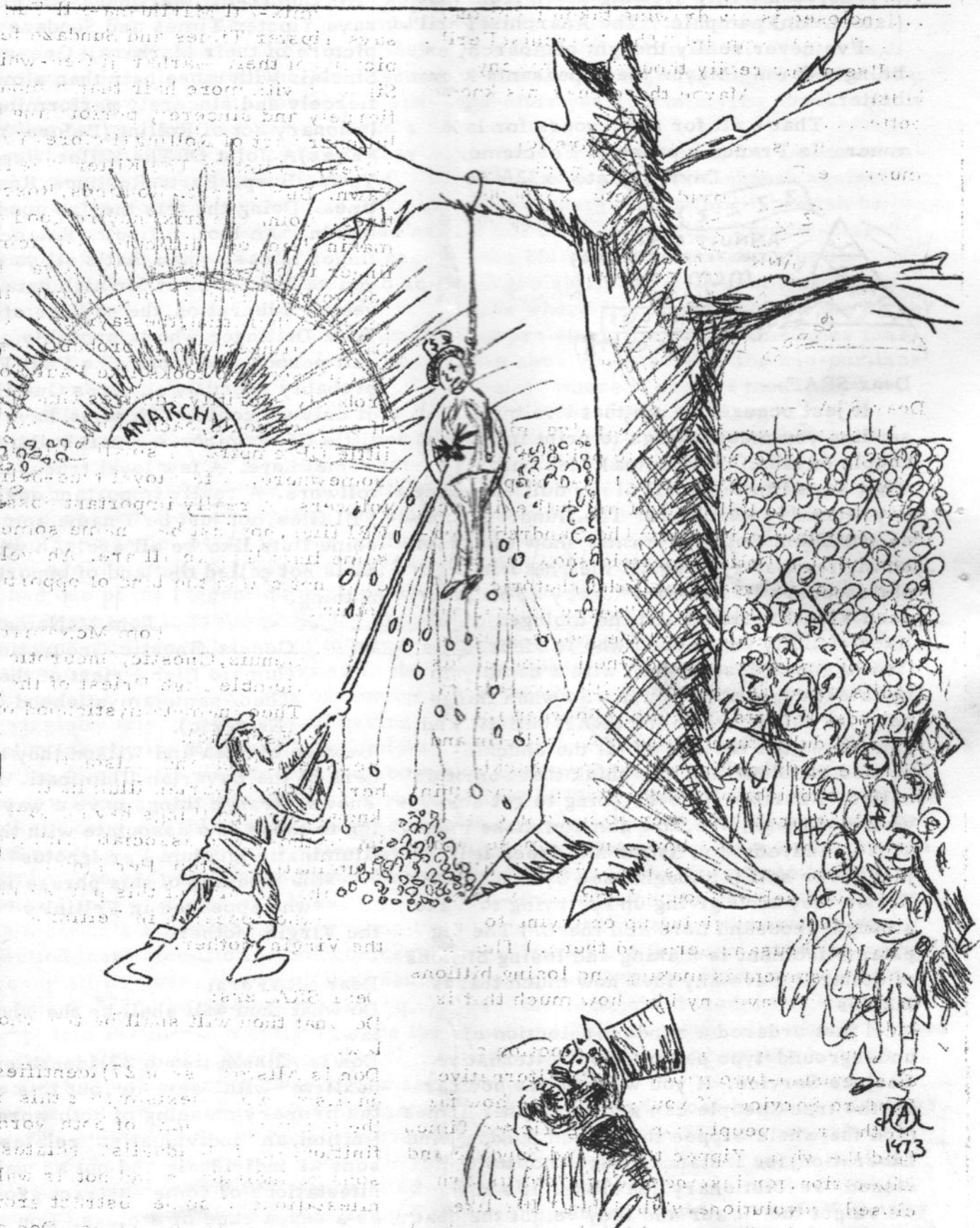


ANARCHIST AGITATORS

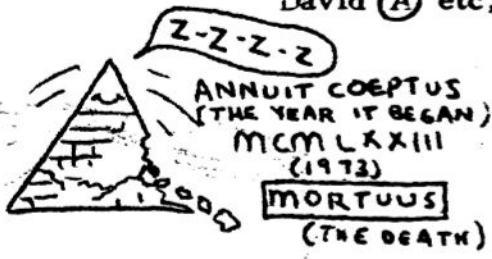


DA 1973

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA:

... enclosed is my drawing taken from that (iste-Latin) pamphlet "The Anarchist Peril". ... I've never really thought of Anarchy as being a dawn. Maybe these peasants know better....

That's all for now, yours for la muera de Franco y passo el Fascismo, David (A) etc, x3Z6806



Dear SRAF--

It jest ocured to me that i've missed sending you meanderings to print in the last couple of ishs. Mea culpa! Mea culpa!** What have i to tell u'all of my dull existence, day after day waiting for The Hundred Thousand Million Dollar Pyramid show to appear on my teeves, reading all the rhetoric of philosophers like Gerald "Jerry" Ford, our used Vice President and the thologee of the likes of Bully Grayhound who is afeered his God is gonna destroy him with a cataclysm by latest reports. I would. So when things get real dull I turn to the SRAF bulletin and chuckle at the ravings of all the chuckle-headed bubblebrains who think that somethin' called "Anarchy" is ever going to get anywhere. I mean, like, how can you make money at it? And, anyway, its fun and free. It'll just never sell (although I see by my Yipster Times they ain't giving up on trying to make a couple thousand here and there.) The big estamblishment is making and losing billions of dollars! Have any idea how much that is kiddies?

I just ordered a random selection of underground-type papers from Alternative Feature Service. If you want to see how far off the track people can get dig Yipster Times (and the whole Yippee thang) and Sundaze and Liberation, for instance. Each into its own closed "revolutionary"(ha!)bag. It's like we've got the flower and they've got the dead leaves. Or something. What looked so "new"

in 1966 really looks old-hat now and on-and on they go with it. Why not walk away?

"All Comix-All Marijuana-All Fun Issue" says Yipster Times and Sundaze features a picture of their Marharaji Gee-whiz John Sinclair with more hair than a moulting yak fiercely and sincerely performing the revolutionary act of Rolling (Before*Your*Very *Eyes)A Joint Of The Killer Weed! Ho hum Yawn. Burp. Fart. Routines, Roscoe, routines. Doing the trix they're good at and makin' 'em look difficult. Balancing on one finger is easy when that's all ya can do and you've been doin' it for nigh onta 12 or 15 years. Liberation, the sayings of Chairman Dave Dellinger who is probably a nice but dull person who looks like Paul Ford and probably secritlly admires Gus Hall. Oh, if only we could, each of us, have our own little CP empire. A small building in acity somewhere. A few loyal true-believing follwers. A really important dossier at the FBI files, not just be a name somewhere on some lists like we all are. Ah well, America is not called the land of opportunity for nothing.

Tom McNamara,
Genuis, Gnostic, Gneurotic and
Humble High Priest of the Para-
TheoAnametamystichood of Eris
(Esoteric).

Beware of Shea and Wilson they are members of the Bavarian Illuminati. Everyone knows, strange things have a way of happen- ing to those who associate with the dreaded Illuminati. Ignotum Per Ignotus*

*the meaning of this phrase is unknown
**who appeared in Fellini's "6-1/4" as the Virgin Mother.

Dear SRAFers:

Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the law.

Don is Allston (issue 27) identifies "individualism" with "sexism", but this contradict the primary meaning of both words. By definition, an "individualist" relates to persons as individuals and not as walking manifestations of some abstract groups such as a sex, a race or a class. Don either doesn't understand "individualism" or

doesn't understand "sexism".

Of course, both "individualism" and "sexism" are words that have acquired penumbras of inarticulate connotations in addition to their primary denotation. I pointed out some issues back that "sexism" originally denoted an attitude similar to "racism" but has acquired a mare's nest of subsidiary and contradictory extended meanings, including the felony of daring to disagree with any female (or, in Tyrone Walls' case, any male) self-elected as spokesperson for all womankind. In that case, of course, the individualist by declining to accept dogma will be a "sexist" (secondary meaning) by refusing to be a "sexist" (primary meaning), ie, by refusing to accept an individual as the embodied Essence of a group.

Incidentally, Don's further remark that his history of promiscuity proves he is not a puritan seems naive to me. Puritanism seldom controls personal behavior and consists only of an obsession with controlling the behavior of other people. Many famous puritans were quite promiscuous, and Sumner, the Bookburner, had one of the biggest collections of "obscene" literature in history. By the same token, a virgin who doesn't attempt to interfere with other people is not a puritan in the social-historical sense, but just a person on a private virginity trip. At the risk of having my passion for clarity dismissed as "childish" again by Dr. Luoma, let me add that the above does not say Don is a puritan and that anybody who thinks it does say that needs a course in remedial reading. It is so tiring, after having said p, to have to answer attacks based on the assumption I said q, or x, or z.

John McLeod's attack on science sums to the assertion that scientific method confuses "if p, then q" (if the theory is right, the result of experiment should be so-and-so) with "q, therefore p" (the result came out, therefore the theory is true.) Well, no, John; not quite.

