

How the U.S. Government destroys newspapers and controls what you read. By Angus Mackenzie. This book details the continuing secret war against alternative media and our right to know by the CIA's Operation CHAOS, the FBI's Cointelpro, the IRS, Army Intelligence, and others. Send \$1.95 for each copy, postpaid, to Angus Mackenzie, Center for Investigative Reporting, 54 Mint St., 4th Floor, San Francisco, CA94103.

"There will be people who say that mere ideas cannot be dangerous... well, they just never had any ideas like these. Neutron Gun doesn't just open Pandora's box, it literally tears it apart. More than just a book, this is a discussion device..." NEUTRON GUN, a collection of short stories,

edited by Gerry Reith. 1st edition, perfect-bound, 72pp. \$2.95 + \$1 for shipping, from THE NEITHER/NOR PRESS P.O. Box 8043, Ann Arbor MI 48107.

DEEP ECOLOGY: Living As If Nature Mattered: The philosophical fundamentals for the defense of Earth. By Bill Devall & George Sessions. \$17 hardcover postpaid from: EARTH FIRST, P.O. Box 5871, Tuscon, AZ 85703.

PROGRAMMERS: NICARAGUA NEEDS YOU. Volunteer your skills for vitally important projects in government agencies & universities. You pay air fare; agencies pay room/board. Also needed: engineers, technicians etc. For info call (212)4270634 or (415)6547768; write: TECANICA, 110 Brookside Dr., Berkeley, CA 94705.

GUIDE TO FILMS ON CENTRAL AMERICA, \$2.50. MEDIA NETWORK, 208 W. 13 St. New York, NY 10011; (212)6200877.

TIME-BINDING AND VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SYSTEMS

by Bruce Webber

"If people were to learn to conceive the world in the new way, without the old notion of 'force', it would alter not only their physical imagination, but probably also their morals and politics.... In Newton's theory of the solar system, the sun seems like a monarch whose behests the planets have to obey. In Einstein's world there is more individualism and less government than in Newton's.... If nature, as portrayed by Einstein, is to be our model, it would seem that the anarchists have the best of the argument. The physical universe is orderly, not because there is a central government, but because every body minds its own business."

--- Bertrand Russell,
 The ABC of Relativity*

A person's behavior relates in many ways to that person's self-image, often in a self-fulfilling way. A person may adopt any number of beliefs about herself; some will result in growth, health, happiness and overall adjustment. Similarities between societies and individuals suggest that the same self-fulfilling mechanism may be at work on a planet-wide scale. What self-image is appropriate for the human race?

No two things are identical. Nonetheless it is useful to ignore differences and focus on similarities, and thereby create categories. From a functional standpoint, life here may be roughly classified into chemistry-binders (plants), space-binders (animals), and time-binders (humans and perhaps cetaceans).** Unlike minerals, plants can rearrange chemical compounds to store (bind) energy. Animals also store energy chemically, but unlike plants, animals are aware of their position in "space" and can define territories. Unlike animals, humans can communicate their experiences and build on past achievements. In principle each generation of humans can start where the last one left off.

It's important to remember that in the world there is no such thing as an "animal" or a "human". These terms refer to categories

* Bertrand Russell, The ABC of Relativity, (New York: New American Library, 1958), pp. 125-126.

** Alfred Korzybski, Manhood of Humanity, (Lakeville, CT: The International Non-Aristotelian Library, 1921), pp. 58-60.

in our heads, not to actual organisms. Each organism is unique. We are clever, and can therefore devise many different classification schemes. The scheme outlined above is useful because the categories are functional; they tell us something about how organisms behave, or are capable of behaving.

Functionally, HUMANS ARE NOT ANIMALS.

If I think of myself as an animal, I will copy animals in my behavior. I will compete with other humans for resources; I will act in a territorial fashion; I will have a narrow sense of self-interest. I may even use force to get what I want. To paraphrase Korzybski, I will be dogmatic and categorical.

On the other hand, if I view myself as a human time-binder, I will tend to cooperate with others; I will realize that most of the wealth (including ideas and knowledge) was created by past generations and that I am transforming and adding to that wealth for the benefit of future generations; I will have a broad sense of self-interest that includes the welfare of others.

It is interesting to note that what we call "moral" behavior is a natural outgrowth of time-binding awareness. If Smith thinks of herself as a time-binder, it's unlikely she would steal, as this does not create wealth for the species. Instead she is likely to have a long-term perspective, conscious of how her actions and the actions of her generation affect future generations. It is unnecessary to force Smith to act morally.

Since each human generation may start where the last left off, it is natural for human society to progress exponentially. In a society of humans aware of their time-binding nature, the social order is dynamic, changing as new information and wealth emerge, thereby allowing for the future growth and health of the species. (Of course, the health of the species depends largely on the health of the entire biosphere.)

Part of our evolution as a species is the realization of our time-binding nature. This is now resulting in the planet-wide transformation of our beliefs, institutions, social systems, etc.

What role has government played in society?

In general, governments have used force to preserve the status quo and to create and support privileged classes in society. In working to suppress change, governments have acted in an anti-evolutionary fashion, preventing the orderly transformation and growth of society. The result has often been violent revolution. George Washington wrote: "Government is not reason; it is not eloquence; it is force! Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master." Indeed, it is the use (or threat) of force that results in injustice. In relationships that are voluntary, all participants benefit.

We are outgrowing our governments. As we realize that our evolution has not ended, but that it is our nature to consciously guide our social development, we create new social systems based on voluntary consent, allowing us to fully use our time-binding (human) capacities.

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES: (1) Alfred Korzybski, Science and Sanity: An Introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics. (Lakeville, CT: International Non-Aristotelian Library, 1933); (2) John Nesbit, Megatrends (NY: Warner, 1984); (3) Robert Anton Wilson, Prometheus Rising (Phoenix, AZ: Falcon Press, 1983).

AN ANARCHIST VIEW OF MARXISM

by The Lone Wolf Collective

Among those of us who are working to help create free and just societies, all agree with Karl Marx in seeking to end, as quickly and completely as possible, the economic exploitation of some people by others.

It seems to us, however, that there are certain failings that return, again and again, to plague those societies that have been dominated by persons who claim to be following other teachings of Marx.

Is this merely coincidence and a fault of the master's disciples?

Or are there weaknesses in the doctrine and personality of Marx that make these failings inevitable?

In this article we are not going to attempt a scholarly interpretation of Marx or of the -ism that has spread around his work. We don't aim to offer "the last word" in analysis. What we want to do is to encourage discussion on certain aspects of Marxism that seem to be having important consequences today.

And there is urgency in the matter. Two Empires (enemies to each other and, indeed, to all life) stand in the classic macho absurdity, each armed with arsenals that, quite clearly, are capable of putting an end to life on our planet (a swift end for half of us; a long agony of death through burns, epidemics, starvation, and radiation poisoning for the other half).

One Empire is often represented as being the democratic bastion of freedom, and the transmitter of the highest world culture, the culture that has sprung from ancient Greek genius, the gentle wisdom of Christ, etc. We see this empire as dominated instead by a crass materialistic greed of almost inconceivable proportions, and resulting exploitations of people (the politically powerless both "at home" and "abroad") have reached such magnitude that most people in most parts of the world are striving to free themselves from the effects of United States policy and of imperialism in general.

The other Empire, in many important respects a reaction to the outrages of the first, is a brutal, reactionary totalitarianism that claims to be Marxist.

A part of the question we will address is: To what degree has the Soviet Union betrayed Marx and to what degree has Marx failed the Soviet Union?

Another part is: To those peoples who strive to revolutionize their circumstances and build just societies, what is there to learn from the teachings of Marx and from the 20th century experiences of those who have incorporated Marxist ideas into their revolutionary practices?

Michael Bakunin, an anarchist contemporary of Marx, praised Marx as "a powerful mind backed by deep learning; a man... whose whole life has been exclusively dedicated to the greatest cause of the present day, that of the emancipation of labour and the worker." But from as early as 1868 (when Bakunin joined Marx in forming the International) Bakunin rejected the Marxist theory that the working class should be organized into a political party that would seize political power: "We are convinced that revolution is only sincere, honest, and real in the hands of the masses." Bakunin wonders how Marx "manages to overlook the fact that the establishment of a universal dictatorship ...ruling and controlling the insurrectionary activity of the masses in all countries, as a machine might be controlled -- that the establishment of such a dictatorship would in itself suffice to kill revolution and warp and paralyse all popular movements.... To claim that even the most intelligent and best-intentioned group of individuals will be capable of becoming the mind, soul, and guiding and unifying will of the revolutionary movement and economic organization of the proletariat of every land is such an outrage against common sense and historical experience that one can only wonder how a man as clever as Herr Marx could have conceived it."

Quickly Bakunin has gone to the heart of the matter: "May the future preserve us from the benevolence of despotism, and may it also save us from the damaging and stultifying consequences of authoritarian, doctrinaire, or institutional socialism. Let us be socialists, but let us never become sheep. Let us seek justice, but without any sacrifice of liberty. There can be no life, no humanity, without liberty, and a form of socialism which excluded liberty, or did not accept it as a basis and as the only creative principle, would lead us straight back to slavery...."

To those fighting for freedom today in Central America (and elsewhere), Bakunin's plea seems as true and important as it was 100 years ago. He has seen where a "Central Committee" would lead. By encouraging authoritarian behavior, authority centralized in the hands of a small clique, and doctrinaire thinking, Marx sabotaged many of his own accomplishments, sowing seeds of destruction in rows parallel to those of economic liberation.

And when, in 1872, at the 5th Congress of the International, Marx tried to stifle dissent and managed to have Bakunin expelled from the International, we had an ominous foreshadowing of one of the most damaging tendencies that we see in Marxist states today: intolerance toward those who dare to disagree.

Just as Bakunin was on the scene in the 1860s and 1870s to record a clear and cogent first-hand view of Marx, so Emma Goldman was in Russia to participate in the first large-scale attempt to put the theories of Marx to the test. And she is perhaps even more clear and cogent in her analysis and her response.

By 1922 she had already seen that the Russian Revolution had taken "a libertarian step", only to be "defeated by the Bolshevik State, by the temporary victory of the reactionary, the governmental idea" that had been nourished by Marx. She saw, as Bakunin had seen, that "the

inherent tendency of the State is to concentrate, to narrow, and to monopolize all social activities; the nature of revolution is, on the contrary, to grow, to broaden, and to disseminate itself in ever-wider circles."

And the problem goes deeper: "It is at once the great failure and the great tragedy of the Russian Revolution that it attempted (in the rulership of the ruling political party) to change only institutions and conditions, while ignoring entirely the human and social values involved in the revolution. Worse yet... it systematically destroyed the already awakened conception of the new revolutionary values. The sense of justice and equity, the love of liberty and human brotherhood -- these fundamentals of the real regeneration of society -- the Communist State has suppressed to the point of extermination. Man's instinctive sense of equity was branded as weak sentimentality; human dignity and liberty became a bourgeois superstition; the sanctity of life, which is the very essence of social reconstruction, was condemned as unrevolutionary, almost counter-revolutionary. This fearful perversion of fundamental values bore within itself the seeds of destruction."

And, yes, let's be clear about this: it is not (as is so often argued) only with the rise of Stalin that the revolution was perverted. Emma Goldman was writing these passages in 1922, returning from two years in Russia. Marx had said: "An end that requires unjust means is not a just end." But his dependence on political manipulation, on hierarchy, and on power centralized in the hands of a few... this led directly to the dogmatic, manipulating, and puritanical ideas of Lenin and his Bolshevik associates. Those who fought for freedom were quickly eliminated; Engels (with the approval of Marx) had prophesied, and praised as "part of progress", the "disappearance from the surface of the globe, of not only reactionary classes and dynasties, but whole races of reactionaries." Instead it was the true revolutionaries who "disappeared" from the Soviet Union during the 1920s and 1930s.

"Today is the parent of tomorrow," Emma Goldman wrote. "The present casts its shadow far into the future. That is the law of life, individual and social. Revolution that divests itself of ethical values thereby lays the foundation of injustice, deceit, and oppression for the future society. The means used to prepare the future become its cornerstone. Witness the tragic condition of Russia. The methods of State centralization have paralyzed individual initiative and effort; the tyranny of the dictatorship has cowed the people into slavish submission and all but extinguished the fires of liberty; organized terrorism has depraved and brutalized the masses and stifled every idealistic aspiration; institutionalized murder has cheapened human life, and all sense of the dignity of man and the value of life has been eliminated; coercion at every step has made effort bitter, labor a punishment, has turned the whole of existence into a scheme of mutual deceit, and has revived the lowest and most brutal instincts of man. A sorry heritage to begin a new life of freedom and brotherhood." Sorry in 1922 and sorry today.

She had understood that the Russian people were victims of a

"naive faith in the miraculous power of the party that talked the loudest and made the most promises." But, in practice, the revolution had "demonstrated beyond doubt that the State idea, State Socialism, in all its manifestations (economic, political, social, educational) is entirely and hopelessly bankrupt. Never before in history has authority, government, the State, proved so inherently static, reactionary, and even counter-revolutionary in effect."

With awareness that much theory had gone awry, most Marxists turned back to another of their master's teachings (one that is equally disturbing): the Messianic vision; i.e., the rationalization that certain aspects of justice and freedom could be postponed (and certain crimes, such as State executions, condoned) until that day in the future when all would be set right. Of the overall plan of Marx, "the aims, the prophecies are generous and universal," Albert Camus points out, "but the doctrine is restrictive, and the reduction of every value to historical terms leads to the direst consequences. Marx thought that the ends of history, at least, would prove to be moral and rational. That was his Utopia. But Utopia, at least in the form he knew it, is destined to serve cynicism, of which he wanted no part. ...Historical Christianity postpones to a point beyond the span of history the cure of evil and murder, which are nevertheless experienced within the span of history. Contemporary materialism also believes that it can answer all questions. But, as a slave to history, it increases the domain of historic murder and at the same time leaves it without any justification, except in the future -- which again demands faith. In both cases one must wait, and meanwhile the innocent continue to die."

