

vol.1 no.2



BLACK STAR



AN
ANARCHIST
REVIEW

essentials

This is the second issue in a project being carried out by the Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation. Black Stars' purpose is to develop a vehicle for the dissemination of Anarchist ideas and actions. Printing of Black Star is done in an Anarchist fashion and is the product of the SRAF Federation.

Black Star is put together by various SRAF groups around the country. Each participating group has sole responsibility for what is on the pages they lay out. The pages are allotted in advance of the issue by way of discussion in the BULLPROD, an internal correspondence bulletin of Sraf, dealing specifically with Black Star. The address of the Bullprod is;

BULLPROD
1815 18th Ave.
Seattle, Washington
98122

Individuals that wish to write for Black Star should mail their contributions to which ever participating Sraf group they wish. Each group is free to print or not print anything they see fit. Black Star would like to hear about things of interest that are going on in your area.

Articals and such are coming in faster and are of better quality then ever before. Our only problem now is money. The Black Star could be out much more often if people sent the money in faster, though everyone is being very generous now. Mailing costs are scheduled to increase right after this issue. We need your donations, graphics, articles and money are all appreciated.

We of Milwaukee Sraf would like to thank all of the people of all of the groups who were so patient with us while we learned how to put a paper together. The next issue will be put together (that is, pages put in order and indexed) by a different group, as is in keeping with our editorial process. We hope the next group has the same good experiences we had, and can avoid some of the mistakes we made.

Thank you one and all,
Milwaukee SRAF

NOTICE

Black Stars' adress has been changed due to a move by the Post Office. The new adress is;

BLACK STAR
92246 P.O. Box
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

BLACK STAR is a member of A.P.S.

RATES

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INDEX

cover Milwaukee Sraf	
business page Milwaukee Sraf	page 2
whole anarchy catalog, Cook County Sraf	page 3
rape rebuttal, Susan Gilmore Dean Selock, C.C. Sraf	page 4
there is no such thing as a good government, Joffre Stewart	page 23
C.C. Sraf	
the role of the intellectual in a class society, Glen Meridith	page 11
C.C. Sraf	
the june 1975 hunter conference: an evaluation, Jay Amrod,	page 12
Mil, Sraf	
workers control, Rob Rossi, Mountain View Sraf,	page 14
the old skid road, Louise Crowley, Seattle 2 Sraf	page 16
the prostitutes revolt in france, Jeff Stein, C.C. Sraf	page 18
poetry, Dan Stephen Krauss, Mil. Sraf	page 22
Questions, Mt. View Sraf	page 9
campus free speech, Red Jose, Mt View Sraf	page 25
two reviews, Jim Bumpus, Mt View Sraf	page 27
agitational materials, Mt View Sraf	page 29
plant parenthood, MiMi, C.C. Sraf	page 30
declaration of sraf membership list, Mil Sraf	page 31
back page, Mil Sraf	page 32

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THE WHOLE ANARCHY CATALOG



LITERATA

The purpose of the Whole Anarchy Catalog is to make agitators aware of various resources which might be useful to them. If you know of any books, pamphlets, leaflets, films, records, etc., which could be of assistance to others, write to: Whole Anarchy Catalog c/o Cook County SRAF, apt. 3N, 1746 W. Winnemac, Chicago, Illinois 60640.

SOME BOOKS

Fields, Factories, and Workshops Tomorrow, Peter Kropotkin, edited by Colin Ward, (New York: Harper & Row, 1974 paperback costs \$3.45

Classic anarchist work on the need for the integration of industry and agriculture, intellectual and manual work. Ward has edited out much of Kropotkin's original supporting statistical work in order to emphasize the book's central themes. He has also added some material which helps to bring it up to date. This call for decentralization of industry takes on a new significance in light of the current environmental crisis.

Root & Branch: The Rise of the Workers' Movements, edited by Root & Branch (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1975) paperback costs \$2.25.

Problems and prospects facing an autonomous workers' movement in the United States. Anthology of many thought provoking articles by such authors as Jeremy Brecher, Paul Mattick and Katherine Stone, also a reprint of Anton Pannekoek's "Workers' Councils".

As part of the Whole Anarchy Catalog, a survey of various literature distributors will be included from time to time, covering the type of material they carry and a note on the kind of service one can expect. It is hoped that such information will be useful to anyone interested in setting up literature tables, study groups, or just in a little recreational reading. To start off there follows a survey on Friends of Malatesta.

Distributor: Friends of Malatesta
Address: Box 72, Bidwell Station, Buffalo, N.Y. 14222

Type of literature carried: Mostly pamphlets
Subject Matter: Heavy emphasis on early and native american philosophy (Indians, Thoreau, etc.). Also reprints of works by Malatesta, Goldman and Bookchin.

Quality of Service: Very good. Also fast mailing.
Sampling of Material:

The Parts Are All Around Us, Bob Dickens

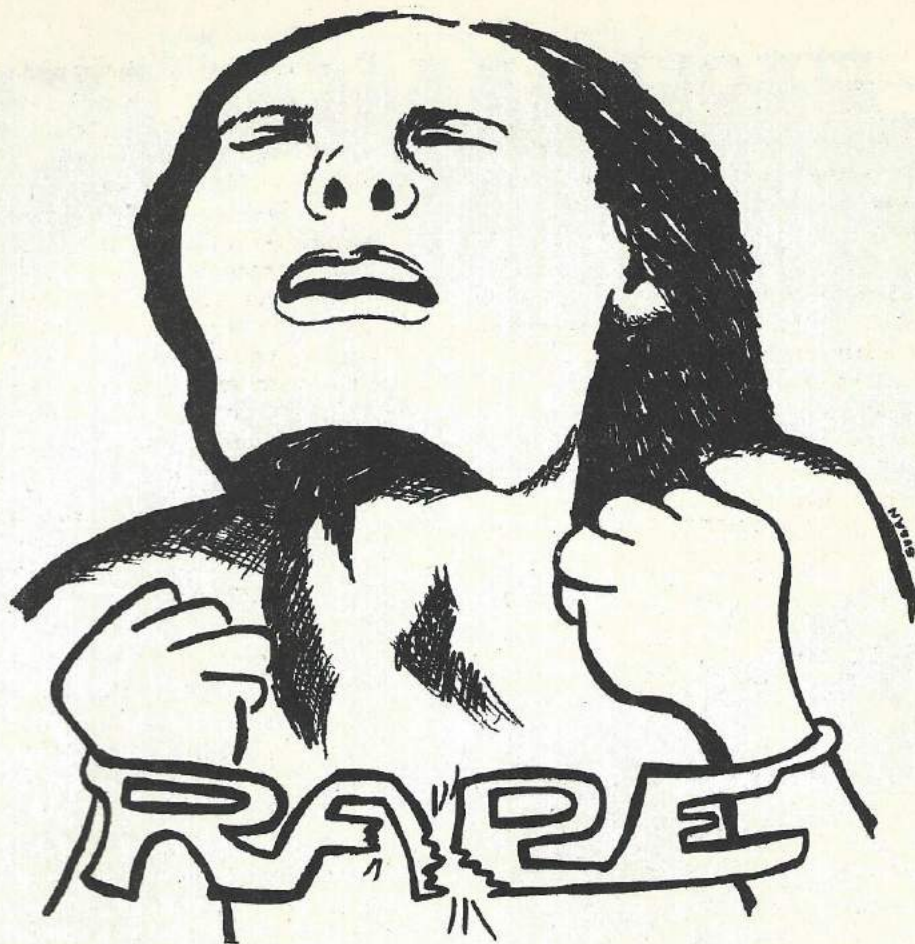
Dickens makes the observation that the resources necessary for a free society presently exist but need to be recombined in order to achieve it. A truly revolutionary society, he feels must combine tribal, communal and natural aspects into a new whole. Costs 35¢

Synthesis Is Our Only Possibility, Bob Dickens

In the second part of "The Parts Are All Around Us", Dickens describes the process in which tribal, communal and natural aspects can be combined. Costs 35¢

The Last American Frontier-Education, by Maxwell Primack,

Primack points out how "frontiers" played an important role as a safety valve for working class aspirations. The last of these he argues, was higher education. This frontier has been recently exhausted (resulting in the oversupply of college graduates). His hypotheses is that the new tensions created will stimulate the struggle for an alternative social order. Costs 53¢



REBUTTAL

Although this article was originally designed as a rebuttal to Jim Bumpas' "Rape A Crime?" article in the previous issue of **BLACK STAR**, it is our intention to write our reply in such a way that anyone unfamiliar with the last issue will not suffer any loss of understanding. Although we too will be referring primarily to rape victims throughout our article as women, we must make mention of the fact that men can also be raped (usually by other men), and this is especially true in almost every known prison and in many mental institutions. In fact, another article is being planned that will deal with the "rape problem" within these institutions.

As for Bumpas' poorly planned article, it seems that his intention was actually to explain (or rather, to debunk) the myth of the authoritarian concept of crime, by exposing the sociological foundations of crime and then indicating how a libertarian socialist society could virtually eliminate almost all of the abuses which people presently perpetrate upon one another. But rather than focusing most of his energies upon this myth of crime (and its corollary: law and order, at any cost), Bumpas tries to "use" rape as the main subject, rather than simply as another supporting example in his total analysis. The contention that rape is induced and supported by present

day society, and that its elimination can only be brought about by a libertarian restructuring of society itself, is a valid conclusion.

However, while he describes the causative conditions accurately and points the way towards its future vindication, he offers no currently viable recourse for the victims of rape, in place of the last resort of succumbing to "the humiliating position of having to look to her repressor for help after rape". For the here and now, Jim's primary solution seems to be for women to wait for and work toward a revolutionary culture which will wipe out sexism and other factors which contribute to the incidence of rape. But

Once again, women are put in the submissive role of "waiting game" rather than taking direct action for their own survival. After all, people (especially women) will not automatically be guaranteed total freedom from rape by a promised revolution, and waiting for this supposedly freer future seems to boil down to the almost religious credo of "you'll get pie in the sky when you die". This is unacceptable to most women, and rightly so! We anarchists should not find this difficult to comprehend. Women who are fighting to liberate their lives from both the threat the immediate question remains: Where are the solutions for the woman who gets raped today?

and the actuality of rape are deserving of our support now under the conditions that exist today.

Furthermore, Bumpas' theorizing that rape is not a "crime" is especially unfortunate and certainly untimely in light of the sensitive and explosive subject that rape has become. Consider for the moment the following information:

Major crimes over all were 6 percent fewer in Chicago the first five reporting periods of this year than they were for the same span in 1971.

Rape is the most rapidly increasing, according to the charts. It is up 5.8 percent over the previous reporting period this year, and up 16.5 percent over the same period last year, and up 15.1 percent on the cumulative chart.*



With this or similar information bearing heavily upon the minds of most socially conscious women, for one to say (and particularly in the first sentence of the article) that "Rape is not a crime" is an illogical and sensationalizing way to begin discussing a very complicated and delicate issue. Also, Bumpas' article is especially discouraging because it flies in the face of recent attempts by people to stop rape by 1) exposing the extent of the problem by encouraging every rape victim to report the incident (it is estimated that 2 out of every 3 rapes are not reported; some estimates go as high as 9 out of 10), and 2) getting the rapist off the streets where he cannot harm others.

By treating the rapists (even in abstraction) as if they were the victims results in an atmosphere where rape is considered a "free crime"; a crime which can be indulged in freely without much fear of disclosure, let alone prosecution. Appreciating rape intellectually as a result of a repressed, sexist society does not excuse an act which violates the dignity and freedoms of another being. Bumpas says that we must not "condemn the rapist to the futile (for him and everybody else) experience of arrest and imprisonment". And we too deplore such circumstances, realizing that they constitute merely a transference of the problem to the smaller even more repressed community in prison, and is by no means

the real solution. But, an ideal solution is only available in an ideal society, and Bumpas' contention that "imprisoning him....will not prevent one rape" is simplistically erroneous, at least as far as his potential victims are concerned.

Given the rather obvious fact that women, even anarcho-feminists, will not wait for a social revolution to remove the cultural cancer called "rape", anarchists should stop theorizing about rape, which for many women (and men) is anything but theoretical(!), and instead, should act upon the problem of rape with every libertarian tool available. One alternative to having (or attempting to have) a rapist arrested and (possibly) even prosecuted, would be for women, men, and children to seriously learn adequate modes of self-defense. However, even the justified use of self-defense can backfire, as in the case of Joan Little, who has not been the only woman accused (by the state) of "murder" because she sought to protect herself from her attacker.

We are not, however, advocating support of the very legal system which we as anarchists are attempting to overthrow, but simply asking that anarchists not chastise and criticize those whose decision it is to proceed in this way at this time; and to be realistic enough to understand that, in emergency situations, one must adapt to the present conditions (intolerable as they may be) and take action consistent with what is available. At the same time, we must work to overthrow that system and replace it with a more rational and libertarian structure to rehabilitate, rather than punish, the rapist.

It is necessary to begin a dialogue now about what we can do to reduce the possibility of people being raped. One anti-authoritarian method could be a (group) escort service for women working late. Another anti-rape procedure could be a voluntary male-female community security patrol system which would act only if 1) called upon, or 2) upon observing an obvious "crime". Working for this type of communal self-help service would also foster strides towards a libertarian society where people take their lives into their own hands, rather than delegating it to a police state. Another idea might be the scheduling of late night (or overtime) workers leaving office or campus buildings at the same time for their parking lots or the bus stop. A rape telephone crisis line can also be an enormous help, along with these other partial solutions, in a grassroots "war against rape". Such anti-authoritarian activities have the added advantage of shifting the community away from the statist "criminal" court system that Bumpas and we abhor.

cont. →



*AGAINST RAPE by Andra Medea and Kathleen Thompson, 1974; Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York. 152 pages. AGAINST RAPE, subtitled "A Survival Manual For Women: How To Avoid Entrapment, And How To Cope With Rape Physically And Emotionally", is a concise and clear analysis of rape, its causes and some of its solutions.

Rape is a reality. A widespread reality. One that is occurring with increasing frequency within all strata of "American life". For anarchists to propose theoretical solutions to such pressing everyday problems, is to reinforce the already stale statist image that "anarchy and anarchists have no 'practical' alternative methods of social order". The libertarian socialist movement will always leave itself open to such simplistic criticisms whenever we try to stop the machinery of the state by clogging its cogs with our daydreams. The way to stop the state is to develop self-sustaining forms of social organization based upon direct action, mutual aid, and voluntary association. The way for anarchists to help stop rape without police or judicial intervention, is to educate everyone to the true nature and extent of rape, to organize concerned people in the community and on the job to make it more and more difficult for rapes to occur, and if known rapists are not "brought to justice" by the state, then to initiate some type of direct action (e.g., putting social pressure on the rapist by telling the community or fellow workers about said rapist, and/or confronting the rapist and encouraging him to seek psychiatric help). We must also make it clear to potential rapists that future rapes will not be tolerated. Prevention should be our pri-


mary focus; secondly, in the event of a rape occurring, we should work towards developing a far more sane and humane method than prison for dealing with the rapist.