Every experimental scientist as aware as John that such a procedure is inferential, not certain. The method is the comparison over many years of hundreds of such models, in which all the variables of p are manipulated in various ways until among subsets p-1, p-2,

p-n, a generalized p-x appears which possesses the highest human probability of truth. This, again, is still not certainty, but it is somewhat more sophisticated than John's simplification. Of course, if he has a method giving higher probability, or (better yet!) certainty, he should tell us about it.

At the risk of having Dr. Luoma escalate his charge of childishness against me to a charge of infantility, I wish he wd tell us if he is using "middle-class" in the Marxist sense meaning petite bourgeoisie, in the colloquial American sense where it includes most of the higher paid proletariat, or (as I sometimes fear) in an abusive sense, like the neo-puritans' "sexist" where it doesn't mean anything.

Robert Anton Wilson

CU-SRAF (Champaign, Illinois):
Joffre, Randal, & other SRAFeds,

Randal, I'm in full agreement with your observation about bureaucrats within "revolutionary" organizations. Unfortunately, the bigger an organization becomes, the stronger the tendency toward creating a hierarchy (this is not to say a hierarchy is necessary). This situation need not be the "kiss of death" to the organization as long as the organization is illegitimate (activity is restricted to direct action). As soon as the organization becomes involved in "legitimate" politics (elections, or govt participation), the bureaucrats become the "spokesmen" of the organization which means they are de facto leaders. Once this happens, the rank and file members can still criticize the actions of the organization but they can not act on behalf of it, unless they are given the go-ahead from the recognized leaders of the organization. This is essentially what happened to the CNT in Spain, when they became part of the govt.

Joffre, what is your hang-up on Jesus? I say your letter in #26 and am quite surprised you could call him an anarchist. Somehow you've ignored the fact that he made a point of establishing his authority

divinity, and that he was not to be questioned by his followers but he was to be accepted purely on faith. This is the line given by demagogues, not libertarians. At the same time, who could forget his famous words, "Give unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's"? This was an acceptance of govt and religious domination, not a rejection of them.

I realize that coming from a christian background and the fact that jesus was non-violent could lead you to the assumption that "jesus was an anarchist". The first sentiment, however, reeks of hero-worship and as for the second, non-violence does not equal anarchism(it can be submission to authority).

I am not quite sure what you are referring to when you said that the leninist used violence to sucker the anarchists in 1917 and 1936. During the Spanish revolution, it was the authoritarian communist call for an end to inter-left violence(for the sake of the "popular front"), which resulted in the co-optation of the movement. When the CNT revolted in Barcelona, the anarchists accepted a truce with the CP-dominated govt. The next day the streets were controlled by communist troops. In this case, a call to non-violence was used to "sucker the anarchists".

Now I'm sure you will point out that the "popular front" involved violence against the fascists. Yet to imply a tactic of passive non-violence against the fascists would have achieved a revolution is absurd. As can be seen in modern spain(&recently in Greece), authoritarians do not hesitate from using violence against political dissidents. How can an anarchist revolution survive unless we are ready to defend it from authoritarian aggression? If you feel that anarchism can not survive in an atmosphere of violence, the revolution you envision has about as much chance as the creation of the kingdom of jesus on earth.

Everyone, we(anarchists in Champaign-Urbana) have managed to put together another issue of the WALRUS(a community oriented anarchist newspaper). We have mailed

copies to all of the SRAF chapters. If anyone else would like to see it, please send us 15cents or 5cents and an 8cent stamp (this will help to pay for printing and postage). Unfortunately the paper is having financial problems so if you like our paper we could use the bread(this might be our last issue if we don't get any support). Thanks for your support.

In Solidarity, Jeff Stein (CU-SRAF)

NEW YORK CITY:

The Hunter Libertarian Alliance has issued a call for anarchists of the North American continent to meet at Hunter college April 19, 20, and 21, 1974 to take part in a conference to organize a "first continental anarchist congress". They are lining up the following sponsoring groups: Freespace Alternate U, Come!Unity Press Living Theatre Collective, Vegetarian Activist Collective, Ecology Action East, and Faggot and Dyke Anarchists. Included are members of the IWW and the New York Switchboard.

They ask for reactions, input, and feedback from anarchists on the entire continent. For more information write to: Hunter Libertarian Alliance, 49 East 65th St, New York, NY 10021; or phone: (212) 675-3043 or 228-0322.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS:

Comrades: Anyone interested in planting a marker at the site of Emma Goldman's farm in Ossining, NY, please contact me between Dec. 16 and Jan. 1(too late, now).

Linda Bumpas and I and a few others keep complaining about the unfriendly way debate is carried on; yet the same nit-picking, wordplay and distortion continue. Sometimes wit is criticised as if it were serious (see the response to Carter and Flynn); other times serious comment is pushed to extremes and ridiculed (see the response to Arlene Meyer's "love isn't free" which deserved pondering on, but was dismissed as legislation or a semantic error).

Many of us do tend to put our ideas in language that sounds like laying down the

law: "women should fuck more," "there's no substitute for tax refusal," "the only cure is free love ideology," "men must learn to identify and accept the female principle," "we shouldn't use 'free love' except where the meaning is clear," "the only solution is the general strike," etc. More attention to tone wouldn't hurt, but I suggest we take such phrases as shorthand and criticize the ideas on their merits and not on the issue of whether the author was laying down a correct line and therefore being anti-libertarian. This particularly for those who dismiss all shouting about how lousy and exploiting sex can be, and say that's the dogma of the anti-sex league.

The Joffre Stewart-Roger McCain argument on strategy could be thought provoking if purged of mean personal attacks and distortions. At the risk of being tedious, let me catalog these in detail. (1) It is unfair to suggest that JS's thought is religious, since JS has obviously chosen only those parts of the Bible which support anarchism, and used them to provoke thought (some say, just to provoke). He's not asking SRAF (tho he might ask Jesus Freaks) to be anarchist because Jesus was, but rather to recognize the anarchism in Jesus' thought and bring it into our "enlightenment" campaigns where useful. (2) JS' suggestion that RM's "democratitis" disqualifies him for anarchism, as well as the earlier suggestion that WAP leave SRAF are too close to excommunications for me. True, SRAF principles are against voting, but if we make those principles into a "correct line" we shall go the way of other left sectarians. RM clearly holds that voting is irrelevant but that a non-voting campaign is futile. JS could argue the point without accusing RM of making the public think anarchy has "no more foundation than a sick stomach." RM's alternative strategies deserve serious treatment. (3) I've been angry at JS myself for "clever wordplay." I thought avoided the issues, but RM is just as guilty in dismissing JS' whole philosophy as "solipsisms," in calling the advocacy of tax refusal "conservative" (futile, unkind, or elitist, perhaps, but what is it conserving, what status does it defend?), and in putting down

JS as ignorant of social science. (To say Joffre's "evidently quite brilliant, but" only extends the ad hominem attack.)

(4) I agree people live within a "social process" that is largely outside the consciousness of most of them. However, if "freedom" exists at all (presumably the SRAFed agrees it does), it surely means that people can step out from this unconscious social process and question, criticize, change and transcend it. I don't suppose RM denies this, but rather wants to emphasize how limited will be each individuals' taste of freedom and how unwise it is to expect people to make huge breaks with their conditioning, or for "revolutions" to get too far from popular aspirations. JS seems to say that everyone should make the largest break s/he can--both for the action's exemplary value and because to do less would put limits on one's newly-created freedom. Obviously, such "autonomous beings" can still be locked up. I think RM is as wrong to insist on a literal meaning to "autonomous beings cannot be forced," as I would be wrong to insist on taking literally his statement: "no one is in control of the state: no one is less free than the bosses themselves." If freedom means the ability to escape the unconscious social process, criticize society, imagine and work for a better world, then the bosses are the least free. But this is precisely the definition of freedom that RM calls "poetical" and assumes JS doesn't mean. If we do stick to literal material freedom, then surely the bosses have more of it--freedom from want, freedom from (some kinds anyway of) fear, freedom of movement, freedom of speech (ok, repressive tolerance). They are in control at least enough to get most of the wealth for themselves, and to do some manipulating of public opinion. I'll agree that the "masses" get the rulers they "deserve" or "want" at any given time, but those wants have been manipulated by previous rulers, using partly conscious techniques. If people have humane and libertarian ideas now, these

are combined with unpleasant ones. The "revolutionary" can encourage the humane ones show how the state tramples on them, and thus fosters criticism and resistance. But to get a more just society people will have to renounce (or forget, or lose, or not develop) certain selfish aspirations (Arlen Wilson writes well on this). We cannot go on being exactly the same people we have been conditioned to be if we are to smash the state or live without one. So the difference between RM's advice and JS' is one of degree. We can usefully discuss whether one should advise a high degree of state-renunciation and risk scaring off most people, or be more low-key and risk not really changing anyone's attachment to the state.

(5) RM is right that the state could find alternatives to overt taxes, but since JS has defined anarchy as "no cops-no courts-no jails-no taxes" at least 8000 times, it's a distortion to say he'd accept as anarchy a state with cops paid from corporation funds. (6) It is also a distortion to say that in JS' universe there are "no non-voluntary organizations." Surely he is saying how it should be, and would be if all (or a majority, or enough) decided to assert the autonomy they do not now claim. True, if you assert it right now you'll probably end up in jail; since JS has also written quite a lot about what to do when arrested, it's obvious his meaning of autonomy doesn't mean the option to "travel in peace." We all agree that no one is very autonomous under the present system. JS is saying that we're more autonomous if we free ourselves of the mental shackles of accepting our unfreedom as necessary and/or legitimate, and that we find our liberty in fighting back. (7) Thus the comparison with the highwayman isn't wholly apt, since everyone would agree he'd no right to the money, while many think the state has a right to taxes and we need cops and jails. (8) RM argues that there are more effective ways to de-legitimize the state than the kinds of direct resistance JS proposes. I think that many people do see JS' strategy as "moral perfectionism" out of touch with the aspirations and capabilities of the many and therefore an impractical

"moral renunciation" for the few who try it (Premature vanguardism, as our trot friend say.) But I wonder if those who advocate milder methods are any more effective. And what, by the way, are the criteria for judging effectiveness?