It is the living, present moment that is of interest to Emma Goldman: "All must learn the value of mutual aid and libertarian cooperation. Yet each must be able to remain independent in his own sphere and in harmony with the best he can yield to society. Only in that way will productive labour and educational and cultural endeavor express themselves in ever newer and richer forms."

Is there any Marxist society that has yet committed itself to protecting the individual's independence and creativity? The Gulags of the Soviet Union and the totalitarianism of Maoist China came to exist because Marxist theory allows the human race to be viewed as an abstract, and people as merely members of a class.

By 1950 Camus had seen the full magnitude of the tragedy that Marx had, in spite of his best intentions, brought to pass: "Revolutionary thought lost, in itself, a counterpoise of which it cannot, without decaying, deprive itself. This counterpoise, this spirit which takes the measure of life, is the same that animates the long tradition that can be called solitary thought, in which, since the Greeks, nature has always been weighed against evolution. The history of the First International, when German socialism ceaselessly fought against the libertarian thought of the French, the Spanish, and the Italians, is the history of the struggle of German ideology against the Mediterranean mind. The commune against the State, concrete society against absolutist society, deliberate freedom against rational tyranny, finally altruistic individualism against the colonization of the masses...."

And now, "authoritarian thought, by means of three wars and thanks to the destruction of a revolutionary elite, has succeeded in submerging this libertarian tradition."

Camus looked at the Commisars and asked, "Why do these petty-minded Europeans who show us an avaricious face, if they no longer have the strength to smile, claim their desparate convulsions are examples of superiority?"

Perhaps every philosopher from Plato to Marx has attempted to establish a social system that reconciles justice and community. Marx chose economic community and abandoned justice. Camus now saw clearly (as Bakunin had seen in 1872 and Goldman in 1922) that it was the tragedy of Marx that he had stopped short of the protection and nourishment of human values.

And Camus tried to share a deeper, more profound vision: "Moderation, born of rebellion, can only live by rebellion. It is a perpetual conflict, continually created and mastered by the intelligence. It does not triumph either in the impossible or in the abyss. It finds its equilibrium through them. Whatever we may do, excess will always keep its place in the heart of man, in the place where solitude is found. We all carry within us our places of exile, our crimes and our ravages. But our task is not to unleash them on the world; it is to fight them in ourselves and in others."

Camus called in 1950 (in a world wrecked by war), and we call with increasing urgency today, for rebellion which "unhesitatingly gives the strength of its love and without a moment's delay refuses injustice. Its merit lies in making no calculations, distributing everything it possesses to life and to living men. It is thus that it is prodigal in its gifts to men to come. Real generosity toward the future lies in giving all to the present."

So... what about China?

How did this centralizing, authoritarian, Messianic legacy from Marx affect Chinese attempts to cope with the enormous sufferings of the 1940's and 1950's? Have "equity", "human dignity and liberty", and the "sanctity of life" been prime considerations of China's Marxist elite? Led by Mao to expect that they would have an opportunity to make their own creative decisions about how to use their land, was there ever the possibility that the peasantry would be anything but betrayed?

And Latin America?

Are the Cuban people learning to take what is best from Marx and yet pay close attention to human values? In Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras... by what means can people overcome the vicious U.S. manipulations and simultaneously conduct a revolution that will lead to freedom and justics?

History does not allow a pause to regroup. A new phase of world revolution is already unfolding, and (leaving you with more questions than answers) we offer this view of Marx with hopes of contributing toward the evolution of societies that will be healthier for all concerned.

EMMA GOLDMAN
(1869-1940)

One of America's greatest radical women, Emma Goldman was also one of the world's most eloquent advocates of anarchism.

She was born in Russia, in the province of Kovno. She came to the U.S. at the age of 17, in the year 1886. This was a year in which there was great ferment in the labor movement. On the first of May a large demonstration took place in Chicago's Haymarket Square, for the workers' right to strike and for the eight-hour day. This demonstration ended in violence, and as a consequence, five anarchists who had participated in the events were tried and executed on Nov. 11, 1887 -- supposedly because of complicity in the deaths of some police officers, but actually, as the judge and prosecutor openly admitted, because of their belief in the political philosophy of anarchism. [See (R)EVOLUTION #2 for a history of the Haymarket Affair.]

This event had a major effect on Emma Goldman's developing political consciousness. Another major effect was her experience of the conditions of sweat-shop labor in Rochester, NY, in New York City, in New Haven, CT, and other industrial cities. She became heavily involved in the labor struggles of her day. She traveled extensively on speaking tours, rapidly gaining a reputation as a fiery orator. In a speech to a large demonstration composed of strikers and unemployed workers, she said, "Necessity knows no law.... Ask for work. If they won't give you work, ask for bread. If they won't give you bread, take bread."

She was repeatedly jailed for charges such as "incitement to riot". She was charged with complicity in various assassinations, including that of President McKinley, although there was no evidence to support these claims. Throughout America, she was persecuted with equal hostility by vigilante gangs and by police, who pursued her with groundless claims solely designed to silence her.

She spoke out fearlessly on women's rights and sexual freedom. She was jailed for distributing information on methods of contraception.

She lived many of the later years of her life in exile, banished by one government after another.

Her life story is told in remarkable detail in her autobiography, Living My Life (Dover Books, two volumes). There are two collections of her essays and speeches in print: Anarchism and Other Essays (Dover Books) and Red Emma Speaks (Random House, 1972).

Other resources:

Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman, by Candace Falk (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1984)

Nowhere at Home: Letters from Exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman (Schocken Books, 1975)

Anarchist Women, 1870-1920 by Margaret S. Marsh (Temple U. Press, 1981)

PATRIOTISM: A MENACE TO LIBERTY

by EMMA GOLDMAN

Editor's note: This essay was first presented by Emma Goldman as a lecture in San Francisco in 1908. The details are given in her autobiography, Living My Life, on page 427 (Dover, 1970, 2 vol.)

It will be noted that although the actual expenditures for military forces and equipment have changed radically since 1908, the trends of rising cost and the progressive increase of military expenditure that Emma Goldman identifies in this essay are increasingly evident in the last decades of the 20th century.]

What is patriotism?

Is it love of one's birthplace, the place of childhood's recollections and hopes, dreams and aspirations? Is it the place where, in childlike naivety, we would watch the fleeting clouds, and wonder why we, too, could not run so swiftly? The place where we would count the milliard glittering stars, terror-stricken lest each one "an eye should be", piercing the very depths of our little souls? Is it the place where we would listen to the music of the birds, and long to have wings to fly, even as they, to distant lands? Or the place where we would sit at mother's knee, enraptured by wonderful tales of great deeds and conquests?

In short, is it love for the spot, every inch representing dear and precious recollections of a happy, joyous and playful childhood?

If that were patriotism, few American men of today could be called upon to be patriotic, since the place of play has been turned into factory, mill, and mine, while deafening sounds of machinery have replaced the music of the birds. Nor can we longer hear the tales of great deeds, for the stories our mothers tell us today are but those of sorrow, tears, and grief.

What, then, is patriotism?

"Patriotism, sir, is the last resort of scoundrels," said Dr. Johnson.* Leo Tolstoy, the greatest anti-patriot of our times, defines

* Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), a British writer

patriotism as the principle that will justify the training of wholesale murderers; a trade that requires better equipment for the exercise of man-killing than the making of such necessities of life as shoes, clothing and houses; a trade that guarantees better returns and greater glory than that of the average workingman.

Gustave Herve, another great anti-patriot, justly calls patriotism a superstition -- one far more injurious, brutal, and inhumane than religion. The superstition of religion originated in man's inability to explain natural phenomena. That is, when primitive man heard thunder or saw lightning, he could not account for either, and therefore concluded that back of them must be a force greater than himself. Similarly he saw a supernatural force in the rain, and in the various other changes in nature. Patriotism, on the other hand, is a superstition artificially created and maintained through a network of lies and falsehoods; a superstition that robs man of his self-respect and dignity, and increases his arrogance and conceit.

Indeed, conceit, arrogance, and egotism are the essentials of patriotism. Let me illustrate. Patriotism assumes that our globe is divided into little spots, each one surrounded by an iron gate. Those who have had the fortune of being born on some particular spot, consider themselves better, nobler, grander, more intelligent than the living beings inhabiting any other spot. It is, therefore, the duty of everyone living on that chosen spot to fight, kill, and die in the attempt to impose his superiority upon all the others.

The inhabitants of the other spots reason in like manner, of course, with the result that, from early infancy, the mind of the child is poisoned with blood-curdling stories about the Germans, the Italians, the Russians, etc. When the child has reached manhood, he is thoroughly saturated by the belief that he is chosen by the Lord himself to defend his country against the attack or invasion of any foreigner. It is for that purpose that we are clamoring for a greater army and navy, more battleships and ammunition. It is for that purpose that America has within a short time spent four hundred million dollars. Just think of it -- four hundred million dollars taken from the produce of the people. For surely it is not the rich who contribute to patriotism. They are cosmopolitans, perfectly at home in every land. We in America know well the truth of this. Are not our rich Americans Frenchmen in France, Germans in Germany, or Englishmen in England? And do they not squander with cosmopolitan grace fortunes coined by American factory children and cotton slaves? Yes, theirs is the patriotism that will make it possible to send messages of condolence to a despot like the Russian Tsar, when any mishap befalls him, as President Roosevelt did in the name of his people, when Sergius was punished by the Russian revolutionists.*

It is a patriotism that will assist the arch-murderer, Diaz, in destroying thousands of lives in Mexico, or that will even aid in arresting Mexican revolutionists on American soil and keep them incarcerated in American prisons, without the slightest cause or reason.

But, then, patriotism is not for those who represent wealth and

* The Grand Duke Sergius, military governor of Moscow and uncle of Czar Nicholas II, was killed by a bomb following the "Bloody Sunday" massacre in January 1905.

power. It is good enough for the people. It reminds one of the historic wisdom of Frederick the Great, the bosom friend of Voltaire, who said: "Religion is a fraud, but it must be maintained for the masses."

That patriotism is a rather costly institution, no one will doubt after considering the following statistics. The progressive increase of the expenditures for the leading armies and navies of the world during the last quarter of a century is a fact of such gravity as to startle every thoughtful student of economic problems. It may be briefly indicated by dividing the time from 1881 to 1905 into five-year periods, and noting the disbursements of several great nations for army and navy purposes during the first and last of those periods. From the first to the last of the periods noted the expenditures of Great Britain increased from \$2,101,848,963 to \$4,143,226,885; those of France from \$3,324,500,000 to \$3,455,109,900; those of Germany from \$725,000,200 to \$2,700,375,600; those of the United States from \$1,275,500,750 to \$2,650,900,450; those of Russia from \$1,900,975,500 to \$5,250,445,100; those of Italy from \$1,600,975,750 to \$1,755,500,100; and those of Japan from \$182,900,500 to \$700,925,475.

The military expenditures of each of the nations mentioned increased in each of the five-year periods under review. During the entire interval from 1881 to 1905 Great Britain's outlay for her army increased fourfold; that of the United States was tripled, Russia's was doubled, that of Germany increased 35 per cent, that of France about 15 per cent, and that of Japan nearly 500 per cent. If we compare the expenditures of these nations upon their armies with their total expenditures for all the 25 years ending with 1905, the proportion rose as follows:

In Great Britain from 20% to 37%; in the United States from 15% to 23%; in France from 16% to 18%; in Italy from 12% to 15%; in Japan from 12% to 14%. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the proportion in Germany decreased from about 58% to 25%, the decrease being due to the enormous increase in the imperial expenditures for other purposes, the fact being that the army expenditures for the period of 1901-1905 were higher than for any five-year period preceding. Statistics show that the countries in which army expenditures are greatest, in proportion to the total national revenues, are Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy, in the order named.

The showing as to the cost of great navies is equally impressive. During the 25 years ending with 1905, naval expenditures increased approximately as follows: Great Britain, 300%; France, 60%; Germany, 600%; the United States, 525%; Russia, 300%; Italy, 250%; and Japan, 700%. With the exception of Great Britain, the United States spends more for naval purposes than any other nation, and this expenditure bears also a larger proportion to the entire national disbursements than that of any other power. In the period 1881-1885, the expenditure for the United States navy was \$6.20 out of each \$100 appropriated for all national purposes; the amount rose to \$6.60 for the next 5-year period, to \$8.10 for the next, to \$11.70 for the next, and to \$16.40 for 1901-1905. It is morally certain that the outlay for the current

period of five years will show a still further increase.

The rising cost of militarism may be still further illustrated by computing it as a per capita tax on population. From the first to the last of the five-year periods taken as the basis for the comparisons here given, it has risen as follows: In Great Britain, from \$18.47 to \$52.50; in France, from \$19.66 to \$23.62; in Germany, from \$10.17 to \$15.51; in the United States, from \$5.62 to \$13.64; in Russia, from \$6.14 to \$8.37; in Italy, from \$9.59 to \$11.24; and in Japan, from 86¢ to \$3.11.

It is in connection with this rough estimate of cost per capita that the economic burden of militarism is most appreciable. The irresistible conclusion from available data is that the increase of expenditure for army and navy purposes is rapidly surpassing the growth of population in each of the countries considered in the present calculation. In other words, a continuation of the increased demands of militarism threatens each of those nations with a progressive exhaustion both of men and resources.

The awful waste that patriotism necessitates ought to be sufficient to cure the man of even average intelligence from this disease. Yet patriotism demands still more. The people are urged to be patriotic and for that luxury they pay, not only by supporting their "defenders", but even by sacrificing their own children. Patriotism requires allegiance to the flag, which means obedience and readiness to kill father, mother, brother, sister.

The usual contention is that we need a standing army to protect the country from foreign invasion. Every intelligent man and woman knows, however, that this is a myth maintained to frighten and coerce the foolish. The governments of the world, knowing each other's interests, do not invade each other. They have learned that they can gain much more by international arbitration of disputes than by war and conquest. Indeed, as Carlyle* said, "War is a quarrel between two thieves too cowardly to fight their own battle; therefore they take boys from one village and another village, stick them into uniforms, equip them with guns, and let them loose like wild beasts against each other."

