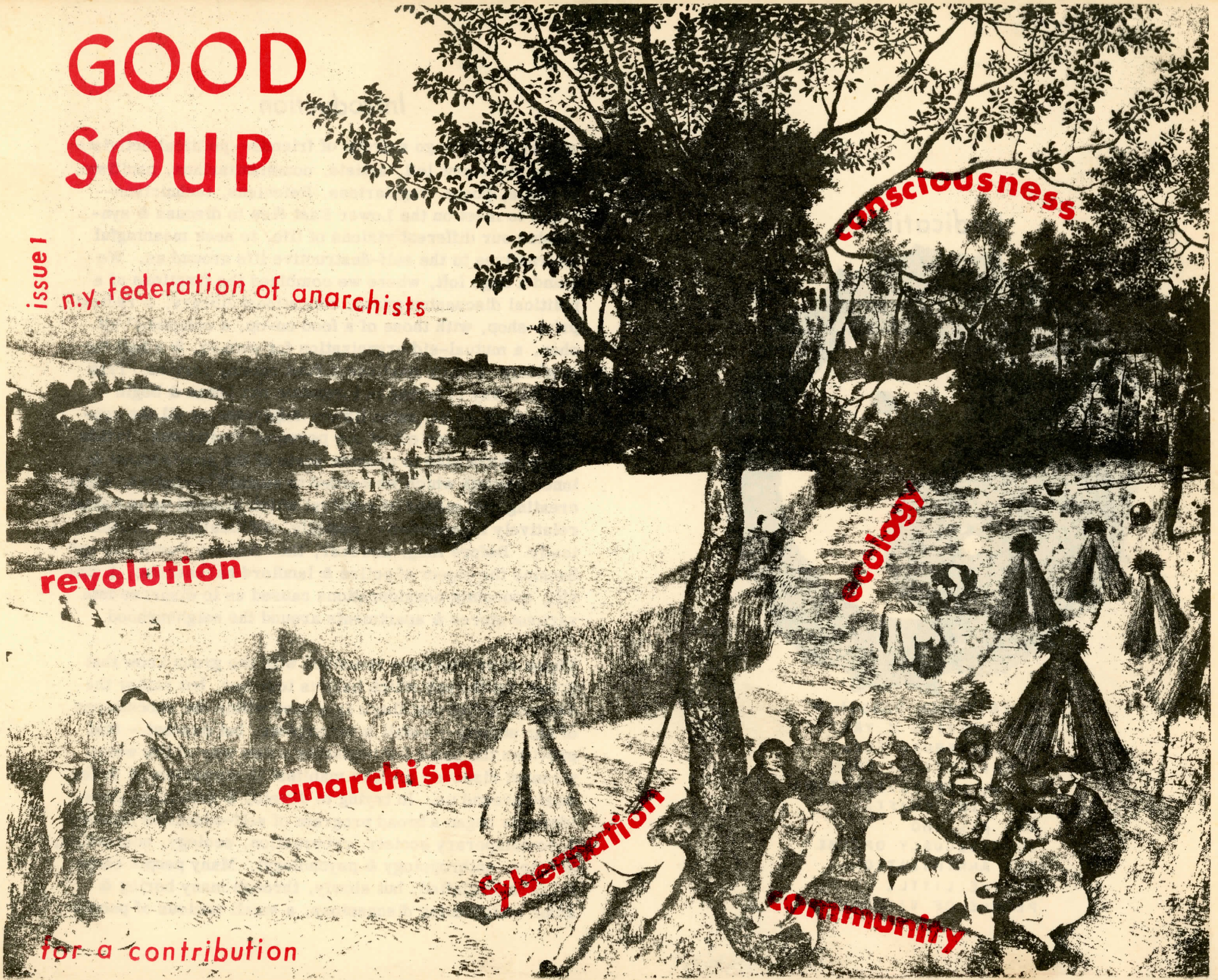
GOOD SOUP

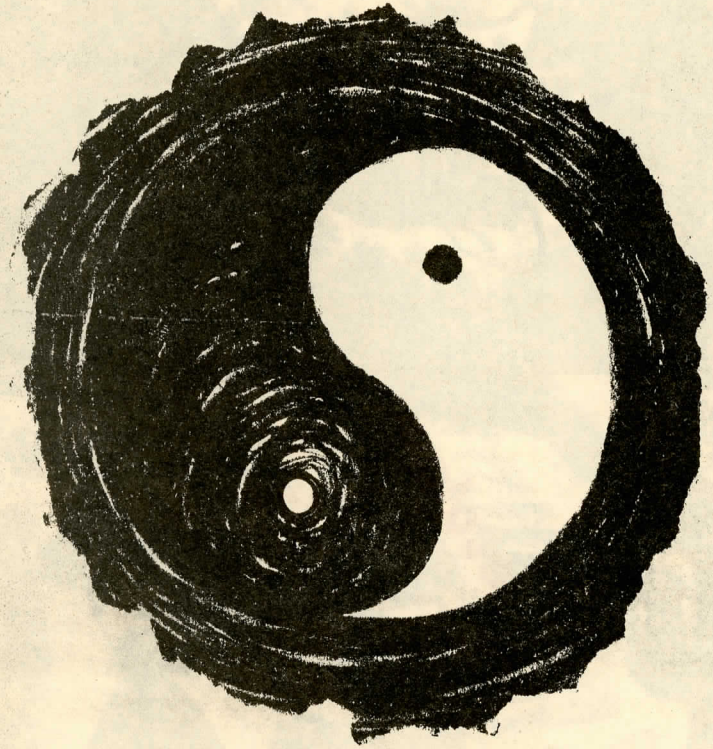


issue 1

n.y. federation of anarchists

for a contribution

Dedication



* TO BARRY BASSIN *
NOW SERVING 2 YRS
IN LEWISBURG FED.
PENNITENTIARY FOR
TOTAL NON-COOPERATION
WITH THE DRAFT.
AND ALL WHO
COURAGEOUSLY OPPOSE
THE ANNIHILATION
OF THE LITTLE
PEOPLE OF VIETNAM.

Introduction

A year & a half ago a group of friends--political activists of the old & new left, artists, communitarians, pacifists, students, poets, vegetarians, Reichians, technicians--began to meet on the Lower East Side to discuss & synthesize our different visions of life, to seek meaningful alternatives to the self-destructive life around us. We found a huge loft, where we combined the functions of a political discussion group, educational library, & radical print-shop, with those of a food co-op, a communal kitchen, a mutual-aid organization for women, & a hall for meetings, poetry readings & fund raising parties. This was our way of trying to formulate our ideas & begin living them at the same time-- experiencing all the conflicts which come out of our personal limitations. In this way we were able to provide some of the nourishment & inner warmth which we needed to sustain ourselves, while creating new means of survival which allowed us to remain relatively independent-- socially, politically, & economically. Before long, however, the "Bowery Poets' Co-op" became the object of police & landlord harassment, & finally, economic considerations caused us to disperse into various stores & apartments around the neighborhood.