It's all a relevant strategical question, it is in fact the question for the whole left, since even the marxists say the state will disappear eventually. What is to be done? I wish we could discuss it without RM accusing JS of requiring people to be supermen and of manipulating them, and without JS being so sure he has "a correct idea of anarchism."

Eschew ad hominem attacks for peace,

Deb Brewster

SRAF,

I'm glad the silly debate on "free love" has ended. Too many people were threatened by what they thought I said rather than what I actually wrote. If my words confuse or anger you, please read them again.

I never intended my remarks on sexism to constitute a criminal charge. Sexism is learned attitudes & behavior, not a congenital disease. In no sense do I consider Bob Wilson and Joffre Stewart criminals. I disagree with what they write, as I feel their writing shows a lack of awareness of women's oppression, but neither Bob nor Joffre interferes with my work or my life. Unfortunately, some misguided anarchists seem to feel that disagreeing with anyone justifies using sabotage and slander against that individual. Disagreement among ourselves is inevitable, but look at what we do to ourselves and each other in the way we are handling our differences.

Aside from a few enlightened individuals, too many of us who call ourselves "anarchists" don't know much about anarchism. To me, that still indicates a priority on internal education, communication, discussion, study groups and the ongoing development of critiques and literature as in the SRAF print project. Champaign-Urbana SRAF has set up a discussion program with anarchist speakers. We need more of the same everywhere.

Kris Alixopulos' point about revolutionaries being people "open to struggle" bears repeating here. Not adherence to dogma, or correct lines, but "open to struggle." I find I can't work with people who are closed to me personally and politically, altho I can and do work with people who aren't necessarily in agreement with my political ideas.

Pam Stovall: I agree with much of what you and Carlene Flynn say, but if you know of any feminist organization in Chicago which isn't authoritarian, reformist or exclusive, I'll be glad to join. No point in dropping out into isolation.

John Krug: Sorry I offended you with that crack about the human popsicle society. Why not try re-incarnation? At least you can come back in a fresh body.

I'm having problems with SIREN because we can't produce enough copies for distribution, or up the quality of production for more commercial distribution. The last 3 issues are sold out. Our problem is resources, not energy. Would some anarcho-angel send down a mimeo, 10,000 reams of paper and money for mailings? We're also planning an anarcho-feminist anthology, and I'd like to see us present as broad a representation of views as possible. We'd like to include biographical material on anarchist women, material on power relationships, sexuality, children, organizing experiences and a heavy piece on theory. I'm anxious to see our ideas in wider circulation, but our hassle is resources. Heather Beyer is working on the book in Toronto, but I'm also collecting and developing material here. I'd like to hear from women who have ideas and material for such a book; write me, c/o Solidarity, 713 W. Armitage, Chicago, IL 60614.

I don't know how other people feel, but I find that truly libertarian forms of organization are only possible with people who are open, aware and responsible. Hierarchies emerge in voluntary situations because people are either indifferent to what's actually happening, or unwilling to assume responsibility. Particularly when it means some honest criticism and dialogue within the collective structure. Once individuals assume leadership

roles in the absence of collective responsibility, it becomes harder to prevent the centralization of information and power. This isn't so serious when fairly privileged individuals organize themselves, because they have enough internal resources -- money, education, experience, skills, etc -- to reorganize elsewhere, but it can prove disastrous among the poor and people conditioned to powerlessness.

I find that with the exception of the upper classes, most of us are conditioned to fear authority, not to be leaders ourselves. I also find that insecure people with weak egos and great emotional needs for status and recognition are likelier to become tyrannical authoritarians in any position of power or responsibility, and this is as true of anarchists as marxists. Most of us are unaware of these needs because we rarely get an opportunity to exercise real power. We should be aware of our emotional and ego needs because self-knowledge is critical to libertarian organization. We learn about ourselves by actively engaging in struggle; observing, reading, discussing, doing. Revolution is a continual process of growth and change.

Solidarity & Stuff,

Arlene Meyers

AA A A A A A Struggling Together

Number 4 of the Bulletin of Surrealist Information has appeared, December, 1973. Their new address is c/o Franklin Rosemont, 2257 N. Hanssen, Chicago, IL 60614.

Dear SRA Friends,

I have great admiration for Makhno and Durutti and I think they did what seemed necessary for their situation at the time. But if somebody will convince me that shooting people who don't follow orders is an anarchist act, then I will also be ready to believe that the classless society is right around the corner in Russia and that Adolf Hitler is a good example of an individualist. How many impossible things is it that you're supposed to believe before breakfast? As for as the debate about whether anarchists should aim or plan for a violent revolution goes, I will continue to uphold the negative in this discussion, but I sort of feel we're in a position resembling that of two men lost in the Sahara arguing about whether they should take a plane or a ship home after they find their way to the coast. Let's defer the debate on whether there should be a revolutionary anarchist army until the day when the willing and educated wo/manpower exists to form such an army. I am presuming that no one would wish to form such an army until there is a chance of its overcoming the US govt, defeating all attempts to form a substitute govt, driving out foreign invaders and, withal, remaining so unswervingly loyal to anarchist ideals that it disbands the instant it is no longer needed. What shall we roughly guess we need? 500,000 men and women ready to submit to military discipline? Ok--if anyone wants to argue that this army in the form of immediately available recruits exists here and now, let us have his evidence. If we're agreed that the anarchist army can't spring into action today, let us agree to defer debate about violence vs. non-violence until the potential for effective violence actually exists. Viewed from this perspective, I would think everyone could agree that we need more anarchists, to do whatever has to be done in whatever way they decide to do it. The most important question is not, what will the anarchists do when there are enough of them? but How to persuade enough people to become anarchists so that the anarchists can do something effective? With this second

question we are in the realm of reality and have left romantic fantasy behind.

Really, it occurs to me that every issue being discussed in the SRAF bulletin could be referred back to that question, How do we get more anarchists? If it's not relevant to that question, it's probably not relevant. This does not exclude theoretical discussion, of course, since only by determining what we mean by anarchism can we decide what to tell others about anarchism. But what's important is discussion of what individuals can do to propagate the ideas of anarchism, how local groups can best function and maintain themselves, what kind of demonstrations, propaganda and direct action will attract people and turn them on rather than off, what federations and communications networks can do and how they should be organized. We should also discuss anarchist use of the various communications media from word of mouth through publications, to radio and TV. Oh, yes, and let's quit bickering among ourselves. That would help, too.

There is no governor present anywhere
Bob Shea

SPOKANE SRAF (Spokane, Washington):
Fellow anarcho-maniacs,

We received the SRAF bulletin today and the "anarchy" buttons a while back. I'm personally hunting for the SRAF "US Out of America Now" button (srafprint note: the button reads "US Out of North America"), that some fellow SRA Fed might want to sell. Any idea where I might be able to find one?

YIP in Spokane is working hard on getting a park for a New Nation pavilion during Expo '74 (Exploit '74!), a world environmental fair that is going to be held here. So far, we're having good luck with it! We hope the New Nation park will provide a good alternative to the phoney world's fair. Some of the exhibits include the USSR, Kodak, Ford, Bell Telephone, Kanada, the federal govt, the Philippines, Republic of China, and at least a dozen more fascist countries and corporate exploiters. It looks

as if Spokane is going to be fun city in the summer of '74. We hope to see a lot of the people that read this bulletin here for the pig roast. Some of the fun will include the annual yip smoke-in, Bastille Day, International Yippie Day and a million other surprises. Best of all, the park will provide an example to the world that we can all live together without bullshit leaders and the crutch of govt. Yippie!

We are glad to get the bulletin. We in Spokane have had a hassle about SRAF. The three of us who are federated with SRAF have been bummed out because of SRAF's lack of life. A lot of people consider SRAF to be a bunch of critical armchair revolutionaries. By that, I mean, no action and a fuck of a lot of words. Most people we run into aren't into boring anarchist theories, and neither are we. I personally get bored just as much with anarchist theory as I do with communist theory. Fuck that! People get turned on by action, whether it be demonstration type shit or building alternative "institutions" (like papers, food co-ops, etc) I hope that a lot of yippies will join SRAF to give them some energy, but I do hope, too that SRAF will find some of its own. I'm also sorry to see a lot of boring anarchists join yip and such our energy; after all, that's what Jerry and Abbie did. I know a lot of boring anarchists have joined yip to reinforce "our anarchist tendencies", but if that includes theoretical boring bullshit, then yip can do without it. Yip has more going for it than any group around and it's growing. I hope SRAF can rescue itself from extinction because it has a lot of potential. All power to the imagination!