We must understand the sociological reasons for rape, of course; dig out the root of the problem and correct it, certainly. But meanwhile, our energies would be spent more effectively, not by excusing rapists, but by supporting and encouraging the fight against the indignity of rape. And if that fight against rape uses whatever currently available means necessary (even if via the state), let us not turn our backs on this just cause, merely because it "is not libertarian enough". Instead, anarchists should join forces with women and men already engaged in this struggle, and thereby strengthen the numerous libertarian aspects already present in the anti-rape (and women's) movement(s). This, in turn, will reinforce the anarchic prospects of a social revolution some day (soon), as well as finding the most anti-authoritative solution that is presently available for ending the social illness called rape.

susan
gilmore

&

dean
selock



But because it was the very world it was, the very world they had allowed it to become, for months his activities did not come to the alarmed attention of The Ones Who Kept The Machine Functioning Smoothly, the ones who poured the very best butter over the cams and mainsprings of the culture. Not until it became obvious that somehow, somehow, he had become a notoriety, a celebrity, perhaps even a hero for (what Officialdom inescapably tagged) "an emotionally disturbed part of the populace, "did they then turn it over to the Ticktockman and his legal machinery. But by then, because it was the very world it was, and they had no way to predict he would happen -- possibly a strain of disease long-defunct, now, suddenly, reborn in a system where immunity had been forgotten, had lapsed-- he had been allowed to become too real. Now he had form and substance.

He had become a personality, something they had filtered out of the system many decades before. But there it was, and there he was, a very definite imposing personality. In certain circles -- middle-class circles -- it was, thought disgusting. Vulgar ostentation. Anarchistic. In other circles, there was only snickering, those strata where thought was subjugated to form and ritual, niceties, proprieties. But down below, ah, down below, ... he was considered a Bolivar; a Robin Hood.

And at the top -- where, like socially attuned Shipwrecked Kellys, every tremor and vibration threatened to dislodge the wealthy, powerful and titled from their flagpoles -- he was considered a menace, a heretic; a rebel. He was known down the line, to the very heartmeat core, but the most important reactions were high above and far below.

So his file was turned over, along with his time card and his cardioplate, to the office of the Ticktockman.

*excerpted from *Alone Against Tomorrow*,
by Harlan Ellison, p. 110

SUSAN

Precautions to Keep in Mind *

On the street

Be familiar with your own limitations.

Be familiar with your own frequently used route. (Look at it through new eyes - notice lighting, alleys, abandoned buildings, and street people.) Have a place you consider safe if you feel you are being followed—a place where you could either make a stand or reassure yourself that you are not being followed.

If you come home late, vary your route.

Carrying Mace is recommended while you are walking, but we suggest that a road flare be carried in your car. You drive many places you would never consider going on foot, and a road flare will get you out of almost anything.

Whatever you carry, be familiar with it. Practice using it a few times before you start carrying it. You'll feel better.

Always carry enough money for an emergency whenever you go out.

Develop a way of carrying your weapon so that it won't be forgotten at home. Leave it in a jacket pocket or on your belt.

Dress sanely.

While waiting for public transportation, keep your back against a wall.

If you're going somewhere in a city you aren't familiar with, check a map. Know where you're going and don't look lost.

In large parking lots, write down your position so you can go straight back to your car.

Look in your back seat before you get into your car. Try to use the Laundromat in the daytime or early evening.

Use a grocery cart for laundry or many packages. You make a good mark when your arms are full.



Apartment Living

A person with a key in his hand does not necessarily live in your building. Wait until he opens the front door himself. If a man is coming into the building behind you, pull the locked front door shut behind you, even if it will be obvious to him that you are shutting him out. He'll understand, or, if he doesn't, you were justified.

A visitor who has "just rung the bell" should be allowed to wait to see if his friend is home. Once you open your door, go inside immediately. Don't leave it half open.

If you live in an elevator building, before you step on the elevator make sure it has not been summoned to the roof or the basement.


Don't get on an elevator occupied solely by a man. If there are other passengers who get off the elevator, except for one man you don't know, get off with them and wait for another car. If you are alone on the elevator and a strange man (or group of men) gets on and you feel uncomfortable, get off. Manually controlled elevators are without a doubt a difficult part of maintaining personal safety. Use your judgement.

You can force your landlord to install a good lock. It is preferable to have a dead-bolt lock, a chain, as well as a peephole.

Window locks should be set so that there isn't room for even a small child to crawl through.

There may be a statute allowing you to keep a dog for protection even though your lease doesn't permit it. When you have safeguarded your home, go outside and see if there isn't some way you can break in. Do your best to bring your life back to the way you want to live.

*from AGAINST RAPE by Medea & Thompson



"The very existence of the State demands that there be some privileged class vitally interested in maintaining that existence. And it is precisely the group interests of that class that are called patriotism."

Michael Bakunin, 1869

Friends at BLACK STAR,

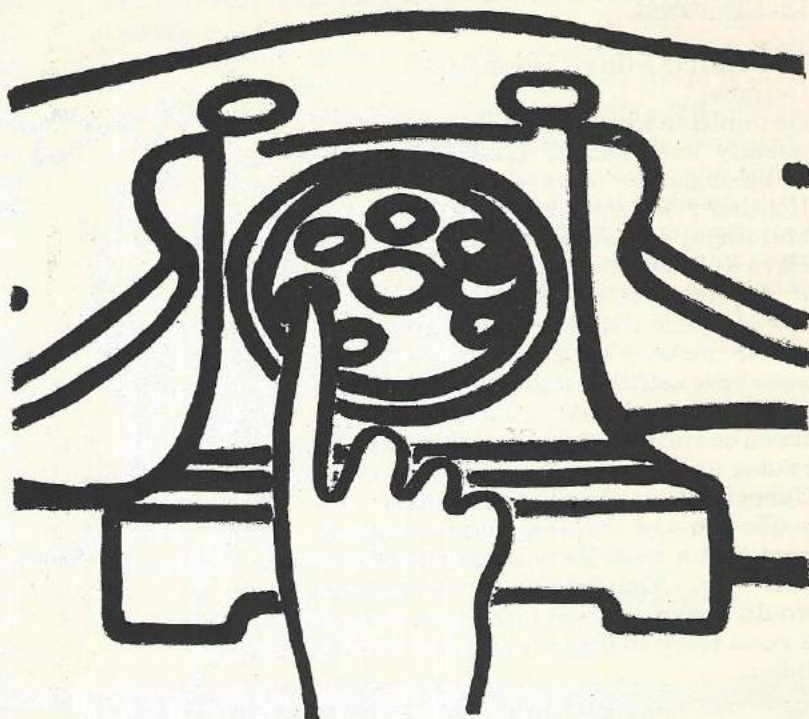
BLACK MARKET has been sending Anarchist literature free to prisoners for six months thanks to local people and a radical bookstore who provided lit. at cost. More prisoners are asking for lit. and the bookstore is being less sympathetic as it's mainly concerned with keeping its shelves stocked with Mao-fidel-mary-lenin-engels-trotsky-stalin.

We need help in the form of Anarchist Literature you may have access to, new and used, and extra bucks always help to buy books and pamphlets specifically requested by prisoners.

If you can, please send help or suggestions to

BLACK MARKET
PO. BOX 306
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
02139

Thank you friends,
Tom Flittle



Our Dream Could Come True

Would you be happier if everything that you wanted was free? Would you be willing to work for free if that would give you a Free System? What is it like to work as a volunteer with other volunteers? Would anyone own property, industry or natural resources if they couldn't make a profit from them? Would we as volunteers (even kids and old folks) be warmly welcomed into all places of work, because the more workers they have the less hours everyone will need to work? Could we then use our creativity to make our work fun and fulfilling? Would we discontinue doing jobs that we could see were useless? With housing, food, work and everything being free for everyone, what would happen to our parent-child and to our man-woman relationships? Will we continue to place more value on things than on people? Will we have a need for competition or governments when we are cooperating? Just think of all the good things that will happen when we start doing for people instead of for profit. Couldn't we change over to this Free System as soon as enough people know about it and want it? Would you like to help get the Free System started? Is there anything that you could do to help spread the word?

Reprinting Permissible vons

WARNING !

A recent California appellate case decided in favor of the telephone company where they tapped the line of a phone phreak and used the evidence in court.

We know the phone company has been practicing this invasion of your privacy for quite a while, but now the law says they will not be prevented when they are doing it to protect their 'property', i.e., their right to see that you are billed for every phone call you make.

The technology of their automated switching equipment is what has made blue boxes so popular for making phree phone calls. Rather than seek a technological correction for their own error (which is too expensive: read unprofitable), instead they seek to expand the surveillance and repression of the state apparatus. The phone company is trying now to have this California interpretation accepted in other states. Act now to resist this imposition!

-- Jim Bumpas



The following is excerpted from Libero International No. 2 (C.P.O. Box 1065, Kobe, Japan 650-91). The article by our Japanese comrades, entitled "Where We're At", raises the question of critical support for marxist-led national liberation movements in Asia. Their conclusion is that we as anarchists should support such movements. Since this has also been a widely discussed question on this continent, we present this discussion for your consideration.

★
★★

"For the past two centuries or so, Asian history has been the constant casualty of successive rewriting attempts. First came the Western imperialists, under whose guiding hand educated Asians came to date the birth of their history and culture to the day when the 'long ships' etc. first appeared on the horizon. The mental distortions which this myth created kept the great mass of the Asian peoples in check for more than a century (with few exceptions, such as the Korean anarchist/nationalist historian, Shin Chae-ho).

"Nationalism, much maligned though it is, was the strongest weapon with which to fight the corrupt, semi-feudal regimes foisted upon the people by their colonial-educated elites and their white masters. Stifled in the beginning by the subtle process of cultural imperialism (recently displayed in the carrying-off of Vietnamese babies to the US), it found a voice in the post-Lenin program for colonial liberation. However, instead of freely encouraging nationalist feelings, this program ultimately subordinated them to a precisely mapped-out future. 'Nationalism' meant 'bourgeois nationalism', through which the aspirations of the great mass of the people were again stifled in the interests of the Kremlin.

"The corollary to all this was that, just as the pre-liberation history of the peoples of Asia began with their colonization by Western imperialism, so the history of their struggle for liberation began with the founding of the CPs in each country. China, Korea, Indochina--all are victims of this process. Before the event, there was only chaos; from that time the light shines at the end of the tunnel. All ruling elites, in Asia as elsewhere, seek to justify and whitewash their acquisition of power, fearing the avenging wrath of history.

QUESTIONS

Thus Asian history, already one re-written, was re-re-written--yet still with a view to obscuring the truth in the name of pre-ordained destiny. The Asian anarchists were but a tiny minority of those affected by these successive master-plans for cultural/political hegemony, yet their experience was typical. What we'll be trying to do in Libero International is, among other things, to set the historical record straight, to document the role of the Asian peoples themselves in their fight for freedom and dignity. 'To protect the future' means to destroy the myth that only thru the all-seeing eye of the CP can Asians view the road ahead. 'Opening up the past' means showing that the Asian peoples existed long before the imperialists arrived, and began struggling against the foreign yoke long before the party line told them how to do it. Confidence in the past creates confidence for the future.

"On the other hand, this is not to advocate some minority position which denies the facts of life in Asia today. The dominoes are falling neatly into place--SE Asia is 'going communist' (as we type this, PRG soldiers are marching into Saigon), and anarchists must be very clear about where they stand. 'Neither Washington nor Hanoi!' was the rallying-cry of the 60s. This slogan is out of date. An anarchist society will not be created overnight, least of all in Asia, where a 'workers' state' led by the CP is a very likely outcome of all the liberation movements for some time to come. For authoritarian marxism is a logical outgrowth of capitalism; it sustains and exploits the mental contortions generated by 'free competition'.

"The CPs in Asia not only would not, but could not create a libertarian society in an area devastated by high explosive, defoliated by super-insecticides, de-humanized by population control measures, and now, most probably, to be de-stabilized by CIA intrigue. However, what they have achieved, thru calling upon the power to resist of the people themselves, is the most important revolutionary task in Asia today: the discrediting and expulsion of Amerikan neo-fascist imperialism. Western anarchists who do not recognize these facts only perpetuate the West's inherent blindness towards Asia. The marxist liberation movements in Asia today, in the post-Amerikan (Amerikan military, that is--the CIA is far from defeated) era, must be given critical support, just as the Russian

anarchists initially supported the Bolsheviks. When they begin to turn the revolution back on itself, however, as the Bolsheviks did, they must be attacked and exposed without fail. This demands, as Kropotkin said, that we not only talk about revolution, but actively prepare ourselves for the work to be done during the process, particularly economic work. It also demands that we understand the importance of nationalism for popular mobilization in Asia. In a future issue we mean to put together a more comprehensive treatment of this question, probably the most important one facing anarchists in Asia today."



BORDERS

CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY for accused members of the International Revolutionary Action Groups (GARI) detained in France and Spain.

Since the murder of Salvador Puig Antich, March 2, 1974, by the fascist regime of Franco, and since the risk is great of new death sentences against the detained members of the (past) Iberian Liberation Movement (MIL), revolutionary people (the most libertarian) have decided to proceed to revolutionary direct action against repression in Spain:

March 23, 1974: actions claimed by Autonomous Intervention Groups (GAI);

May 3, 1974: kidnapping of the director of Bilbao Bank, M. Suarez, action claimed by the GARI;

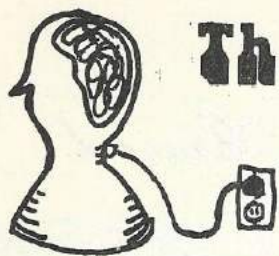
July, 1974: sabotage on the frontier between France and Spain, in Lourdes against a spanish bus, against the "Tour de France", in Belgium against spanish banks and Iberia airlines.

Pressed by the Franco regime, the french government has had to repress harshly the active revolutionary circle. Since Suarez' liberation in May, the french police have systematically arrested about 20 among libertarian circles to save appearances with Spain.