It does not require much wisdom to trace every war back to a similar cause. Let us take our own Spanish-American war, supposedly a great and patriotic event in the history of the United States. How our hearts burned with indignation against the atrocious Spaniards! True, our indignation did not flare up spontaneously. It was nurtured by months of newspaper agitation, and long after Butcher Weyler** had killed off many noble Cubans and outraged many Cuban women. Still, in justice to the American nation be it said, it did grow indignant and was willing to fight, and it fought bravely. But when the smoke was over, the dead buried, and the cost of the war came back to the people in an increase in the price of commodities and rent -- that is, when we sobered up from our patriotic spree -- it suddenly dawned on us that the cause of

* Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), British writer and teacher, author of The French Revolution (1837).

** Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau (1838-1930), Spanish general responsible for crushing Cuban resistance against Spanish colonialism in 1875-1876.

(R)EVOLUTION

the Spanish-American war was the consideration of the price of sugar; or, to be more explicit, that the lives, blood, and money of the American people were used to protect the interests of American capitalists, which were threatened by the Spanish government. That this is not an exaggeration, but is based on absolute facts and figures, is best proven by the attitude of the American government to Cuban labor. When Cuba was firmly in the clutches of the United States, the very soldiers sent to liberate Cuba were ordered to shoot Cuban workingmen during the great cigarmakers' strike, which took place shortly after the war.

Nor do we stand alone in waging war for such causes. The curtain is beginning to be lifted on the motives of the terrible Russo-Japanese war, which cost so much blood and tears. And we see again that back of the fierce Moloch of war stands the still fiercer god of Commercialism. Kuropatkin, the Russian Minister of War during the Russo-Japanese struggle, has revealed the true secret behind the latter. The Tsar and his Grand Dukes, having invested money in Korean concessions, the war was forced for the sole purpose of speedily accumulating large fortunes.

The contention that a standing army and navy is the best security of peace is about as logical as the claim that the most peaceful citizen is he who goes about heavily armed. The experience of everyday life fully proves that the armed individual is invariably anxious to try his strength. The same is historically true of governments. Really peaceful countries do not waste life and energy in war preparations, with the result that peace is maintained.

However, the clamour for an increased army and navy is not due to any foreign danger. It is owing to the dread of the growing discontent of the masses and of the international spirit among the workers. It is to meet the internal enemy that the Powers of various countries are preparing themselves; an enemy who, once awakened to consciousness, will prove more dangerous than any foreign invader.

The powers that have for centuries been engaged in enslaving the masses have made a thorough study of their psychology. They know that the people at large are like children whose despair, sorrow, and tears can be turned into joy with a little toy. And the more gorgeously the toy is dressed, the louder the colors, the more it will appeal to the million-headed child.

An army and navy represents the people's toys. To make them more attractive and acceptable, hundreds and thousands of dollars are being spent for the display of these toys. That was the purpose of the American government in equipping a fleet and sending it along the Pacific coast, that every American citizen should be made to feel the pride and glory of the United States. The city of San Francisco spent one hundred thousand dollars for the entertainment of the fleet; Los Angeles, sixty thousand; Seattle and Tacoma, about one hundred thousand. To entertain the fleet, did I say? To wine and dine a few superior officers, while the "brave boys" had to mutiny to get sufficient food. Yes, two hundred and sixty thousand dollars were spent on fireworks, theatre parties, and revelries, at a time when men, women and children through the length and breadth of the country were starving

in the streets; when thousands of unemployed were ready to sell their labor at any price.

Two hundred and sixty thousand dollars! What could not have been accomplished with such an enormous sum? But instead of bread and shelter, the children of those cities were taken to see the fleet, that it may remain, as one of the newspapers said, "a lasting memory for the child".

A wonderful thing to remember, is it not? The implements of civilized slaughter. If the mind of the child is to be poisoned with such memories, what hope is there for a true realization of human brotherhood?

We Americans claim to be a peace-loving people. We hate bloodshed; we are opposed to violence. Yet we go into spasms of joy over the possibility of projecting dynamite bombs from flying machines upon helpless citizens. We are ready to hang, electrocute, or lynch anyone who, from economic necessity, will risk his own life in the attempt upon that of some industrial magnate. Yet our hearts swell with pride at the thought that America is becoming the most powerful nation on Earth, and that it will eventually plant its iron foot on the necks of all other nations.

Such is the logic of patriotism.

Considering the evil results that patriotism is fraught with for the average man, it is as nothing compared with the insult and injury that patriotism heaps upon the soldier himself -- that poor, deluded victim of superstition and ignorance. He, the savior of his country, the protector of his nation -- what has patriotism in store for him? A life of slavish submission, vice, and perversion, during peace; a life of danger, exposure, and death during war.

While on a recent lecture tour in San Francisco, I visited the Presidio, the most beautiful spot overlooking the Bay and Golden Gate Park. Its purpose should have been playgrounds for children, gardens and music for the recreation of the weary. Instead it is made ugly, dull and grey by barracks -- barracks wherein the rich would not allow their dogs to dwell. In these miserable shanties soldiers are herded like cattle; here they waste their young days, polishing the boots and brass buttons of their superior officers. Here, too, I saw the distinction of classes: sturdy sons of a free Republic, drawn up in line like convicts, saluting every passing shrimp of a lieutenant. American equality, degrading manhood and elevating the uniform!

Barrack life further tends to develop tendencies of sexual perversion. It is gradually producing along this line results similar to European military conditions. Havelock Ellis, the noted writer on sex psychology, has made a thorough study of the subject. I quote: "Some of the barracks are great centers of male prostitution.... The number of soldiers who prostitute themselves is greater than we are willing to believe. It is no exaggeration to say that in certain regiments the presumption is in favor of the venality of the majority of the men.... On summer evenings Hyde Park and the neighborhood of Albert Gate are full of guardsmen and others plying a lively trade, and with little disguise, in uniform or out.... In most cases the proceeds form a comfortable addition

to Tommy Atkins' pocket money."

To what extent this perversion has eaten its way into the army and navy can best be judged from the fact that special houses exist for this form of prostitution. The practice is not limited to England; it is universal. "Soldiers are no less sought after in France than in England or in Germany, and special houses for military prostitution exist both in Paris and the garrison towns."

Had Mr. Havelock Ellis included America in his investigation of sex perversion, he would have found that the same conditions prevail in our army and navy as in those of foreign countries. The growth of the standing army inevitably adds to the spread of sex perversion; the barracks are the incubators.

Aside from the sexual effects of barrack life, it also tends to unfit the soldier for useful labor after leaving the army. Men, skilled in a trade, seldom enter the army or navy, but even they, after a military experience, find themselves totally unfitted for their former occupations. Having acquired habits of idleness and a taste for excitement and adventure, no peaceful pursuit can content them. Released from the army, they can turn to no useful work. But it is usually the social riff-raff, discharged prisoners and the like, whom either the struggle for life or their own inclination drives into the ranks. These, their military term over, again turn to their former life of crime, more brutalized and degraded than before. It is a well-known fact that in our prisons there is a goodly number of ex-soldiers; while, on the other hand, the army and navy are to a great extent supplied with ex-convicts.

Of all the evil results I have just described, none seems to me so detrimental to human integrity as the spirit patriotism has produced in the case of Private William Buwalda.* Because he foolishly believed that one can be a soldier and exercise his rights as a man at the same time, the military authorities punished him severely. True, he had served his country fifteen years, during which time his record was unimpeachable. According to Gen. Funston, who reduced Buwalda's sentence to three years, "the first duty of an officer or an enlisted man is unquestioned obedience and loyalty to the government, and it makes no difference whether he approves of that government or not." Thus Funston stamps the true character of allegiance. According to him, entrance into the army abrogates the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

What a strange development of patriotism that turns a thinking being into a loyal machine!

In justification of this most outrageous sentence of Buwalda, Gen. Funston tells the American people that the soldier's action was "a serious crime equal to treason". Now, what did this "serious crime" really consist of? Simply this: William Buwalda was one of fifteen hundred people who attended a public meeting in San Francisco; and, oh horrors, he shook hands with the speaker, Emma Goldman. A terrible

* Buwalda was arrested, court martialed, and given a prison sentence for attending one of Emma's lectures and shaking hands with her afterwards. Details of the incident are given in Living My Life, p.428.

crime, indeed, which the General calls "a great military offence, infinitely worse than desertion".

Can there be a greater indictment against patriotism than that it will thus brand a man a criminal, throw him into prison, and rob him of the results of fifteen years of faithful service?

Buwalda gave to his country the best years of his life and his very manhood. But all that was as nothing. Patriotism is inexorable and, like all insatiable monsters, demands all or nothing. It does not admit that a soldier is also a human being, who has a right to his own feelings and opinions, his own inclinations and ideas. No, patriotism cannot admit of that. That is the lesson which Buwalda was made to learn; made to learn at a rather costly, though not at a useless price. When he returned to freedom, he had lost his position in the army, but he regained his self-respect. After all, that is worth three years of imprisonment.

A writer on the military conditions of America, in a recent article, commented on the power of the military man over the civilian in Germany. He said, among other things, that if our Republic had no other meaning than to guarantee all citizens equal rights, it would have just cause for existence. I am convinced that the writer was not in Colorado during the patriotic regime of General Bell. He probably would have changed his mind had he seen how, in the name of patriotism and the Republic, men were thrown into bull-pens, dragged about, driven across the border, and subjected to all kinds of indignities. Nor is that Colorado incident the only one in the growth of military power in the United States. There is hardly a strike where troops and militia do not come to the rescue of those in power, and where they do not act as arrogantly and brutally as do the men wearing the Kaiser's uniform. Then, too, we have the Dick military law.* Had the writer forgotten that?

A great misfortune with most of our writers is that they are absolutely ignorant on current events, or that, lacking honesty, they will not speak of these matters. And so it has come to pass that the Dick military law was rushed through congress with little discussion and still less publicity -- a law which gives the President the power to turn a peaceful citizen into a bloodthirsty man-killer, supposedly for the defense of the country, but in reality for the protection of the interests of that particular party whose mouthpiece the President happens to be.

Our writer claims that militarism can never become such a power in America as abroad, since it is voluntary with us, while compulsory in the Old World. Two very important facts, however, the gentleman forgets to consider. First, that conscription has created in Europe a deep-seated hatred of militarism among all classes of society. Thousands of young recruits enlist under protest and, once in the army, they will use every possible means to desert. Second, that it is the compulsory feature of militarism which has created a tremendous anti-militarist

* Charles Dick, senator from Ohio, introduced "An Act to Promote the Efficiency of the Militia", passed Jan. 21, 1903. See N.Y. Times, Jan. 22, 1908, p.6, col.6, where it is claimed the bill would result in a dramatic increase in military strength.

movement, feared by European powers far more than anything else. After all, the greatest bulwark of capitalism is militarism. The very moment the latter is undermined, capitalism will totter. True, we have no conscription; that is, men are not usually forced to enlist in the army; but we have developed a far more exacting and rigid force -- necessity. Is it not a fact that during industrial depressions there is a tremendous increase in the number of enlistments? The trade of militarism may not be either lucrative or honorable, but it is better than tramping the country in search of work, standing in the bread line, or sleeping in municipal lodging houses. After all, it means thirteen dollars per month, three meals a day, and a place to sleep. Yet even necessity is not sufficiently strong a factor to bring into the army an element of character and manhood. No wonder our military authorities complain of the "poor material" enlisting in the army and navy. This admission is a very encouraging sign. It proves that there is still enough of the spirit of independence and love of liberty left in the average American to risk starvation rather than don the uniform.

Thinking men and women the world over are beginning to realize that patriotism is too narrow and limited a conception to meet the necessities of our time. The centralization of power has brought into being an international feeling of solidarity among oppressed nations of the world; a solidarity which represents a greater harmony of interests between the workingman of America and his brothers abroad than between the American miner and his exploiting compatriot; a solidarity which fears not foreign invasion, because it is bringing all the workers to the point when they will say to their masters, "Go and do your own killing. We have done it long enough for you."

This solidarity is awakening the consciousness of even the soldiers, they, too, being flesh of the flesh of the great human family. A solidarity that has proven infallible more than once during past struggles, and which has been the impetus inducing the Parisian soldiers, during the Commune of 1871, to refuse to obey when ordered to shoot their brothers. It has given courage to the men who mutinied on Russian warships during recent years. It will eventually bring about the uprising of all the oppressed and down-trodden against their international exploiters.

The proletariat of Europe has realized the great force of that solidarity and has, as a result, inaugurated a war against patriotism and its bloody spectre, militarism. Thousands of men fill the prisons of France, Germany, Russia, and the Scandinavian countries, because they dared to defy the ancient superstition. Nor is the movement limited to the working class; it has embraced representatives in all stations of life, its chief exponents being men and women prominent in art, science and letters.

America will have to follow suit. The spirit of militarism has already permeated all walks of life. Indeed, I am convinced that militarism is growing a greater danger here than anywhere else, because of the many bribes capitalism holds out to those whom it wishes to destroy.

The beginning has already been made in the schools. Evidently the

government holds to the Jesuitical conception, "Give me the mind, and I will mould the man." Children are trained in military tactics, the glory of military achievements extolled in the curriculum, and the youthful minds perverted to suit the government. Further, the youth of the country is appealed to in glaring posters to join the army and navy. "A fine chance to see the world!" cries the governmental huckster. Thus innocent boys are morally shanghai'd into patriotism, and the military Moloch strides conquering through the Nation.

The American workingman has suffered so much at the hands of the soldier, State and Federal, that he is quite justified in his disgust with, and his opposition to, the uniformed parasite. However, mere denunciation will not solve this great problem. What we need is a propaganda of education for the soldier: anti-patriotic literature that will enlighten him as to the real horrors of his trade, and that will awaken his consciousness to his true relation to the man to whose labor he owes his very existence.

It is precisely this that the authorities fear most. It is already high treason for a soldier to attend a radical meeting. No doubt they will also stamp it high treason for a soldier to read a radical pamphlet. But, then, has not authority from time immemorial stamped every step of progress as treasonable? Those, however, who earnestly strive for social reconstruction can well afford to face all that; for it is probably even more important to carry the truth into the barracks than into the factory. When we have undermined the patriotic lie, we shall have cleared the path for that great structure wherein all nationalities shall be united into a universal brotherhood -- a truly FREE SOCIETY.