I've got to close, but I'll write soon. I know I'm going to catch a lot of shit for this letter, but that's okay too. Write on people.

yippie! yours in the spirit of love
and revolution, Rick for SPOKANE
YIP and SRAF

SF-SRAF (San Francisco, California):

I would like to say a few words in defense of Jesus Christ. He was put to death as a result of collusion between the Jewish church and the Roman state. This indicates that he must have been some kind of threat to both.

Revolutionaries have generally been down on Jesus, because he is supposed to have preached obedience to the masters. Yet even the most conservative clergymen admit that he assaulted the bankers and fleshpeddlers in the Temple, and in the early days of the IWW he was known as fellow worker Jesus and Jerusalem Slim. Thus it doesn't sound plausible to say they would have executed him for preaching obedience. There must have been some other reason.

The first european christians were mostly workers and slaves. They met secretly in the sewers beneath Rome, practiced communism among themselves (Acts II, 44-45), and denied that the emperor was a god; persecution merely increased their numbers. I am sure that in those days they understood Jesus a lot differently than we do now. You may have some idea of what I mean by this if you have read Wilhelm Reich's "The Murder of Christ", a book which was burned by order of the US govt.

One of Reich's insights is that Jesus was not a misogynist. "There can be no doubt," said Reich, "Christ knew women and love in the body as he knew so many other things natural." Much earlier than Reich, Proudhon said, "The truth of Christianity did not survive the age of the apostles," thus even Proudhon admitted the possibility of a christian truth. It perished after the well to do classes began to enter the church. This happened because the empire was falling apart while the church was growing stronger. Faced with extinction as a class, the Roman aristocrats embraced Christianity much as certain elements of the Russian bourgeoisie joined the Bolshevik Party after 1918.

This graffiti
is now appearing
on walls in workers
neighborhoods in Barcelona

CNT

(A)

The Christian churches since the time of Constantine have been Christian in the same way that the Bolshevik Party is revolutionary.

At first they thought they could get rid of Jesus by killing him, but afterwards a rumor went around that he had risen from the dead. What was more frightening, the slaves then began to organize themselves in his name. In order to stop this, the ruling class had to get control of the organization (the Church) from within. Their task was facilitated because in those days not everyone could read and write. The method was to censor or distort certain things that had been said or written about Jesus earlier.

Everything they liked about him, his supposed meekness for example (in actuality his refusal to go on a competitive power trip), was called "God" or "divine". On the other hand, everything about him which they hated and feared was called "Satan" or "the Anti-Christ". The great truth which has been hidden from believers is that the Son of God and Savior of man is the same person as the devil.

Both Proudhon and Bakunin admired Satan as a rebel against Jehovah's tyranny. It was this same daimon who helped our first parents free themselves from the childlike prison of Eden. In one of the forbidden versions of the myth, he did it by teaching Eve how to fuck and encouraging her to teach Adam. There is probably a correlation between this and Reich's idea that the roots of political and economic oppression are identical.

This reminds me of Joh Allegro's theory that "Jesus" is really a code-name for a psychedelic mushroom, the amanita muscaria. Many of the witches who were murdered by the Catholic Inquisition and by the Puritans were herbalists.

I am not saying that Jesus was God, or even that he really existed or not. The point is that the myth or legend of his existence became the unifying principle of a spontaneous popular movement, and in retaliation the ruling class altered this myth for purposes of its own. Something similar has

happened in the revolutionary movement of the past two centuries.

Orwell maintained that all revolutions have been started by the lower classes, and have ended by putting the middle class into power. Perhaps knowing this, some bourgeois leftists of the 19th century appropriated a word to describe everything they feared and couldn't understand about the revolution. This word is "anarchist" and for them it has exactly the same meaning as "the devil."

Louis Prisco

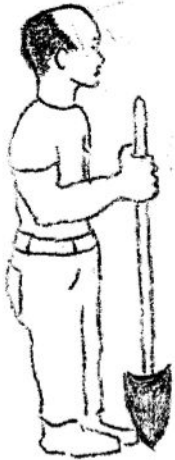
New Orleans, Louisiana:

Dear SRAF Comrades,

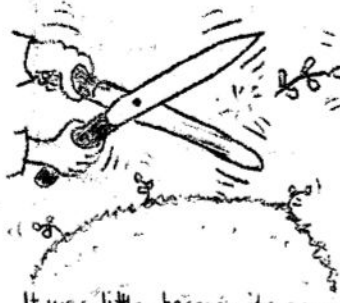
Here in the New Orleans area, our ideological-cultural offensive is ready to move into second gear. Along with our radical educational projects at the New Orleans Free University courses on Wilhelm Reich, Surrealism, and the Spanish Revolution, we are trying to bring together the scattered anarchist element into the formation of a libertarian socialist league. Our first action in this regard will be heavy doses of Kropotkin, Malatesta, Goldman and Berkman to steep our comrades in the traditions of libertarian struggle. With the crisis of bourgeois society growing hourly, we are desperately preparing a revolutionary anarchist nucleus for the building of libertarian collectives and syndicates. As Berkman has put it, "the idea is the thing and we are extending and spreading libertarian consciousness in all directions. Once again, the dissemination of libertarian thought, of the history of anarchist ideas and movements is crucial at this time in lieu of the absence of any mass libertarian movements.

The time for counterproductive petty quarrels should be over. These exercises are completely asinine and expend vital energies that could be more appropriately directed against the state & ruling class. For those really concerned with the interpersonal issue of Alienation we recommend large quantities of Nietzsche, Freud, Reich, Breton, Marcuse & Norman Brown. Personal bickering out of this context, that is, out of

Libertarian comics x324946

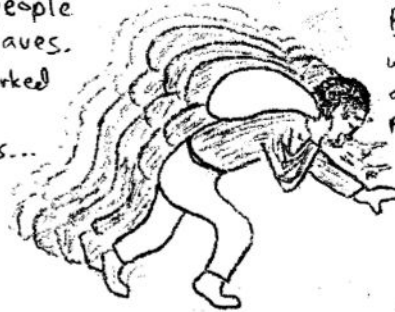


Once upon a time, there was a little tree...



It was little because its growth was stunted. Every new shoot is snipped off!

Many people were slaves. They worked not for themselves...



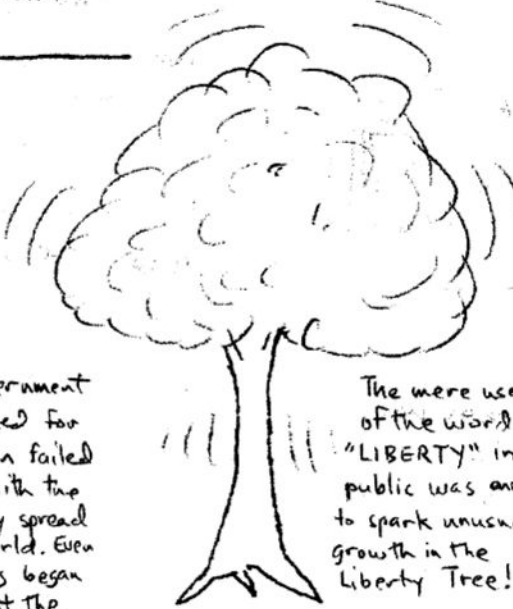
But, for owners who lived enjoying abundant wealth produced by the slaves. No Liberty Tree could grow.

The number and power of the owners grew until...



Give me Liberty or give me death!

Even the government they established for their protection failed to keep pace with the owners as they spread across the world. Even the slave owners began to complain about the distant government.

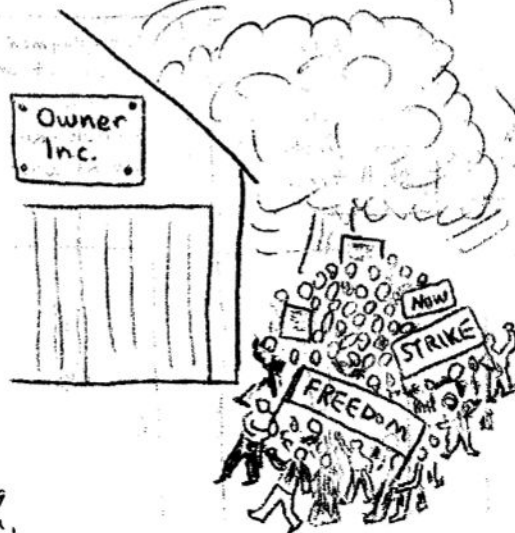


The mere use of the word "LIBERTY" in public was enough to spark unusual growth in the Liberty Tree!

Slaves became restive and made ownership less profitable by not working so hard and by little acts of sabotage. Bosses thought they were just stupid!

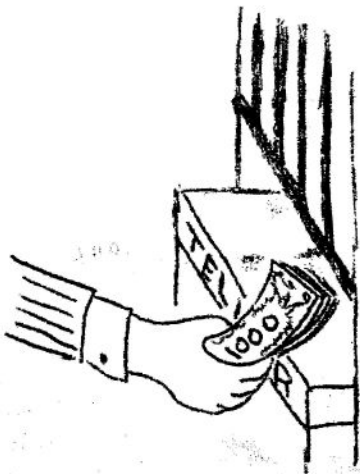


You are free my boy. After all, we're all equal human beings.... Uh, just don't play around with my daughter!



The Liberty Tree was finally growing. Its branches came to shade more and more people. Freed slaves began to help those still enslaved to escape and to attack the profits of the owners even more.

