

# SOIL OF LIBERTY

20¢

PUT OUT BY NORTH COUNTRY ANARCHISTS

AND ANARCHA-FEMINISTS

VOL. 2 NO. 3

## TURKEYS OR TYRANTS PART II

by Don Olson

It's been a full year now since the seizure of the Peoples Warehouse (PW) by the Coop Organization. Over the last two months there has been a dramatic removal of C.O. influence and control from a number of coop stores, including the PW itself. Other than Our Daily Bread bakery (which is no longer a cooperative worker enterprise anyway), the situation has come full circle and the C.O. is back to where they started from--the Beanery.

In looking back to what the response to the C.O. has been, the January 9th attacks on Mill City and Seward coops can be seen as a turning point. Previously, there had been 8 months of discussion, persuasion and arguments, picketing, economic boycotts, negotiation and compromise attempts, many leaflets and papers and numerous mass meetings to counter each new outrage emanating from the C.O. From the beginning there had been a sizeable minority of anti-C.O. people who wanted to use the police and the courts, but the prevailing sentiment had been to use non-state methods to resolve the situation.

On January 10th and 11th, DANCE Warehouse was to incorporate as a legal cooperative. More and more of the coop business had been going to DANCE and the C.O. was getting desperate

because the PW was becoming increasingly unviable economically. During the early morning hours of January 8th, the C.O. attached blood-simulated indictments of DANCE to the doors of homes of DANCE collective members--giving them 24 hours to turn the assets over to the PW, or else. No Burton, who had previously been one of those singled out for harsh criticism by the C.O., had his truck firebombed during the same time period, altho no one can say for sure that the C.O. did it. The next day about two dozen C.O. members were involved in simultaneous

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### People's Warehouse

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JEFFREY FRANK EXECUTIVE SALES DIRECTOR

*Business card used by the C.O. while they had control of the warehouse*

attacks on Mill City and Seward. The coordinators were physically thrown out (punched up a bit at Seward) and the C.O. was prepared to stay and be the new operators of the stores. Individuals immediately called the police who closed the stores down until the city attorney declared later that day that the old collectives were the legitimate operators of the stores.

The next morning some 40 people from the community formed a non-violent body at the DANCE incorporation to make sure that the C.O. would not be able to disrupt the meeting.\*

Later that day at special Mill City and Seward meetings, both communities were outraged. The calling of the police was given community sanction and the vote was overwhelmingly for prosecution, altho at Mill City everyone voted to ask the judge that no one go to jail.\*\* Of those people who didn't want to prosecute, including myself, no one had a better alternative to suggest that was non-violent. In addition, there were those who wanted to start giving the C.O. a taste of their own intimidation and violence, but most people were against that for a variety of reasons, such as getting the stores wrecked or initiating a new round of violence.

Non-violence theorist, Mulford Sibley, who is also an anarchist and a socialist, can see the use of the police as actually preventing violence, which certainly may have been true in this case. Most anarchists and/or

\* Similarly, a month later the Women's Union would need the same type of group after a dozen or so C.O. women tried to storm their membership meeting. The next day a C.O. leaflet appeared that called the W.U. racist and fascist with the exhortation to "smash feminism"!

\*\* On April 27th, an out-of-court settlement was reached for a one-year continuance whereby all the C.O. defendants could shop, picket and leaflet the stores but could not disrupt any of the stores.



pacifists would consider any use of the state or police to be violent. In response Sibley would talk about genuine police work in some future society as being a non-violent patrol giving assistance to people and performing a service function in the neighborhoods. The problem, of course, is that these functions are often mixed in with the violence of today's police.

Sibley would see the early London Metropolitan Police as being a good example of what he is talking about. They did not carry arms and (in the early days) there was a decrease in violence. He can foresee the groundwork for a non-violent society in some of the functions now performed by the state. But the police cannot impose non-violence on a community, because most of the community must be orderly or it doesn't work. Sibley likens the police to doctors--doctors don't keep people well, people keep themselves well by their diet and general health practices. But certain health abnormalities will develop and a doctor will be needed; certain social irrationalities will develop and the police will be needed. The objection to all this which many anarchists will

# DEPRIVITIZATION



By Nancy Evechild

Deprivitization is the word used to describe the process of individuals or groups of individuals resolving conflict in a non-private, group situation.

Why non-private? Often the power distribution in any relationship is unequal--one person is stronger, has more influence, etc. Also, individuals develop patterns--certain ways of acting within a relationship. It is at best difficult to step out of those patterns in order to examine them and get a clear view of the relationship.

Involving other people and their respective points of view and insights in the process of discussing, understanding and resolving conflict tends to equalize power distribution and expose developed patterns of relating.

But it does more than that. Opening up a relationship and its trouble to a group takes a lot of pressure previously centered on the individuals involved and spreads it around. It forces people to clearly define their position, feelings and emotions so that others can understand. It spreads out the responsibility for resolution of conflict to more people. Finally, it displays an understanding that conflict within individual or group relationships is a social as well as personal responsibility.

I was first introduced to the concept

of deprivitization by anarchist friends from Des Moines who noticed the tension between me and a friend and they talked about how and why they deprivitize conflict. I kept the idea in my head, talked to a few friends about it and then became involved in my women's support group. That group was an ideal place to discuss the concept of deprivitization because that is what the support group is, a kind of general, collective, supportive, on-going deprivitization.

Well, it came to pass that one of our group had reached a dead-end, irreconcilable conflict with a housemate. Something had to be done, and neither one of them was capable of doing it alone. Obviously a community problem. So we organized a formal deprivitization.

That was the beginning. Since then there have been at least four other deprivitizations--between housemates, work-mates, lovers, friends and political comrades. The degree of success in resolving and following up on the conflict has varied but all have been successful in reactivating bogged-down relationships, in involving other people in the process of resolving conflict and in building a feeling of community and community responsibility for each other.

# death... and taxes

By Margaret Hastings



The question that haunts those of us who seek radical change in a non-violent manner is what method can be used to challenge the government and get "them" where it hurts. Living in our capitalist society, the answer is so obvious that I didn't really see it until the conference on non-violence recently held in Minneapolis. Get them in the pocketbook. In other words, Tax Resistance.

At the conference I attended the workshop on Tax Resistance which helped clarify for me the options available in challenging the Government so-called right to tax citizens; usually resulting in wasteful and anti-human activities.

Wally Nelson, a war tax resister since 1948, particularly impressed me with his commitment and willingness to share his knowledge and experiences with us.

Tax Resistance is the refusal to pay all or part of one's taxes. Many people choose to resist on the basis that most of the money goes to promote war and militarism. Others believe that the right to tax does not belong to governments.

The form of Tax Resistance to be described in this article is the refusal to pay the telephone tax. I have used the book ain't gonna pay for war no more, compiled and edited by Robert Calvert, as my reference.