Later, it was due to its "road controls" and its "strike operations", that it was able to arrest some members of GARI (4 in September, 1974, and 3 more in December). These accused were committed to the political exception jurisdiction which is "La Cour de Surete de l'Etat. As a result the arrested persons had to endure the special procedure of the preliminary inquiries, including six days' close watch during which some of them suffered torture.

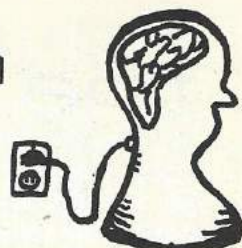
At the end of June, 1975, 5 remain in french jails, 4 in Spain. We are organizing solidarity between comrades, friends and families of the detainees. Most libertarian organizations have not wanted to bring their bail to those accused of outlaw actions without being able to openly denounce them. The solidarity group has decided to coordinate an international mobilization until the complete liberation of every one of the detainees in France and Spain. We need your help, advice and action for their liberation.

--Ines H., 77, ave. de la Gloire-Bat. 3, 31500, Toulouse, France



The role of the intellectual in a class society

by Glenn Meredith



The role of intellectualism in a class society is one filled with contradictions (either self-induced or implanted in our minds by years of bourgeois (capitalist) ideology). There exists an aura of mystification surrounding the intellectual who is often seen as anything from a savior to a social pariah. It has had such an effect on us that we let ourselves be swayed and determined by a process that almost inevitably leads to elitism, isolation, and the rule of the few over the many. More importantly, for anarchists, the whole subject of the intellectual directly affects questions of leadership, organization, and the very idea of self-management of society.

Capitalism has tended to use intellectualism as a less than subtle way to divide and rule. Thus, providing a rationale to justify leaders and led, those who govern and are governed, slave masters and slaves. Another word for all this is a division of labor, which is the process (determined by social environment) which separates people from important parts of themselves.

The role of the so-called intellectual is a symptom of a class society. It gives credence to an all encompassing elitism. It's the old "leave it to the experts" syndrome. Let other people do your thinking for you. It fits so nicely into authoritarian and capitalist lifestyles. All you have to do is declare yourselves intellectuals, and be recognized as such, and ipso facto, the majority of people (who have internalized the term in a class divided society) are awed and mystified by your role. Henry Kissinger was acclaimed one such intellectual powerhouse, until the dominoes began to fall.

Intellectuals are natural leaders, right? All this takes on the characteristics of social Darwinism. The fittest, in this case the intellectuals (the smartest) are the most fit to rule. All others are considered inferior and become the led. This fits the schema of not only a capitalist society, but also many charlatans who proclaim themselves rebels and then crush the rising aspirations of the masses as soon as they take power. This is always, of course, for the people and in their name (eg. peoples' republic, dictatorship of the proletariat). The double think is not always so subtle.

Obviously, everything in society doesn't function so smoothly. There are plenty of people who don't buy the charade. Intellectualism as defined by capitalist and authoritarian society is a blatant falsehood. Yet far too many people who wish to change society have internalized this nemesis to the free and equal interactions of the people. Anarchists must not only see it as a very elitist and anti-democratic term, but also a title we must never accept for ourselves. Intellectual is a divisive term that, whether you want it to be or not, will separate you from the vast majority of the people like the plague.

Not to be misunderstood on these points, my arguments are not anti-intellect, pro-activist. The elitist intellectual and the activist acting without theory or meaningful goals are two sides of the same coin. The all important synthesis of mind work and manual work is vital to anarchist theory and the realization of the society we desire.

Intellectualism has been so internalized by the left

that examples are as easy to find as the leaves on trees. Take Lenin for example, "We have said that there could not have been Social-Democratic consciousness among the workers. It would have to be brought to them without".

"Without" of course means by a party lead by self-proclaimed intellectuals who claim hegemony over theory and the "correct" path. How convenient it is for people to cloak their own desires and elitist notions behind a theory that only perpetuates their existence as leaders. How often have people mis-used intellectualism and theory to enhance their own vanity and power? All too often then, theory is a manipulative device whose only justification ends up being a new form of social control. Theory is not something we pull out of a hat. It is by no means neutral. It can be used to enslave as well as to open new horizons to freedom.

So that leaves anarchists to redefine the term intellectual itself or completely do away with it. Perhaps we could come up with a new term which would define the role of the theorist in a much more egalitarian role. But at best that seems a liberal solution. We must develop our own theory and practice that will bring us together, not create artificial barriers to divide us. We have no need for self-proclaimed leaders who spew out theory to justify their own inflated roles. Theory can be democratic and consistent with anarchism if large numbers of people participate. That is, everyone is an intellectual in the sense that everyone is a thinking being, and see themselves as being involved in the process of creating a new society. Developing theory and strategy must not be the forte of a few, but an arena where all of us have an equal and important say.

Theory is only a tool to help define our present existence, to try and help us find ways to build and create a new society based on freedom and control of society from below. Yes, people develop and come to see the need for a new society unevenly. Everyone's consciousness evolves at different levels. But those whose political and social consciousness is more developed cannot proclaim themselves 'vanguards' in order to lead others. The need for mutual aid, and freedom is inherent in all of us. Those who are most active now, should act as true comrades, acting as guides who strive to find and delineate meaningful alternatives and ways to achieve them.

It is too easy it seems to let one's ego become infatuated with one's own self importance. We cannot afford harmful self indulgence. Capitalism can easily afford so called 'intellectuals' a niche, to be 'creative', so long as they remain isolated from the rest of society. It almost amounts to some type of social cloistering. It is only when people begin to break down the artificial barriers, to unite, to begin discussing and implementing common goals and actions that the state steps in to crush them. We can no longer afford (we never could) to be divided into little powerless or false categories (intellectual vs. activist, leader vs. followers, dreamers vs. workers). All the various aspects and traits that make us human must be reconciled. That reconciliation will nurture the creativity and awareness in all of us to build an anarchist future.

the june 1975 hunter conference:

Jay Amrod

an evaluation

I was glad to hear there was going to be another Anarchist conference at Hunter College. Any chance for Anarchists to get together and exchange ideas is useful for the continuing development of our philosophy and tactics. Oftentimes we suffer excruciating morale problems stemming from our recognition that we are overwhelmingly outnumbered by authoritarian ideologists on the right and on the left, as well as throughout the culture and among our friends. Even aside from those with a conscious political viewpoint, many people have an abyssal view of how they can best provide for their own satisfaction. They share a general attitude of opportunism within the existing system, an attitude which does not seem to be open to any hope of possibilities other than the status quo. These are self-ordained realists. (Their skepticism may shift emphasis as the failure of State programs and commodity society become increasingly difficult to condone.) We are dreamers who are wasting our time, they say.

But is it a waste of time to share ideas, to work out ways of increasing communication and co-operation among those who wish to wrest more control over their own lives, from soldiers, bureaucrats, police, technicians, bosses and moralists; will anything ever be realized if we do not begin creating it? Sure, we are facing obstacles of godly proportions, but Rome wasn't smashed in a day. The Hunter conference was neither a success nor a flop. It was an experience which must be diligently critiqued if we are to have a better conference the next time.

On Friday night, the conference opened with a screening of the film, 1984. It's not a particularly good movie;

its didactic style is sometimes laughable. It was interesting to watch, and relevant to Anarchist analysis, but hardly the best way to initiate a conference. If you must open a conference with a film, try something a bit more stimulating like WR: Mysteries of Organism.

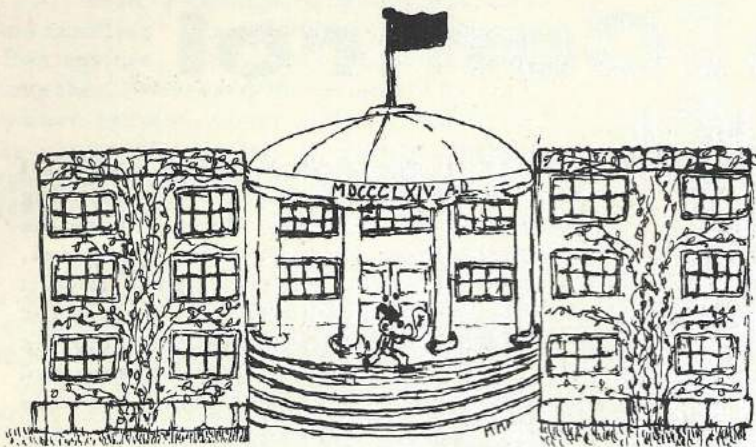
It should be mentioned that the agenda was so arranged that there were usually at least two or three events scheduled simultaneously. I chose to attend those which I thought would

be either educational or entertaining. With the former in mind, I sought out the Men's Liberation group. This proved to be a mildly informative exchange of personal interpretations of various males of their experiences of grappling with their sexuality. One man took off his clothes as the discussion began. He was more interested in attention than in sharing, and this turned me off from the start. Another man spoke of his great resentment of women, and of their expectations of him. These proceedings were interrupted by Cyndy Heimel who asked if we would mind if she sat in on the group. I was receptive to having her join us since exclusionary tactics at public meetings instinctively irk me, and since I've felt bad about being unwelcome as a silent observer at anarcho-feminist workshops because I would like to hear first-hand what the concerns and desires of revolutionary women are. Nevertheless, the organizer of the Men's Lib group told Cyndy that he did not want her there because "something changes" when women are present. She left.

The emphasis in this workshop was on expressing feelings and sharing intimate revelations, but I had little desire to do this with ten strange men that I would probably never see again. At no time was the special relationship between Anarchism and men's liberation explored. At no time were the ideas of Wilhelm Reich, Paul Goodman, Alex Comfort, Emma Goldman or others who have had a liberatory view of eros even mentioned. This pursuit would have been more fruitful than the unwieldy attempt at a ready-made sensitivity session that transpired.

The most rewarding part of the I.W.W workshop, which I attended later that evening, was a Wobbly's account of efforts at organizing on the lower east side of Manhattan. There was also a pointed remark disparaging the slogan and concept of "One Big Union," but the discussion soon degenerated into exchanges of bullshit. I didn't come to listen to Anarchists preach to each other.

I woke up to The Gold-diggers of 1933 Saturday morning. A dumb movie with Busby Berkeley's great choreography. There must be better inexpensive films for an Anarchist conference than this. At noon, Helen Rothman opened a workshop on male-female relationships which was a series of engaging expressions of personal experience; this session was marked by an intelligence and empathy missing in the all male group of the previous evening. Some of the credit for this goes to Helen who set the stage for an honest and relaxed interplay with an unpretentious description of her own sexual self-concept and the attendant difficulties. Once again, though, no one



would have guessed that the people assembled were Anarchists.

Sam Dolgoff's speech, "Bakunin, Marx and the First International," was excellent. Sam thoroughly discredited Marx's claim that Bakunin was responsible for the breakup of this federation, and adroitly exposed the disreputable conduct of Marx which contributed to that disintegration. Dolgoff did not try to pretend that Bakunin was entirely without fault. His honesty in this regard was a fine example in contradistinction

of the historical movement. It is far better to admit that the mistakes of the past were mistakes, and try to avoid similar errors in the future. At issue here are Bakunin's use of dummy organizations, and his overly optimistic faith in a spontaneous revolt of the proletariat.

"There are many good things happening in China, even though there is still a State there," noted Bob Palmer in his speech on "Anarchism and Maosim in China." He began by explaining that Anarchist theory in China has two distinct foundations: the first in the Taoist religion, and the second, due to European influence at the turn of the century, in the writings of Bakunin and Kropotkin. To illustrate how the grass-root power of the people is effective in resolving social pestilence, Bob related the story of how, in order to rid themselves of mosquitoes, the Chinese in one area were armed with fly swatters. Whenever a person saw a mosquito, they would conscientiously murder it. Communes in China are decentralized. If, for example, a given commune decides it needs a road, it can build a road. There is self-management. I do not remember that Bob made it clear to just what extent these communes have autonomy, and in what specific areas they were subject to government intervention. Although he did not try to minimize the authoritarian aspects of life in the People's Republic, neither did he provide a clear indication of the effect of the directives of the central government on the daily routines of the masses. His lecture was, nonetheless, the most original and instructive feature of the entire conference.

Informal conversations with the people are an important dimension of any conference of this kind. Most of the people at the Hunter conference were very uptight, sometimes ready to draw blood at the slightest choice of the wrong word. What a relief it was on Saturday when I met someone easy to be with. Kathy was a pipesmoking poet who seemed uninterested in the screaming rhetoric and barbs that punctuated too much of the discussion. She exuded a warmth and sensuality that was missing in the frantic confusion of the prevailing last-word imperative. Kathy had the human qualities that almost everyone else seemed oblivious to: a sense of humor, a real openness, and a tranquility derived from her sense of proportion. Why was she such an obvious exception rather than the rule?

Why were there so many bad vibes?

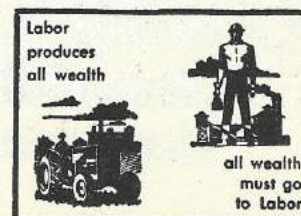
Perhaps there is something to Sam Dolgoff's observation that the Anarchist movement tends to attract people with severe personality maladies. A major factor in this case, I suspect, was that the people who attended the conference were virtually all from the New York metropolitan area. Given the fear that pervades that city, it is not surprising that, on the whole, New York Anarchists are more highly alienated and aggressive than Anarchists living elsewhere. (Again, in this regard, the Columbia gathering compares favorably.)

The symposium on the Middle East was the best exchange of views at the conference. The scheduled speakers were experts on the subject, and the discussion period was deftly handled by a moderator who recognized hands and (at least sometimes) kept people from monopolizing time. Unfortunately, the discussion continued for too long and became very tedious; it would have been fortuitous if the moderator had thanked the speakers for coming after the first hour and a half or so.

The last workshop I attended on Sunday afternoon was a fiasco. Only one of the persons from the Liberation collective who presented their ideas on "Libertarian Practice Today" was an Anarchist. The raps were interesting, but the rappers were, not surprisingly, ill-prepared to deal with the subsequent fray among their Anarchist audience. When everyone begins arguing about strategy, and there is no focus... well, it all seemed pretty pointless. At one point, a man from a right-wing history study group (which happened to have a lecture scheduled in the building earlier that day) announced in a very authoritarian tone that the difficulty the world was experiencing was the result of a master plan. The whole thing seemed almost surreal.

Not once during the entire conference did we have an assemble of all of the participants. Rarely did anyone talk about Anarchism in the workshops. Admittedly, many problems that were discussed, such as sexism, are central to the Anarchist critique of hierarchy, but surely we can do more than regurgitate the formulations of the voguish left. The questions we need to ask of ourselves if Anarchist theory is going to continue to be refined were not asked. Theoretical solutions to objections raised by statists were not considered. Strategies for increasing the public's awareness of Anarchism were hardly touched upon.