WORLDWIDE ANARCHIST CONFERENCE TO
 MARK THE 100th ANNIVERSARY OF
 THE HAYMARKET MASSACRE AND THE
 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE SPANISH
 CIVIL WAR
 MAY DAY 1986 IN CHICAGO

May 1986 marks the 100th anniversary of the Haymarket Affair. May Day draws its significance from the brutal suppression of the workers' movement culminating in the murder of five Chicago anarchists. It is part of our history. Haymarket was the perfect example of state and capital recognizing Anarchism as a serious threat to their power. It is a day for revolutionaries to remember because although our numbers may be small now, as we grow stronger, another Capt. Bonfield will appear and once again we will be threatened with courts, prison and

death. 1986 is also the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution. The 50th anniversary of Haymarket drew thousands here to Chicago including comrades from Spain. Recent months have seen several liberal and softcore commie groups announce their intentions of perverting and distorting the true meaning of these events. It is their purpose to portray Spies, Parsons and Lingg as social democrats, reformers... not REVOLUTIONARIES. To the end of remembering our history and bringing together as many comrades as possible, we propose a WORLDWIDE GATHERING OF ANARCHISTS, April 28-May 4, 1986. In order to bring about this event we propose a PREPARATION CONFERENCE, Thanksgiving Week '85. WRITE for update: IMPOSSIBLE BOOKS, Box 102, 1200 W. Fullerton, Chicago IL 60614; call (312) 327-0050/883-0527.

PETER KROPOTKIN

(1842-1921)

Prince Petr Alexeyevich Kropotkin was born into an aristocratic family in Moscow, descendants of a Czar. At the age of twelve he dropped his royal title. He developed an early interest in science and philosophy. He is remembered for his achievements in the fields of geography, geology, meteorology, and zoology. His scientific papers have been published in many journals and in reference books including the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Kropotkin's research in zoology led him to question the prevalent evolutionary theory of the Darwinian school with its emphasis on "the struggle for existence"; eventually his ideas crystalized in his most important book, Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution. (First published in 1902; a reprint edition is available from Porter Sargent Publishers, 11 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, \$6.95.)

A revolutionary activist, Kropotkin served jail time for publicly advocating anarchism and workers' and peasants' rights. He became an influential leader in the international workers' movement, and he emerges as the 19th century's most coherent and forceful anarchist philosopher.

He sought a holistic, scientific basis for his political beliefs, a theory that would tie together his social, ethical, and spiritual vision of a world based on universal freedom and voluntary cooperation. He writes:

"I gradually came to realize that anarchism represents more than a new mode of action and a mere conception of a free society; that it is part of a philosophy, natural and social, which must be developed in a quite different way from the metaphysical or dialectic methods which have been employed in sciences dealing with man. I saw that it must be treated by the same methods as the natural sciences; not, however, on the slippery ground of mere analogies such as Herbert Spencer accepts, but on the solid basis of induction applied to human institutions."

Kropotkin's works available in English include:

Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets (Dover Books), including his classic "Modern Science and Anarchism"

Memoirs of a Revolutionist (Dover Books/Grove Press)

Other references:

Kropotkin by Martin A. Miller (U. Chicago Press, 1976)

The Russian Anarchists by Paul Avrich (Princeton, 1967)

The Essential Kropotkin (Liveright, 1975), an anthology

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES

by Peter Kropotkin

[Editor's note: The following article was first published as the first of two articles in Nineteenth Century magazine in 1887. The two articles were later issued in pamphlet form. This first part outlines Kropotkin's view of anarchism and its relation to the socialist movement of his time; the second part -- coming in (R)EVOLUTION #2 -- answers common objections and criticisms of the anarchist theory.]

Anarchism, the no-government system of socialism, has a double origin. It is an outgrowth of the two great movements of thought in the economic and the political fields which characterize the 19th century, and especially its second part. In common with all socialists, the anarchists hold that the private ownership of land, capital, and machinery has had its time; that it is condemned to disappear; and that all requisites for production must, and will, become the common property of society, and be managed in common by the producers of wealth. And in common with the most advanced representatives of political radicalism, they maintain that the ideal of the political organization of society is a condition of things where the functions of government are reduced to a minimum, and the individual recovers his full liberty of initiative and action for satisfying, by means of free groups and federations -- freely constituted -- all the infinitely varied needs of the human being.

As regards socialism, most of the anarchists arrive at its ultimate conclusion, that is, at a complete negation of the wage system and at communism. And with reference to political organization, by giving a further development to the above-mentioned part of the radical program, they arrive at the conclusion that the ultimate aim of society is the reduction of the functions of government to nil -- that is, to a society without government, to an-archy. The anarchists maintain, moreover, that such being the ideal of social and political organization, they must not remit it to future centuries, but that only those changes in our social organization which are in accordance with the above double ideal, and constitute an approach to it, will have a chance of life and be beneficial for the commonwealth.

As to the method followed by the anarchist thinker, it entirely differs from that followed by the utopists. The anarchist thinker does not resort to metaphysical conceptions (like "natural rights", the "duties of the State", and so on) to establish what are, in his opinion, the

best conditions for realizing the greatest happiness of humanity. He follows, on the contrary, the course traced by the modern philosophy of evolution. He studies human society as it is now and was in the past; and without either endowing humanity as a whole, or separate individuals, with superior qualities which they do not possess, he merely considers society as an aggregation of organisms trying to find out the best ways of combining the wants of the individual with those of cooperation for the welfare of the species. He studies society and tries to discover its tendencies, past and present, its growing needs, intellectual and economic, and in his ideal he merely points out in which direction evolution goes. He distinguishes between the real wants and tendencies of human aggregations and the accidents (want of knowledge, migrations, wars, conquests) which have prevented these tendencies from being satisfied. And he concludes that the two most prominent, although often unconscious, tendencies throughout our history have been: first, a tendency towards integrating labor for the production of all riches in common, so as finally to render it impossible to discriminate the part of the common production due to the separate individual; and second, a tendency towards the fullest freedom of the individual in the prosecution of all aims, beneficial both for himself and for society at large. The ideal of the anarchist is thus a mere summing-up of what he considers to be the next phase of evolution. It is no longer a matter of faith; it is a matter for scientific discussion.

In fact, one of the leading features of the 19th century is the growth of socialism and the rapid spreading of socialist views among the working classes. How could it be otherwise? We have witnessed an unparalleled sudden increase of our powers of production, resulting in an accumulation of wealth which has outstripped the most sanguine expectations. But owing to our wage system, this increase of wealth -- due to the combined efforts of men of science, of managers, and workmen as well -- has resulted only in an unprecedented accumulation of wealth in the hands of the owners of capital; while an increase of misery for great numbers, and an insecurity of life for all, have been the lot of the workmen. The unskilled laborers, in continuous search for labor, are falling into an unheard-of destitution. And even the best paid artisans and skilled workmen labor under the permanent menace of being thrown, in their turn, into the same conditions as the unskilled paupers, in consequence of some of the continuous and unavoidable fluctuations of industry and caprices of capital.

The chasm between the modern millionaire who squanders the produce of human labor in a gorgeous and vain luxury, and the pauper reduced to a miserable and insecure existence, is thus growing wider and wider, so as to break the very unity of society -- the harmony of life -- and to endanger the progress of its further development.

At the same time, workingmen are less and less inclined to patiently endure this division of society into two classes, as they themselves become more and more conscious of the wealth-producing power of modern industry, of the part played by labor in the production of wealth, and of their own capacities of organization. In proportion as all classes of the community take a more lively part in public affairs, and knowledge spreads among the masses, their longing for equality becomes stronger,

and their demands for social reorganization become louder and louder. They can be ignored no more. The worker claims his share in the riches he produces; he claims his share in the management of production; and he claims not only some additional well-being, but also his full rights in the higher enjoyments of science and art. These claims, which formerly were uttered only by the social reformer, begin now to be made by a daily growing minority of those who work in the factory or till the acre. And they so conform to our feelings of justice that they find support in a daily growing minority among the privileged classes themselves. Socialism becomes the idea of the 19th century; and neither coercion nor pseudo-reforms can stop its further growth.

Much hope of improvement was placed, of course, in the extension of political rights to the working classes. But these concessions, unsupported as they were by corresponding changes in economic relations, proved delusions. They did not materially improve the conditions of the great bulk of the workmen. Therefore, the watchword of socialism is, "Economic freedom as the only secure basis for political freedom". And as long as the present wage system, with all its bad consequences, remains unaltered, the socialist watchword will continue to inspire the workmen. Socialism will continue to grow until it has realized its program.

Side by side with this great movement of thought in economic matters, a like movement has been going on with regard to political rights, political organization, and the functions of government. Government has been submitted to the same criticism as capital. While most of the radicals saw in universal suffrage and republican institutions the last word of political wisdom, a further step was made by the few. The very functions of government and the State, as also their relations to the individual, were submitted to a sharper and deeper criticism. Representative government having been tried by experiment on a wide field, its defects became more and more prominent. It became obvious that these defects are not merely accidental but inherent in the system itself. Parliament and its executive proved to be unable to attend to all the numberless affairs of the community and to conciliate the varied and often opposite interests of the separate parts of a State. Election proved unable to find out the men who might represent a nation, and manage, otherwise than in a party spirit, the affairs they are compelled to legislate upon. These defects become so striking that the very principles of the representative system were criticized and their justness doubted.

Again, the dangers of a centralized government became still more conspicuous when the socialists came to the front and asked for a further increase of the powers of government by entrusting it with the management of the immense field covered now by the economic relations between individuals. The question was asked whether a government entrusted with the management of industry and trade would not become a permanent danger for liberty and peace, and whether it even would be able to be a good manager.

The socialists of the earlier part of the 19th century did not fully

realize the immense difficulties of the problem. Convinced as they were of the necessity of economic reforms, most of them took no notice of the need of freedom for the individual. And we have had social reformers ready to submit society to any kind of theocracy or dictatorship in order to obtain reforms in a socialist sense. Therefore we have seen in England, and also on the Continent, the division of men of advanced opinions into political radicals and socialists -- the former looking with distrust on the latter, as they saw in them a danger for the political liberties which have been won by the civilized nations after a long series of struggles. And even now, when the socialists all over Europe have become political parties, and profess the democratic faith, there remains among most impartial men a well-founded fear of the Volksstaat or "popular State" being as great a danger to liberty as any form of autocracy if its government be entrusted with the management of all the social organization including the production and distribution of wealth.

Recent evolution, however, has prepared the way for showing the necessity and possibility of a higher form of social organization which may guarantee economic freedom without reducing the individual to the role of a slave to the State. The origins of government have been carefully studied, and all metaphysical conceptions as to its divine or "social contract" derivation having been laid aside, it appears that it is among us of a relatively modern origin, and that its powers have grown precisely in proportion as the division of society into the privileged and unprivileged classes was growing in the course of ages. Representative government has also been reduced to its real value -- that of an instrument which has rendered services in the struggle against autocracy, but not an ideal of free political organization. As to the system of philosophy which saw in the State a leader of progress, it was more and more shaken as it became evident that progress is the most effective when it is not checked by State interference. It has thus become obvious that a further advance in social life does not lie in the direction of a further concentration of power and regulative functions in the hands of a governing body, but in the direction of decentralization, both territorial and functional -- in a subdivision of public functions with respect both to their sphere of action and to the character of the functions; it is in the abandonment to the initiative of freely constituted groups of all those functions which are now considered as the functions of government.

This current of thought has found its expression not merely in literature, but also to a limited extent in life. The uprising of the Paris Commune, followed by that of the Commune of Cartagena -- a movement of which the historical bearing seems to have been quite overlooked -- opened a new page of history. If we analyze not only this movement in itself, but also the impressions it left in the minds and the tendencies manifested during the communal revolution, we must recognize in it an indication showing that in the future human agglomerations which are more advanced in their social development will try to start an independent life; and that they will endeavor to convert the more backward parts of a nation by example, instead of imposing their opinions by law and force, or submitting themselves to the majority-rule, which always

is a mediocrity-rule. At the same time the failure of representative government within the Commune itself proved that self-government and self-administration must be carried further than in a merely territorial sense. To be effective they must also be carried into the various functions of life within the free community. A merely territorial limitation of the sphere of action of government will not do -- representative government being as deficient in a city as it is in a nation. Life gave thus a further point in favor of the no-government theory, and a new impulse to anarchist thought.

Anarchists recognize the justice of both the just-mentioned tendencies toward economic and political freedom, and see in them two different manifestations of the very same need of equality which constitutes the very essence of all struggles mentioned by history. Therefore, in common with all socialists, the anarchist says to the political reformer: "No substantial reform in the sense of political equality and no limitation of the powers of government can be made as long as society is divided into two hostile camps, and the laborer remains, economically speaking, a slave to his employer." But to the state socialist we say also: "You cannot modify the existing conditions of property without deeply modifying at the same time the political organization. You must limit the powers of government and renounce parliamentary rule. To each new economic phase of life corresponds a new political phase. Absolute monarchy corresponded to the system of serfdom. Representative government corresponds to capital-rule. Both, however, are class-rule. But in a society where the distinction between capitalist and laborer has disappeared, there is no need of such a government; it would be an anachronism, a nuisance. Free workers would require a free organization, and this cannot have any other basis than free agreement and free cooperation, without sacrificing the autonomy of the individual to the all-pervading interference of the State. The no-capitalist system implies the no-government system."

Meaning thus the emancipation of man from the oppressive powers of capitalism and government as well, the system of anarchism becomes a synthesis of the two powerful currents of thought which characterize the 19th century.