The telephone excise tax first enacted

in 1941 was meant to be a temporary tax. It had been cut to 3 per cent and was to be entirely stopped in 1966. But in April of 1966, as the government was escalating the Vietnam War, Congress passed a law raising the tax to ten per cent.

Then it was supposed to drop to five per cent in 1971, to three per cent in 1972, and to one per cent in 1973. It was to be repealed entirely in 1974.

However, on Jan. 2, 1971, Congress introduced the telephone tax act at 10% for 1971 and 1972. With this new law, the tax will drop one percentage point each year until expiring in 1982.

To stop paying the phone tax deduct the money which is listed under the column "Federal Excise Tax" on the phone bill and pay the remainder of the bill. Include a letter or card explaining to the phone company why a certain amount of money is not being paid.

You are obligated to inform the phone company that you will not pay the tax in writing, giving your reasons. Save a copy for yourself and feel free to send other copies to IRS, your congressman and friends.

3 points to help understand the phone company's role:

1) It keeps records of how much you owe-

cont. on p. 5

but, collection is up to the government. The phone company cannot legally cut off your phone service for your failure to pay the tax.

2) Phone company policies differ greatly, some are happy to assist you since the tax discourages phone use. However, a more common reaction is an insistence that every bill you send in have a signed note from you explaining your refusal. The law does not require this- it is totally an administrative procedure invoked by your local phone company office supervisor.

3) Phone companies sometimes ignore your request and carry forward your tax on the next balance. They cannot technically do this and you must prove your announcement of refusal by showing a copy of your first letter to the phone company. Just deduct that "balance due" along with the current federal tax.

A person who "willfully fails to pay" the phone tax could be charged with a misdemeanor, under Section 7203 of the Internal Revenue Code (IRS), and be jailed for a time of up to one year and fined an amount of up to \$10,000. In collecting the tax, the IRS will add a six per cent interest charge. As far as is known, no action has been taken against any person within the provisions of this statute. However, it is probable that the government will successfully collect the money from you.

#### IRS COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Tax resisters are sent three notices. The first two usually warning notices and the third usually a "Final Notice Before Seizure"; which means if you don't pay within ten days IRS can take the money owed from either your bank account, salary or property and without further notice.

But this process rarely happens in that manner. Many people are sent other notices after the Final Notice Before Seizure notices. Some have gotten visits from IRS agents, others have gotten calls from IRS asking them to visit them in the IRS office. Resisters are encouraged to call the WTR office when a visit is set up so a person may have someone from the WTR office with them. It is found that the IRS agent is not as intimidating with a witness present.

IRS will try to get you to reveal where your bank account is, where you work or about other assets as a car or home. Refusal to tell makes it more difficult and collection takes longer. If they can't get any of this information, they can't collect.

They usually try for the bank account first, then salary and property and/or other assets last. If not able to get to your bank account, the IRS has had salaries garnisheed. In a few cases, IRS has taken possession of cars to collect the tax. The cars are auctioned off for tax but all money received at the auction above what is owed and auctioning fees is returned to the tax resister.

You should save your bills and check the amount you are alleged to owe--from past experience, many people will get incorrect bills. Due to irregular records in phone tax non-payment kept by phone companies, you may be billed incorrectly for the amount of tax you owe and this should be borne in mind.

This describes just one of many ways to challenge the government's methods of operating but hopefully it offers some ideas and inspiration to people interested in changing the way tax money is used.

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# Interview With A Portuguese Militant



*An interview was conducted by Our Generation recently with M. Lucas, a Portuguese anarchist who is now living in Canada. The interview is in two parts. One part was conducted before she returned to Portugal for a three week visit between December and January 1976, and the other part after her return. The purpose of the interview is to give some background on the libertarian movement. We want to improve our knowledge of what is happening in that country, and of the anarchist movement, as well as improve communications with Portuguese militants.*

**Question:** Can you give us a rough history of the libertarian movement in Portugal?

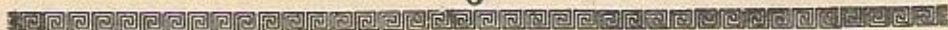
**Answer:** Anarchism really surfaced in Portugal as an organised expression of the working-class after 1910 when the country became a republic. It was a movement rooted mainly in the trade unions. There was a succession of governments administering the State. The country was in chaos and economic misery was widespread. Under these conditions the syndicates played a leading and aggressive role, with one strike following another. In an atmosphere of wide-spread anti-government feeling, anarcho-syndicalism was gaining ground. In 1928 unfortunately Salazar instituted his dictatorship. Nevertheless social upheavals continued as before. Salazar set out to crush the syndicates, especially the militant anarcho-syndicalist groups. His strategy unfolded over a period of time because of the strength

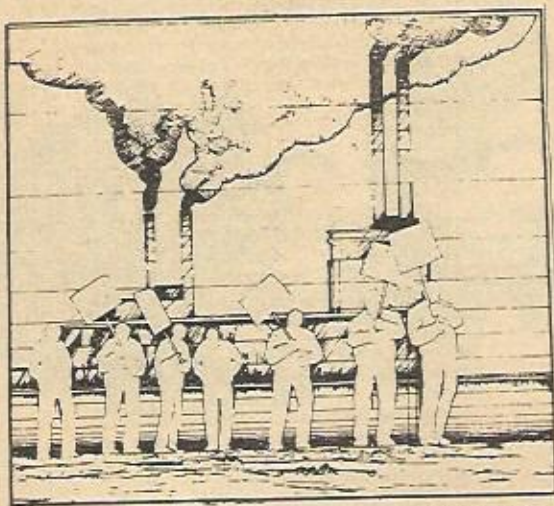
of syndicalism in the country. At the height of State attacks, the trade-unions went on a wholesale counter-attack in the form of a general strike in January 1931, in which clearly the anarchists played a leading role. The militants were armed, and with explosives. Nevertheless, for many of the same reasons that the social revolution failed in Spain several years later, the general strike was crushed. The Moscow communists, in our judgement, played a leading role in sabotaging the general strike.

A heavy repression followed our defeat, with massive arrests sending many militants into exile. Many anarchists were sent into exile on the island of Tallafal, which is off the coast of Angola. Between 1931 and 1974 the anarchist movement in Portugal was underground but was active both at home and abroad. You bear in mind that survival was extremely difficult as we are never supported in any way by any State powers, as is the case with other revolutionary groups. In spite of these hardships our anarcho-syndicalist newspaper, *A Batalha*, and other periodicals continued to be published with as much regularity as possible, with news as to what was happening inside and outside Portugal, and continuing the educational task so vital to anarchism and to the development of revolutionary consciousness. The movement during this entire period was mostly carried on by the veterans of the twenties and thirties who were not rotting in jails or in exile.

**Question:** How did an interest in anarchism commence anew? There is obviously a great popularity of anarchist ideas among the young workers, students, and young military today in Portugal.