A major fault was the format and organization (or the abuse of these) at the conference. Additionally, the execution of planned events, with the exception of the for-addresses, was generally pathetic. It would be all too easy to believe that these shortcomings were the result of paid saboteurs and provocateurs, but it is simply the case of a lot of unmellow comrades who lack communication skills, tolerance, and patience, who seem to have a distrust of any move to structure meetings. Who can blame the outsider who is left with the impression that Anarchy means chaos? In the future, a lot more reflection in organizing these affairs could alleviate most of these problems.



Workers Control

We anarchists are often taunted with the proposition that we have no plans--that our vision is only critical and lacks a plan for the future. This is, in part, correct as we often become so depressed by the present that we lose sight of the future.

Some of us see hope in the industrial union concept, while others are more agrarian minded and interested in the doctrines of federation and community. Most anarchists oppose the capitalist corporation and it can be said, I think, that even non-anarchists see decentralization as the future.

While industrial unions and federations along collective lines are important to me, I can see where they might possibly fail in their attempts to create an anarchist society. Without a total change--in all facets of life--no one will be free.

All one need do to be convinced that a great change has to come about is look around--there are all kinds of things happening with the world and there is often much confusion as to where change has to begin.

For some, the process is strictly rooted within the individual. For others, the process takes on larger dimensions. Obviously, because of the complexity of society, neither is completely correct--the process is individual AND collective.

In any event, this article deals with collective workers' control and, to some extent economics from an anarchist perspective. I have borrowed from the pages of the Industrial Worker, publication of the Industrial Workers of the World. It would be hard, if not impossible, to speak of worker's control in the U.S. and not deal with the IWW.

Decentralization, coupled with the nationalization of key industry, cannot be treated lightly or superficially. I have been re-studying Engel's "Origin of the Family". While it is not directly connected with decentralization, it has enormous value in provoking thoughts on these lines.



One of the consequences of capitalist centralization has been to gather the laboring population in certain areas, namely where the capitalists have centered their industries. This gave rise to the industrial city. Detroit for cars, Pittsburg for steel, Waterbury for brass and so forth. Capital built the factories where it was expedient and the workers had no choice but to settle around them. We have seen the result. Congestion, slums, gross overcrowding. I can say without contradiction that our industrial cities should be leveled to the ground and we should start over. Therefore, we can see that decentralization is not only a question of "administrative" (political) decentralization, but of economic as well.

I could wander for pages describing the model industrial communities we have the possibility of realizing, were we only capable of abolishing capitalism. But you know this too. What I would like to emphasize is that any consideration of decentralization must include the industrial as well as administrative prospects. What are the key factors which determine decentralization? First, I would consider what particular industry the specific area holds. Secondly, the size of the area and its cultural characteristics.

What form would best serve as the administrative unit of the economic area? We have seen three valid forms in history. The first was the Paris Commune; the second the American (IWW) and French types of syndicalism (which the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists modified to suit their own needs; the third, the Soviets of peasants, workers and soldiers.

At this point I would prefer a combination of the two latter. The original syndicalist One Big Union concept would be much too unwieldy where several major branches of industry would be trying to administer the same area. Plus: what about homemakers, to give one example. They are not identified with any particular branch of industry. Do we exclude them from proletarian democracy? I should hope not. So it boils down to an area of administrative council composed of elected representatives of the industrial unions and neighborhood (used loosely) electoral districts.

All these "republics" would be federated. Sound familiar? Pre-Communist Party controlled soviets. This is my principal model. Before the CP betrayed the worker's soviets; they were genuine, democratic, workable and truly proletarian forms of power. I would suggest a careful study of these worker-peasant councils.

In my opinion the future of the councils was sealed when they allowed the Bolsheviks to substitute its rule for that of the people. Without the genuine democratic freedom to act on the will of the people, such councils are only impotent rubber stamps for the ruling party. Much like our congress under monopoly capital's thumb.

-- Rob Rossi

THE DEAD GLOATS OVER THE CORPSE

Banker Believes Strike Will End Labor Troubles!

New York, (UP)-In a dispatch from San Francisco describing the issue of Capital vs. Labor in the strike there, the New York Daily News today quoted William H. Crocker, banker as saying:

"This strike is the best thing that ever happened to San Francisco. It's costing us money, certainly. We've lost millions on the waterfront in the last few months. But it's a good investment, a marvelous investment. It's solving the labor problem for years to come, perhaps forever.

"Mark my words. When this nonsense is out of the way and the men have been driven back to their jobs, we won't have to worry about them anymore. They'll have learned their lesson. Not only do I believe we'll never have another general strike, but I don't think we'll have a strike of any kind in San Francisco during this generation. Labor is licked."

--from the American Guardian, 1934



PRINTING PRESS

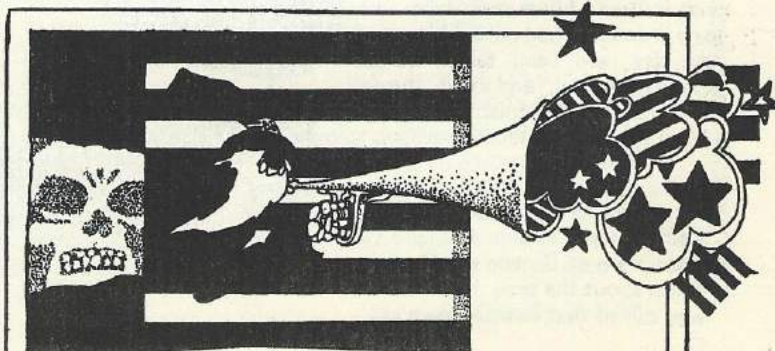
Come Unity! Press 13 East 17th Street, New York City, 10003. 212-675-3043. The gay anarchist collective which provides most of the support for the press would like to extend an invitation to anyone to come live and work with them at the press. The objective of Come Unity! is to provide movement and community groups with access to printing facilities. No fees are charged for printing but the collective asks that people share the labor and pay as much as they can toward materials, electricity, etc.. No salaries are paid but food and housing are shared. The press can also use donations.



I LOVE MY FLAG

I love my flag, I do, I do
Which floats upon the breeze
I also love my arms and legs,
And neck, and nose, and knees.
One little shell might spoil them all
Or give them such a twist,
They would be no use to me;
I guess I won't enlist.

I love my country, yes, I do,
I hope her folks do well.
Without our arms, and legs and things,
I think we'd look like hell.
Young men with faces half shot off
Are unfit to be kissed,
I've read in books it spoils their looks;
I guess I won't enlist.

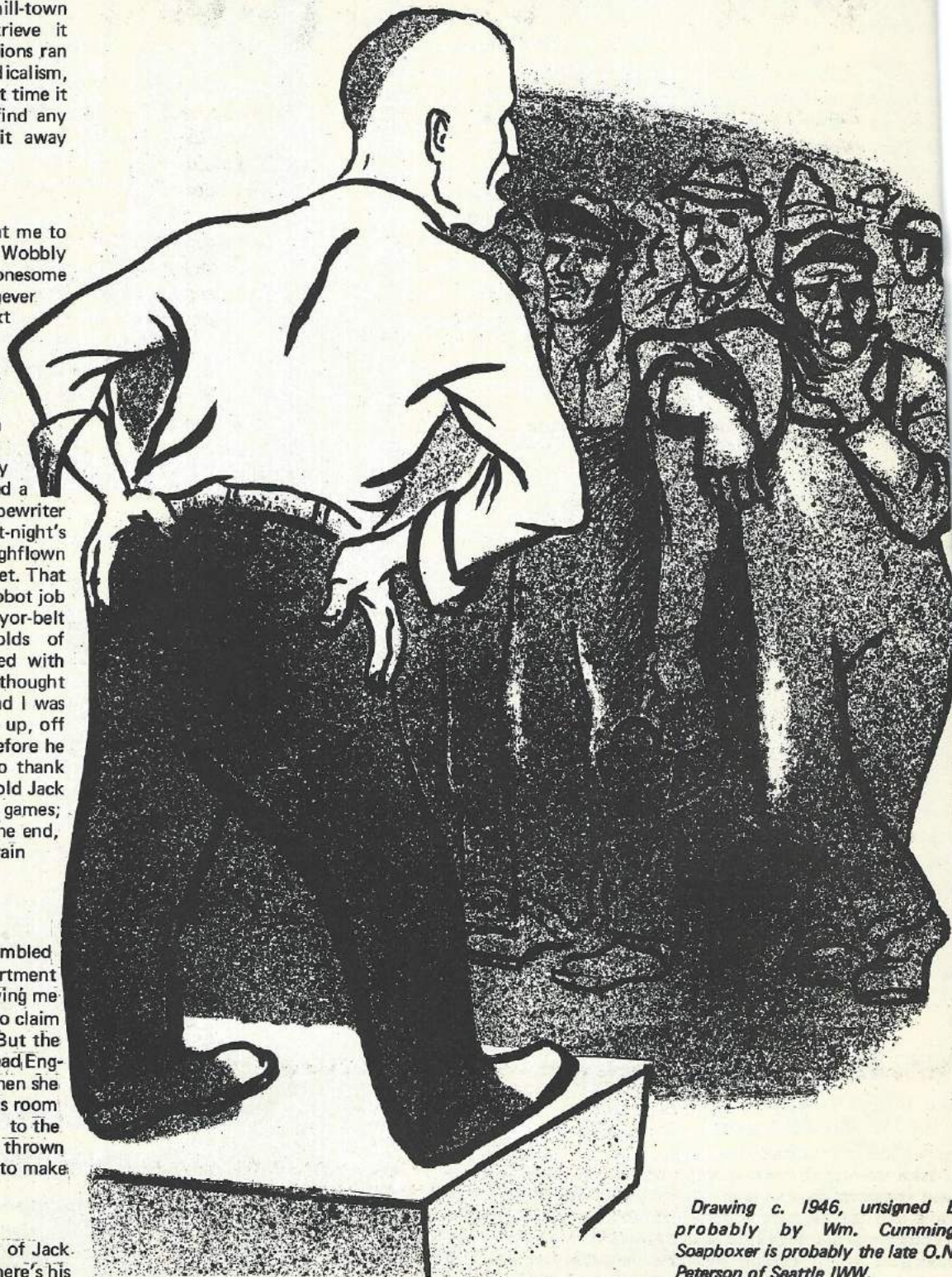


My old friend Jack, dead now about fifteen years, was a Wobbly poet -- not a famous one like Joe Hill or T-bone Slim, but much more significantly typical; sometime harvest-hand, sometime mule-skinner, sometime pearldiver in skidroad beaneries, often panhandler, always rhymester and agitator. His songs, crafted for the moment, were sung while they were topical, then forgotten. Most of his Seattle friends never knew his real name -- he'd left it, decades before, in the ashes of a sawmill-town hoosegow, and didn't retrieve it until the statute of limitations ran out on criminal-syndicalism, jailbreak, and arson. By that time it was so rusty he couldn't find any use for it, so he threw it away again.

It was Jack who taught me to write song-parodies in the Wobbly genre. He was tending a lonesome night-desk then, and whenever he expected me in the next day he'd leave a new rhyme on the typewriter, its topic usually suggested by some item of current news, its scansion determined by the tune of some familiar song. One day I rose to the bait and added a verse, and left it in the typewriter for Jack to find. His next-night's rhyme was a satirically highflown ode to the birth of a new poet. That day the eight hours of my robot job (standing at a conveyor-belt dropping sticks into molds of half-frozen popsicles) passed with unexpected swiftness as I thought out a suitable rejoinder, and I was hooked. We kept the game up, off and on, until a few days before he died. And then, too late to thank him, I realized that shrewd old Jack hadn't just been playing games; craftsman and agitator to the end, he'd been striving to train his replacement.

I left him dying, and stumbled downhill to his skidroad apartment to talk the landlady into giving me his papers. (I was prepared to claim kinship; she'd never know.) But the Issei landlady, who didn't read English but who knew death when she saw it coming, had rented his room the day he'd been taken to the county hospital, and she'd thrown all his stuff in the trash-can to make room for the new tenant.

So there aren't many of Jack Blair's rhymes extant. But here's his description of Seattle's Skidroad, as it was about the time he burned his way out of that sawmill-town jail.



Drawing c. 1946, unsigned but probably by Wm. Cumming. Soapboxer is probably the late O.N. Peterson of Seattle IWW.

the Old Skid Road

Did you ever hike down the old Skidpike
And watch its changing scenes,
Where the mission stiff gets soul uplift
From jamoke and a bowl of beans?

There men form rings and talk of things
Like plutes and profiteers,
And skeptic groups respond with whoops
To the whiskered sky-pie seers.

Pious frauds and hard-faced broads
Sound drums and tambourines
And mooch for doles for sin-sick souls
From dupes in ragged jeans.

Poor scissorbills help fill the tills
Of fat-jowled labor sharks,
And pitchmen bold harangue and scold
As shills lure easy marks.

Snug cubbyholes show dogs in rolls
With slabs from wart-bound pickles,
And winesoaked burns, alive with crums,
Panhandle lonesome nickels.

Provocateurs with phony lures
Preach bloody social changes,
While old cowpokes spear drinks with jokes
And tales of western ranges.

Rat-faced finks, the worse for drinks,
Hurl jeers at Labor's speakers,
And deep-sea tars roll up to bars
For beers from foam-topped beakers.

Agnostic ginks trace missing links
Through the ages' fossil losses,
As wise old sharks who know their Marx
Tell why there's burns and bosses.

The lottery touts keep sharp lookouts
And stand like faithful pickets
Where gambling gents may wage ten cents
On holes in Swiss-cheese tickets.

Stout lumberjacks with bulging packs,
All brave in brand-new jumpers,
Discuss the news and swap their views
With 'boes just off the bumpers.

L'Envoi

You can pack your load on the old Skidroad
And hightail far away,
But it has a lure, and there is no cure;
You'll ramble back someday.

by Jack
Blair

Now almost entirely lost, the largest body of Wobbly song-crafting was characterized by an ephemeral, usually local, topicality. Songs were composed on the spur of the moment in response to specific happenings, and only a few outspread or outlived the immediacy of the events that inspired them. Most were never printed, even in the IWW press. The typical Wobbly poet of the IWW's heyday wasn't writing for posterity. For one thing, he didn't have any, or if he did he generally didn't know it; more pertinently, he was quite sure, then, that posterity wasn't going to need his verses, in the glorious Workers' Commonwealth that he and his fellow-workers would soon establish. Phrased in the then-current slang of logging-camp and hobo-jungle and mining-town, replete with names and nicknames of long-forgotten foremen and finks and railroad-bulls and of places now changed beyond recognition, the most cogent and pointed of those lost songs were never designed for survival. Don't mourn for them -- organize.