In arriving at these conclusions, anarchism proves to be in accordance with the conclusions arrived at by the philosophy of evolution. By bringing to light the plasticity of organization, the philosophy of evolution has shown the admirable adaptability of organisms to their conditions of life, and the ensuing development of such faculties as render more complete both the adaptations of the aggregates to their surroundings and those of each of the constituent parts of the aggregate to the needs of free cooperation. It has familiarized us with the circumstance that throughout organic nature the capacities for life in common grow in proportion as the integration of organisms into compound aggregates becomes more and more complete; and it has enforced thus the opinion already expressed by social moralists as to the perfectibility of human nature. It has shown us that, in the long run of the struggle for existence, the "fittest" will prove to be those who combine intellectual knowledge with the knowledge necessary for the production of

wealth, and not those who are now the richest because they, or their ancestors, have been momentarily the strongest.

By showing that the "struggle for existence" must be conceived not merely in its restricted sense of a struggle between individuals for the means of subsistence but in its wider sense of adaptation of all individuals of the species to the best conditions for the survival of the species, as well as for the greatest possible sum of life and happiness for each and all, it has permitted us to deduce the laws of moral science from the social needs and habits of mankind. It has shown us the infinitesimal part played by positive law in moral evolution, and the immense part played by the natural growth of altruistic feelings, which develop as soon as the conditions of life favor their growth. It has thus enforced the opinion of social reformers as to the necessity of modifying the conditions of life for improving man, instead of trying to improve human nature by moral teachings while life works in an opposite direction. Finally, by studying human society from the biological point of view, it has come to the conclusions arrived at by anarchists from the study of history and present tendencies as to further progress being in the line of socialization of wealth and integrated labor combined with the fullest possible freedom of the individual.

It has happened in the long run of ages that everything which permits men to increase their production, or even to continue it, has been appropriated by the few. The land, which derives its value precisely from its being necessary for an ever-increasing population, belongs to the few, who may prevent the community from cultivating it. The coal-pits, which represent the labor of generations, and which also derive their value from the wants of the manufacturers and railroads, from the immense trade carried on and the density of population, belong again to the few, who have even the right of stopping the extraction of coal if they choose to give another use to their capital. The lace-weaving machine, which represents, in its present state of perfection, the work of three generations of Lancashire weavers, belongs also to the few; and if the grandsons of the very same weaver who invented the first lace-weaving machine claim their right to bring one of these machines into motion, they will be told, "Hands off! this machine does not belong to you!" The railroads, which mostly would be useless heaps of iron if not for the present dense population, its industry, trade, and traffic, belong again to the few -- to a few shareholders, who may not even know where the railway is situated which brings them a yearly income larger than that of a medieval king. And if the children of those people who died by thousands in digging the tunnels should gather and go -- a ragged and starving crowd -- to ask bread or work from the shareholders, they would be met with bayonets and bullets.

Who is the sophist who will dare to say that such an organization is just? But what is unjust cannot be beneficial to mankind; and it is not. In consequence of this monstrous organization, the son of a workman, when he is able to work, finds no acre to till, no machine to set in motion, unless he agrees to sell his labor for a sum inferior to its real value. His father and grandfather have contributed to drain the field, or erect the factory, to the full extent of their capacities --

and nobody can do more than that -- but he comes into the world more destitute than a savage. If he resorts to agriculture, he will be permitted to cultivate a plot of land, but on the condition that he gives up part of his product to the landlord. If he resorts to industry, he will be permitted to work, but on the condition that out of the thirty shillings he has produced, ten shillings or more will be pocketed by the owner of the machine. We cry out against the feudal barons who did not permit anyone to settle on the land otherwise than on payment of one quarter of the crops to the lord of the manor; but we continue to do as they did -- we extend their system. The forms have changed, but the essence has remained the same. And the workman is compelled to accept the feudal conditions which we call "free contract" because nowhere will he find better conditions. Everything has been appropriated by somebody; he must accept the bargain, or starve.

Owing to this circumstance our production takes a wrong turn. It takes no care of the needs of the community; its only aim is to increase the profits of the capitalist. And we have, therefore, the continuous fluctuations of industry, the crisis coming periodically nearly every ten years, and throwing out of employment several hundred thousand men who are brought to complete misery, whose children grow up in the gutter, ready to become inmates of the prison and workhouse. The workmen being unable to purchase with their wages the riches they are producing, industry must search for markets elsewhere, amidst the middle classes of other nations. It must find markets, in the East, in Africa, anywhere; it must increase, by trade, the number of its serfs in Egypt, in India, on the Congo. But everywhere it finds competitors in other nations which rapidly enter into the same line of industrial development. And wars, continuous wars, must be fought for the supremacy in the world-market -- wars for possession of the East, wars for getting possession of the seas, wars for the right of imposing heavy duties on foreign merchandise. The thunder of European guns never ceases; whole generations are slaughtered from time to time; and we spend in armaments the third of the revenue of our States -- a revenue raised, the poor know with what difficulties.

And finally, the injustice of our partition of wealth exercises the most deplorable effect on our morality. Our principles of morality say: "Love your neighbor as yourself"; but let a child follow this principle and take off his coat to give it to the shivering pauper, and his mother will tell him that he must never understand moral principles in their direct sense. If he lives according to them, he will go barefoot, without alleviating the misery around him! Morality is good on the lips, not in deeds. Our preachers say, "Who works, prays," and everyone endeavors to make others work for him. They say, "Never lie!" and politics are a big lie. And we accustom ourselves and our children to live under this double-faced morality, which is hypocrisy, and to conciliate our double-facedness by sophistry. Hypocrisy and sophistry become the very basis of our life. But society cannot live under such a morality. It cannot last so; it must, it will, be changed.

The question is thus no more a mere question of bread. It covers the whole field of human activity. But it has at its bottom a question of

social economy, and we conclude: The means of production and of satisfaction of all needs of society, having been created by the common efforts of all, must be at the disposal of all. The private appropriation of requisites for production is neither just nor beneficial. All must be placed on the same footing as producers and consumers of wealth. That will be the only way for society to step out of the bad conditions which have been created by centuries of wars and oppression. That will be the only guarantee for further progress in a direction of equality and freedom, which have always been the real, although unspoken goal of humanity.

EL SALVADOR: THE NEW U.S. WAR

Under a virtual U.S. press black-out, a major air war has been escalating in El Salvador during the first half of 1985.

Reports coming back from the war zone indicate thousands of civilian deaths routinely caused by air strikes -- bombing with napalm and white phosphorus, shelling and strafing -- followed by "ground sweeps" of indiscriminate murder, rape, pillage, etc. -- all at U.S. taxpayers' expense, in our name.

U.S. pilots in "reconnaissance" aircraft are pinpointing targets, which are then hit by U.S.-made weapons. The actual triggers are pulled by Salvadoran puppet forces, but everything else is arranged by U.S. forces.

Following are some recent reports that have leaked out from under the Reagan information police state:

"The cornerstone of the U.S.-sponsored war in El Salvador is a campaign of aerial bombardment that has taken the lives of thousands of civilians in the past year. More than 3,000 tons of bombs have been dropped in the most intensive air war ever seen in the Western hemisphere. Fragmentation bombs, ranging in size from 250-750 pounds, are the most common weapons, but ref-

ugees and health workers report that napalm and white phosphorus are being dropped on villagers in the attacks which are occurring more and more frequently. Last January, the U.S. Embassy declared that the civilians being killed or burned in the bombing raids lived in guerilla-controlled territory and thus were "something less than innocent bystanders". Outrage at this remark, and at Ambassador Pickering's implication that it is acceptable to kill civilians because of their political opinions, forced the embassy to change its position: U.S. officials now deny any knowledge of deliberate murder of civilians in the air war, claiming that only military targets are being attacked. But an American medical delegation visited one town that had been listed as a military target and found that only peasants' homes had been bombed."

--Syracuse Peace Council Newsletter 7/85 (924 Burnett Ave., Syracuse, NY 13203, 315 472-5478.)

"...this bombing is called 'softening the ground'. Then the infantry columns advance. If they find popular forces, combat ensues... when they are able to find inhabitants, they machine gun them... the soldiers go around giving 'coups de grace' to the old people, men and young boys. The women are... raped and murdered...."

-- letter from a Salvadoran priest

ALEISTER CROWLEY

(1875-1947)

Considered by many to be one of the greatest minds of modern times, and called a madman or worse by others, Aleister Crowley continues to appear a mysterious, enigmatic figure.

He was born in Warwickshire, England, the son of a fundamentalist Christian minister. A child prodigy, he was reportedly playing chess and reading aloud from the Bible at the age of four. He began writing poetry at the age of eleven -- and he went on to develop poetry that some critics have called the best ever produced in the English language. He was an amazingly prolific writer; as well as poetry, his works include novels, short stories, plays, philosophical essays and manifestoes, and instructional texts in yoga, qabalah, and magick.

Crowley devoted his life to the study and mastery of the religious, mystical, and occult teachings of all parts of the world. He traveled extensively, engaging in his sports of mountaineering and big game hunting along the way. He attempted to combine the insights of Eastern teachings with the Western occult tradition which he studied as an initiate of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, a secret school based on Rosicrucian and Masonic traditions. Eventually he founded his own mystical school under the motto, "The method of science, the aim of religion".

The most crucial experience of his life occurred in the city of Cairo, Egypt, in 1904. Following his performance of an invocation of Horus, the Egyptian hawk-headed Solar diety (depicted on our front cover), he was inspired to write a mysterious little book called The Book of the Law. Crowley claims that he actually heard a voice dictating the words to him, which he copied down in longhand; the original manuscript was reprinted in holographic form along with the text of the book. This book purports to be a message to the human race from the archetypal dieties which will guide our planet's destiny through the next two thousand years. It is in a class of literature that might be called "holy writ", along with the Koran, the Tao Teh King, the Bhagavad-gita, etc. (The complete text and manuscript are included in The Holy Books of Thelema, published by Samuel Weiser, NY, 1984.) The essential message communicated in The Book of the Law is: "Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law."

Crowley's autobiography, The Confessions of Aleister Crowley, was published by Hill & Wang in 1969. Other works include:

Magick in Theory and Practice (Dover Books)

The Book of Thoth (Samuel Weiser, 1981) -- on the Tarot cards

HUMANITY FIRST

by Aleister Crowley

Editor's note: This article was first published in a New York City newspaper, The International, in November 1917, during the First World War.

It may be that one day the gold plate with its diamond inscriptions may be stripped by some Vandal -- Macaulay's* or another -- from my sarcophagus. It may be that centuries later still the learned archaeologists of some nation yet unguessed, excavating the ruins of Westminster Abbey, may find these bones and send them to anatomists for examination.

The report of these anatomists may be something in these terms: "These are the bones of a mammal, a primate, homo sapiens. The skull is not prognathous; this person was probably a Caucasian."

In such a judgement I acquiesce with pleasure. It would be limitation to be described as "this German", or "this Japanese". Man is man, and in him burns the mystic flame of Godhead. It is a blasphemy to discriminate further, to antithesize the Russian against the Turk, in any matter more serious than national belief, custom, or costume.

All advanced thinkers, all men who realize the divine plan, desire and intend the solidarity of humanity; and the patriot in the narrow and infuriated sense of the word is a traitor to the true interests of man. It may be necessary, now and then, to defend one's own section of mankind from aggression; but even this should always be done with the mental reservation: "May this war be the nurse of a more solid peace; may this argument lead to a better understanding; may this division lead to a higher union!"

"A man's worst enemies are those of his own household", and the worst foes of any nation are its petty patriots. "Patriotism is the last resort of a scoundrel." The deliberate antagonizing of nations is the foulest of crimes. It is the Press of the warring nations that, by inflaming the passions of the ignorant, has set Europe by the ears. Had all men been educated and travelled, they would not have listened to those harpy-shrieks. Now the mischief is done, and it is for us to repair it as best we may. This must be our motto: "Humanity First".

All persons who generalize about nations: "Germans are all murderers"

* Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), British historian, author of The History of England from the Accession of James II (1861, 5 vol.)

-- "Frenchmen are all adulterers" -- "Englishmen are all snobs" -- "Russians are all drunkards" -- and so on, must be silenced. All persons who cling to petty interests and revenges must be silenced. We must refuse to listen to any man who does not realize that civilization itself is at stake, that even now Europe may be so weakened that it may fall a prey to the forces of atavism, that war may be followed by bankruptcy, revolution, and famine, and that even within our own lifetime the Tower of the Ages may be fallen into unrecognizable ruins.

We must refuse to listen to any man who has not resolutely put away from him all limited interests, all national passion, who cannot look upon wounded humanity with the broad, clear gaze, passionless and yet compassionate, of the surgeon, or who is not single-minded in his determination to save the life at whatever cost of mutilation to any particular limb.

We must listen most to the German who understands that England is a great and progressive and enlightened nation, whose welfare is necessary to the health of Europe; and to the Frenchman who sees in Germany his own best friend, the model of science, organization and foresight, which alone can build up the fallen temple anew. We must listen to the Englishman who is willing to acquiesce in the Freedom of the Seas; and to the Russian who acknowledges that it is time to put a term to the tyranny and corruption of his rules.

The yelping Press of every country, always keen to gather pennies from the passions of the unthinking and unknowing multitude, will call every such man a traitor.

So be it. Let the lower interest be betrayed to the higher, the particular benefit of any given country to the Commonwealth of the whole World. Let us no more consider men, but man. Let us remember who came from heaven and was made flesh among the Jews, not to lead his own people to victory, not to accept that partial domination of the Earth, but to bring light and truth to all mankind.

Had the Saviour of Humanity deigned to accept the patriotic mission of driving out the Romans, he would have united his nation, but man would not have been redeemed. Therefore his people called him traitor, and betrayed him to their own oppressors.

Let those who are willing, as He was, to accept the opprobrium, and, if need be, the Cross, come forward; let them bear the Oriflamme of the Sun for their banner, for that the Sun Shineth alike upon all the nations of the Earth; and let them ever flash in the forefront of their battle this one redeeming thought: "Humanity First".

VETERANS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE
FUNDING AMBULANCES FOR NICARAGUA

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade was formed in the U.S. to aid the revolution in Spain in the 1930s. A group of veterans who fought in Spain are collecting donations to

purchase ambulances for the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua.

"We, the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln brigade, know that if Hitler, Mussolini and Franco were alive today, they would support the Contras." Send donations to AMBULANCE FUND, P.O. Box 67, Woodstock NY 12498.