**Answer:** Young people whatever their social function in our society became interested in anarchism. To them it represented first and foremost a revolt against authority, all authority. This was an extremely important reaction, and particularly understandable after such a long period of dictatorship. This revolt was enriched by a generational revolt in social relations, especially within families, which undoubtedly was a spill-over from what was happening earlier in many parts of the world.





Bulletin Populaire/LNS

In 1973 there were no anarchist books in Portugal in our language. And the anarchist periodicals and newspapers had a limited circulation under the dictatorship. Nevertheless a select number of people had anarchist books in French, (which is a second language in our country); in Spanish and English. These books went from hand to hand within a small circle. Speaking personally, I revolted against authority but what was the alternative? This was of concern to all of us at the time. In revolting against authority however, I and others concluded simply that if people were conscious enough to respect the liberty of others, then authority, government, the State was not necessary. This deeper understanding of freedom was the beginning of the anarchist idea in us. At that time I and others began to read. Some of these foreign language texts fell into our hands. On April 25, 1974, when the dictatorship fell, I heard of the Movimento Libertário Português (MLP) for the first time, and immediately offered my help.

*Question:* What is the MLP today?

*Answer:* It is a small federation of anarchist affinity groups. There are comrades working as individuals, others in groups, others in federation of groups with a co-ordinating committee. A generational conflict emerged in the libertarian movement however, as it did in other countries, and as has happened in virtually all left-wing movements during these years, and especially in movements emerging under the conditions ours lived under for so many years. There are about ten groups working through the MLP, and these consist mostly of the older militants and veterans.

At a mass meeting organised by anarchists in June 1974 in Lisbon we found that people exposed to these ideas for perhaps the first time were very receptive to them.

The younger anarchist groups work through the Associação de Grupos Autónomos Anarquista (AGAA). This association is against having any alliances with other left-wing groups.

*Question:* What kind of activities are anarchists involved in at the present time?

*Answer:* One successful event was the mass meeting of June 1974, that showed some degree of sentiment in favour of libertarian ideas, just a few months after the fall of the dictatorship. The work of the militants involves (1) propaganda and educational work, e.g. pamphlets, wall posters consisting of commentaries on the events of the times, making people vigilant against all forms of authoritarianism, (2) organising at the workplace, (3) organising demonstrations on issues, e.g. we had an important demonstration in solidarity with the arrested Spanish comrades, (4) and maintaining contacts with active individuals and groups in the country.

My affinity group for instance, which consisted of about 20 people, (I was the only student in the group) works closely with the LUAR, and PRP-BR, (two revolutionary organisations). To us the question of arms is very important. Our activities consist of study and discussions, workplace organising which is very important, translation of materials from other languages, and developing close personal contact with the rank-in-file of other revolutionary organisations like LUAR and PRP-BR.

Our movement was naturally opposed to INTERSYNDICAL, which was one big union imposed on the Portuguese working-class by the State, and whose leadership was given to the Communist Party. Our anarcho-syndicalist militants nevertheless are active in the ranks pushing libertarian ideas and structures. *A Batalha* had many articles against INTERSYNDICAL. By the way, the newspaper is to be found in many kiosks in Lisbon, and also in the provinces.

Finally an extremely important area where we are active is the Conselhos Revolucionários de Trabalhadores, Soldados e Marinheiros (CRTSM). This is the association of the many workers' councils, neighbourhood councils, and military barracks committees. They had their founding congress on the 20 April 1975, and their second congress August 1975. The CRTSM, in fact, groups most of the social revolutionary potential in Portugal. The major influence in it at the present time is the PRP-BR.

*Question:* What is your assessment of the situation at the present time in Portugal?

*Answer:* There are two dimensions to our analysis. One is an objective analysis of what is, and connected with this is the second dimension, of what must be done. There are important splits within the Armed Forces Movement. This has its good and bad implications. Good because it demonstrates the fact that the State has not consolidated, bad from the point of view that international reaction exploits this situation in favour of the old order. The problems with the economy, without considering the implications of a full blockade, and judging the problems the country has been facing in the actual situation, we observe that the people are generally frightened. The various left-wing sects frighten people even more with their demagoguery, because people feel, and correctly of course, that these sects in the end want power to be placed in their hands.

Anarchists not only in Portugal, but with the solidarity needed from comrades all over the world, need to develop further the revolutionary and libertarian consciousness of the people, and teach them about the enemies of freedom. We must push further the formation of revolutionary soviets and popular assemblies. The CRTSM is a development in this direction, but the leadership being Marxist stresses and works towards the "dictatorship of the proletariat" which is completely unacceptable to us, of course. We have to teach people how the present State must be dissolved and replaced with other social forms, many of which are in existence now in Portugal or can spring into formation with further opportunity encouragement. Nevertheless we are working very hard, under both exciting conditions, and extremely difficult circumstances.

*Question:* What are the needs of the Portuguese anarchist movement?

*Answer:* We need to have contact with all of you in various parts of the world. We hardly know any Canadian or America comrades or groups. We need to know of your activities. We also need your solidarity and your aid. We cannot rely on this State or that, we are just coming out of a period of being smashed and repressed not only in Portugal of course, but in many countries. We need money to undertake translations and to publish books, pamphlets, periodicals. We need every resource possible in order to carry out our education/consciousness-raising work before the enemies of freedom and anarchism take it away.

In this battle we can win, just look at events in the last weeks in Portugal. The State is still on the defensive, even though it is trying to tighten its hold on society and the economy. But as you know we cannot win, without your solidarity.

November 15, 1975

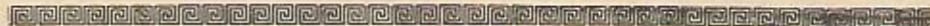
*On January, 20, 1976, the interview continued.*

*Question:* What observations do you come back with after your recent visit to Portugal?