LOUISE CROWLEY

The Prostitutes' Revolt in France

by Jeff Stein

On June 2nd, approximately 20 women, wearing plain dark clothes, entered the church of St. Niziers. The church is located in the "red light" district of Lyons, France. It contains the tomb of St. Expedite, the patron saint of France prostitutes and has traditionally been the place where local prostitutes would go to pray during hard times. All twenty of the women were prostitutes and times were indeed, hard. During the two previous months in Lyons and the rest of France, a police crack down on prostitution was in progress. Although prostitution is legal in France, soliciting is not. The police were arresting any suspected offenders and the women were being given fines ranging between \$40 and \$600, along with 30 day jail sentences. Frequently one woman would get six or seven fines a night.

Yet the women had not come to the church to pray. They had brought food and sleeping gear, and were prepared to remain in the church until the French Government ended the wave of harassment. That night, two of the women, wearing sunglasses to hide their identity explained on French television that they were demanding president Valery Giscard d'Estaing call off the police. "As president of all the French, you are also president of the prostitutes", they noted. The women also called for a meeting with Francoise Giroud, cabinet secretary of state for women's affairs.

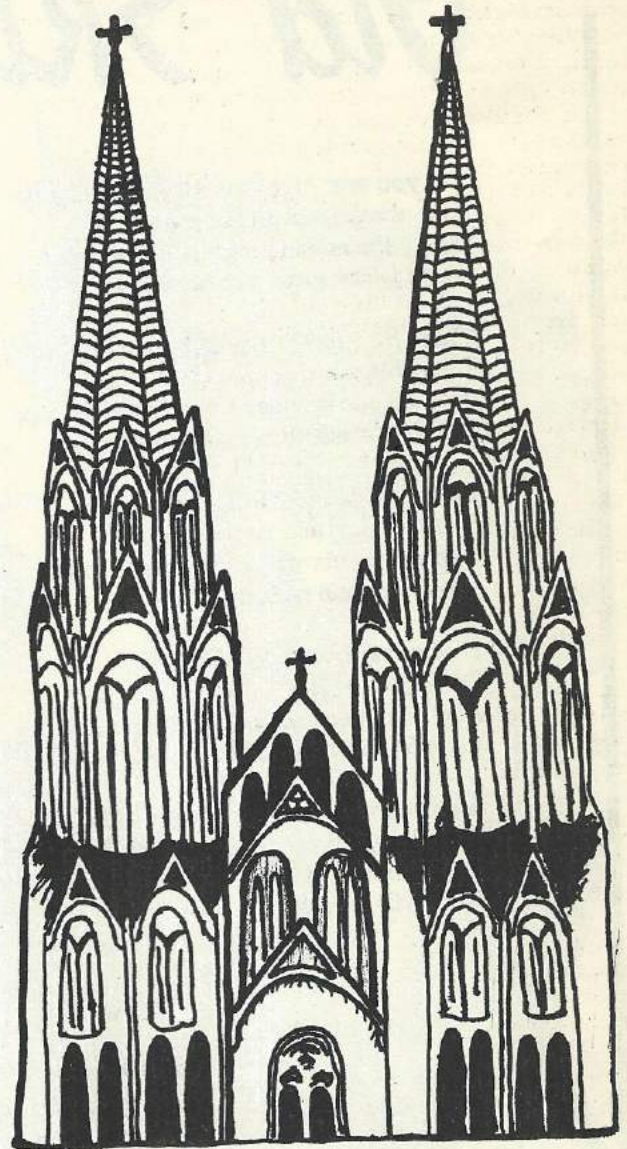
Local residents were sympathetic to the plight of the women and on the following day brought them hot coffee, food and moral support. The priest of St. Nizier's Rev. Jacques Beal said the women were welcome in the church under the right of sanctuary. Lyons Police Prefect Paul Noirot-Cosson, however, was unmoved and said he wouldn't call off the stepped-up arrests.

In the meantime, having received no reply from Giscard d'Estaing and refusal from Ms. Giroud, the women began to prepare for a long stay. The original twenty women, along with another eighty prostitutes who had joined them during the day, organized clean-up brigades inside the church and transformed the sacristy into a canteen. In a second statement the women reaffirmed their determination to see it through, saying if Giscard d'Estaing did not help them, "then the police will have to massacre us in the church. None of us will go to prison."

The press coverage of the church occupation was a mixture of sensationalism and sophomoric wit. A title for an article on the first day of the protest proclaimed a, "Prostitute 'lie-in' in France" and referred to the food which the women brought with them as "picnic lunches". Other articles gleefully pointed out what their writers claimed was the 'ribald' or 'erotic' nature of the whole incident. The press consistently refused to take the whole matter seriously. As the original strikers were joined by other prostitutes another article referred to them as "joining the fun".

Needless to say, there was little for the prostitutes to be celebrating. Their most immediate problem was the increased police harassment. This problem, however, only served to exacerbate more deep-rooted problems.

The major motivating factor which drives a woman into prostitution is general lack of economic opportunities for women. The choice is rarely between starvation and life, since, most modern countries have various social welfare services which guarantee subsistence. Rather, the choice is between an income from



between \$5,000 or \$25,000 a year. Opportunities to make \$25,000 a year are rare for women when even a college degree can guarantee little more than \$6,000 a year. Women with middle class backgrounds have only a limited number of choices, between a "legitimate" career, marriage and prostitution. For minority and poor women there is almost no choice at all.

Economic factors are not the only forces which drive women into prostitution. Women are socialized from birth into playing a subservient role, being allowed no fulfillment in life except through men. The oft-quoted analogy between marriage and prostitution has much relevance on a psychological plane. In some women this outlook is so deeply engrained that they actually feel a need to prostitute themselves. As Kate Millet points out in an essay on prostitution, "... it might be described as a kind of psychological addiction, to self-denigration, an addiction... all women are socially conditioned to accept."

Once a woman has turned to prostitution, various social factors operate to force her to remain a pros-

stitute. Being labeled or arrested as a prostitute makes it difficult for the woman to get any other type of job. Harrassment by police and social ostracism destroy any normal relationships the woman had and deters any new ones. Any male friends she might have risk police harrassment as pimps. Children can be taken away from them by the courts. Relationships with straight women are practically non-existent and relationships with other prostitutes tend to be superficial. Because she is a social outcast, she is left no one to turn to for aid and sympathy but pimps.

The Pimp serves no role in soliciting or arranging "tricks" (thus not exposing themselves to arrest), but takes on a sort of feudal role as a protector from other pimps and as a bondsman when the prostitute is arrested. If the woman has children, the pimp will also take care of them while the mother is in jail. As in any protection racket, the pimp demands exorbitant fees for his aid, taking most of the money which the women brings in. In many cases where word is getting around that a pimp-less prostitute is making alot of money, a pimp will force the woman to accept his services.

Ostracism and harrassment are not the only price that prostitutes are forced to pay. The constant exposure of the woman's identity to callous intimacy and male domination forces the prostitute to suppress her feelings either by withdrawing psychologically or escaping with drugs. As an ex-prostitute put it, "there was that unspoken rule that decreed I pretend to sexually desire each and every one and that I fake orgasm for each and every one, and never reveal my own bullshit. The total experience blew my sexuality to shreds. I learned to only fake emotion and to suppress all real feeling. The instant I'd feel a ripple of arousal, I'd suppress it. I later found in trying to relate sexually to my (male) friends that the minute I became aware I was aroused, I'd freeze. I was no longer in contact with my emotions"

For the prostitutes who turns to drugs or alcohol, the problems become magnified. Not only is she even more harrassed for her addiction but the addiction itself ties her more firmly to prostitution. The prostitute turns to drugs to kill the psychological pain of prostitution; the addict requires prostitution to support her habit.

The various hassles and indignities of street life are interspersed with brief interludes in court and jail. Prostitution is one of those crimes in which the victim is penalized rather than the perpetrator. This may not be as inconsistent as it seems since the male clients (or "johns" as they are called by prostitutes) are sometimes the very same men who haul them off the street or sentence them to jail. On those rare occasions in which clients were arrested as well as the prostitutes, so much political pressure was brought to bear on the police that the experiments were quickly stopped.

These stints in jail, obviously do nothing to end prostitution. The atmosphere of prison is hardly conducive to rehabilitation. The prostitute is much more likely to pick up various criminal skills here, than learn to go "straight". At the same time police arrests are never a permanent solution to the problem, but are just temporary measures to clear particular streets when local businessmen decide the women are scaring off customers.

Most government officials would easily be forced to admit that imprisonment is no solution to prostitution. Rather, they would claim that there exist a number of reasons why prostitutes must be kept under control for the public welfare. These include the need for controlling venereal disease, crime related to prostitution, the exploitation of prostitutes by pimps and public obscenity. Yet none of these arguments present a good case for government control or regulation of prostitu-

tes. In fact the opposite is true.

Venereal disease is rarely spread by prostitutes. Most prostitutes depend on repeat customers, so a reputation for passing infection can be disastrous. The social stigma and laws against prostitution, however, can make proper treatment of the disease more difficult. It follows that regulation only aggravates the problem. Like wise, crime related to prostitution as well as exploitation by pimps, are problems which are more a result of repression than they are cured by them. Constant police harrassment and social ostracism force prostitutes into the hands of pimps and other "criminals". Public obscenity seems to be based on extremely subjective standards. Prostitutes rarely solicit in residential areas but gravitate towards business or tourist areas, instead. Public obscenity would seem to be measured in dollars lost. But again, obscenity is a moralistic term and the government is not supposed to guard the public's morality or is it?

The works of Wilhelm Reich during the '30's, and more recently the works of several feminist writers, such as Kate Millet have made note of the fact that the prevailing sexual morality plays a key role in determining the structure of the social order. If the sexual morality encourages the dominance of one sex over the other and strict observance of role playing, then respect for authority and class society become deeply engrained into everyone's personality. No code of sexual conduct could possibly fill this prescription more efficiently than patriarchy.

The smallest common denominator of patriarchy is the family, made up of father, mother and child. The father plays a role somewhat analagous to a foreman



in a factory. It is his duty to see to it that the other family members stay within the current social guidelines and that the newer 'workers' learn to obey them automatically. For his services he is rewarded special privileges: the uninterfered authority within his department (to compensate him for his powerlessness outside), and the ability to break the rule on occasion (extramarital sex). The mother occupies the second position in the chain of command. She is also given authority over the child, yet she is not given the privilege to have extramarital sex since this would challenge her husband's authority. At the bottom of



this pyramid is the child, whose only function is to absorb the whole set-up. Obviously most of the immediate burden of this hierarchy falls upon the woman. Although she may wield some power over her children, she is never allowed to rise to the full status of an adult, with its attendant sexual and economic privileges. This is not to say, however, that women are the only victims of patriarchal sex morality. For men, as well as women, role playing places severe limitations on their personalities. The separation of sexuality and sensuality, sexuality being a "masculine" trait and sensuality a "feminine" trait, leaves men and women with fragmented characters. It is these voids that authoritarian institutions seek to fill, thus binding the populace to the existing social order.

Prostitution poses a problem for patriarchal morality. This is not a physical problem, since prostitution provides men with a certain number of women with whom they can find a release for their sexual tensions and still leave the majority of women chaste before marriage. It is on the ideological plane where prostitution poses the real threat. The mere existence of prostitution shows that the monogamous marriage can not provide fulfillment for a large segment of the population. Also the similarity between marriage and prostitution exposes the subjugation of women economically and sexually. These are contradictions which the authorities can not afford to become well-known. By the regulation of prostitution, the government succeeds in maintaining a stigma against prostitutes. Thus prostitutes remain "aberrations" and are hidden from view so that no one might pause to consider their significance.

The French government in its nationwide crack down was not acting arbitrarily, but merely following a time honored tradition. The embarrassing thing was that for some reason a group of prostitutes had for once decided not to let themselves be used as the pawns in this moralistic chess game. The press might try to hold them up for public ridicule, but at least they had called attention to their problems. The longer the woman remained in the church, the greater the probability that

the population would be somehow affected.

The government, however, could not afford a spectacle of police raiding the churches without appearing to make an effort to placate the prostitutes. On the third day of the sit-in, the police prefect in Lyons was reported as ready to meet with representatives of the women. Francoise Giroud, head of the national women's affairs agency, also announced that she had changed her mind and would now send officials to discuss the problem. Church authorities too, tried to appease the prostitutes. On, Friday, the fifth day of the protest, the archbishop of Marseilles said that people shouldn't be quick to condemn the woman since, "Repression would be insufficient and even unjust if not accompanied with measures to re-educate and find new jobs".

While the authorities were busy patching up their public relations images, the rebellion was gaining momentum. By the third day the original group had been argued to about 150 women, with reinforcements from Marseille and St. Etienne. On Saturday, June 7, about 200 prostitutes occupied the St. Bernard Chapel in central Paris. Another 200 took over a church in Marseille and a smaller group sat-down in a church annex in Grenoble. Prostitutes in the resort areas of Cannes and Nice went on strike over the weekend and kept off their usual "beats" in solidarity with the women in the other cities.

The demands of the women began to increase with their numbers. The aim of the protest was no longer just to end the current wave of arrests but to end police harassment permanently. One of the prostitutes in Paris explained, "above all, we want to be officially recognized so that all kinds of insults end and we can lead a normal life when work is over. And we don't want our normal (male) companion to risk arrest for pimping, and that our children-because most of us are good mothers-should no longer be taken from us under any circumstances."

The supporters of patriarchal sexual morality were also intensifying their efforts. It was now reported in the press that the women had been forced into the protest by their pimps. Supposedly the real reason for the demonstrations was Senate consideration of a new bill designed to crack down harder on pimps and others living off the earnings of prostitution.

There was a possibility that Sunday might lead to a confrontation between the women and church goers arriving for mass. The problem which could have caused the women to lose popular sympathy, was averted when the women decided to assist in the church services. In the St. Bernard Chapel, the priest showed his appreciation by making the women's plight the subject of his sermon saying that, "During these 48 hours I have come across a problem of which I have never before been aware. These are women with justifiable complaints. Women with children. Women are human beings and have a right to be helped."

The demonstration up until now, had been incredibly successful. What had started out as a single incident by a handful of women, had spread spontaneously to five other major cities in France. Prostitution was in the national spotlight, causing radicals and conservatives alike to consider a problem seldom given much critical thought. The authorities had not yet fulfilled their pledge to meet with the women, but perhaps a little more pressure would speed matters up. The women submitted a request to the government to allow a march in Paris on Tuesday. They received their reply the next day.