Some of the more liberal owners, having made 100 times what the slaves cost them, and wanting to edge out the competition by cutting costs, freed their slaves invoking the liberty and equality of all people...

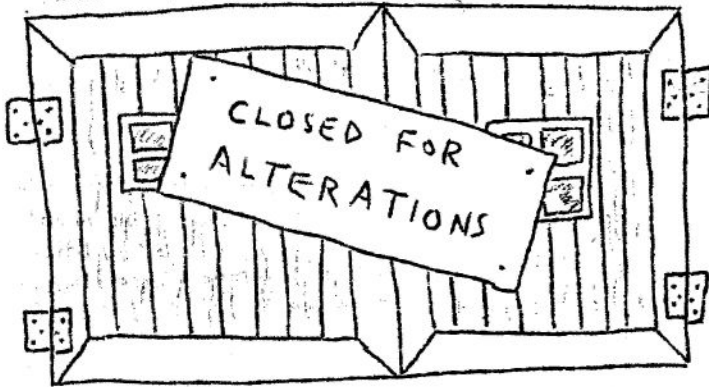


Seeing that the Liberty Tree was growing, the liberal owners bought it up, and bought laws, courts and police to enforce their ownership. Why shouldn't they own the Liberty Tree? Hadn't they first called for Liberty? Hadn't they freed the slaves? It's only right!

The owners couldn't resist another chance to make a buck. They put up a fence and charged money to enjoy the tree. If you paid the price, you got Liberty. Trying to get away for the opportunity of enjoying liberty, most of the former slaves scrambled desperately for owners to buy their working time instead of their whole bodies. The owners grew richer than ever.

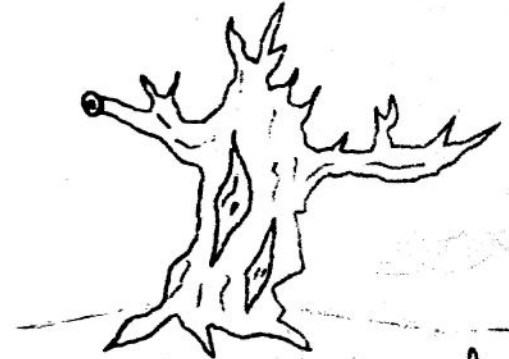


LIBERTY PARK



... Convinced it was the Liberty Tree which brought the owners their good fortune, they tried to speed its growth synthetically. They applied artificial fertilizers and many pesticides, until the tree shriveled and died. The Liberty Park closed for a while...

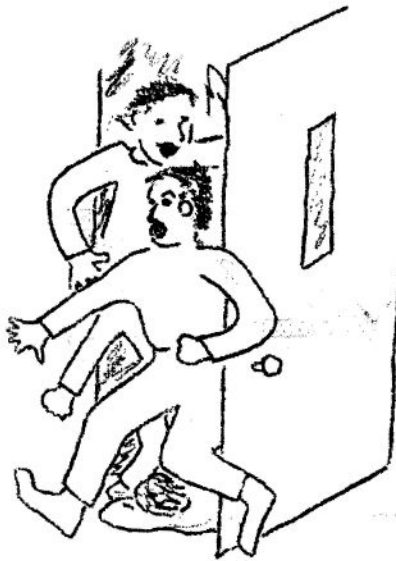
The owners hired billions of dollars worth of scientists to come up with a solution. The solution adopted was a plastic tree to replace the deadened trunk. The new tree had leaves, fruit and roots that looked like real...



The dead tree was ignored...

| | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|--|----------------------------------|
| <p>Employment School "We teach you how to get a JOB!"</p> | <p>Public School "You can't get a JOB without a degree!"</p> | <p>US Army "Has a JOB for you. Choose your preferred skill training!"</p> | <p>Unemployment Compensation "For those TEMPORARILY out of work!"</p> | <p>Welfare "For the Unemployable!"</p> | <p>WANTED: NO HELP TODAY</p> |
| | | | | | |

Meanwhile, the slaves have the liberty to choose how they want to live their lives...



But "choose" is all they can do. The doors are all too crowded to pass through.



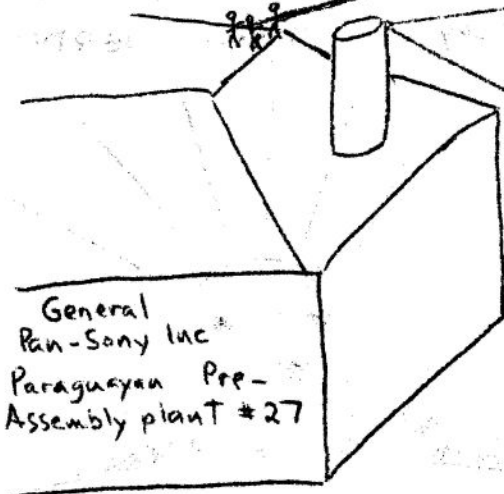
The billions spent on plastic liberty had spread roots around the world to suck profits from slaves everywhere. And the branches dropped liberty on everyone...



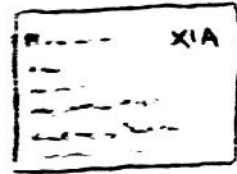
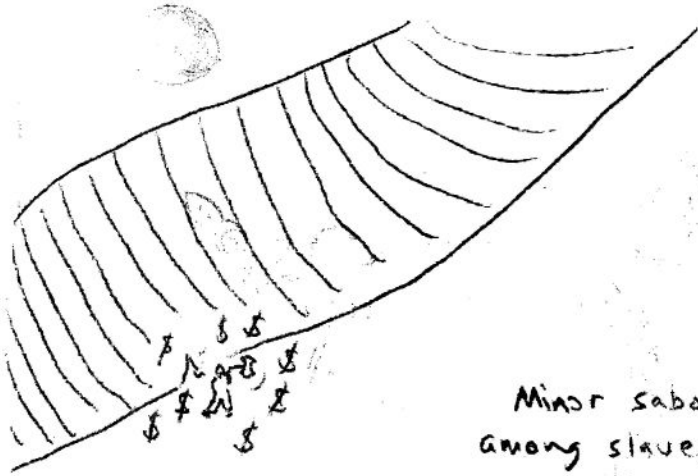
... especially on those who didn't like plastic liberty!



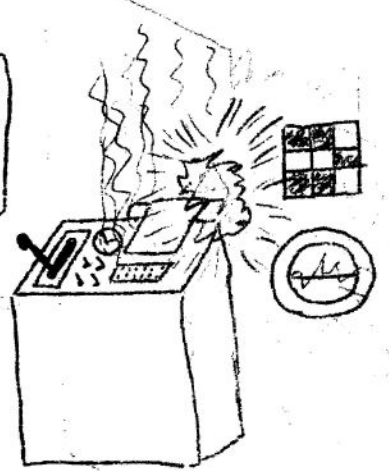
The ingenious plastic hoses which served for roots served as direct conduits for profits from all over the world.



[Faint, illegible handwritten text]



0000



Minor sabotage among slaves begins again...

!??!



Gee, boss, I can't figure how that entire root-canal to East Africa can possibly malfunction!

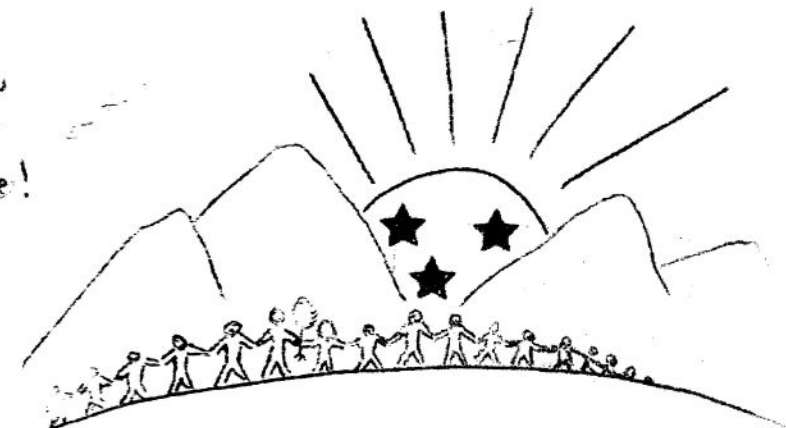
- Slaves again got the reputation for being stupid...



This time we know what we want when we say we will have LIBERTY!



We have sprouted new growth and will plant a new liberty tree!



This time we know liberty means we must all bring ownership and rule into our own hands - all of us! No rulers or owners over anyone!

a context of genuine apprehension of the nature of the problem of Alienation, is dysfunctional. No more weeping in public.

Bookchin is scheduled to speak here in late Jan. on libertarian ecology & technology. At that time we hope to consolidate our group & begin with social projects, at least at an agitational level. We are also trying to bring in Rosemont from Chicago to speak on American Surrealist activities & galvanize the large New Orleans artistic community toward revolutionary action.

The anarchist element here is striking out at every opportunity: intervening at Fri & Sat nite "group discussions" to orient the dialogue toward social criticism, speaking to "political science" & philosophy classes at the bourgeois academies & lecturing on anarchism at the NO public library. Unless we want the innumerable Marxist-Leninist parties to preempt all revolutionary dialogue, all comrades should begin moving in a direct, open way to articulate & present their libertarian ideas. We must begin to assemble our mass but decentralized base -- remember the forces of reaction are not silent & cannot be dismissed facilely, eg, not only Wallace people, but also Jesus freaks, Hare Krishnas, Maharaja Ji fanatics & other varieties of life-negating acolytes.