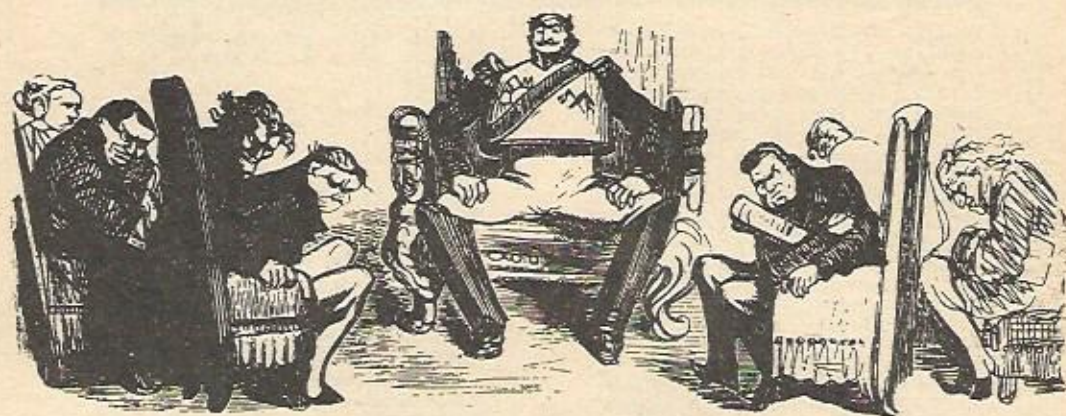
*Answer:* Since November the situation in Portugal has deteriorated. It has done so in the economic, political and social sense. Politically, the situation took a turn for the worse with the fall of the fifth provisional government from State power. This was the government of Goncalves in which the Communist Party had considerable influence. Mark you the C.P. for eighteen months had loyally helped the generals and the admirals in their attempt to impose their stiff austerity measures on Portuguese workers. The C.P. served as the AFM's policeman in the labour movement. Nevertheless, the popular movement at the base continued to grow. At a certain point, the revolutionary left groups decided on the need for greater co-ordination of their activities, especially against this government and set up a Revolutionary Front. The C.P. joined this Front reluctantly, and when the government fell from State power, the Front took on the fight against the sixth provisional government in which the Socialist Party of Mario Soares outstripped the C.P. in influence. This government set out to gradually consolidate the power of the State and naturally the power of the "progressive" bourgeoisie.

*Question:* What is the background to the events of 25-26 November 1975, which the State condemned as an attempted coup d'Etat by the revolutionary left?

*Answer:* It was no attempt at a coup d'etat. The background includes these factors — the right-wing of the bourgeoisie, of the military, and in the government. They never stopped their work of holding on and expanding their power and influence. They







were on the look-out for an opportune moment to strike back, and reduce the growing influence of the revolutionary left. They were responsible for continuously spreading rumours about a prospective coup from the left.

Meanwhile the so-called "moderates" in the government around Major Melo Antunes began a series of government moves against the revolutionary left. They removed from his posts, before the 25-26 November events, the popular commander of the Lisbon military district, and head of COPCON, (Continental operations command), General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. This led to considerable unrest among the left-wing rand-in-file military.

On 24 November, pro-government supporters set up barricades on all roads leading north out of Lisbon. The people had been hearing warnings for days about plans for a right-wing coup by word of mouth, and the left were convinced that these barricades were a prelude to such a powerplay. The paratroopers based at Tancos military base, who had been used by the right-wing military that staged the 24 September 1974 attempted coup, and then again in the attempted coup of 11 March 1975, and more recently during the demolition of Radio Renascença's transmitter of 7 November 1975 (this was a radio station taken over by the revolutionary left for anticapitalist and anti-state propaganda, and formerly owned by the Catholic Church) did not want to be held responsible for what people in the south at least were calling the reactionary right-wing in Portugal.

On 23 November meanwhile a shipload of "Paras" (the short name for Paratroopers) arrived home from Angola, and were met at the docks by representatives of their own regiment at Tancos. Tancos Paras explained they were now without officers, and it was

their officers who had duped them in the Radio Renascença demolition which they now regretted, and they were now declaring themselves on the side of the people.

At this point the incoming Paras were simply interested in getting together with their families, but two days later had become convinced of the need (after the barricades of the 24 November went up) to act immediately, in a preventive move.

They moved to take over the air bases — Montejo, Ota and Mont Real early in the morning of 25 November. The C.P., seeing a confused situation which it could exploit in its power-plays with the government sought immediately to create more confusion. Through INTERSYNDICAL it issued an order for mobilisation. Once the move by the Paras got nowhere in the sense that troops loyal to the government moved in to take back the bases, the C.P. cancelled its mobilisation order at midnight, early on the 26 November in order to protect its flanks from criticism by the government. It also took the occasion to blame the whole affair on the revolutionary left.

Now during the 25 November it is true that emissaries were sent out to other left-wing military units to join in; some agreed to join the Paras, but most others refused. The whole thing aborted, and one reason was because it was not a left-wing coup. The left in the Lisbon area were at time strong enough to contain the right-wing military. The Paras failed because they were not ready with a coup strategy.

What all this means is that the State was given a perfect pretext to crack down on the people, and the revolutionary left everywhere. The State keeps repeating the big lie that the events of those two days were an attempted coup d'état by the revolutionary left, and proceeds to repress the left including

the arrest of many soliders and literally disbanding many left military units. Today they arrested Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, saying that it was he who gave the order for the attempted coup. Everyone in Lisbon knows this to be a lie, because people knew his whereabouts, and these had nothing to do with the coup. But I suppose it makes good propaganda for the government outside the country and a good pretext to justify their crack down on the left.

Portuguese capitalism is still in crisis however, many days and weeks of these events. The government froze wages and cancelled scheduled wage increases. In Braga, in the north, workers have not been stopped for long for they occupied the Ministry of Labour when they were told that their wages were frozen. There are massive increases in the prices of various commodities however.

In the government, the power struggle also goes on. The AFM has been dissolved, and replaced by a group called the Portuguese Armed Forces (FAP) in order to have greater discipline on the soldiers. The semi-fascist Social Democratic Center (CDS) had been banned after an abortive right-wing coup last march. It has now re-surfaced. The right-wing police — the GNR, is now powerful again, and plays an active role of intimidation in the workers councils, and in the neighbourhood councils and meetings. But a demonstration of 20,000 people, supported by the left was held outside a prison in Oporto this month. Revolutionary soldiers and officers have been kept there since 25 November.

The government has fired 127 left-wing journalists, and the Republica newspaper, once taken over by a workers' council has been shut down. Radio Renascenca has been handed back to the Catholic bishops. The stock market, closed since the fall of fascism in April 1974 was re-opened this month. 1,800,000 acres of land taken over by poor farmers were forced back, the new co-

operatives smashed and the ownership of the land given back to the old landlords by the government.

*Question:* How long will this situation last?

*Answer:* The State will continue this situation for as long as it takes to put down the revolutionary left and its gains, and to stabilize the economy.

*Question:* What is the revolutionary left doing?

*Answer:* Its political militancy will continue. Many forces have gone underground, and work clandestinely, and they are well armed. The State has to use its repression moderately because of this. These underground forces continue to protect those institutions that have been taken over by the people.

*Question:* What are the prospects of the anarchists?

*Answer:* Very good. We continue to grow in influence. Some of our comrades along with others on the revolutionary left have managed to develop the autonomy of certain trade union groups within INTERSYNDICAL and the workers refuse as a result to be pushed around by the C.P. brass or to be used by them in their cynical power moves. In the meantime our forces have been brought together into greater coordination. The MLP have been dissolved into a larger Federação Anarquista Da Região Portuguesa — FAI. The FAI part is important. That means we are now part of the Federação Anarquista Iberca, the Federation that includes the Spanish comrades.

The objectives of the new FARP are to continue the war against the state and capital towards libertarian communism. The means used include direct action and organizational work, in the factories and offices, spreading our influence in the INTERSYNDICAL and through the base groups in the neighbourhoods. Our hopes are high.