In the early hours of the morning, 15 police cars drew up quietly outside the occupied church in Marseille. The police quickly surrounded the building, still unnoticed by the sleeping women inside. The doors had been locked for the night, but the police had a ruse for entering the building. One of the gendarmes was a

woman and she called out to the women inside, "Open up, it's the girls".

Throughout the country, the police raided the occupied churches. In Montpellier, a squad of 30 police removed 25 half-sleeping women. In Grenoble, the only way the police could get through the locked church door was to summon a locksmith (drawing the anger of the local priests). By ruse or force churches in Lyons, Marseilles, Toulouse, and Paris, were all cleared of their unusual congregation. The women were then all taken to jail.

Interior Minister Michel Poniatowski, the man who ordered the arrests, claimed that he had learned that the women had planned an occupation of the famous Notre Dame Cathedral. A sit-in at Notre Dame would have been "totally unacceptable" he said on French radio. There were several charges lodged against the prostitutes, the principal one being that the prostitutes had been hampering freedom of religious worship by occupying the churches.

Shortly after the arrests, President Giscard d'Estaing announced that he was asking the government to discuss the human problems facing the estimated 30,000 French prostitutes. Several days later he appointed a cabinet minister to investigate the possibility of re-opening the state-run brothels which had been phased out in 1947. Women's Affairs Minister, Francoise Giroud, renigged on her earlier offer to meet with the women, saying it was an interior ministry (police) problem.

A few of the women vowed to continue the protest indefinitely with a pavement strike. They also said they would refuse to pay any more police fines. As for the idea of state-run brothels the women issued a communique saying, "We are not, we will never become, the civil servants of sex."

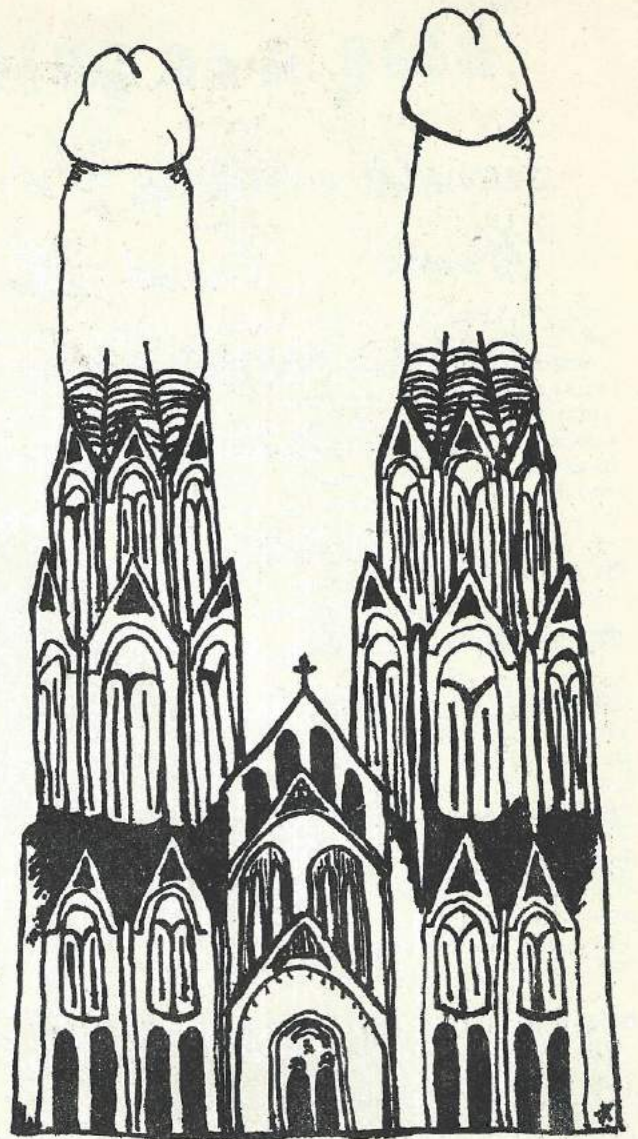
* * * *

Epilogue

The situation in France has not been much altered by the events between June 2nd and 10th. The government continues to regulate prostitution, whether this regulation be by the police and in the jails, or by inspectors and in state-run brothels. The government's main objective of keeping the women out of sight is solved by either method.

Yet perhaps the French prostitutes have gained a pyrrhic victory of sorts. They have shown that no matter how deep the alienation or how severe the repression, there always lingers a spark of hope. The events of May '68, the Lip occupation, and now the prostitutes' revolt signifies that people in each strata of French society (students and professionals, workers, women and prostitutes) feel that a freer society is not only possible but attainable through their own actions.

By their failure an even clearer lesson can be learned. The prostitutes could not possibly have won concessions from the government, since for the government deregulation of prostitution would place it in the awkward position of condoning a practice which exposes the contradictions of authoritarian sex morality. The only way out for the women would have been to overthrow the very cause of their prostitution, the patriarchal social order—an impossibility for them even if all of France's 30,000 prostitutes had been behind them. Any single sector in the population can not hope to accomplish a social revolution, with all the forces of the state arrayed against it. What must first take place is that everyone recognize that regardless of the seemingly special interests involved, every struggle for freedom is everyone's struggle. In contemporary society, under capitalism and patriarchy everyone is daily forced to submit to humiliation so that they may obtain the material needs for survival. We are all prostitutes.



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- Chicago Sun Times, June 4, 8 and 9, 1975.
- Chicago Tribune, June 11, 1975.
- Newsweek, June 23, 1975.

dan
stephen
krauss

To Those Who Would Teach Me

(OR I ALREADY KNOW THE

CONTAGEOUS PERVERSITY OF LIVING)

The sea gulls pass across the sky, screaming

Like people passing through my life bringing

only the warnings of storms

And I have had enough of norms

And manipulation makes love perverse

in all its forms.

If your mouth is so twisted that I cannot kiss you

Then I will leave

If your mind is made up without your consent

And on this road you seem well bent

Then I will leave

Then I will leave.

I am not Gogols' hero

If I cannot be with living souls I will collect

no souls at all

Don't ask me to walk slower, I walk at the pace of

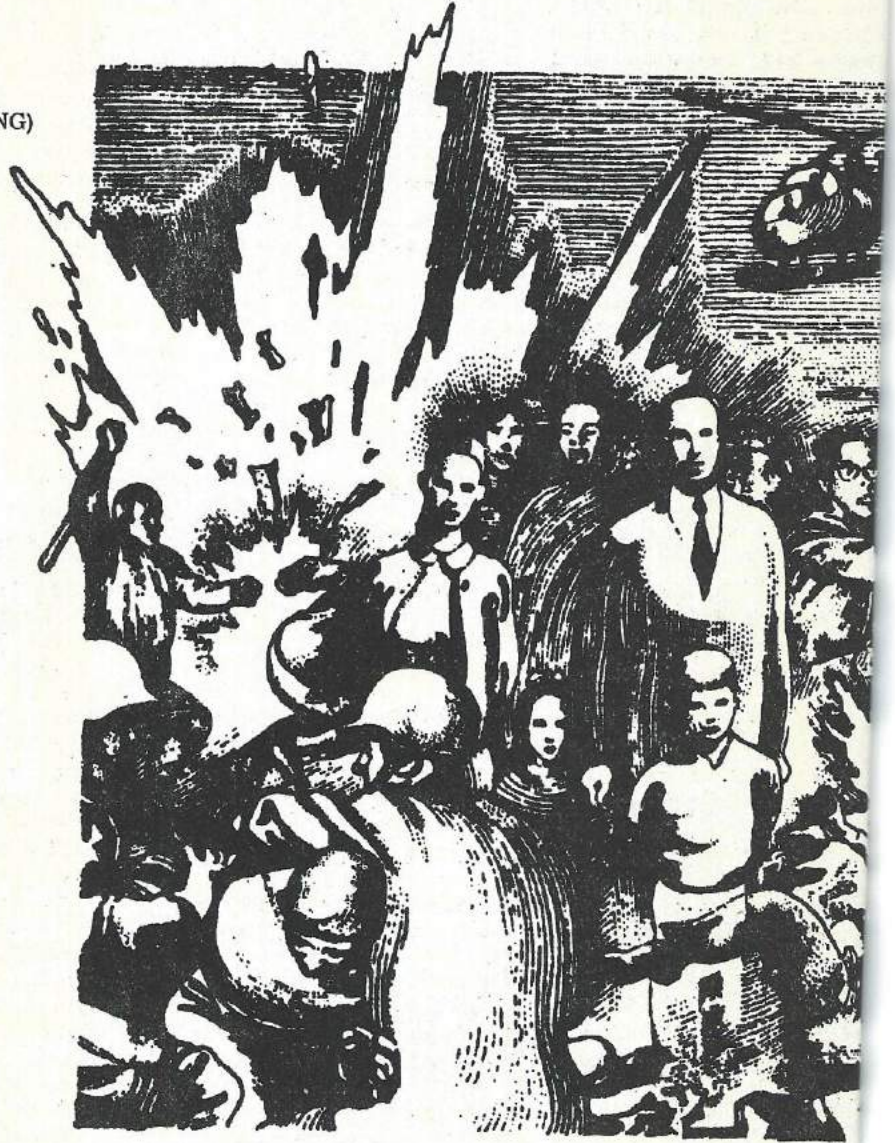
the living!

So try to teach, try to teach

And bury me in the pulpit pathos of your obituary speech

And wall me up in your world of stone

And you've walled me up in your mind alone.



My Need For You

I have no need to compete

My hands are hands

My feet are feet

And in my mind lies no master of deceit

There is no such thing as a good government.

by Joffre Stewart

Prefatory Note

Part of the material below was delivered at a May-Days free speech fest (May 2, Washington Square, Chicago). Most of it was later used in a University of Illinois (Circle Campus) meeting where over 37 persons heard the author and one Richard Rudenko present the voluntarist position, answer questions, rebutt objections, etc.. There persons burnt flags.

THE RED FEAST By Ralph Chaplin

Go fight, you fools! Tear up the earth
with strife
And spill each other's guts upon the field,
Serve unto death the men you served in
Life
So that their wide dominions may not
Yield.

Stand by the flag -- the lie that still allures;
Lay down your lives for land you do not own,
And give unto a war that is not yours
Your gory tithe of mangled flesh and bone.

But whether in the fray to fall or kill
You must not pause to question why nor where.
You see the tiny crosses on that hill?
It took all those to make one millionaire.

It was for him the seas of blood were shed
That fields were razed and cities lit the sky;
That he might come to chortle o're the dead --
The condor Thing for whom the millions die!

The bugle screams, the cannons cease to roar.
"Enough! enough! God give us peace again."
The rats, the maggots and the Lords of War
Are fat to bursting from their meal of men.

Go stagger back, you stupid dupes who've "won."
Back to your stricken towns to toil anew,
For there your dismal tasks are still undone
And grim starvation gropes again for you.

What matters now your flag, your race, the skill
Of scattered legions -- what has been the gain?
Once more beneath the lash you must distil.
Your lives to glut a glory wrought of pain.

In peace they starve you to your loathsome toil,
In war they drive you to teeth of Death:
And when your life-blood soaks into their soil
They give you lies to choke your dying breath.

So will they smite your blind eyes until you see,
And lash your naked backs until you know
That wasted blood can never set you free
From fettered thralldom to the Common Foe.

Then you will find that "nation" is a name
And boundaries are things that don't exist;
That Labor's bondage, world-wide, is the same,
And ONE the enemy it must resist.

2

Once upon a time, people could get arrested for de-claiming poems like that--and they were, around WWI. But nowadays poetry is not taken seriously as a mumbling word. Part of the reason for this is the poets: they do not write about war and other serious things. They write about themselves, or personal relationships, or optical illusions created by the rotation of the earth. English poetry has been racist since Shakespeare wrote The Merchant of Venice, and poetry by blacks against racism is discriminated against by the poetry establishment. It is generally dullness that gets anthologized, irrelevance that gets taught, and obtuseness that gets rewarded. Obloquy is reserved for Ralph Chaplin's "Red Feast".

Another reason why poetry may be so insipid, is the CIA. The CIA subsidized Encounter magazine, the National Student Association, and the academic community is shot thru and thru with CIA stringers and ringers. People in the literary establishment who had pull with the CIA could beat the draft, but those who could not might get pushed out of the country into Sweden or into a Viet Cong ambush in Asia. If you pay taxes you are an enemy of poetry. The only sense in which the CIA will spend money in regard to literature, is the most repressive way or the least liberating way. World War II caused the CIA and war remains the root of the problem.

You would think that a poem would be the set of lines that told you how the CIA assassinated J. Edgar Hoover, John Kennedy, and 1,000,000 Indonesians, and how the green beret-wearing Phoenix murdered 50 Vietnamese per month. That's what a poem should deal with but by and large poets are not that sensitive to what has a profound effect on our lives as well as their own.

Another reason for the low interest value of poetry is that poets are writing songs. When Allen Ginsberg, on Kup's Show, was asked about significant poets, he pointedly did not name Rod McEwan. He named the people who wrote "The Woman is the Nigger of the World", "Blowin' in the Wind", "Masters of War", "God's on our Side", and "Imagine". "Imagine" is a straight out atheist-an-archist thing. If you understand "Imagine", then you understand me. The trouble with songs is that the music interferes with the hearing, so I recite poetry:

Imagine there's no heaven
it's easy if you try
no hell below us
above us only sky
imagine all the people
living for today...

imagine there's no countries
it isn't hard to do
nothing to kill or die for
and no religion too
imagine life in peace...

imagine no possessions
I wonder if you can
no need for greed or hunger
a brotherhood of man

imagine all the people
sharing all the world...

you may say I'm a dreamer
but I'm not the only one
I hope someday you'll join us
and the world will be as one

Another reason why poetry is as unimportant as it is, is because some people define poetry as that which by definition deals with trifling or unimportant things. Although Ralph Chaplin's "Red Feast" works with the character of the American language better than any lines presented in college textbooks, these same people will tell you that Chaplin's work is not a poem because it is not a suicide note, or some such. So at this point I will cease to speak of poetry and talk of important things.