Those of us who have remained with the group know that it was not the loft which held us together, but rather the common belief that there is a seed within the subcultures of our society-- small & incomplete, but nascent-- that provides the basis for beginning a new way of life which we must discover & make manifest in ourselves, & in the world around us. In trying to develop & articulate these ideas we began a broad program of self-education (history & contemporary society, cybernation, ecology, economics, politics, anthropology & psychology). Many people came & left dissatisfied, but slowly, through many boring & some enlightening discussions, a small nucleus of people

emerged with a fund of individual ideas growing out of a common ground:

We know from our own experience that the existing society inhibits all forms of individual & group expression, suppressing the natural flow of life. Our disillusionment in the ranks of the single-issue movements has shown us that the problems of contemporary society cannot be alleviated by protests & social reforms; that our protest naturally flows over & into all areas of life. Our search for personal & social fulfillment leads us, ultimately, to a broad concept of revolution-- of transformation in ourselves, in our relations with one another, & in the world. We can see that man has plundered the resources of the earth & polluted the environment with industrial poisons, unbalancing the very equilibrium of nature on which all life depends. And we must soon realize that the necessity of labor to sustain life has become irrational in an age when cybernetic technology can perform almost all labor more efficiently without men. We know that for the first time in history it is possible to provide abundance for all, to free men from the age-old competitive struggle for survival by providing them with the economic security which humanity has finally wrested from nature after 6 thousand years of conflict.