#### SUPPORT THE AD HOC IBERIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

- the committee is a Toronto and Montréal-based support group of Portuguese, French and English-speaking militants,
- its purpose is to distribute information and raise aid money,
- support the wider distribution of *The Information Bulletin* send a donation to...

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# LETTERS

Dear Friends,

I received Soil of Liberty #1 through the Rhode Island Solidarity Collective. I think it's excellent. In particular I liked the balance of emphases between theory ("Developing an Anarcha-Feminist Ideology") and opposing current evils (S-1). I thought the tone of the reporting of the conference was very good. (Constructive).

I work with Movement for a New Society, a network of groups that is essentially anarchist and in the process of becoming more consciously so. You may have seen my description of MNS in Synthesis #2 (35c from League for Economic Democracy, P.O. Box 1858, San Pedro, CA 90733, pp. 32-33). I am sending to you some materials that may be of interest, since I believe we have a great deal in common. The issue of Dandelion on sexism has some material that might be useful; I have in mind the section near the end on "dealing with the feelings in separate groups." I am glad to see an anarchist group that recognizes the importance of dealing with sexism and realizes that men need to take responsibility for sexist behavior. I can sympathize very much as a man with feelings of defensiveness about this and without the experience of developing very close, supportive, relationships with other MNS men through 16 months in a bi-weekly men's group. I'm sure it would be even harder. I liked the tone of p.8 in trying to state what problems the men were having and making a recommendation for what they could do about it, rather than saying "Well, the hell with them." To me this is the tone of people serious about making change. I'm enclosing a xerox called "Constructive Criticism" which I think is invaluable-- we've developed a lot of the speech (and attitude) habits they recommend out of our own experience and from various sources (Re-evaluation Counseling, Parent Effectiveness Training -- we're able to adapt useful parts of these to revolutionary ends). Forthcoming from MNS in a few weeks will be "The Clearness Manual: Collective Processes for Making Personal

Movement Decisions" or some such title, which is a related kind of personal/political thing we've developed and used extensively. If you write to our Outreach Collective you can get on the Dandelion mailing list to hear when that comes out.

One suggestion is that it would be good to put the date of publication on Soil of Liberty to make clearer when it came out. I wonder how many more issues there have been since the first. I am enclosing a check for \$5 and requesting you send me 20 copies of issue #1 and copy of any subsequent issues. If that's not enough money let me know. (I know some people interested in beginning a study group on anarchism and the a-f article seems ideal-- by the way, is it anarcho or anarcha? I see both ways on p.7. I thought it was a-- is a being adopted because it's a feminine ending in Latin, or what? I guess I spent too long in school -- I can't enjoy the revolution unless it's spelled consistently...)

I'm also sending along something I wrote recently one morning (rough draft only) for a committee meeting to evaluate proposals re leadership and organization in MNS. It was well received, confirming my sense that most MNS people are pretty solidly anti-hierarchical.

Also here are some brochures, including one for our new self-published book which North Country Anvil's Bellows Distribution plans to handle-- what a fantastically good magazine that is, you North Country folks can be proud of it. Thanks for existing. The anarchist movement is beginning to move in America. No time to lose.

For nonviolent revolution,  
Bob Irwin

4713 Windsor St.  
Phila., PA. 19143

# LETTERS



Soil of Liberty,

We have some specific comments, questions and criticisms concerning your Vol. 2 No. 2.

Eluffy Golod's article on Anarcha-Feminism was clear and non-rhetorical. She made several very good points which the authors of the other articles should take to heart. Among them were the need for anarchists to be clear on anarchist alternatives and the importance of careful use of words. We also support her statement that too much stress on life-styles can put us out-of-touch with most people's lives.

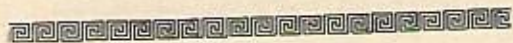
We believe that unprincipled criticism was used against the C.O. in particular the name calling-- turkeys, horse shit ideas-- and repeating unproven rumors that the C.O. is under the influence of the Revolutionary Union, infiltrated by the police, and/or firebombers. It is a belief of anarchism not to allow the alleged unprincipled methods of the opposition to cause us to be unprincipled, too. For us, presenting more factual material would provide a more meaningful article.

Bob Bady's article lists the issues in the co-op struggles as decision making, violence, manipulation and struggle for power. He neglected to mention class. Do you believe that class is an issue? Are the co-ops serving those people they should be serving? What is your program

and strategy for building revolution through the co-ops? Don Olson committed himself to write more on the situation. Perhaps he, or someone else, can address himself to our concerns.

The article Rules of the Working Class is classist in that it ridicules people for being serious about the issue of class. It made light of the values of solidarity and commonality. The supposedly working class person writing the article uses grammar and language in such a way that it sounds ridiculous. The deliberate use of bad grammar is condescending to working people. Although we believe in humor and its political value, this article was downright insulting.

In Struggle,  
Some Anarchists and Libertarians  
from Ames and Des Moines, Iowa



In Response:

Dear Comrades,

Thank you for your letter and criticisms. Since I pick up the mail and we don't have a meeting until next week, I am writing only for myself and not for the Soil collective.

The headline for Don's article was discussed. I in particular was concerned that it might detract from the article's content. I guess I would defend the thought conveyed by it which may be more readily apparent to those close to the situation, which is the question of Is the CO well intentioned but utterly inept and counter-productive? or Is it their authoritarianism or brand of Leninism that accounts for their actions?



## letters, cont.

The rumors were indicated as exactly that in the text. Because of the CO's secrecy about its leadership and political direction, intelligent speculation is the best one can do in making an assessment of them. Given their history and an objective evaluation of their accomplishments, raising the question of certain sectarian influences or police involvement does not seem illegitimate. In fact speculation about police presence has been engaged in privately by some CO members themselves. To represent speculation as fact would be indefensible, but my reading of the text doesn't find Don doing that.

The CO's infatuation with secrecy and their unfounded assumption that this affords them protection from police infiltration must be strongly questioned. Not only is the assumption in error, but it covers the organization from ever taking responsibility. There has been a shower of unprincipled, untrue, unsigned attacks emanating from the CO which individual CO members dismiss, when pressed, as the mistake of some other individual in the organization. It also makes it convenient to engage in acts of anonymous violence without taking responsibility for it. The fire bomb victim (Moe Burton, a Marxist-Leninist) and the store where he works had been engaged in some bitter struggle with the CO before the incident occurred. The victim, a Black male, had been attacked by the CO in the monopoly press as a "witchdoctor" and the press release included a threat that those who live by the sword would die by it. They also used the fact that the man is an ex-con to smear his name and credibility in the eyes of conservatives with a phobia about criminals.

The night Moe's truck was fire-bombed and his phone line cut (a la KKK) was also the night the CO taped the DANCe indictment on that warehouse collective's doors. The pamphlet had a cover which depicted a splotch of blood on it which the CO on the Dance worker's copies (to avoid confusion about what it was). The pamphlet included the threat that DANCe close down in 24 hours or else.