3

The important thing that we have to do with our lives is to make a nonviolent revolution. I am trying to engage you in making a nonviolent revolution AGAINST authority, one that would yield a StateLESS, classless, nonchauvinist society on a basis of FREE LOVE. Perhaps the key word in that engagement is STATELESS. Stateless means no cops, no courts, no jails, no taxes. Stateless means a nonviolent society because you know how cops are. Cops come here around 11:00 PM to exercise force and violence to break up free speech. Stateless means a nonviolent society because having the State means you get stuck in jail when you don't fight when they tell you to. The Bolsheviks shot 60 Tolstoyans during the Russian civil war because the Tolstoyans were pacifist an-archists, and sometimes vegetarians, who refused to make war. So you see there is no such thing as a good government and the only real fight is to work to get rid of all governments NOW and forever.

You begin to get at Government by getting at yourself: you get rid of yourself as a citizen by RENOUNCING CITIZENSHIP. I renounce citizenship around Nagasaki Day 1950 when I declared myself a STATELESS PERSON OF THE WORLD. This is especially important in a "democracy" because the STATE identifies the people with it and the people identify themselves with the State. That identification must be broken. All the States which have the atomic BOMB call themselves democracies, which makes Democracy the most dangerous thing in the world. We must precipitate the ruin of Democracy in the general ruin of ALL political control systems before they precipitate the thermonuclear ruin of the entire planet. The alternative to democracy is VOLUNTARISM.

In our time, peace must be a revolution. Therefore, you do not make a revolution by pulling the trigger, you lose the peace. This revolution is work related, which means you stay out of war plants and refuse to pay taxes. The most important thing about a job-- apart from getting rid of management and substituting the STATELESS workers as their own managers--is not to pay taxes. Socialist do not know how to tell you this, that's why socialism is not the answer, does not have the answer and does not want to be the answer. People like Hitler and Rockefeller can be socialists because socialism means "control": it means they run it, which is what all politicians want and what they will do is you let them exist. Tax-REFUSAL defeats the existence of politicians.

4

Peace is a revolution and this has two more angles

especially crucial at this time.

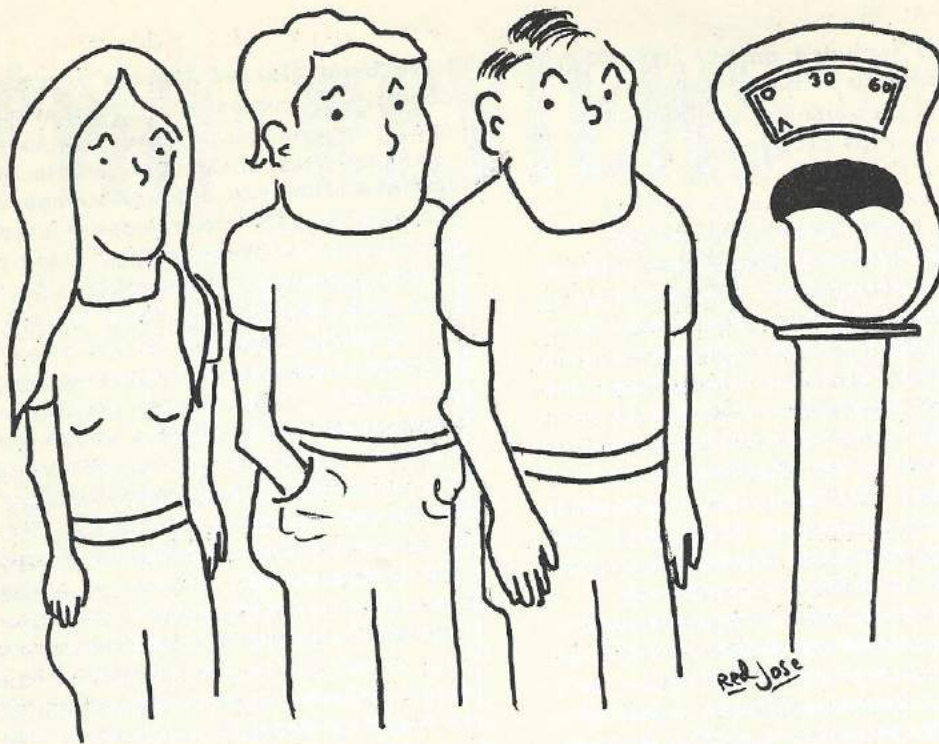
One is the Mid-East. I am in the War Resisters League, a pacifist organization. But the War Resisters League does not have a pacifist position on the Middle East. The WRL position on the Mid-East is a pro-Zionist position which means that refugee Palestinians are not allowed to go back where they came from. Not only is this the official position, but those who wrote this position want to defend injustice to Palestinians with nonviolent action! Of course I am fighting against this Zionist deviation. But the point is that if Zionism can pervert a pacifist position, how much more strong it must be in the U.S. Government. It helps you to understand how this is so when you understand that 25% of the U.S. Ruling Class is Jewish. The U.S. ruling class is the Council of Foreign Relations, 58 E. 68th Street, N.Y., N.Y. Now: one peculiarity in all this is the Marxist, in their fog of abstractions, have not been able to find or to focus on this so-called Liberal Establishment ruling class. It is the conservative to reactionary right wing which has been showing us this ruling class because the right wing wants to run things worse than they are--especially at home. Government always offers a choice between the very bad and the very worst. But the anti-war point is that Zionist connections plugged into Armageddon. Dr. Strangelove is Henry Kissinger and don't you forget it.

The other point regards the coming depression. Some people are happy to see it coming because it means they can get back into making revolution the old fashioned way that was missed in 1929. That people can think that way frightens me. Because that they think the problem of revolution is poverty and not having the boss they want, simply demonstrates that they don't know what the problem is. Since August 6, 1945, there has never been more reason to make a revolution. The revolution that smashes the State and therefore eliminates the means of delivering Atomic Bacteriological Chemical Warfare. If ever there was more than enuf reason, and enuf time, than 16 years of Viet Nam should have done it, especially when the draft focused the basic issue of Revolution: Freedom. The fact that Americans do not make these conditions into a revolutionary overturn, the fact that they could tell themselves the nation was coming apart when ball games drew bigger crowds than demonstrations and while taxes were getting paid, all demonstrates a deep unexamined conservatism.

Part of the blame for this must surely be with those who call themselves "revolutionary", both Marxist and otherwise. Instead of reinforcing the nuclear aspect with the colonial war aspect, they replaced the former with the latter. Instead of developing the anti-conscription aspect of the latter into a general attack on Authority, they did nothing with it, so that today there are as many draft cards as ever, but none of them are burning. Instead of scaling the issues up, they scaled the issues down or aborted them. People who bungled chances like this and don't ever know they bungled are still, bungling and cannot be trusted to do much with a depression. For another thing, there was no CIA in the last depression. There is one now and with more than one generation of experience at "dirty tricks". If such people tried to turn a depression into a revolution, I could only expect Rockefeller to come out of it more strong than before. As I said before, the left does not know even how to find the ruling class.

And, if ruling class types like Lord Keynes, Herman Goering and FDR can trick people around into patriotic and reformistic games, it's only the fault of those tax-paying people who are suckers for patriotism and want nothing out of life but a boss. The so-called revolutionaries may not know how to do better--as we see in Russia, as we see anywhere that an-archist movements have been crushed.

THE ALTERNATIVE TO politics is VOLUNTARISM. Learn the language of Freedom. An-ARCHY NOW!



campus free speech

- Red Jose

The 1970's have seen campus administrations retreat to more or less petty harassments of the student exercise of free speech. The days are gone, apparently, when college administrators felt they could attack hundreds of students at a time with impunity. This is how far free speech has come since the mid-60's. But how far is it?

Below is a report from student activists on a medium-sized suburban state college near a large urban area. No specific names or locations have been given because the incidents are general and have, or could have occurred on any one of hundreds of campuses on this continent. The actual identities here are unimportant.

"There has been renewed harassment of literature distribution. Now the point being enforced is a regulation requiring that the administration must approve all literature which is distributed on campus. This regulation has been widely ignored and it remains essentially ignored except when the campus police drive up with their guns and demand that one show them evidence of administrative approval for each and every piece of literature being distributed. The cops, I am sure, would rather just drive around in their cars acting important than having to get out and look foolish trying to enforce an essentially unenforceable rule. I have been stopped in the distribution of literature at least seven times this semester. And I am convinced the

cops who stopped me each time only did so in response to direct and specific orders. In fact, the first time I was stopped this semester, I was near the north entrance to Yucca Lobby -- outside. When the cops came near, I saw the Dean of Students peering out from behind the last cement pillar, the one closest to the Administration building. After making certain the cops were following their orders, he was seen waddling up the hill to the Administration building.

"The rule requiring approval of all literature for distribution is unenforceable because no one charged with that duty wants to enforce it. The low-level administrative staff in the Student Activities Office who are supposed to grant (or refuse) approval and retain a copy of everything which students distribute, don't wish to be bothered. Approval involves the application of a rubber stamp to each item.

"For items of which there are hundreds or thousands of copies, only one need be stamped. For organizations, like ours, which distribute a large number of varied materials, the Activities office places its stamp of approval upon a hand-written list of literature, posters, and buttons. If the person submitting the list for approval is clever, space will be left for later additions. This saves both the organization and the Activities office further bother -- at least until the list becomes too cluttered with additions. Once, when a campus cop noticed some

items which were not included on my list, I merely added the items to some of the empty spaces, to the delight of the students who always gather around when the cops stop me.

"On one occasion when the cops arrived for their hassling ordeal, they drove up while two business students were lecturing me and several others on the subject of free speech. They knew they had no hope of altering my position, nor I theirs. We were struggling for the approval of our small audience. They had been saying that I should consider myself fortunate to be distributing anarchist literature and otherwise exercising free speech here in the United States. They further contended, with some examples well drawn, that anti-government literature would never be tolerated in some other places such as Russia, China or Cuba. I could have added a list of my own, but instead I insisted that I was sure that 'approved' literature could indeed be distributed in each of those countries. But they responded that nonetheless, here in the US we have a quality (and not just a quantity) of free speech which does not exist in places like Russia, China and Cuba.

"The policemen were obviously embarrassed and hesitated to interrupt. Indeed, they stood around for several long minutes, possibly hoping the discussion would end and these two staunch defenders of the US government would go away. Pressed, I'm sure, by important duties somewhere else, they finally interrupted: 'Do you have approval to distribute that literature? Show it to me.'

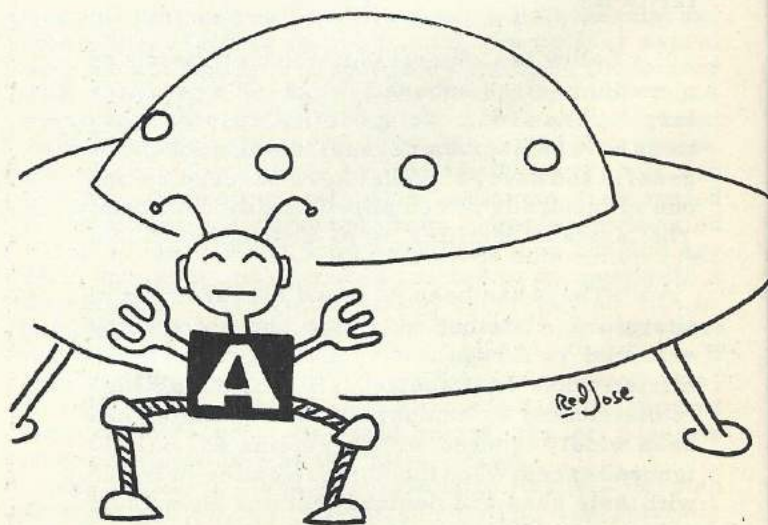
"The other students standing around took those two former (but now silent) defenders of the faith seriously to task. The lesson was complete. I only wish I could contrive such coincidences every day. People learn so much from irony."

In conclusion, one additional point needs to be made. The solution to the increasing limitations placed upon our freedoms on the campuses and in society in general, can only be found in the efforts of courageous people who assert to the fullest extent possible every freedom which we feel we have a right to exert. In this is the basis for self-management.

The men occupying administrative posts on college campuses (and indeed, in any bureaucracy anywhere) are extremely sensitive to the slightest hints dropped by more powerful men who sign or might otherwise threaten the checks received in income, or who threaten job security in some other manner. These men usually think they have attained their position entirely due to their own efforts and never consider that they

have been gleaned from a vast array of well-conditioned competitors for that position. The qualifications of the chosen few include suppleness and flexibility of principle in adapting to the new demands of their bosses, or to conditions which affect their bosses' interests. They are chosen for their initiative and creativity in devising means and techniques for the protection and extension of their bosses' interests. In so doing, and only in this way, do they see that they can protect and develop their own power and wealth. They are very much alone and isolated, in the sense of peer group identification. Their peers are only competitors and possible threats to the privileges they receive from bosses higher up in the hierarchy. But they must be careful not to offend these competitors, for one of them might advance up the ladder faster than others and then take revenge. For self-defense and protection, the best alternative they have identified for themselves is to adhere to a more powerful patron higher up and hope that as his star rises, so does their own.

Those assuming responsibility for the management of college campuses must be those who identify with the community of which they are a part. They must be committed to the principle of self-management by that community. On campuses, this community consists of faculty, students and maintenance staff. This community should be prepared to defend any one of its members from attack by some powerful person or group attempting to subvert the purposes of that community (self-defined).



"LEAD ME TO YOUR TAKER!"

TWO REVIEWS

Black & Red (Box 9540, Detroit, MI) has recently issued two new booklets: The Wandering of Humanity, and LIP and the Self-Managed Counter-revolution. As we have come to expect, they have once again demonstrated a technical expertise in the area of graphic arts which is unsurpassed.

The "Wandering" book, authored by Jacques Camatte, is translated from the french and is very difficult to read in english. The diction is leaden. The content is interesting from the point of view of the development of a marxist-leninist coming around to a revolutionary position similar to that developed by situationists and anarchists. The author was provoked in his analysis by the events in France, 1968. The essay is dated May, 1973.

Camatte asserts an opposition to delegated power, to both party and councilist organization. But his opposition appears to me to be based upon an insubstantial base. He concludes that capitalism has destroyed all classes, has ended class society, and has absorbed all class contradictions. Therefore, no class remains to activate history. No class represents the future, as does the proletariat for classical marxists. He finds class struggle has been replaced by the struggles between "gang-organizations". However, his assertions remain mostly that: mere bald assertions of his opinion with little or no substantiation. The booklet is only 60 pages, so there's not a great deal of space for demonstration. However, he does devote copious space to quotes from Marx. The space might be more convincingly used to show the reader examples from real life which support his conclusions. The essay was apparently designed to confront Communist Party members with his opinion, which he expresses in a weak reflection of some of the headier situationist phrases. Situationist texts are convoluted, wild excursions in the dramatic use of the printed word intertwined with ideas equally exciting. Camatte's work here seems flat in comparison.