As Cohn-Bendit has said, "the final word has not been said." The struggle continues.

PS: Buenaventura Durruti's name is spelled with two r's -- DURRUTI!

Love & Solidarity, Ted Lopez

BLACK ROSE COLLECTIVE
(Somerville, Massachusetts):

Friends, Thanks for the bulletins. I've seen them before, however, since others in the collective subscribe. This latest leaflet was distributed at the Boston Tea Party demonstration on the 16th. The response was amazingly good. Take care.

for the future,

John Hess (for Black Rose)

(text of Black Rose leaflet):

We seek an end to the power of man over person. Oppressed people everywhere constitute a majority and everyone of them longs for freedom. Yet, in spite of the fact that the system only survives through their acquiescence and support, they continue to suffer. Why?

We believe the daily behavior of millions of workers in hierarchical institutions is irrational in its submission to authority and an explanation for it must therefore be sought in unconscious impulses stemming from early authoritarian conditioning.

This ought to be especially, in fact "perfectly, clear" in the country that almost invented the whole rhetoric of democracy, yet where the theoretical affirmation of freedom confronts, by the hour, its denial in practice, not only in govt but in the family, the school and the workplace.

"Heretofore, social ideology has been thought of as the mere sum of concepts about the economic process as they formed 'in the heads of people.' Now, ... ideology can no longer be regarded as a mere reflection of economic conditions. As soon as an ideology has taken root in the structure of people and has altered it, it has become a material social power. There is no socio-economic process of historical significance which is not anchored in the psychic structure of the masses and which does not express itself in the mode of behavior of the masses. There is no such thing as a 'development of productive powers per se': there is only a development of inhibition of human structure, feeling, and thinking on the basis of socioeconomic processes. The economic process, that is, the development of the machines, is functionally identical with the process of psychic structure in the people who create the economic process, who further or inhibit it, and who are influenced by it. Economy without active emotional human structure is inconceivable; so is human feeling, thinking and acting without economic basis. One-sided neglect of the one or the other leads to psy-

chologism('Only the psychic human forces make history'). Instead of talking so much about dialectics, one should try to comprehend the living mutual relationships between groups of people, nature and machines. They function as a unity, and at the same time mutually condition each other." -- Wilhelm Reich, from the preface to "The Sexual Revolution".

The alienation of human beings from their bodies (and consequently from other non-human but physical material manifestations of life) has resulted directly in the destructive nature of their societies. Revolution -- not merely as ritual rebellion but to discover a harmonious and organic relationship with the material and social substances of the world, would be made with more totally transformative results if made by people who have discovered the reality of "organic" or "ergonomic" principles in their relationships with their own biological organisms. Without liberating our own vegetative drives and coming into contact with our own selves, we have no hope of real change in society at large. Until then all revolutions will mean the mere substitution of one father-figure for another as in the past.

Down with all life-negating leaders!
Neither Nixon nor Mao! Crush the oppressors without and within you! Forward to full orgasmic potency!

--the Black Rose Collective,
Box 474, Somerville, MA 02144

MEXICO CITY, DF:

Tierra y Libertad, Apartado 10596, Mexico 1, DF, has produced a special, high-gloss magazine issue (64) pages on Ricardo Flores Magon. There's no price on it, but send them a dollar or so -- it's well worth it if you can read Spanish.

NEW YORK CITY:

The National Tax Strike Coalition, 349 E. 65th St. #5C, NYC 10021, wants \$5000 to pay Dr. Thomas Szasz to get Jerome Daly out of the federal mental institution (prison) where he was placed for observation because of his persistent refusal to pay federal taxes.

LEICESTER, ENGLAND:

The Libertarian Education Group, 180 Melbourne Road, Leicester, England, produces the "Libertarian Teacher" five times a year. I guess about a dollar a year should get you a subscription. Send 25¢ for a sample copy, or they may send you one for free.

Anarchists at the Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester, have begun to produce "Rabble Rouser" one folded 11x17 leaflet-periodical. Their #1 attacks elections.

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND:

"Information & Contacts" is a publication which lists contacts in Geneva for anarchists and others coming to the city: food co-ops, publications, research centers, social-action collectives. It includes articles and editorials on "autogestion" (self-management) and anarchism, articles about the LIP occupation (the cover of their #8 shows a drawing depicting the joy of liberation, revolution and self-management and the opposed serenity of idolation. The LIP occupation slogan is prominently displayed on the cover: "L'oignon fait la soupe, l'union fait la force!" (The onion makes the soup, the union makes the strength!)

One collective working on this project has recently renamed itself the "Libertarian Collective". That's the best spelling of the concept of liberterrean I've yet seen. And it avoids all those unpleasant connotations which right-wing "free-marketeers" have attached to the word "libertarian" in this country.

Write Information & Contacts, Case Postale 236, 1227 Carouge, Geneva, Suisse

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS:

People for Self-Management is holding a National Conference on Workers' Self-Management, Jan. 12-13, 1974 in Boston. For more information & details on the conference write: Mary Van Sell, 196 Erie St, Apt. 2, Cambridge, MA 02139.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS:

SRA Feds: 5 days before legendary (sol-
In SRA F Bull stitial) birthdate of anti-
#26, D. A. Long christ (believed to have got
proposes" (to his navel in October) In the
insure true Year of the Bomb -- xxix
democr cy)"
in SRAF. Semantically, that can be understood
to be in error, since anarchy, being simulta-
neously cratic and contra cratic, is, perforce,
anti-democratic. Inasmuch as he quotes A.
Burgess against corruption of language, I wd
expect him to be partial toward developing the
purity of language that serves our needs in op-
position to the well differentiated language of
politics (which excludes an-archist assump-
tions). Perhaps Lucifer (in G. B. S. 'Hell')
forensicates a true Satanism, and sometimes
I cannot do better than refer to our an-archist
comrade Jesus as (a) (the) true anti-christ when
I want to differentiate him from the specific
antichrist concept of Revelations, but in general
it is better to avoid reference to a "true any-
thing" when we can label it more appropriately.
As an anarcho-pacifist (with a trotskyite past)
I tend to fall in the middle of the left-right di-
chotomy, and so oppose the proposal that we de-
fine ourselves as and limit ourselves to "left-
wing". An-archism as a whole does not need the
sectarianism that such traditional political
baggage (or garbage) encourages. We have
problems enuf of our own.

I like the distinction that p. stovall makes
between "protest" and action (in her case quit-
ting), but I take exception where she includes
me with "the rest of... blob puss who hate wo-
men". I stoutly maintain that I try to love wo-
men more than women want to make love. Sto-
vall is absolutely in no position to contradict
me on this. I hope that, in her lavender rage,
she is a pacifist where she writes that "death
is too good for any of (us)". It is a mistake for
women to separate if the sexism of males needs
correction because people like stovall can be
more untiring at it (and more perspicacious)
than males (altho I have found myself explaining
women's lib to woemn and have discovered wo-
men who don't care being corrected when I point
to their use of "chick" and "broad"! I am not

going to fite with them about these things).
It may be that sexism oppresses males more:
armies, jails, rape. But advocates like
Steinem want ERA so that women can get
drafted too: she wants to increase the op-
pression of women. Opposing era cannot
be important to an-archists because we al-
ready oppose the Constitution, but perhaps
some point wd be served if we wnet out of our
way to attack era -- provided, again, that we
handle the matter with the unseriousness
that it deserves. The battle against "women's
rights" (understood as era) may be a neces-
sary convolution in the evolution toward male
lib. & the revolution for everybody's lib.

German Bernard Vun Cannon: last Aug.
in my Anarchist Black Cross function, I
wrote 8 letters (& sent 8 pakkages of litera-
ture) to prisoners in the Black Awareness
Group at Soledad, plus one letter to BAG's
sponsor. No answer (that I know) from any of
the 9. Can you check and see whether my
mailings got thru and whether the BAG men
tried to write to CABG? Govt (cops - courts -
jails - taxes) exists precisely for the
purpose of controlling taxpayers, ie, the
masses, therefore it is incorrect to say "the
masses shd govern the govt". It is these de-
mocratic, ie, incorrect, notions that possibly
contribute more to the suppression and ex-
ploitation of the masses than anything else.

Systematic anti-authoritarianism under
the name "anarchism", dates, as Tyrone
points out, from the 19th century, but the anti-
authority sociology is as old as Lao-Tzu
(2500 yrs) and Jesus (1900 yrs). In the his-
torical sense, as in the logical sense, an-
archism originates in nonviolence (pacifism)
Here is something that an-archists agitators
can use to subvert marxist theory & practice:

"44 At the end of 1920 Lenin told the
Spanish socialist Fernando de los Rios, that
a very long time, 'perhaps 40 or 50 years',
would be necessary in Russia for the transi-
tional period of dictatorship. See Rios, F. de
los, Mi Viaje a la Russia sovietista, p. 63."
Leonard Shapiro, The Origin of the Commun-
ist Autocracy. 1920+50=1970. For 3 or 4
years now, every devout Leninist shd be a
sworn enemy of USSR. In any case, Marx-

Leninism is a middle-class theory: the concept of "transitional period" (postponed gratification) is enough to type it as such.