LIBER OZ:

A DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

by Aleister Crowley

DO WHAT THOU WILT SHALL BE THE WHOLE OF THE LAW.

Man has the right to live by his own law.

Man has the right to live in the way that he wills to do.

Man has the right to work as he will.

Man has the right to play as he will.

Man has the right to rest as he will.

Man has the right to die when and how he will.

Man has the right to eat what he will.

Man has the right to drink what he will.

Man has the right to dwell where he will.

Man has the right to move as he will on the face of the Earth.

Man has the right to think what he will.

Man has the right to speak what he will.

Man has the right to write what he will.

Man has the right to draw, paint, carve, etch, mould, build as he will.

Man has the right to dress as he will.

Man has the right to love as he will, when, where, and with whom
he will.

Man has the right to kill those who would thwart these rights.

LOVE IS THE LAW, LOVE UNDER WILL.

STEPPING OUT OF THE OLD AEON INTO THE NEW

by Aleister Crowley

Editor's note: This article was first published in The Equinox, Vol. 3, No. 1, March 1919. This was the last issue of this journal, a hardbound collection of spiritual texts, yoga instruction, and other literary materials. It was called "a review of Scientific Illuminism" and bore the motto "the method of science, the aim of religion". Crowley was its publisher and the author of the majority of its contents.

Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law.*

As all of you should know, we have entered a New Aeon. A Higher Truth has been given to the world. This truth is waiting in readiness for all those who will consciously accept it, but it has to be realized before it is understood, and day by day those who have accepted this Law, and are trying to live it, realize more and more of its Beauty and Perfection.

The new teaching appears strange at first; and the mind is unable to grasp more than a fragment of what it really means. Only when we are living the Law can that fragment expand into the infinite conception of the whole.

I want you to share with me one little fragment of this great Truth which has been made clear to me this Sun-Day morning: I want you to come with me -- if you will -- just across the border-line of the Old Aeon and gaze for a moment at the New. Then, if the aspect pleases you, you will stay, or, it may be, you will return for a while, but the road once open and the Path plain, you will always be able to get there again, in the twinkling of an eye, just by readjusting your Inner sight to the Truth.

You know how deeply we have always been impressed with the ideas of Sun-rise and Sun-set, and how our ancient brethren, seeing the Sun disappear at night and rise again in the morning, based all their religious ideas in this one conception of a Dying and Re-arisen God.** This is the central idea of the religion of the Old Aeon, but we have left it behind us because although it seemed to be based on Nature (and Nature's symbols are always true), yet we have outgrown this idea which is only

* This declaration is from "The Book of the Law", I. 40.

** For a history of pre-Christian religions based on the "dying god", see James G. Frazer, The Golden Bough (1-vol. ed. Macmillan, 1975).

apparently true in Nature. Since this great Ritual of Sacrifice and Death was conceived and perpetuated, we, through the observation of our men of science, have come to know that it is not the Sun which rises and sets, but the Earth on which we live which revolves so that its shadow cuts us off from the sunlight during what we call night. The Sun does not die, as the ancients thought; It is always shining, always radiating Light and Life. Stop for a moment and get a clear conception of this Sun, how He is shining in the early morning, shining at mid-day, shining in the evening, and shining in the night. Have you got this idea firmly in your minds? You have stepped out of the Old Aeon into the New.

Now let us consider what has happened. In order to get this mental picture of the ever-shining Sun, what did you do? You identified yourself with the Sun. You stepped out of the consciousness of this planet; and for a moment you had to consider yourself as a Solar Being. Then why step back again? You may have done so involuntarily, because the Light was so great that it seemed as Darkness. But do it again, this time more fully, and let us consider what the changes in our concept of the Universe will be.

The moment we identify ourselves with the Sun, we realize that we have become the source of Light, that we too are now shining gloriously, but we also realize that the Sunlight is no longer for us, for we can no longer see the Sun, any more than in our little old-aeon consciousness we could see ourselves. All around us is perpetual Night, but it is the Starlight of the Body of Our Lady Nuit* in which we live and move and have our being. Then, from this height we look back upon the little planet Earth, of which we, a moment ago, were a part, and think of ourselves as shedding our Light upon all those little individuals we have called our brothers and sisters, the slaves that serve.** But we do not stop there. Imagine the Sun concentrating His rays for a moment on one tiny spot, the Earth. What happens? It is burnt up, it is consumed, it disappears. But in our Solar Consciousness is Truth, and though we glance for a moment at the little sphere we have left behind us, and it is no more, yet there is "that which remains".*** What remains? What has happened? We realize that "every man and every woman is a star".**** We gaze around at our wider heritage, we gaze at the Body of Our Lady Nuit. We are not in darkness; we are much nearer to Her now. What (from the little planet) looked like specks of light, are now blazing like other great Suns, and these are truly our brothers and sisters, whose essential and starry nature we had never before seen and realized. These are the "remains" of those we thought we had left behind.

There is plenty of room here, each one travels in his true Path, all is Joy.

Now, if you want to step back into the Old Aeon, do so. But try and bear in mind that those around you are in reality Suns and Stars, not little shivering slaves. If you are not willing to be a King yourself, still recognize that they have a right to Kingship, even as you have,

* The Goddess Nuit, ancient Egyptian personification of the night sky and the infinite stars of space, dictates Chapter One of the Book of the Law. ** "Slaves" and "kings" symbolize awakened and dormant minds; see Book of the Law, II. 58. *** Book of the Law, II. 9. **** Book of the Law, I. 3.

whenever you wish to accept it. And the moment you desire to do so, you have only to remember this:

Look at things from the point of view of the Sun.

Love is the law, love under will.*

* Book of the Law, I. 57.

BRIEF REVIEWS AND RECOMMENDED READING

Grunch of Giants by R. Buckminster Fuller, St. Martin's Press, 1983, \$4.95. "Grunch" is an acronym for "Gross Universal Cash Heist". This book is about the corporate capitalist "giants" that have the world in their death-grip, and about the myth of limited resources. The author states that in 1970 we reached a level of evolution such that "we may now care for each Earthian individual at a sustainable billionaire's level of affluence while living exclusively on less than 1% of our planet's daily energy income from our cosmically designed nuclear reactor, the Sun..." and that "There is now plenty for all. War is obsolete. It is imperative that we get the word to all humanity -- RUSH -- before someone ignorantly pushes the button that provokes the pushing of all buttons." The author is one of our civilization's greatest minds. Other recommended books by Fuller: Critical Path and Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth. All of his books are valuable and important.

Woman on the Edge of Time by Marge Piercy, Fawcett paperback, \$2.95. A vivid and piercing story that contrasts a Chicano woman's oppression at the hands of present-day

"mental health" authorities with a future society based on anarchist principles. Comparable to the insights and pathos of Ursula LeGuin.

Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics, by Starhawk, Beacon Press, \$8.95. This book ties together the spiritual perspective of Wicca and Paganism with the direct-action politics that grew out of anti-nuclear and feminist activism. It outlines ways of empowering ourselves as participants in caring community as contrasted with the "power-over" of the patriarchal death culture.

The Global Brain: Speculations on the Evolutionary Leap to Planetary Consciousness, by Peter Russell, J. P. Tarcher, 1983, \$8.95. The "Gaia Hypothesis" is the author's starting point: scientific evidence shows that Earth is a unitary living system, an organism. The human role in the evolving Earth-organism leads to "a quantum leap in evolution as shatteringly significant as the emergence of life from matter" -- a synergistic link-up of individual consciousness with an evolving global consciousness.

Emergence: The Rebirth of the Sacred by David Spangler, Delta Books, 1984, \$10.95. A review of the "new age" movement, the science/mysticism link.

THE SPRINGING

by Ruth Mueller

Editor's note: the following story is an excerpt from the book The Eye of the Child, published in 1985 by New Society Publishers, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143. It is available for \$7.95 plus \$1.50 for shipping. This story is copyright (c) 1985 by Ruth Mueller, and is here reprinted by permission of the author.

How to free the owl?

At Mount Heapmore that was the problem tossed into the middle of everything for all who came to the council circle in the ground-level world room. As problem presenter I pointed out, "There are two ways to meet this thing of freeing the owl. The first would be to build a cage as big as Rhode Island and set it down in the middle of New Jersey so he could flap around inside with an illusion of being free. Or two: turn him loose really free. Total. The only limit the planet's envelope of breathable vapor. In the number two case, unlike so-called number one, he could disappear at will, his own bird, free not only for himself but from us. Above all he wouldn't have to just sit there like now while people ringed him to watch him suffer."

The response was spontaneous. It was number two all the way. The question, in fact, was never whether but how? Here the problem took on sticky dimensions. How do you get an owl out of a cage as tight as a prison cell clanged shut and in a vague sort of way guarded?

The suggestions from around the circle varied all the way from here to there and back again with some of the children even getting a spot for their say. Remember, if given a chance, new humans sometimes see straight into instead of all around and who knows where a kernel will sprout? In the end the heaviest of the ideas jelled into a seven-point list for a closer look pending an outcome, as follows:

1. Pick the lock at an off hour, meaning better at night when the nocturnal bird is alert and the diurnal guard is not?

2. Be more open and heroic about it. Declare war and blast the lock (if necessary the whole cage) in courageous combative defiance with an armed attack in open daylight, prepared to shed blood, God forbid, if necessary, in offensive defense of the fundamental universal issue at stake?

3. Be realistic. Work from where you are with what you've got. In short negotiate from a position of weakness.

Hold it!

Don't apologize. Weak from their viewpoint only. Remember that alternate mox in a different groove. Make an offer to replace Orison with a fair-exchange proxy? Would they, for example, by some crazy fluke, accept one of Farmer Merebalm's now famous woodcarvings to sit on the cage perch, an arty replica and future museum piece all in one? Plus -- go overboard for good measure -- offer a bonus: a spectacular planting of the well-fertilized dirt cage floor in brilliant blue hyacinths, brighter-than-white phlox and scarlet geraniums spilling out in living red, white and blue: FREE.

4. Resort to their own tactics vis-a-vis the wild ones? Lay in wait for the rare cage cleaning and when the door is opened shoot the attendant with a so-called harmless tranquilizer dart like the kind that is so-called harmlessly used on wild creatures to so-called harmlessly render them really harmless for everything from so-called beneficial lab data ear taggings to so-called benign capture?

5. Stick to nonviolence. Remember. Means are ends unfolding. Gather in a non-army to strategically surround the cage while sending a negotiating team forward to the zoo boss and all together, with sincere vibes, make one last appeal for animal rights, inviting the lock authorities to join the cause. In the meantime, as a backup precaution, no one moves from around the cage unless taken bodily, in which case all go limp. Stick to your nonguns. Even if they lock you up.

6. Levitation? Far out? So? Mass psychokinetics? If that sister in Russia can move that world-famous toothpick a tweek of a millimeter, even if, granted, with exhausting mental effort, what would happen if our whole community were to surround the cage and have a go at mentally moving the thing off its base? Or at least tweeking open the door?

7. Seven. A sweet number. For our seven levels? With decisions from the ground up and celebrations for all on top. What shall we say for number seven? A PROPERSONELL BALM? What else? Meaning, naturally, the exact diametrically opposed opposite of an anti-personnel bomb.

It was settled. With lookouts posted and diversionary flams planned, we sprung Orison in the dark of the moon to accomodate to his nocturnal ways; also so we could avoid drawing a counterforce against our non-force as we made our move.

An outdated Rich-O-Matic credit card found discarded in a Sprawl alley trash can and slipped into the tired rusty old cage lock had not yielded the easy result hoped for. Dashed but still determined, we next moved the council circle out around the cage at the zoo for onspot in-person whole vibe openings, soundlessly circling the cage with people as the bird stirred on his perch, alert. What was up? As our eyes became adjusted to the darkness I could see he was swiveling his head first this way, then that. "Orison, we've come to get you out," I hissed-whispered. The night fragrance of the park engulfed us like an embrace, an invitation, an enticement. The guard, we were assured, had already passed out of sight on his midnight punch-clock patrol. Someone gave a low whistle and, like me, was shushed for breaking our disciplined silence.

"If nothing happens tonight," signed Luz Marina, "don't get discouraged. We'll be back."

Now we were all around the cage, just sitting there on the ground with not so much as a twig snapped in the deployment. "It stands to reason," Sortie, an ex-war bomber turned dead serious peace balmer, was the first to come to grips with logistics, writing his words on a chalkboard with luminous chalk, "we're not going to get anywhere tipping the thing off its base with six master bolts clamping it down. What we need to bring us up even with level gravity is six volunteers with six wrenches."

As it turned out there were three people who had brought wrenches and twenty-two volunteers to use them. "Six at the bolt heads are it," declared Sortie, forgetting to chalk talk. The wrenches, with some squealing and protesting, worked. All except one. At this point Apple stepped forward with her special thing, winesap-delicious seed oil, fine not only for cooking and salad but as an all-purpose lubricant as well. Poured generously over the old bolt, its rusted threads finally yielded after four people had strained their ventral abdominal muscles, guts that is, in turn.

"Now," signed Sortie, "the cage is just standing there held down by nothing --"

" -- except the same planetary magnetic force that is holding us down," countered someone else.

" -- the attraction of the total mass of the world --"

"That's all --"

"What we need is a giant to lift the whole thing off its base from above like the lid off a pan," offered Sallie, Sortie's partner in love and storm.

"A derrick from above?"

"A grounded tilt bar from below?"

"Too much commotion --"

" -- bring the guard?"

"Injure the bird?"

"Objection. Machine-intensive --"

"Can't we get gravity to work for us without all this fuss and feathers?"

"Or equalize it?"

"Suspend --"

During all this I noticed that Luz Marina had been circling the cage as if on a private trip, her long skirt swirling, speaking with her hips in growing impatience. What was she trying to convey? At last she stepped up to the base line horizontal bar that connected all six sides and served as a foundation prop on the low cement facing that edged the cage floor. She hooked her fingers around it lightly as if testing, and then shrugged. "We've got it made," she signalled, "this thing is as light as a feather. You'll see --"

All the others there at first certainly did not see but continued to sit immobile on the ground if, now, with attention focused, open, expectant.