Camatte throws in occasional gems, but without any real development of whatever insight he may have. For example: women's liberation is a manifestation of "the disintegration of consciousness" and "not part of the simultaneous emergence of revolutionary consciousness". In another place he shows the marxist's traditional ambiguity about capitalism (again quoting Marx) where he asserts that capital dehumanizes man and yet forces man to be human. He points out the difficulty marxists have when they claim capitalism was revolutionary in that it developed productive forces, but now the proletariat is revolutionary because it will overcome capitalism. Camatte emphasizes that the proletariat is one of those very productive forces developed by capital, and dominated by capital. He revives the discredited Lenin quote that workers are capable of only trade union consciousness.

At base of his essay is his concept of "run-away" capital. He doesn't go into it much in this essay, but he says capital was permitted to run away because communism never really opposed capital at all, but only bourgeois society. This run-away capital has emerged as a "material community". In his view, this community has emerged with the transition "from formal to real combination". The fascist, Nazi, popular front, New Deal, etc. movements were manifestations of this transition for Camatte. This insight is left hanging as he leaves this insight undeveloped while returning to his exegesis of Marx.

He repeats the old discovery that "the project of communism has been achieved by capital." Capital has abolished classes through a process of mystification. But he contradicts himself by noting that the conflicts and collisions of class struggle are still present. This is the biggest weakness in his argument. If he is genuinely attempting to combat the classical marxist view of class struggle and proletarian consciousness, I think he fails to seriously dent it. I'm certain few marxists will be convinced. I am not. Mere recital, as he does, of the situationist phrases about the reification of consciousness and comparisons of parties and consciousness to religious sects and their beliefs falls very much short of any real theoretical development.

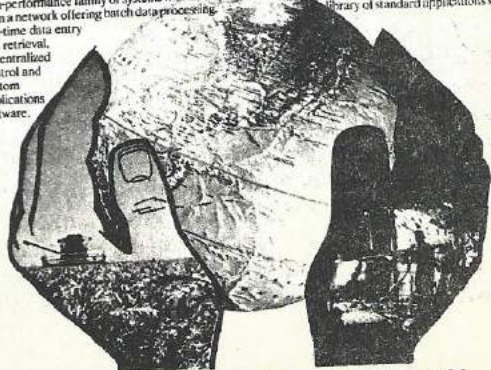
Camatte makes the good point that Capital is alive, vital and dangerous. Even if not true, it's a good attitude to take for revolutionary self-preservation. Capitalism won't be defeated by believing that it will self-destruct without any rebels pushing it. In sum, Camatte's book may be a good one to confuse unsophisticated marxist-leninists. It contains a faint expression of a rebellious spirit. If it provokes any marxist to question the party concept, it will have served a good use.

CAPITAL

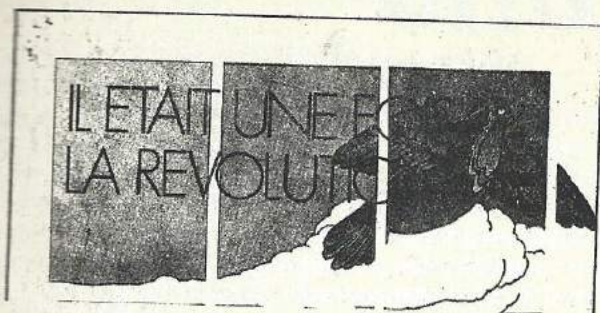
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The "LIP" book, arriving as it did in the same envelope with the Camatte book, is immediately notable for contradicting that book and reaffirming the traditional view of class struggle. However, the comfort one might feel with friendly and familiar formulations is rudely shattered by the claim that there is nothing in the LIP struggle which is "our" (Negation's) struggle.

Negation describes several failures which became evident during and after the LIP struggle. Most of these failures are attributed to the LIP struggle itself, rather than to the general struggle in society. LIP is seen as a manifestation of unionism based upon single firms. The process is described as the absorption of politics and democracy by Capital. In this area, the book is a theoretical companion to Camatte's book. LIP's blow against private ownership of capital struck a horse that was already dead, or nearly so, they say. This is so because in the current development of capitalism, personal ownership of capital has become a barrier to capitalist production. Only managers are needed. Although this book is sufficient in its explanations from real life on most points, on this point we are left without any development of this idea. Negation never explains why this is so in their 90 page book. Do they mean to say that personal owners no longer exist? Or no longer participate in the development of capital? Of course they don't come out with this assertion. Having thrown out the idea, they let it drop hastily. For them, LIP is a mere example of one type of those necessary managers--the management of Capital by workers.

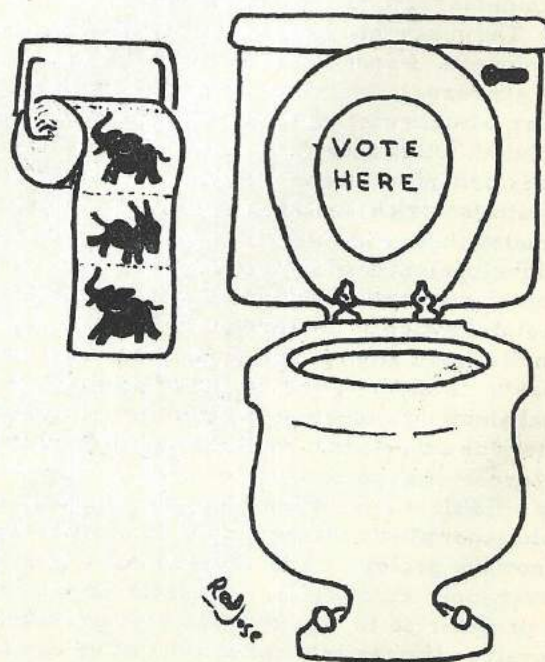
Negation explains the failure of the LIP experience to be the revolution by citing a number of components: Capital has not achieved "real domination" in the watch-making industry in France; no real solidarity was developed by spreading take-overs to other areas. The elements of this failure appear to be "blamed" on the LIP workers. Most of the items for which they are held at fault are things the LIP workers alone had no power over. The failure of solidarity is

a failure of the whole french workers movement. The LIP workers are justly taken to task for their demands to pay themselves the same wages they received before their take-over. But they are unjustly criticized for demands to maintain their employment. Negation compares this to the unprecedented efforts to preserve the wage system just as that system was self-destructing in the depression of the 30's.

In their summary on the false promise of "self-management", Negation asserts it is designed to save capitalism, that it will cause war, and recuperate the position of Capital by destroying productive forces. The book is very dogmatic in its statements about what communism "is", rather than describing themselves as communist, and then presenting their views for our consideration. Too much of the book appears too particular to the current french experience to be of great value here. Their wrap-up is that self-management is mere participation of wage slaves in the maintenance of their own slavery. But is this so new? The perpetuation of capitalism has long seemed to have been based on "the recreation of daily life", with all its oppression and slavery. For those who have followed the discussions of the LIP struggle in the anti-authoritarian press in this country there will be few new insights into the general issues around LIP.

For me, both these books were a disappointment as I read them. I am accustomed to seeing the most thought-provoking, exciting, fun books (which are also useful to revolutionaries) from Black & Red. I will recommend any other book on their catalog before these two.

--Jim Bumpas



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Liberterranean

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.... an earth whose land and other resources are freely and equally available to all.

.... an earth free from the ravages of war, pollution, industrial expansion and control by people out of harmony with their natural environment.

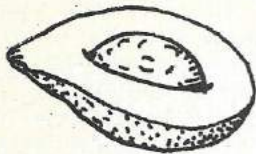
LIBER = FREE

TERRA = EARTH



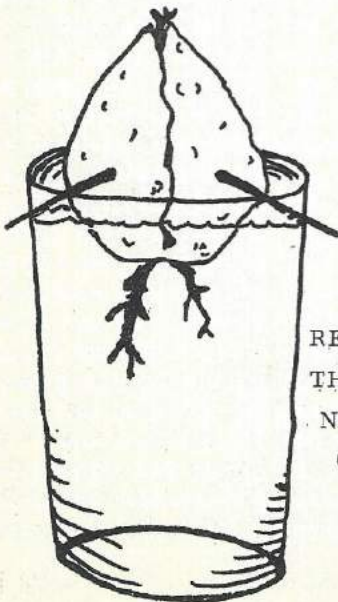
PLANT PARENTHOOD

THE ADVOCADO
THE ADVOCADO
THE ADVOCADO



by MiMi★

One of the first things you must know about your avocado seed is which end is up. The seed usually has a pointed end and a flatish end. The flatish end is the end that roots. There are two methods in which one can germinate an avocado seed. The most fascinating of these methods is the water method. Fascinating because you can watch the roots grow. To lessen the chances of your seed rotting I suggest that at this point you let your seed soak in warm water for a couple of hours till the brownish outer layer can be taken off. After you have given your seed a warm bath stick three toothpicks in the upper half. The toothpicks keep your seed from falling to the bottom of the jar. Keep your jar filled with fresh water as much as possible. If you let your water go too low the seed will dry out and eventually rot. (cloudy water is a sign of rotting) If for some reason your seed rots and you did everything right don't worry you just got hold of a sterile seed. Keep trying.



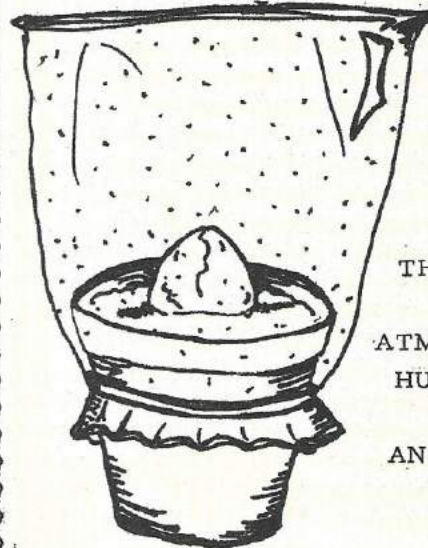
REMEMBER TO CHANGE
THE WATER OFTEN AND
NEVER LET THE ROOTS
OUT OF WATER.

The second method of germinating is in soil. When germinating in soil you should make sure that the pot which you use is a good size. Avocados love lots of room. Place the seed in the middle of the pot with the upper 1/4 exposed. Keep the soil very moist. The

seed likes a lot of water. If you want to get fancy you can either put the pot in a big plastic bag or slip the bag over the pot creating an air bubble then secure the bag to the side of the pot with rubber bands. This creates an atmosphere of 100% humidity and thus becomes a womb for your seed.

After the seed has been germinated, you must transplant it. When transplanting the seed you should be careful not to damage the roots. Make sure you transplant it to a large pot. If you're transplanting a seed which has been rooted by water be really careful when taking the toothpicks off, making sure you don't split the seed in half. Place your rooted seed in a sunny window. In a couple of weeks there should be a stem coming from the seed. If you cut the stem it will encourage new leaves to grow. Keep pinching and you will have a very attractive looking plant.

Sometimes leaves turn yellow or brittle around the edges if this happens pinch off the leaf. Once a leaf starts to yellow there is nothing you can do for it. Yellowing occurs when there is too little light or when there is not enough. If you are worried about too many leaves yellowing, try repotting, cutting the stem down to 6" from the earth, and using less fertilizer.



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BECOMES
AN ARTIFICIAL WOMB.

If you don't know what to do with your avocado try one of these recipes for Guacamole:

CLASSIC GUACAMOLE

2 medium avocados
1/2 medium onion, finely chopped
leaves from 4 large sprigs of green coriander, finely chopped
1/4 teaspoon salt, or to taste
1 large tomatoe

CC SRAF GUACAMOLE

1 large agvocado
1 large green onion
1 large tomatoe
1/4 teaspoon pepper
1 dash of oregano
1/4 teaspoon salt, or to taste
1/4 of a medium green pepper, finely chopped
1/2 teaspoon chile powder
1/2 teaspoon mustard (stone ground is best)

Mash the avocado with a fork and mix the other ingredients in. Mix well. Eat with corn chips, tortilla chips, or potatoe chips.

Declaration of the Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation

The overwhelming majority of people have no control over the direction or the use to which our lives are put. We fight for self-direction, self-initiation, self-management and the end to all bosses and leaders. We fight for economic freedom, where we can all enjoy the full leisure and wealth we produce, or are kept from producing.

Instead of government, which takes power from us and gives only the weakness of slavery, we propose the cooperative federation of equal people, full of the dignity which authorities and their functionaries deny.

Instead of taxation and the profit system which pretends to distribute wealth and resources in an equitable manner, we propose collective self-management of our surpluses, and collective rationing of any scarcities.

These collective decisions shall be made by popular assemblies, general and open to all. Thus constituted, all will have access to those with the knowledge of how to make, move or produce all things and services; and to those who actually have the needs to be met.

In other words, we will all have access to each other. No longer will bureaucracies isolate us from each other. Gone will be the leaders and the technicians who claim to know, or claim the exclusive expertise to be able to find out how to do everything from making match-books to bargaining for us, for our benefit.

Without the social distortion produced by tax and profit systems, we can cease the production which is a mere waste of time and resources; and which will suffocate everyone in the service of profit and the power accumulations of a very few ruling parasites.

We fight joyfully, irreverently, and resolutely against all hierarchies, all bosses and leaders, all mediating authority. Bureaucrats are a doomed species.

We relate among ourselves as absolute equals, deserving of equal dignity in all things regardless of strength of mind and body. In federation we develop the audacity to change the world.

But no unity can be coerced. As heretics, we invite heresy. Any locality (self-defined) can veto any decision made on a more general basis as it applies to that locality. Dissenting minorities are not to be denied the means of adequate existence to maintain their intellectual, spiritual or physical independence. In the SRA Federation, dissenting minorities cannot be expelled, or denied recognition as anarchists, or even as members of the SRA Federation. Any resignation by a minority must be voluntary and a part of that minority's process of self-determination.

We federate together to practice anarchist forms of relating among people for social and private purposes.

We practice now the forms we want to see develop further, along with new forms, in the revolutionary society we will help to build.

We federate together now to force our strength for the maximum impact on society which our energy and our numbers can create.

We federate now, not for our children, but so that we ourselves may enjoy the fruits of our efforts. If we do this, there will be a future for our children to build and shape in their own way.

The wreckers of the world--the profit takers, the leaders, generals, popes, and presidents, the authorities and their functionaries, the bureaucrats--have been doing their worst to us for long enough! It must now end.

It is clear that an anarchist society lies in the future and not in the past. Join with us for yourselves and your future.

(adopted by general assembly of the bulletin April-August, 1972.)

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