S. Durst should examine Luke 22:24-27, it makes a fairly interesting definition of "an-archo-egalitarianism". It may be that Durst's reference to "we americans" leaves me out? inasmuch as I renounced citizenship, declaring myself a stateless person of the world. But if SD means those who are indian or part indian, then it fits (him and) us but would tend to leave out those other an-archists who cannot trace genes back to Pocahontas, Black Bird, Geronimo or some such. A revolution that is to be "our revolution" must transcend such nationalistic nomenclature as "american" or "americanism".

About names: (1) Surnames seem to have originated in the designs of revenooers to impose impost \$ (2) I am named for a general, after a slave-owner, and by the state, but that does not disturb my being. I enjoy my name for the ironies.

"Yesu akawaita, akawaambia, mwajua ya kuwa wale wahaohesabiwa kuwa wakuu wote mataifa huwatawala kwa ngui, na wakubwa wote huwatunikisha. Lakini haitakawa hiryo kwenu; bali mtu anayetaka kuwa mkubwa kwenu, atakuwa mtunishi wenu."

Joffre L. Mar Stewart, advocate of the anti-christ, 6114 S. May St, Chicago, IL 60621

NEW YORK CITY:

Free Life Editions, 41 Union Sq. West, NYC 10003, is a new alternative press to publish works dealing with personal, social, and political freedom. In March, 1974, they will issue Dolgoff's book on the Spanish collectives and workers' self-management in revolutionary Spain. In the late Spring, 1974, they will issue Voline's "The Unknown Revolution." They have three books available now. Write them for further information.

VIRGINIA, MINNESOTA:

Dear SRAFeds: If the oil shortage causes a business recession in coming months, as many economists fear, the overabundance of debt could make the slump a severe one because the volume of repossessed goods competing with new production could cause an accelerated economic decline.

This view that debt has risen dangerously and at some point will cause severe economic distress surfaces periodically, usually at times such as now when business seems headed into a recession. But the dreaded collapse hasn't materialized, in large part because the govt has always kept recessions mild through stimulative economic policies.

What may be different now, however, is the stimulative measures that tended to mitigate earlier postwar recessions won't prove feasible. An expanding money supply, for example, served in previous postwar slumps to spur consumer and corporate buying and, ultimately, provided orders for idled factories and jobless workers.

But now, it's feared, such a policy might only exacerbate inflation in areas where goods are available. Providing more money for potential customers will hardly cause factories idled by lack of oil to begin production.

Federal authorities recognize the problem. Early in December, for instance, Federal Reserve Board chairman Arthur F. Burns told a congressional hearing that while "the economic outlook has worsened," he feared "monetary devices for dealing with this problem can have very limited usefulness."

In such circumstances the nation's large and rising debt burden, until now something of an economic bogeyman, could at last cause real trouble. John Gorman, a Commerce Dept. analyst who keeps a close tab on such matters, notes that a record portion of american's after-tax income is taken up by interest charges and repayments on mortgages and installment loans. At present, he estimates, these debt payments eat up about 23% of income. This percentage has been rising through most of the postwar era, standing at only 11.3% in 1949. In the past year or so, Mr. Gorman adds, the climb appears to have accelerated.

"There's been a heck of a lot of borrowing lately," he comments.

The situation is actually worse than this. An article in the June 7, 1965 Wall Street Journal describes the extremely uneven distribution of debt among those who do own money.

Surveys at that time indicated that fully half of US families own no installment debt at all. This led many analysts to conclude the debt-servicing burden of those families in debt must be very great indeed. "Because of the uneven distribution of debt among families, average figures on debt servicing don't really expose the full extent of the problem," commented Alan Greenspan, president of Townsend-Greenspan & Co., a New York city economics consultant firm.

Some economists in 1965 estimated that one American family in 10 used at least 40% of its yearly income to handle its debts and that one family in 4 had at least a third of its income committed to debt payments.

If debt was a cause for concern in 1965, it would be even more so in 1974. Leonard H. Lampert, an economic consultant based in N. Egremont, Mass., says that debt traditionally tends to climb extra-swiftly in the early years of an economic expansion. The rise since the end of 1970, however, dwarfs anything in the record books. Mr. Lampert observes that mortgage debt has been soaring at annual rates above \$50 billion and consumer installment debt has been leaping by more than \$20 billion a year.

To place such increases into long-term perspective, Mr. Lampert says that prior to the current expansion, mortgage debt never rose by more than about \$20 billion annually and installment debt never by more than \$9 billion.

Another cause for concern is noted by Fabien Linden, an economist at the Conference Board, a non-profit business research organization based in New York city. He estimates that consumers' "discretionary" income may very recently have begun to decline in terms of their overall income. Such income -- roughly 42% of overall income -- represents money left over after payments for such essential items as food and shelter. In the past, economists generally have felt that so long as discretionary in-

come continued to expand the rising consumer debt load constituted no serious worry.

Mr. Linden reckons that this recent shrinkage of discretionary income could well continue as inflation keeps driving up prices for essentials. If that turns out to be the case, he concludes, "the average consumer's financial position simply won't be as sound as it once was."

It must be noted that the climbing debt burden is not limited to consumers. Corporate debt has also risen enormously and now totals some \$900 billion, approximately double the figure of the mid-1960's and more than 10 times the \$85 billion level at the start of the postwar era.

One consequence of the huge rise in corporate borrowing is that cash held by corporations now amounts to only 20% of the current liabilities, obligations that must be paid within 12 months. At the start of the 1960s, the comparable percentage was about 40%. Today's rate of 20% is below the cash-to-liabilities level that prevailed in late 1969, when the 1969-70 recession began. During that recession, it should be added, the Federal Reserve pursued a highly expansionary monetary policy, one that would not be feasible in a recession associated with a fuel shortage. Furthermore, in the summer of 1970, consumer finances were more soundly based than corporate finances and it is the expansion of debt among the consumers that has helped bolster the current expansion.

However, in all fairness, though worry over the debt burden has been intensifying, there has been little evidence of a surge in actual credit difficulties. The percentage of consumer installment loans delinquent for 30 days or more has been hovering around the 2% level. Although this rate is the highest in two decades, there has been little change in the past year or so, and even higher delinquency rates of nearly 2.3% were recorded in the early 1950s.

But an important aside to this is that although delinquencies are already on the high side, the impact of the oil squeeze has not even begun to show up in the statistics. When it does, says an analyst for the American Bankers Association, a Washington-based trade

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group for commercial banks, "it's highly possible we will be seeing the highest delinquency rates of the postwar period." Is there a danger level? "I frankly don't know," he says, "but I imagine some banks would be pretty uncomfortable if the rate got much above 2.5%"

Everett Luoma

BLACK FLAG (London, England):

"Some funny things happen in Russia, whose geriatric dictatorship and highly modern method of consigning political dissidents to psychiatric wards is the envy of the West. Somebody hurtled some dynamite at the mummified relics of the philosopher-god Lenin. All accounts will have it that the man who threw the explosive was mad (how about the man who planned the monument?) But there was one remark that put us on our guard; one lady public relations officer for the Soviets was explaining to the journalists later, "It was not a political act. The poor man was mad." It would seem from what he was shouting that he was against all governments. ""

--Black Flag, 83a Haverstock Hill, London NW3, England. Sub about \$5/year.

WASHINGTON, D. C.:

The Louis Harris polling firm has just reported to Congress that confidence of the American people in the institutions of gov't has reached "a crisis of the most serious magnitude" and has sunk lower than a democracy can afford.

The American people's disenchantment with the present society has risen to majority proportions.

"It has been taking place for several years, and its very duration escalates a serious and even dangerous condition into a full-blown crisis of confidence," Harris told Congress. Confidence in the Executive Branch has dropped to 19%; the Congress about 30%; the Supreme Court 33%.

In a sampling of the people's confidence in 22 public and private institutions ranging from medicine to the White House, medicine and local trash collectors ranked first and second. The White House ranked last.

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO:

The High Desert Insurgent, box 87102 has just appeared in its first number, containing a Bakunin reprint, articles on syndicalism, Black Mesa, cultural nationalism (zionism, especially), UNM workers strike, and labor news, and letters.

"Our hope is to present anarchism as a serious and viable form of social and political action, as an alternative to state capitalism and state socialism."

It's 12 pages and can use your support. Write for a sample copy.

TUCSON, ARIZONA:

The Match!, Box 3488, Tucson 85722, has an excellent article on the "energy crisis by Conrad Goeringer. In it he describes not only the super-profit interests of the oil companies, but also how their profit interests coincide with the gov't's need for a "managed" crisis they can solve to try to divert people's attention from the real crises they can't solve, like Watergate/confidence and the general instability of the economy. The major article in The (January) Match! takes three pages to identify vegetarianism with "animal liberation". No mention of pets, or zoos, tho. And there's not even a nod to the charge of "animal chauvinism" for denying equal dignity to plant life. Not all vegetarians refuse to accord equal respect to plant life.

Another article by "R. Ansay" (?) accuses those who give birth to children of being responsible for murder by the very act of giving birth. When you give birth to children you also force them into this world without first asking them if they want to arrive here. And wars could not occur if "breeding couples" did not supply the "cannon fodder".

"This sorry little planet on which we dwell like lost sheep, with its close to four billion head of human cattle," "Do you never feel regret, ... that you have been born?" "Your children, couple, enjoy perfect happiness in their unborn state." The Match! isn't only enjoyable for its propagandizing of the anarchist idea, but also for its controversy and misanthropy.