Keeping in mind that other CO opponents have endured late night visits, the probability exists that the CO was behind the fire bombings. The reference to the fire bombing is put forth as a probability, a description that even very careful people in the Twin Cities would not have any problem with.

As far as presenting more factual material, you must understand that more papers, newsheets, etc. have been generated by the coop struggle than most people can

consume here. We didn't want to duplicate this too much. There is also a certain amount of common knowledge which the article takes as a given. As a primarily local newsletter this seems appropriate.

For others reading from a distance this no doubt is a disadvantage.

The question of class is important. The one-dimensional description of the coops by the CO as serving only the petit-bourgeoisies is inaccurate. Much of the coop's business comes from young declassé people who are being proletarianized by the economic depression. Another significant user of the coops are older persons on fixed incomes. Young working class people patronize the coops regularly. The huge majority of coop participants are wage-slaves. It should be noted that many non-CO marxist-leninists have been in sharp disagreement with the CO's use of class (labeling this and that person a class enemy because by definition an opponent of the working class' vanguard party (read CO) can only be that) and have been participants in the removal of CO presence from several area coops in the past two weeks. Criticizing other coops is much easier than running them, as the CO found out. Neighborhood people have thrown the CO out in two of the three they held and removed their partial presence in another. The CO has not had any

## letters, cont

support from the masses they claim to speak for or the geographic neighborhood they have operated in (except possibly in their remaining store, the Beanery).

It should also be noted that Peoples Warehouse had begun the extensive cultivation of accounts with capitalist health food stores. After using the "food perists" as whipping persons for so long, it is more than ironic that it was rip-off, upper-middle class and above health nut stores that the CO embraced.

It is also clear that both sides are anti-capitalist. Enclosed is a recent paper with some discussion of class and the CO's use of it.

I just reread the Rules article with your criticism in mind. The ridicule in the article seems directed towards left infighting while the real enemy is ignored. The article was originally written to help diffuse a potentially violent situation. I typed the camera ready copy up on this article and did do some cleaning up of the grammar. I think you are right in saying the grammar gets in the way of the piece. As a literary device I'm not sure it is necessarily classist, but we ought not to indulge in printing articles that might be construed as that. Upon rereading, I thought the values of solidarity and commonality had not been made light of. I don't view the article as a whole as a humorous piece at all, only having some humorous moments. The first paragraph in the second column on page 5 is serious (as I read it) and in its way, sensitive to precisely those things (commonality and solidarity).

Your distance from the struggle in our city gives you enough space to judge free of experiencing CO attacks. As such your thoughts may be more even-tempered and we would do well to listen closely. I am glad you wrote and we will be happy to print the letter in Soil if that is your intention. On the other hand, the



patience of anti-CO people has worn thin here. In many ways it is a dangerous time because the CO is losing in the coops. They have recently threatened to kill two people (conveniently labeled police agents by them) and recently an internal CO circular had its contents leaked (by a CO member) to the opposition. The circular was a discussion of whether to off a lawyer representing the Policy Review Board of People's Warehouse.

The articles in Vol.2 No. 2 came out of this intense struggle, a fact that must be taken into account in judging them. In this regard (since you cite her as an example), you might be interested to know that Fluffy Golod authored a scathing attack on the CO calling on the Left in town to vigorously ostracize the CO. The leaflet was titled "Shun 'Em-Ban 'Em".

I no doubt have not fully discussed the questions and criticisms you raised in your letter. I invite further discussion. After so much anonymous literature here, the anonymity of your letter makes me uneasy. How many are "some a & lib." and who are they? I think the collective might be reluctant to print the letter not knowing who it is from.

Yours for the works,

What Hong

P.S. Personally, I'm sceptical about the revolutionary potential of any coop system. Coops and their functions are not acts of expropriation (not even slow acts of expropriation). Building a workers movement in the capitalist sector of the economy aimed at taking over workplaces and industries seem much more promising.

What's letter was slightly corrected as printed here. In the reply from Des Moines, they gave their names and said the factor of distance might be the problem. They thought it would be good to be able to discuss the whole situation at the Midwest Anarchist Communication and Organizing Conference to be held in Des Moines over the Memorial Day weekend.

## letters, cont.

Dear Anarchist Folk,

Thanks for the recent issue of Soil of Liberty. I am both pleased and impressed by the quality of the publication; it is long on analysis and short on rhetoric, which is exactly the combination I've been looking for. I especially liked Ms. Golod's article, which I thought to be as good on second reading as it was when I first heard it at the Anarchist-Feminist Conference. Her analysis is clear, lucid, and free from rhetoric; I hope I can look forward to more such articles.

My recent experiences with Soil of Liberty and with the anarchist and anarchist-feminist conferences, have made important contributions to my life. Since my days of quasi-leadership in the anti-war movement, I have lived in a kind of self-imposed exile from radical politics- from the mindless, empty Marxist-Leninist rhetoric that befuddles more than it clarifies; from pompous radicals who see the world through preconceived categories and concepts, and who can't see real people or real problems, only walking ideological specters; and from people who claim to have easy answers to complex questions. The ideas of anarchist-feminism seem to present an alternative to all that, and I am eagerly exploring it.

One of Ms. Golod's suggestions that deserves particular attention is, I believe, her call for a more "hard-headed" anarchism, one that can help us rid ourselves of the label of being "sweet but ineffectual." Most major anarchist theorists, notably Kropotkin, Bakunin, Proudhon, Goldman and Berkman, base their anarchism on some version of natural law theory. That is, they claim that there is a basic content to human nature, that it is fundamentally good or harmonious, and that anarchism is therefore a "natural" arrangement. Such claims to have discovered the true content to "human nature" are useless and empty, for two reasons: (1) because they try to cram the multi-dimensional, complex process of human experience into fixed and static categor-

ies, and (2) because such claims are unverifiable- that is, they cannot be demonstrated to be true and must be accepted on faith. While I realize the necessity of accepting certain aspects of experience on faith, I am not convinced that the argument about "good" versus "bad" human nature is the place to start with such assumptions.

I therefore suggest that a way of developing a more "hard-headed" anarchism would be to search for a theoretical basis for anarchism that can avoid the

debilitating assumptions and effects of natural law theory. I suggest that such a basis might be found in the theoretical writings of the existentialists. One of the basic tenets of existentialism is that there is no "human nature" as such; rather, there is human experience, the ongoing process of human activity in which human beings create themselves and construct their world. Anarchism could then be seen as one possibility which people might choose as a way of ordering their lives. This approach drops the scientific pretensions to which anarchists have sometimes fallen away; it is both intellectually and morally honest, in that it offers anarchism as an ethical and political alternative, rather than as a "truth".