But, then, we are also forced to recognize the terrible paradox which rules our time: that just now, when it is possible for men to be free, all the accumulated institutions of society stand in the way of our freedom. NOW-- when the slavery of jobs can be ended; when the historical rational by which elites have dominated society & forced men to labor has been made obsolete; when every individual could have the opportunity to follow the logic of his own development in whatever milieu he chooses; when finally we could free our time & energy to deal with the psychological problems of the unconscious & to develop our untapped potential for expanded consciousness; when we could use technology to create a decentralized human-scale society; now, when all these things are achievable with the resources that are already available to us-- we are faced with the terrifying reality of a society based on coercion within & imperialism without; a society that dominates its own people with the ultimate threat of police suppression while it sits astride the nations of the world, its armies repressing their people while it greedily devastates their resources. We live, above all, in a society which uses the unlimited liberatory powers of its new technology to create engines of genocide & annihilation, to create ever more perfect means of bondage to shackle the minds & bodies of the world's people.

Those who are not blind have been forced to see the all too obvious brutality of an elite ruling bureaucracy (the industrial-military-government oligarchy) whose policy of genocide in Vietnam sheds the same blood of oppression as on the streets of Harlem & Watts. And so we must see that anyone who wants to free the vast human & technological potential of contemporary society, to use it in a creative way-- to free men from need & to fulfill life-- must oppose labor, domination & government as unnecessary. For we are forced to realize that partial solutions which leave the bureaucracy of capitalism still astride the forces of production; or which allow any new, so-called "revolutionary" bureaucracy to seize that power in its own name, can only lead to an exchange of tyrannies. Leaving the power to control society in the hands of a few men rather than distributing it to the people or destroying the nexus of power & letting people govern their own lives, leads inevitably to a new form of despotism. And in an age

when despotism has the power to destroy all of life, or to chemically & electronically alter our very minds, rendering us & our children into docile acquiescence, our primary concern must be to abolish the state.

And yet we cannot convince ourselves that mere violence or destruction provides an answer. We sadly remember the failure of all historical revolutions & are reminded that the answer is not a simple one. We are familiar with the effects which 6,000 years of brutalizing societies have had on the character structure of man-- effects that unconsciously prevent them from fulfilling themselves & their revolutions, even when they have the opportunity. We are forced to recognize that the means of the revolution & its ends are, therefore, the same, & that only those methods which contain within them the freedoms which they fight to obtain for the whole of society can be valid. For us the greatest fear is that a minority revolution (of left, center or right) can bring a new power elite to the fore; that another revolution can emerge which will devour its own children. And we realize that the only possibility which is open to us is to learn to create the new society at the same time as we destroy the evils of the old. We must admit that we too are products of this society & that its evils live within us, & we must therefore conquer the enemy within ourselves, at the same time as we work together at the task of spreading revolutionary ideas & activities in opposition to the status-quo.

When we tried to bring these ideas together in our first leaflet, we realized that we needed a name. Would we continue to call ourselves anarchists, as we had been doing informally? Some people objected to the violent, personal-terrorist aspect of its history (which is meaningless for our time & place), others objected that it means "chaos" (the dictionary definition is from the Greek an-archos, meaning without rulers), or simply that it was a political word & that they were artists. In any case, it was obviously a loaded word-- the only term of opposition which Johnson's hack writers could not assimilate into his double-speak speeches. But the real problem was on another level: we had to find a name which could embrace the concepts of a return to a balanced relationship with nature (ecology); a transformation of human nature in the individual (psychology of liberation); new forms of inter-personal relations (community); the elimination of unnecessary toil (cybernation); as well as decentralization & the elimination of the state. In the end the only word which could potentially embrace our enthusiastic affirmation of life, together with the negation of all coercive systems, was "Anarchism".

In this introduction & the pages that follow, every one who speaks will try to contribute to a new overall picture of our total reality. But each of us is limited by our particular lack of vision & by the personal language of metaphors which we use to describe our experience of that totality. Everyone speaks for themself, therefore, & for those who agree with their vision of reality. And yet, somehow, all the things we believe in (& some of the things not all of us believe in), can be brought together to create a Good Soup-- the multiplicity of our ideas & the shared vision of our common world can be thrown in together-- everything which is fresh, healthy & beautiful will add nutrition to sustain our lives.