"I can lift it," Luz avowed, confidant, speaking softly but aloud. "I can lift it," she repeated, "but not alone --"

That's how it was done, six people along each of the six sides, each one of the thirty-six persons weighing whatever they weighed but all together weighing far more than a giant, far more than the big iron cage. Of course not everyone who wanted to volunteer could get a handhold on the foundation bar and was counted out in the countaround. But I was one of the lucky ones and if I'm claiming now that that big bulky thing, heavy enough to crush a person had it fallen to one side, flew up like a feather hovering free on a breeze, would I be believed? It was amazing, strange, like a suddenly activated miracle. But at the same time easy and natural as if a live current of strength were flowing through all of us together, the efforts of all blending as one in the upsurge. True, there was an initial wrench, a muffled, metallic click as Luz counted down to zero to signal go; a dusty zing smelling of age and rot, then our heave, a gap, the gap swinging wider, the base bar finally over our heads and balanced there in equilibrium, the huge cage aloft on our ring of hands.

A massed sigh went up, a happy moan, a stifled cheer from both those holding and those watching.

Our troubles were over? Actually not. The fact was that our solid wall of bodies formed a barrier as imprisoning to the now excited bird as his cage bars had been. It was Heyzoos who first recognized the problem and jumped away from his place in the lift line, opening a space for the bird to escape. "Come out, wise old fool," he shouted, silence tossed to the wind, "hurry before the crack of day!"

Still the bird hesitated. Why? Was the opening too narrow a passage for half-paralyzed wings? The two people who had been alongside Heyzoos also stepped aside, widening the portal to freedom. "Orison," I cried, "go, go, go. It's no trap."

In the end, with the escape route wide open, it was Greatfeller, a huge cooperating raccoon whom we had rescued, paw crippled from an unspeakable leg-hold trap, who waddle-hobbled into the breach to reassure the pop-eyed bird and to hassle him out to safety by frantically pawing the perch support.

If an owl can detect a moving dinner under a ground leaf in the dark at twenty paces with his infra-mysterious night sight, can he also detect a gap gaping open to freedom?

He can -- and he did. Zwoo-oo-p! The sudden swirling and fanning of air was prodigious. Felt as a spiraling breeze, seen as a winged fact fleeing, it was uncannily unheard as the great bird slanted and swooped out in flight as eerily as velvet on cloud, the layer of gossamer fuzz on the tips of his feathers guaranteeing flight as silent as silent night.

Another muffled cheer went up.

Staggering a bit on cramped wings at first -- or was that his parting salute? -- he was off, wings pumping, sailing, pumping higher, gaining altitude, up! off! safe! Higher, dimmer, his shadowy shape melted into the darkness above the tree-muted park lights, off, off, now straight as a native returning toward faroff green belt rise and The Place Where All Things (still?) Come Together.

GOODBYE TO RAMS GULCH

by Dale R. Gowin

The old man sat on the bridge and watched the yellow and green machine take another bite out of the hillside. The machine belched greasy black smoke as it backed and turned, tangled treeroots dangling from its gape-toothed jaws, its tractor-bands sliding in the fresh gravel.

The sun was hot on the old man's back. A line of sweat traced a track through the caked dust on his forehead and disappeared into his unkempt beard. His faded denim shirt stuck to his arms and shoulders.

He stared down between his knees to where the sad remains of Limestone Creek flowed into the shadow under the bridge. His legs swung in the air, toes wiggling to catch a stray breeze if one should happen along.

The rainbow-stained water swirled away, no fish darting through it now as he remembered they had before. None of those sticky green plant things in it either any more. Just a kind of grey, flat sheet sliding by beneath him between grey-white banks of some crusty concrete-like substance.

A stale, slightly foul odor drifted up from the dead water.

The old man's mind was tired and dried out and lined with little cracks and fissures like the white chemical substance that lined the travesty of Limestone Creek.

In the cracks, if he could look deep between their lines, were memories. In their deep shadows the green glades of Rams Gulch still lived, beams of sunlight danced through the foliage, wildflowers and briar brambles grew in chaotic profusion across the wide meadows where the sound of birdsong rose up around the crabapple trees. Limestone Creek came down from the falls above the bluff to pools where you could find catfish and trout and wide-mouthed bass, on down through the cattails where you could hear strange church choirs of fat bullfrogs serenading the new moon. And if you were very quiet and very lucky, you might see a doe leading her fawns down to the water's edge, and a sly-eyed red fox slinking through the shadows, and strange brown creatures that some damn schoolbook has a name for smiling their ancient wisdom eyes in the cool noon.

The old man held the memories at bay like so many hungry dogs come to hound him, forced them back into the cracks, sat on the dusty bridge in the hot sun.

The constant grumbling growl of the tractor rose and fell as it ate its way into the underlying rock, the grey rock to be loaded on the trucks and hauled down the gravel cutaway, to be milled into gravel by General Rock Crushing Company, to build new highways into new green hillsides.

Black diesel smoke spumed into the grey air from the shining steel smokestacks of a new long-bed Mack dump truck, its paint and chrome still fresh, reflecting the harsh brilliance of the afternoon. The driver leaned from the window and the old man heard him shout something above the roar of the engines, and the sun glinted on the mirror as the truck backed into position. He saw the lettering, "General Rock Crushing Co.", neat and white on the green door panel. He watched as the tractor disgorged mouthfuls of the living forest into the truckbed until it heaped and overflowed with loose rock and soil and fragments of green. The truck coughed and lumbered out, its giant tires squelching through the mud where the sludge had backed up and clogged the drainage pipe that swallowed the remains of Limestone Creek.

The old man drew a shaky breath, squinted against the sun, coughed, felt in his shirt pocket and pulled out a Camel, lit it and flicked the match into the grey water.

There were bears in Rams Gulch when he was a boy.

Funny how the memories would seep out from their cracks if you didn't watch them, the old man thought. Weaseling out like the sludge that seeped up from the bruised and broken ground where gravel fill covered the ancient creek bed.

A footpath had wound its way through the woods. He'd spent many long afternoons wandering in that green labyrinth in the lazy days of summer, returning in the evening with his face stained purple from the juice of wild berries. He had sought solace and tasted peace in the mystic shade of the tall pines, cool and deep on the hottest August afternoons. He'd come with friends to look for Indian arrow-heads, and sometimes they swore they saw war-painted braves disappearing into the shadows, biding their time until the intruders from across the sea would be gone and they'd be one with the ways of their ancestors once more.

The jaws of the giant shovel were closer to him now, and the rumbling engine caused the wide planks of the bridge to vibrate beneath the old man's legs.

In another day or two, nothing would be left of the green hills of Rams Gulch.

Nothing would be left but the great grey gravel pits stretching as far as the eye could see, from horizon to horizon.

The old man felt something stirring deep within him, some kind of deep coiled madness made of mingled rage and pain and hopeless despair that threatened to rise up and swamp him like a boat caught in the storm.

Maybe, he thought, he would get up and walk down the gravel road to the trailer that housed the division office of General Rock Crushing Company. Maybe he would walk up and bang the door open and demand to

see the foreman, that fat, surly man who sits wedged behind his desk, a stub of a cigar clenched in his stubbly jaw.

Maybe, the old man thought, he would stand before the foreman's desk as the trucks loaded with the living bones of Rams Gulch rumbled by, and he would open his mouth, and the black bilious rage would erupt from his soul, and he would give voice to the myriads of living spirits that are now banished forever from their green home, where for a million years they have lived in harmony and peace. For your fat filthy profit you have sold the birthright of the generations of our children for ages to come, he would say; the groves where our grandparents grew you have sold into ruin for a day's dollars. The wild forests, he would say, were the fertile soil from which our civilization sprouted; the wizard woods were there before our kind crawled up from the sea, and their ancient memory refreshes itself to us in the wild places....

His hand trembled as he flicked away the ash and drew in a lungful of thick blue smoke.

The sun beat down on the old man's head. The metal monster throbbed and groaned. The air was heavy and unmoving, thick with diesel smoke and dust.

"Goodbye, Rams Gulch," the old man said.

=====

TRANSCENDED WILDERNESS

Misty morning
Mountain top
Head down from the hills
To the silent sentinel
City streets
To the people and their pills
Never mind the water
Skip down
The stepping stones
The sing-song
Singing meadowlark
Is drowned out by the phones
Old toad
In the forest's deep
Burps a mighty shout
Answered by
A sonic boom
The tremors felt throughout
A gentle wind
Whispers softly
Drifting through the trees
It masks the hunters' footsteps
Killing as they please

To track
The evasive trickle
Of a hidden stream
The far-off sound
Of a rifle shot
Echoes like a scream
Midnight autumn lakeside
Lit by stars and moon
Wonder why the animals
Went away so soon
And how much longer can the land
Endure the weight and pain
From power plants, polluted air
Gas and acid rain
Kind of makes you wonder
If perhaps some other day
We'll get our heads together
And try to find a way
To cease this never-ending race
To benefit mankind
You show some love for the animals
And they think you've
lost your mind

-- JAMES T. SMITH

NETWORKING DIRECTORY

some way to the goals and objectives of (R)EVOLUTION magazine -- i.e. the pursuit of a nonviolent, voluntary, cooperative world society. We hope to improve this service as we grow. When writing to these publications, include a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

- ACTION LINKAGE, P.O. Box 2240, Wick-enburg, AZ 85358, \$30/year
- (A) DISTRIBUTION, 325 E. 84th St., New York NY 10028
- AFRICA NEWS, P.O. Box 3831, Durham, NC 27702
- AGAINST THE WALL, P.O. Box 444, Westfield, NJ 07091
- THE ALERT, 19 W. 21 St., New York, NY 10010 (CISPES--Central American Solidarity Group--(212) 255-6323, (212) 989-6225)
- ALTERNATIVE NEWS COLLECTIVE, 385 Harriman Hall, Main St. SUNY-Buffalo Campus, Buffalo NY 14214, (716) 831-2412
- ALTERNATIVE PRESS INDEX, P.O. Box 7229, Baltimore, MD 21218
- ALTERNATIVE PRESS SYNDICATE, P.O. Box 1347, Ansonia Sta., New York, NY 10023
- AMERICAN FORUM, P.O. Box 261, Staten Island, NY 10302, \$14/year
- ANARCHY, P.O. Box 380, Columbia, MO 65201
- ANIMAL'S AGENDA, P.O. Box 3234, Westport, CT 06881, \$15/year
- ANTI-AUTHORITARIANS ANON., P.O. Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440
- BAYOU LA ROSE, P.O. Box 32282, New Orleans, LA 70152
- BLACK & GREEN, P.O. Box 373, Burlington, VT 05402 (New England Anarchist Conference)
- BLACK RAG, 8611 Piney Ranch Rd #3, Silver Spring, MD 20901
- BRAIN-MIND BULLETIN, P.O. Box 42211 Los Angeles CA 90042 (same address: LEADING EDGE BULLETIN)
- C.A.R.D., P.O. Box 15195, San Diego CA 92115 (anti-draft registration)
- Following is a list of alternative information outlets that relate in
- CHANGE, 1021 Clearwater Rd., Daytona Beach, FL 32014 (Synergetic Society)
- CHANGING MEN, 306 N. Brooks, Madison, WI 53715, \$12/year
- CHANGING WORK, P.O. Box 5065, New Haven, CT 06525, \$10/year
- CIENFUEGOS PRESS, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, UK KW172BL
- CIRCLE (A), P.O. Box 37114, Atlanta, GA 30343
- CLEAR LIGHT SOCIETY, Koh Akutagawa, 78 Maruyama, Hirono-cho, Uji City, Kyoto, JAPAN
- COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH PRISON SLAVERY, 324 C St SE, Washington DC 20003, (202) 547-8655
- COMMUNITIES, 1271 Sun St., Stelle, IL 60919, \$10/year
- CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER, P.O. Box 7737-M, Berkeley, CA 94707
- THE CONNECTION, 9830 Fairfax Sq., #232, Fairfax, VA 22031
- CO-OP AMERICA, 2100 M St #310, Washington DC 20063, 1-800-424-9711 (ask for catalog)
- COSMIC AWARENESS COMMUNICATIONS, P.O. Box 115, Olympia WA 98507
- C.R.F.A., P.O. Box 481, Prahran 3181, Victoria, AUSTRALIA (Cannabis Research Foundation of Austr.)
- CRITIQUE, P.O. Box 11431, Santa Rosa, CA 95406, \$5@
- DEUTSCHE CANNABIS REFORM, Gesellschaft, Kristian Albin, P.O. Box 0447, 1 Berlin 31 W. GERMANY
- EARTH FIRST, P.O. Box 235, Ely, NV 89301, \$15/year
- EMANCIPATION, P.O. Box 840, Benj. Franklin Sta., Washington DC 20044 \$5/year (same address for ANARCHITECTURE)