There is certain limited historical precedent for such an approach in the writings of Max Stirner. Stirner avoided natural law theory entirely and grounded his anarchism on his claim to "ownness"- that is, on his claim to be the creator, author, and controller of himself. His splendid attacks on the State, the Church, and the schools, on ethical and philosophical systems of thought, are grounded on his claim to liberate himself from such "fixed ideas" which enslave us to definitions of self which others impose. Although Stirner's use of property-oriented language, and his occasional tendency to praise free-market competition are somewhat disconcerting, his main thrust is toward an anarchism based on personal choice rather than natural law.

These suggestions obviously only skim the surface of complex theoretical issues, but I put them forward for whatever they are worth, and would welcome comments and criticisms.

Vencuemos,  
Kathy E. Ferguson

# STATUS OF S-1

It appears as if Senate Bill S-1 is dead for this year, despite attempts by Ted Kennedy to push for a compromise settlement with the reactionary Senators Hruska and McClelland in the Senate Judiciary Committee. Senate liberals Kennedy, Hart and Abourezk have 23 key demands that they want changed in S-1 and on March 25th the reactionaries agreed to 14 of them, either wholly or in part. Sections they agreed to drop included the reintroduction of the death penalty and the Smith Act, federal penalties for possession of up to one-third ounce of marijuana, and some wiretap provisions.

And Kennedy is now pushing hard for more negotiations to reach a compromise on this "law'n order" bill, probably because he feels pressure from the right in Massachusetts due to his stands on abortion and busing.

There is, of course, widespread opposition to S-1 and many adhoc coalitions to stop S-1 entirely have been organized around the country. It is for this reason that S-1 has been stalled in committee and would likely be dead if not for liberal attempts to compromise.

The American Civil Liberties Union has specified more than 2000 separate changes needed to bring S-1 into conformity with the Constitution. The ACLU has its own draft of a new criminal code which has been introduced into the House.

Efforts against S-1 should continue because it is likely that because of Kennedy's efforts, the bill will again be brought up next year or in the "lame-duck" session of Congress after the November elections.

The above material was drawn from the May 10th issue of the Michigan Free Press. As an example of the incidious and far reaching repressive aspects of S-1, we present the following article on S-1's anti-labor aspects. It is quite probably not one of the sections that is under negotiation to be dropped.



## S-1's Anti-Labor Provisions

BILL BLUM

In the left press coverage given to Senate Bill S-1 thus far, attention has focused on a specific set of repressive provisions set forth by the bill. What has not yet come to light, however, is an ultra-reactionary section of the Act which is aimed specifically at the American labor movement.

The provision is section 1722 of the 753-page bill. If passed, it would give the FBI jurisdiction over virtually every labor strike in the country. The section accomplishes this horror by expanding the scope of the 1937 Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Act, which makes it a federal crime (specifically, extortion) to obtain property from another, "with his consent...by the wrongful use of actual or threatened force, violence or fear...." The Act makes that crime punishable by a fine of \$10,000 and/or imprisonment of up to twenty years.

During the Nixon period, the federal government tried to use the Hobbs Act to prosecute certain members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers who had been involved in a vio-



lent strike against the Gulf States Utility Company in Louisiana. Although the purpose of the strike was purely legal (aimed at securing higher wages through a new collective bargaining agreement), the government charged the defendants with extortion as defined under Hobbs.

In 1973, the prosecution came before the Supreme Court in the case of *US v Enmons* (410 US 396). In the case, the government argued that since wages are the property of the employer, strike violence to obtain such property falls within the literal proscriptions of the Act. Luckily for the entire working class, the Court disagreed. In its judgement, the Hobbs Act, applied only to violence aimed at some "wrongful" purpose, but not to violence used in connection with legitimate union objectives, such as higher wages. The wrongfulness of the means employed in an otherwise legitimate strike was a matter that should have been left to state law.

The key to the Supreme Court's holding was the presence of the word "wrongful" in the Hobbs Act. It is precisely this work, however, which section 1722 of S-1 deletes from the Hobbs Act. As S-1 stands now, a person is guilty of extortion if he/she obtains the "property of another by force or by threatening or placing another person in fear that...any property will be damaged." Since practically every labor strike involves some actual or threatened force (or at the very least places the employer in fear of some property damage), S-1 could subject workers to federal prosecution whenever they walk out on their jobs and set up picket lines. The bill would also have the consequence of directly involving the FBI in policing disputes between workers and their employers.

When section 1722 is viewed in conjunction with S-1's provisions on the Smith Act, the death penalty, riots, wiretapping and public demonstrations, it is difficult to see the bill as anything less than a class-conscious attempt to lay the legislative foundations for fascism in the United States. Taken as a whole, the bill would outlaw virtually all forms of political dissidence (including Third World and feminist protest) as well as genuine expressions of labor militancy. The sponsors of

S-1 appear to understand quite clearly that American capitalism is in a grave international and domestic crisis and that the system can no longer afford to buy off and assimilate unrest with massive deficit spending and promises of ever-rising standards of living (witness all the budget cutbacks in New York and Washington, and the high rate of unemployment.)

The task of the left in the present situation is fairly clear. The left must continue to expose S-1 and to oppose its enactment in any form. Specifically, the left must continue to build local coalitions against the bill, with the aim of uniting for a national march on Washington when and if the bill comes up for a final vote in the House. One of the key elements in building local coalitions is securing more broad-based participation by the labor movement. An important step toward that end is publicity work around the anti-labor section 1722. As stated at the outset of this article, that section remains relatively unfamiliar at this time.

Excerpted from Win Magazine

## more anarchist publications

HAPOTOC, P.O. Box 10638, Amsterdam, Holland  
Aids class war prisoners and puts out a monthly newsletter and some good mimeograph pamphlets. Donation to cover international mail rates and costs.

Synthesis, P.O. Box 1858, San Pedro, Calif. 90733  
Second issue has very useful compilation of anti-authoritarian left groups, bookstores, publications etc. \$2

Fifth Estate, 4403 Second, Detroit, MI 48201  
Monthly newspaper. \$3

Black Circles, Box 405, West Somerville, Mass. 02144  
\$2 for 4 issues

SRAP Bulletin for Anarchist Agitators  
SRAP Print Co-op, Box 4091, Mountain View, California 94040 \$3

make is that anytime people occupy a role analogous to the police function, the police will tend to become authoritarian. Sibley's answer is that the police must be closely watched and controlled.

Others would say that the police function should be done on a neighborhood or community basis. In south Minneapolis there have been 17 block clubs for crime control brought together by Sabathani Community Center. The director, Kay Williams, said that "the biggest problem to overcome is people being isolated and not knowing their neighbors." Each block decides what level of activity they are going to operate on--from just watching out for each other to organized pairs of people walking the block. There are some other projects around town and I have heard of a very extensive project in Philadelphia.