We offer you this magazine as a contribution to the search for new directions in the emerging struggle for freedom. Take it (only if you are hungry) as though you were taking a bowl of good soup offered you by a friend... In return, our only hope is that there will be others like ourselves, other individuals, groups, & other publications, who share our hunger for a transformation within & a renewal of the world-- for it is in anticipation of you that we have begun.

Joyce Gardner Allan Hoffman


KILL
FOR
PEACE

WE ARE THE FIRE-EATERS
SWALLOWERS OF SWORDS OF SMOKE
WE ARE THE THOUSAND HEADED GODS WHO
WALK WHEN THEY SIT:
WE ARE THE MULTIPLE INFINITE FACES OF
TRUTH AND UNITY OF PLASMA
WE CARESS THE SLOW FLAMES OF EARTH'S
DEEPEST WISDOMS
DEVOUR THE EDIBLE WORDS OF THE JUNGLE
ATTEND CAUTIOUS CONFERENCE
SIP SEASON'S SUDDENNESS
AFTER THOUGH UNDER
THE THOUGHT TORN ASUNDER
BY CAVERNOUS SHAPES OF THE NIGHT
LONG FORSAKEN
WE ARE THE FIRE GODS
INHALERS-EXHALERS OF LIFE'S THORNLESS
VAPORS
THOUGH GRABBING AT ORANGES;
TANGERINES FALLING
WE ARE THE FIRE EATERS; SILENTLY CALLING
SILENTLY CALLING
WE ARE THE FIRE EATERS; SILENTLY CALLING

Jonathan Leake

FOUR

walking among voodun on hispanola
through pilgrims to the mouth of the ganges
though i am dead
the grass will grow
the sun will shine
the stream will flow
-cheyenne

who am i the where to go some conquerer
beneath whose steps fire arches marksmens gaze
across unactioned pages reams of rage
lease no country left where land gains

whirrs the morning air at war
heliocopters rise, jets siren in
asia shifts an uncracked back
stands tall for odin, donald duck

day of rear actions
i don't like to hit a village.
you know you're hitting women and children, too.
but you've got to decide that your cause is noble
and that the work has to be done
-american pilot in vietnam

retold the fate of teachers leader
he should not have had much faith, or didn't.
not so retold the fate of leaders teacher
who could not be found or wasn't.

J.X.

how the word is made war.
the word was 'honor' now supposedly
possessed of nations and nations
of our very destiny. the nation
is the freak of all time.

the military diet. the diet of worms,
joint chiefs of staff, chokes up the
Time-scurvey words. the reserves
are home from fort drum. awaiting orders.
hundreds and thousands of hundreds will be called.
the draft will incubus manchildren. these
tens of thousands of hundreds will kill and die
in Vietnam. for each vietcong killed
20 women and children are killed. how are
your women, your children, tonight.
The word is 'our national honor.'

the question is not how the U. S. should be
but why? IT puts before us life and death.
its puppets even mouth choose life. Thus
is our time and space made intolerable unless
we choose against these monsters altogether.
Justly break their power and not to kill them.
power makes the most pathetic victims.
the white house and the bowery are ultimately one.

Paul Prensky

JUST MEN

SONGS OF SAVAGERY

We are despicable men
we cast about
like jackals in the slaver
for our piece of meat
we cut our brother's finger
in haste to share the pudding
we bind our sisters
to make their joy corrosive
we stalk barren fields
for unwetted flesh
finding in the hard folds of fear
a dryness of the mouth
& the love entrance
a drought
which drives the crazed & cunning animals
to huddle in their ruined dreams of love

cowards and jackals
we hide the cruelness
& stupidity
which cross our face
behind the finery we wear
mask-like we hide our fantasies
& dream our lives
behind facades of functioning
never imagining
that we are merely cockroaches
under the shadow
of the descending thumb

Allan Hoffman, 8/64



Beyond Automation

George + Louise Crowley

THE N.Y. FEDERATION IS PROUD TO REPRODUCE THIS HISTORICAL DOCUMENT THAT BRIDGES THE THEORETICAL GAP BETWEEN PAST & FUTURE IDEOLOGIES. ORIGINALLY TITLED "POST UTOPIAN ANARCHISM", THE ARTICLE WAS FIRST PUBLISHED BY THE SEATTLE GROUP, A LIBERTARIAN FORUM IN WHICH THE CROWLEYS ARE INSTRUMENTAL. FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THESE IDEAS & LATER ARTICLES BY THE CROWLEYS & GROUP CAN BE OBTAINED AT 1815 18TH AVE., SEATTLE WASH.