- FACTSHEET FIVE, c/o Mike Gunderloy, 41 Lawrence St., Medford, MA 02155, sample copy \$1 (a review of the underground/fan press)
- FIFTH ESTATE, P.O. Box 02548, Detroit, MI 48202, \$5/year
- FREE THE FIVE NEWSLETTER, P.O. Box 48296, Benatil Sta., Vancouver, BC V7X 1A1, CANADA
- FRIENDS OF LIBERTY, P.O. Box 37, West Nyack, NY 10994
- FUNGOPHILE, P.O. Box 3503, Denver, CO 80217-5503
- THE GENTLE ANARCHIST, P.O. Box 1313 Lawrence, KS 66044
- GREEN REVOLUTION, School of Living, RD 7, York, PA 17402
- HARD RAIN, 46 Second St., Cambridge MA 02141
- HARVEST, P.O. Box 228, S. Framingham, MA 01701, \$10/year (pagan)
- HERETIC'S JOURNAL, P.O. Box 12347, Seattle, WA 98111
- HIGH FRONTIERS, P.O. Box 1551, Mill Valley, CA 94942, \$1/sample (psychedelics & consciousness)
- HOME PLANET NEWS, P.O. Box 415, New York NY 10009, \$1.50@, \$6/year
- IMPOSSIBLE BOOKS, P.O. Box 102, 1200 W. Fullerton, Chicago, IL 60614 (May '86 World (A) Conf.)
- IN CONTEXT, P.O. Box 30782, Seattle, WA 98103
- INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, P.O. Box 1147, Warminster, PA 18974, \$8/year
- INDUSTRIAL WORKER, 3435 N. Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago IL 60657
- INSTEAD OF A MAGAZINE, P.O. Box 433 Willimantic, CT 06226, \$6.50/year
- INTELLECTUAL ACTIVIST, 131 5th Av, Suite 101, New York, NY 10003, (212) 982-8357 (objectivist)
- INTERNATIONAL BLACKLIST GROUP, 719 Ashbury St., San Francisco CA 94117
- JOB'S WITH PEACE, 730 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ontario M5S 2R4 CANADA
- JOURNAL OF PSYCHOACTIVE DRUGS, 409 Clayton St., San Francisco Ca 94117
- KICK IT OVER, P.O. Box 5811, Sta. A Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P2 CANADA
- KITCHEN SINK NEWS, P.O. Box 4927, Ft Lauderdale, FL 33338
- KRONSTADT BOOKS, P.O. Box 40920, Palisades Sta., Washington DC 20004
- LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB, P.O. Box 842 GPO, New York NY 10016
- LIBERTARIAN LOGOS, P.O. Box 23172, Phoenix, AZ 85033
- LIBERTARIAN WORKERS GROUP, P.O. Box 692, Old Chelsea Sta., New York, NY 10013
- LIBRAIRE ALTERNATIVE, 2033 Boul. St. Laurent, Montreal, Quebec H2X 2T3
- LINDISFARNE PRESS, RR #2, West Stockbridge, MA 01266
- LITTLE FREE PRESS, P.O. Box 8201, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (ask for free booklets)
- LIVING FREE, P.O. Box 29, Hillier Br. Buffalo, NY 14223
- LONE WOLF, P.O. Box 840, B. Frankl. Sta., Washington DC 20044
- LUX NATURA, 200 Center St., Suite 1196, Berkeley, CA 94704
- MANAS, P.O. Box 32112, El Soreno Sta Los Angeles CA 90032
- THE MATCH, P.O. Box 3488, Tucson, AZ 85722, \$6/year
- MEMORY HOLE, P.O. Box 94, Long Beach CA 90801-0094 (historic revisionism)
- MESSAGE POST, P.O. Box 190, Philomath, OR 97370
- MOBILIZATION FOR SURVIVAL, 3601 Locust Walk, Philadelphia PA 19104
- MUTUAL AID ALTERNATIVES, Social Action Center, 221 Central Ave., Albany, NY 12206 (free/donation)
- MYCO RESEARCH, P.O. Box 1211, Binghamton NY 13902
- MYCOPHILE BOOKS, P.O. Box 93, Naples FL 33939 (rare books on psychedelics)
- NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR AN AMERICAN REVOLUTION, P.O. Box 2617, Philadelphia PA 19121
- NATURAL LAW FAMILIST, 5324 Sun Valley Dr., El Paso, TX 79924

NEITHER/NOR PRESS, P.O. Box 8043,
 Ann Arbor, MI 48107
 NEW FOREST FUND, 418 Tenth St. SE,
 Washington DC 20003
 NEW IRON COLUMN, 1728 W. Ball Rd.,
 Apt. 4, Anaheim, CA 92804
 NEW LIBERTARIAN, 1515 W. MacArthur
 Blvd #19, Costa Mesa, CA 92626,
 \$12.50/year
 NEW ZEALAND MARIJUANA PARTY, Well-
 ington Branch P.O. Box 11-521,
 Wellington, NEW ZEALAND
 NONVIOLENT ACTIVIST, 339 Lafayette
 St., New York NY 10012 (War Resist-
 ers League)
 NO MIDDLE GROUND c/o Info Network
 on Latin America, 495 Ellis St. #781
 San Francisco, CA 94102
 NOMOS, 9837 S. Damen, Chicago, IL
 60643
 NORML, 2001 S St NW, Suite 640,
 Washington DC 20009 (marijuana)
 NORTH AMERICAN ANARCHIST NETWORK,
 P.O. Box 18488, Denver, CO 80218
 (same address for LEAGUE FOR EVOLU-
 TIONARY ANARCHY & FREEDOM)
 NUCLEAR FREE AMERICA, 2321 Guilford
 Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218
 NUCLEAR TIMES, 298 Fifth Ave.,
 New York NY 10001
 OFF OUR BACKS, 1841 Columbia Rd NW,
 Washington DC 20009 (feminist)
 OPEN ROAD, P.O. Box 6135, Sta. G,
 Vancouver, BC V6R 4G5 CANADA
 ORDO TEMPLI ORIENTIS, P.O. Box 2303
 Berkeley, CA 94702 (magickal order
 formerly headed by Aleister Crowley)
 OUR SOCIALISM, P.O. Box 42489, San
 Francisco, CA 94142-2489
 OVERTHROW, P.O. Box 392, Canal St.
 Sta., New York, NY 10013, \$1@
 (contact address for North American
 Greens Coalition and Yuppies)
 OXFAM-AMERICA, 115 Broadway, Boston
 MA 02116, (617) 482-1211
 PEACEWORK, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambrdg
 MA 02140
 PERSHING PLOWSHARES SUPPORT COMM.
 P.O. Box 585, Orlando FL 32802
 PHALLOS, 583 Grove St., San Fran,
 CA 94102, \$5/year (pagan)
 PHOENIX RISING, P.O. Box 7251, Sta.
 A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X9 CANADA
 POINT BLANK, P.O. Box 90312, San
 Diego, CA 92109
 POPULAR REALITY, P.O. Box 1593,
 Kalamazoo, MI 49005
 PROGRESSIVE STUDENT NETWORK, c/o New
 Wave, SAC IMV, Iowa City IA 52242
 PSYCHEDELIC MONOGRAPHS & ESSAYS,
 4395 18th Ave SW, Naples, FL 33999
 (formerly PSYCHOZOIC PRESS)
 PUEBLO TO PEOPLE, 5218 Chenevert
 #5553, Houston, TX 77004, (713) 523-
 1197
 QUAKER SOCIALIST SOCIETY, 20 Chapham
 House, Hazelwood Close, Hitchin,
 Herts, SG5 5PS UK
 RASCAL, 436 Pennsylvania Ave.,
 Morgantown, W.VA. 26505
 RED AND BLACK, P.O. Box 02374,
 Detroit, MI 48202
 RESURGENCE, P.O. Box 2824, Sta. A,
 Champaign, IL 61820
 REVISION, P.O. Box 316, Cambridge,
 MA 02138
 ROOT AND BRANCH, P.O. Box 236,
 Somerville, MA 02143
 RUNESTONE, c/o Asatru Free Assembly,
 P.O. Box 1832, Grass Valley, CA
 95945, \$7/year (pagan)
 SABOTEUR, 1701A Martin Luther King
 Way, Berkeley, CA 94709
 SANE, 314 C St NE, Washington DC,
 20002 (anti-nuke)
 SIGNAL OF FREEDOM, c/o El Salvador
 Info Center, P.O. Box 421965, San
 Francisco, CA 94142, \$2@, \$14/year
 SOCIAL ANARCHISM, c/o Research Group
 1, 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore MD
 21218, \$2.50@
 SOIL OF LIBERTY, P.O. Box 7036,
 Powderhorn Sta., Minneapolis MN 55407
 SOJOURNER, 143 Albany St., Cambrdg,
 MA 02139 (feminist)

SOUTHERN AFRICA, 17 W. 17 St.,
 New York NY 10011
 SOUTHERN EXPOSURE, P.O. Box 531,
 Durham NC 27702, (919) 688-8167
 SPIRALING BOOKS, 12431 Camilla St.
 Whittier, CA 90601 (publisher of
 The Last Roundup by Jack Call)
 SRAF, c/o Sean Haugh, 11 University
 Ave., Medford, MA 02155 (Social-
 Revolutionary Anarchist Federat'n)
 STÖT FRI HASH, Skraldemændens Hus,
 Christiana, DENMARK (cannabis)
 STRIKE! P.O. Box 284, Main Sta.,
 St. Catherines, Ontario L2R 6T7
 THE STUDENT, P.O. Box 952, Cambrg,
 MA 02142
 STUF VRY PARTY, T. Berrss Postbus
 1386, G701AJ Gronongen, HOLLAND
 THE SUN, 412 W. Rosemary St.,
 Chapel Hill, NC 27514
 SUN TIMES, 1001 Connecticut Av NW,
 Washington DC 20036
 SURVIVAL NETWORK NEWSLETTER, P.O.
 Box 52282, New Orleans LA 70152
 SYNTHESIS, c/o League for Ecologi-
 cal Democracy, P.O. Box 1858, San
 Pedro, CA 90733, \$3.25/5 issues
 TACTICS OF MVMNT OF LIBERTARIAN
 LEFT, P.O. Box 1748, Long Beach,
 CA 90801
 TELOS, P.O. Box 3111, St Louis, MO
 63130
 TENDERLEAF, P.O. Box 10877, Glen-
 dale, CA 91209 (herbalism)
 THOUGHT CRIME, P.O. Box 57104,
 Atlanta, GA 30343-1104
 THUNDERBOW, c/o Church of Seven
 Arrows, 4385 Hoyt St. #201,
 Wheatridge, CO 80033, \$6/year
 TRANET, P.O. Box 567, Rangely, ME
 04970, \$15-30/year sliding scale
 UNICORN, P.O. Box 8814, Minneapolis
 MN 55408, \$10/year
 UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS, 26
 Church St., Cambridge MA 02238,
 (617) 547-5552
 UNITED LABOR ACTION, P.O. Box 420,
 Stuyvesant Sta., New York NY 10009

UPPER TRIAD, P.O. Box 1370, Manas-
 sas, VA 22110 (pagan)
 UPRIGHT OSTRICH, P.O. Box 100787,
 Ft Lauderdale, FL 33310 (tax patriot)
 VOXAS RIMOTA, P.O. Box 6129, Belling-
 ham, WA 98225 (magick)
 WIGGANSNATCH, 7013 First Av S.,
 Seattle, WA 98144 (pagan)
 WOMENS INT'L LEAGUE FOR PEACE &
 FREEDOM, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia
 PA 19107
 WOMENS PEACE ENCAMPMENT, 5440 Rt 96,
 Romulus, NY 14541, (607) 869-5825
 WOMENS REVIEW, Wellesley Womens
 Research Center, Wellesley MA 02181
 WOODEN SHOE BOOKS, 112 S. 20 St.,
 Philadelphia, PA 19103
 WORKERS WORLD, 46 W. 21 St., New
 York NY 10010, \$10/year weekly
 WORLD PEACE GAME REPORT, 603 S.E.
 15th St., Portland, OR 97214
 YELLOW SILK, P.O. Box 6374, Albany,
 CA 94706, (415) 841-6500, \$10-40/yr
 sliding scale(non-sexist erotica)
 YOUNG LIBERTARIAN, 5214 Palmetto
 Lane, Fayetteville, NC 28304

ADDITIONS, DELETIONS, CORRECTIONS,
 ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: please send
 all such info to (R)EVOLUTION NET-
 WORK, P.O. Box 306, Onondaga Hill
 Station, Syracuse, NY 13215.

 This is just the tip of the ice-
 berg: we are in the midst of a
 new renaissance of the under-
 ground press. In future issues
 we will explore the data base in
 greater depth... we hope to be
 "on-line" soon with this info so
 that you can get updates printed
 out for you on your home terminal
 at the push of a button... and so
 that you can enter your own data
 and hook up with the worldwide
 commonwealth of information. Imag-
 ination is the only limitation!

**FIGHT MARIJUANA PROHIBITION — JOIN NORML TODAY!
\$25 (or \$15 for students, military and low income members.)**



**THE CLASSIC
NORML T-SHIRT**

A striking combination of the NORML logo in white on a black T-shirt. Free with membership. Also available separately @ **\$7.00**



NORML BUTTON

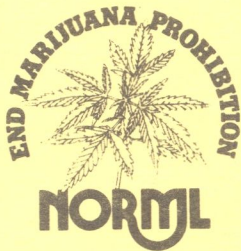
Green & white button with the NORML logo and a marijuana leaf.



THE LEAFLET

A subscription to NORML's bi-monthly newsletter, *The Leaflet*, provides news and features on the current status of marijuana law reform.

New memberships and renewals also receive a NORML membership card, NORML's official policy statement, a copy of *Marijuana: The Facts*, a copy of marijuana laws throughout the country, and much more.



Send Your Order To:



National Organization for Reform of Marijuana Laws

2001 S St., NW, Suite 640, Washington, D.C. 20009

Make your check or money order payable to NORML

Regular Membership Dues: ___ \$25 Type of Membership? New ___ Renewal ___

Student Membership Dues: ___ \$15 Membership Dues Enclosed (see reverse): _____
(Military and Low Income)

Check Size and Color: S ___ M ___ L ___ XL ___ Black Gold Sky Blue

Check here if you wish to receive your mail from NORML without our name on the envelope.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

**ALL PROCEEDS
ARE USED TO
CHANGE THE
MARIJUANA LAWS.**

A WIDE RANGE OF BOOKS, MAGAZINES & PAPER

EPHEMERA

USED & RARE

THE HORSE'S MOUTH BOOKSTORE

214 WALTON STREET
SYRACUSE, NY 13202



OUT-OF-PRINT



315-475-0388

THOMAS RIKER

THE GOVERNMENTS

WONT EVER ABOLISH THE WARS....

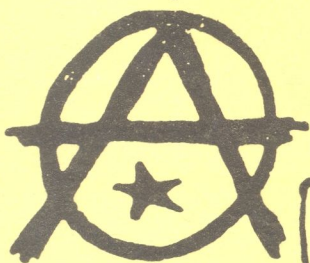
The Uniform may be
Different... ★



BUT THE FACE IS ALWAYS HUMAN.

Mescaleros PASAN ANARCHISTS

SO, LETS ABOLISH
BOTH WARS AND
GOVERNMENTS!



WAR IS THE HEALTH OF STATE