Another aspect of the policing phenomena is the police-sanctioned citizen crime-watch car patrol going on now in NE Mpls. I don't know whether they come out of some right-wing cowboy vigilante tradition in the Charles Bronson or "Taxi cab" syndrome or is just a good example of concerned citizen activity.

#### C.O. Use of Police

Strangely enough, the C.O. was very self-righteous over a several month period about the use of police against them. But they too, had made use of the state. Last Fall, they had the armed robber of Selby coop (then C.O. controlled) arrested and he is now serving a 1-10 year sentence in Stillwater. The week of Jan. 11-16, the C.O. was putting out a leaflet not only calling on support by progressive police officers, but also calling on the right-wing, former police lieutenant mayor of Mpls. to investigate an alleged relationship between an alleged dope-dealing coordinator at Mill City and the police closing the store the previous week. It was as if some dealer had the police on the take and could snap his fingers and six squad cars would appear. The whole allegation is despicable at best. And then, one week later, a new C.O. front appeared--

The People's Front to Repress Police Repression, but no one paid any attention to it. The C.O. actually did have a meeting with mayor Stenvig, although no one has ever found out what happened and C.O. members will often deny the meeting.

Also, the C.O. manager at Powderhorn called the police during the shop-in conducted by the non-CO forces of Powderhorn to assert their right to be involved with the running of the store. The shop-in was a creative endeavor whereby people paid their money for food to an alternative cash register that was set up in the store. It was part of the economic boycott of the store that was so successful that on one day only \$24 of business was rung up, instead of the usual \$3-500.

And finally, at the same time that the C.O. was attacking Mill City and Seward, C.O. members and coordinators from Powderhorn, were secretly filing incorporation papers for Mill City and Seward, trying to sneak in the back door as well as storm in the front. Nothing ever came of this since Seward was already incorporated and Mill City quickly moved to do so.

(Altho in early April the C.O. posted a leaflet in the Mill City neighborhood offering people jobs at the coop. They made it seem as if they were the board of directors--a very cruel joke in a poor neighborhood.)



## Incorporation

One of the reasons for coops incorporating is to establish a solid legal base. As Ed Plaster put it in the Powderhorn newsletter, if the coops incorporate "within a structure explicitly designed for our type of store, we are less vulnerable to legal attack from outside institutions like Red Owl or the state; or from takeover attempts and corporate raiding by groups of individuals." The trick is not to let the structure required by the state mandate a hierarchial form of operation for the store.

It was for this reason at the Mill City incorporation that many anarchists were concerned about not letting the required board of directors become the central committee of the coop. The idea was for the board to be as much as possible a legal formalism and to have the decisions made by the members.

However, I feel a working board is much more necessary for DANCE warehouse because there the difficulty of gathering the member stores into a workable directorship is insurmountable. Many people were disappointed when one major decision, vitally affecting all member coops, was made without consulting the coops at all. The board decided to stop all credit to the stores, making bills payable upon delivery, and demanded 5% of the yearly gross bought from the warehouse by each store. Some persons on the board regretted the process, but would try and justify it as an emergency situation because of critical need for money. DANCE is undercapitalized and is experiencing a rapid increase in each month's gross volume. There are those in the community who want this issue to be discussed further and there will probably be a meeting soon to deal with it.

The struggle over the last year has pointed out that fighting sectarians can turn one into a sectarian unless one is careful. There is a psychology that develops from being involved in what amounts to small-scale warfare for over a year. People get worn down, especially at some of the stores that have been under constant attack. People have been jumpy and the police have been called a

number of times since the first time, tho for minor incidents.

The pity of this whole affair has been that of all this contention at the wrong level. So much energy was diverted away from issues that needed to have been dealt with here more fully. Some examples are agitational work around S-1, the movie "Snuff", developments in welfare and daycare, foreign policy issues like Angola and U.S. threatening Cuba, etc. In a recent pamphlet by the C.O., the writer wondered who the non-C.O. people "thought their worst enemy was-- the C.O. or monopoly-state-capitalism." For many it would be a toss-up, because to allow or condone authoritarianism or gangsterism would be just as harmful for movement as repression by the state. Or more harmful because it would have sapped the vitality and strength we need for the long haul.

Except for a disgusting leaflet put out on May 7th, the C.O. has been relatively quiet over the last month. With their economic program in a shambles and a growing isolation, it is now wonder they so easily let go of control at the PW, Selby and Powderhorn. On April 4th the C.O. not only dissolved itself (for the third time), but also reached a new low--even for them. Death threats were made against two of their opponents that they declared to be police agents. One is a long-time coop worker and the other someone they hired to be the business manager at the PW. He had charged the C.O. with siphoning off thousands of dollars from the PW and investigations are now going on to determine whether the near bankruptcy of PW (as well as Selby) was the result of siphoning off or just mismanagement. Little note was taken of the death threats, not only because it was so stupid (how do you find the right word?), but also (perhaps unconsciously) to do so would put the C.O. in the position of having to perversely out do themselves and go beyond mere threats.

This whole affair has pointed out that to achieve a free and just society is difficult and that people have to stick with it when things get a bit heavy. People have also been studying more, examining their ideas and beliefs, trying to get back to just what is it we are trying to create.

FINANCIAL REPORT

Support for Soil of Liberty continues to be good. Since the last issue we have taken in some \$50. We still need more subscriptions. Subs are \$3-\$4. Haymarket Press is again donating their labor to print this issue.

*Aid to Spanish Anarchists*

Haymarket Press has instituted a "tax" of 1% on all printing work to generate funds to aid Spanish anarchists. They will soon be sending \$25 to the Anarchist Black Cross in England. Those who want to add to the fund can do so through :

Haymarket Press  
3121 Park Av So  
Minneapolis, MN 55407



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**Soil Of Liberty**  
**P.O. Box 3840**  
**Loring Station**  
**Mpls, Mn. 55403**

To :

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Revolution is the creation of new living institutions, new groupings, new social relationships. It is the new spirit of justice, of brotherhood, of freedom which must renew the whole of social life, the moral level and the material conditions of the masses by calling on them to provide, through their direct and conscious action, for their own future.

--- Errico Malatesta

There are a surprising number of anarchist-libertarian socialist publications in existence. To increase knowledge of and access to these publications, a list of some of them is found below, with addresses and subscription rates.

Black Flag, 83 A, Haverstock Hill, London N.W. 3, England. Monthly. \$12

Black Flag of Anarchy, Solidarity Collective, RWC 3 S., Room 346, Bristol, R.I. 02809  
An occasional newsletter with short articles and news on class-war prisoners. SASE

Anarchy, 29 Grosvenor Ave., London, N5 England.

Black Star, Box 92246, Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202  
Publication of Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation. \$3 for 6 issues

Anarchist Black Hammer, Box 171 Stockton, California 95201 \$3

The Match! P.O. Box 3488, Tucson, Ariz. 85722  
Monthly newspaper. \$3



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