--Jim Bumpas

SRA print Co-op (Mountain View, California):
Fellow workers, I disagree with Bob Shea when he asks us to cease discussing the relative values of violent & non-violent revolutionary tactics until the potential for effectively choosing exists in the reality of our struggle (I trust terrorism is not a part of this discussion). I see the importance of working out (as much as we can) approaches to problems before we get to them.

To Rick in Spokane SRAF: the SRA Federation did not begin as a street-media action organization. It began as a communications network between formerly unfederated and isolated small groups of anarchist activists. In the last 3 years, more such groups have federated and even more merely use the bulletin to stay in touch. Some anarchists have been impelled by the example of others in the SRA Federation and their own inclinations to form entirely new SRAF groups for local activity and potentially for larger scale co-ordination of activity. In addition hundreds of individuals use SRAF to keep a tap line into the mainstream of anarchist development on this continent. And we all use it to test and develop our ideas about both theory and action.

I'm one, too, who thinks there is too much rancor of the personal type in our discussions (even tho I've contributed my share of rancor). But practical discussion of activities has also occurred and has been encouraging to many of us. But most people want to discuss their ideas and not their daily practice. Our ideas for the future are more exciting than our daily activities. Besides, our practice is best tested in action, while ideas can be more easily developed by testing them against the ideas of others. I wish there was more discussion and analysis of our daily practice. We need more of this. I say this with the knowledge that we've said little about our own daily practice outside of the bulletin project. Ok. We're into printing things for other local organizations & interaction with them. We print pamphlets & distribute them at schools & public demonstrations. We have 3 newstands & we service bookstores w/publications. Some of our activity is within the IWW. We distribute the Industrial Worker. We used to distribute The Match! before a recent and still unresolved misunderstanding led to with-

drawal of our bundle. We print a couple of little hobby special interest zines (unrelated to anarchism) in which we insert discussion of things and ideas in the context of our anarchist perspectives. We've provoked a lot of thought from high school age and older persons who've never experienced exposure to these perspectives. In fact, if any other SRAF group wants to assume the responsibility of producing the bulletin for say, 3 to 6 months (or more), we will forward a file of all current correspondence we receive and donate 1/12 of all subscription money for each month published. It won't take long for most people to begin sending you correspondence & donations directly. This will spread the job around & also the experience. Plus it will make us in Mtn. View less the "SRAF Central" that we are to the extent of being the focus for all correspondence which appears in the bulletin. We're not tired of the bulletin, but after 3 years of producing it, it would be easier on our energies for other projects. We do consider the bulletin our most important project.

Thanks, Louis, for the ancient history on Jesus. It pleases me to believe it, and I have no basis to doubt what you say. But mostly I believe what you say about the success the ruling classes have had in burying this truth. They've been so successful that I can't accept any useful purpose to devoting the energy to exume the genuine, revolutionary, popular myth from all the dirt heaped on it. I agree with Joffre only to the extent of quoting certain passages to believers which might confuse them or make them think about their subservience to authorities. I don't think the Bible or Jesus has any other value for us today. I'd just as soon forget it all and get on with more immediate things. Let's work on keeping the next revolution out of the hands of the bourgeoisie. Oh, by the way, Jeff Stein, that quote about what god's & what's caesar's is also ambiguous. After all, he referred to a penny when saying render unto caesar. I've used this quote to confuse bible-freaks with the possibility that this quote demonstrates very little respect for the state at all.

Yours for liberty, equality & joy,
-- Jim Bumpas

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS:

High, In #26, Jim Bennett said that I accepted C. Goeringer's article as a true acct. of the happenings in and around Tucson. Well, I wish he would reread my letter in #24. I believe that he will discover that I did not in any way, shape or form suggest that I considered Goeringer's article as a true acct. of what transpired between them, any more than I consider Jim's acct. as being the "Truth". I must admit though that because of some of the allegations made at the start of the article, and of the content of the Match! editorial, and also because I know Jim, I personally tend to believe more of Jim's acct. of the goings on than I do Goeringer's.

Thanks for the dialog between the WAP people and Jim Bumpas in #27. I will have to make it a point to look into some of the wap-ers organizations (WIX, NIX, and SIX) that I have never heard of before, before I make up my mind about wap. I don't see anything dramatically wrong with using the word "party" in their name altho for reasons that are apparent from reading SRAF; it wasn't the brightest choice possible. But while I consider the name to be just a very poor choice, I do think that it is an extremely serious mistake for any anarchist organization to advocate voting.

I do have one suggestion for wap. Why not fase out your old name and adopt a new one? Put the new name on your printed material as you run out of the old. That won't cost you a penny to change your name that way. You may be able to come up with a name that has the same initials, thus preventing some of the confusion that might result. Who the hell was that idiot who said "A rose, by any other....?" Or was it "A rose is a....?"

Tom Scherbenko should check out the film distributors in NY for "To Die in Madrid" but I wonder how worthwhile that film is in promoting anarchism. It's the only documentary that I know of on the Spanish revolution that looks at it from a left point of view, but the movie has a very heavy conomy overtone which I find hard to take. It hints at the existence of an anarchist movement at one point in the film, and has a passing reference to Durruti as being the anarchist leader at one other point. Is there any

movie a round that would be a better film for an anarchist film festival?

It sounds as if John MacLeod flunked Chemistry 101 and is still pissed. About the only thing that I can see in his argument that science is a bushwaa religion is that he does not approve of many of the technological uses that the state and corporations develop from scientific discoveries. The stereo and the motorcycle tho; life would not be worth living without those magnificent developments of the march of science.

I have one last comment on anarchist parties: "The anarchist party rolls on hail and hearty, that's Kelly passed out on the floor."

Kelly

VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA:

Send bulletin and relevant info on anything related to creating a "Fuck the System/Steal this Book for Vancouver to be called "Free Vancouver and/or Survival! Form, Size and Likelihood of success unsure at the moment as there are only 2 Whoopie members active at present, the third is in England.

If feasible, have replies sent to you and forwarded to us. Our financial position is all but nil so if you cannot cover it, we understand. It is unlikely we will be replying to any letters as we will have much to do and so little time to spare.

Send info on Vancouver SRAF in case we cannot find them.

If letter printed sign Whoopie (Vancouver) Party! Whoopie is an anarcho-yip thing with little knowledge of anarchism at the present time. We are trying to Do It! instead of just Read It! Rubin's fucked, we heard, Abbie too, we're told. High to the new yip.

Send pamphlet mailing catalog, etc.

I could dig a membership as your organization is as free in practice as in thought; I mean free rule wise.

We are planning to obtain a box number as soon as financially possible. Don't expect us to succeed, or fail; we'll give it a go either way it comes out.

PS: Have applied for membership with WAP and YIP as well as being a founder of Whoopie which is not capable of official membership trips but considers all our allies members. Something like Hoffman's (Kunstler's) original trip.

We probably won't be of much help to you but you have our moral support. I hope we have yours. My confederate may wish to join, I am not sure as he appears to shy (I maybe wrong) from affiliation with political groups.

If any of this communication is published, sign Vancouver Whoopie Party.

Venceremos, WHOOPIE!

Barry Marsh, 3232 W. 38th Av.
Vancouver 13, British Columbia V6N 2X6

MILANO, ITALIA:

"A" Revista Anarchica, cas. post. 3240 -20100 Milano, Italia has some good articles in issue #9 of year 3 (Nov-Dec, 1973). They include an article on the armed struggle in Chile against the military. They speak very favorably about the MIR, which they describe as being composed of dissident communists of trotskyst and maoist influence, as well as some anarchists. They mention one of the communes set up by the MIR was named the Peter Kropotkin Commune. They also have up-to-date information about the anarchist movement in present day Barcelona, and several articles on the current scene in Italy, including the incarceration of more anarchist agitators. There are historical pieces on Proudhon and an article about Serge and Trotsky. They also have a deficit and need supporting funds. The deficit now stands at 1,700,000 lira. One million lira is the size of their deficit for only the past four months. Donations from north america have totaled over 365,000 lira over the last 5 months accounted for ending Nov. 15, 1973. Most of their support is from Italy, of course. Ask them for a sample, get yourself an english-italian dictionary and judge its value for yourself.

RICARDO FLORES MAGÓN →

GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the BULLETIN:

There's no reason why the local SRAF group in Mountain View should monopolize access to button production for the whole SRA Federation. So here's the address of the wobbly button factory in Berkeley: Robert A. Rush, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, CA 94704. Telephone: (415)849-1255. Any SRAF group can order SRAF buttons on its own initiative directly from the factory. They still have the plates for the US Out of North America button and the "Anarchy" button, so you won't be charged for the plates again. The smallest quantity they usually produce is 250, which would be about \$41 for the US Out button (three color) and about \$33 for 250 Anarchy buttons. Of course they will print any larger quantity you might request. Write them for their price list and ordering instructions.

SRAF print Co-op, Box 4091, Mtn. View, CA 94040 still has 300 or more of the black star buttons with Anarchy written across it: 10¢ a piece to any SRAFed; 25¢ to others. Also, the SRAF print Co-op group has just used their own treasury to order 1000 new buttons, bright green with LIBERTERREAN printed in black. They will supply any quantity to SRAFeds for 10¢ each; 25¢ to any others.