We agree essentially with the analysis of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution, as stated in its memorandum to President Johnson. That memorandum holds explicitly that cybernation invalidates the traditional methods by which society's wealth is distributed. Implicit in the Committee's report is the thesis that our present economic and social system (read capitalism) is now facing breakdown through a deepening paradox: income, hence consumption, hinges on employment; while accelerating productivity with all its potential of abundance, hinges on the very opposite—elimination of human labor. This paradox cannot be resolved within capitalism's distributive framework of wage labor.

We submit, however, that the cybernation revolution poses an impasse for socialists also: it presents us with nothing less than the liquidation of the working class as a significant component of society. When human industrial labor is obsolescent,

to project a worker's state becomes an anachronism. It has long been the essence of our philosophy as Marxists to believe that economic developments stimulate appropriate changes in the organization of society. The Industrial Revolution triggered the rise of socialism; the cybernation revolution calls for something beyond it, which as yet has no accepted name.

It is not communism. The abundant society cybernation makes possible eliminates need for social constraint, including the constraint to produce according to one's abilities. It points instead to the freest conceivable exercise of individual option in production and consumption as in all human activities. It points away from private ownership of the means of production, but not toward their collective ownership; rather, it suggests that the fully automated productive complex, operating independently to supply whatever people may demand of it, needs no ownership nor management at all. Who owns the air?

If this be anarchy, it is anarchy of an altogether new type stripped of its own nostalgia for primitive communism. If it be utopian, it looks toward a hitherto unimaginable kind of utopia: a variform utopia of ultimate technology, in which men and women, freed from all compulsion to wrest their livelihood from a given environment, may live their lives as they desire in milieux of their own choosing.

We assume the beneficence of freedom from toil, and therefore assert that our efforts should be directed toward the speediest development and broadest application of automation. As the Ad Hoc Committee stated, it is the income-through-jobs link that acts as the main brake on the capacity of a cybernated productive system. This link must be broken. The traditional dictum (however modified) that he who does not work shall not eat is postulated on an economy of scarcity, in which the labor of all is needed to sustain the community. In the United States at least, current levels of productivity have invalidated it even in terms of the present system. The income-reducing aspects of capitalist automation cannot and should not be countered by finger-in-the-dyke attempts to hold on to existing jobs and to create others. Such efforts can only delay the advent of a desirable new state of society, while little alleviating the misery inherent in the old. It is not jobs that are needed for the transition, but income.

Capitalism can accept—indeed, has in significant measure already accepted—breaking the linkage of income to employment. To provide everyone with an adequate income as a matter of right would of itself deal no deathblow to the system. Intelligent proponents of capitalism could even find virtue in thus cushioning the shock of technological displacement for millions of quondam workers. Yet it would rupture a critical strand in the fetters that precariously restrain the genie of cybernation, who even now, with tied hands, has begun to lay the economic foundation of the new society.

Mark I, Univacs I through VI, and Eniac, those first ponderous monsters, solved the manifold logistic problems of the Second World War and performed the calculations for the atomic and hydrogen bomb projects. Experience with these cooled vacuum-tube computers demonstrated that their speed and accuracy, unhampered by the limitations of the human nervous system, made feasible the solution of problems too complex to have been investigated with mechanical calculating devices.

The second stage of cybernation began with the introduction of small, low-voltage vacuum tubes that required no special cooling system nor elaborate controlled-temperature housing. The more versatile machines that resulted automated the big basic industries—steel, textile, petroleum, and chemicals—and broke the paperwork bottleneck in insurance, banking, and government. These accomplishments dispelled forever in the minds of those associated with production management the idea that automation was just another step in the slow rise of labor productivity. Early the lesson was learned: as automation progresses, it becomes imperative to get all of the people out of the way so that the machines may work at their own optimum speeds. The new Ford block plant at Cleveland has been so designed that much of its assembly line is inaccessible to people; it was the presence of a few workers that rendered its ten-year-old predecessor obsolete.

Application of transistors and block circuits introduced the current proliferation stage, which has unveiled the Frankenstein's monster. The new devices (they can hardly be called machines, for virtually all mechanical components have been eliminated) can be made in any size and complexity, from miniature systems for small shops and offices to the Bureau of Internal Revenue's

Big Brother which does the work of half a million people at a cost of less than twenty-five cents per man-year. Componentized and standardized, they can be custom assembled to any specifications. Built-in detector systems permit self-maintenance. Their reliability has brought precise quality (and obsolescence) control into mass-production industries. Communicating by telephone, a Minneapolis-Honeywell computer is capable not only of receiving six million bits of information per second, but of transmitting, over a different frequency, another six million at the same time. Such high-speed communication enables the otherwise prohibitive cost of complex systems to be spread over many users. If the average cost of all systems can be said now to have reached parity with that of hiring and equipping a human labor force, henceforth the scales will tip in automation's favor. As systems reach out for optimum workloads, they as eagerly assume the tasks of the doctor, lawyer, merchant, and chief as they did those of the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick-maker.

At this stage of the production revolution, all attempts to reclaim some of the lost jobs by featherbedding, reducing hours, etc., only serve to unleash new rounds of automation, as the delicate cost-balance shifts. Once a single plant in an industry has automated, the whole industry must follow suit to remain competitive. As Big Business automates, the anguished screams of smaller capitalists impel the state to subsidize their automation.

Reaction to the much-touted tax cut was the greatest shock of all. Official doctrine was that the higher profit ratio would relieve the urgency of automating, and would trickle down through more readily absorbed wage increases to improve mass consumption. Instead, something like 70 percent of the gain has gone into automation equipment. Since this equipment is itself made in automated plants, the expected trickle-down is simply bypassed.

So we stand, in the Ad Hoc Committee's words, "at a historic conjuncture which demands a fundamental re-examination of existing values and institutions." Not of existing values and institutions only, we add, but of all concepts postulated on a need for human labor—in short, re-examination of all hitherto conceived notions of society. Default or short-sightedness could mean congealment of the social order with a powerful oligarchy still astride the means of production, decreeing through a new Dark Age the conditions under which the lumpenized mass of unwanted humanity may, or may not, be permitted to survive. This, while automation stands willing and potent to give all men the full fruit of mankind's age-long struggles, if only it be turned loose to do the job! Our imperative task is to formulate a realistic program to provide those conditions in which the new society can come most readily to fruition.

To do this we must consider in at least equal depth the implications of the other two coalescing movements. Fear engendered by the total destructiveness of nuclear weapons has obscured the nature of what the Ad Hoc Committee calls the Weaponry Revolution; actually it is a power revolution manifesting itself in the field of weaponry. We see latent in the demand for human equality an urge toward freedom from all dependence —from dependence on society as well as dependence on nature. The confluence of the three revolutions, all sweeping toward the same social transformation, is the force that can realize this freedom.

In its memorandum, the Ad Hoc Committee touched but briefly, and we think with mistaken emphasis, on the new weaponry. That no nation can "win" a war fought with nuclear, chemical, and organic weapons is to us a truism; and the futility of war is but its corollary. Without minimizing the need to get this point across to those who fail to see or to heed it, we submit that the multiplex body of scientific and technological progress, still largely contained within the military womb of the new weaponry, holds the momentous potential of freeing man's evolution from the limitations imposed by his earthly environment. Cybernation offers to remove only one portion of Adam's twofold curse; the new science in toto holds forth the prospect of lifting it altogether. Our view should not be narrowed by the dreadful fact that important areas of the current scientific revolution are being researched and developed with warlike intent. Cognizant of the ultimate capacity of the new weapons, we nevertheless prefer to speak of a Power Revolution.

Let us look at the long history of social change.

With the Neolithic Revolution, agriculture transformed the

economic base of primitive society; signalizing the dawn of recorded history, the rise of commodity production brought about the profound social and political changes of the Urban Revolution. The formerly almost imperceptible progress of science and technology quickened, productivity growing apace, until toward the end of the Roman Republic the sophisticated culture that had developed stood ready to pass into the Industrial Revolution. Manufacturing and agriculture were producing at the saturation point for a slave society. In the Archimedean screw, the aeolipile, and the steam piston, means were at hand to utilize the understood power of water and steam. But only by emancipating the slaves to become free consumers could the Industrial Revolution have been consummated. This the skilled and powerful Roman ruling class was able to prevent. After an initial application of authoritarian control, it wrought the fixation of the individual's socio-economic position, blocking progress so effectively that Rome's own decay merely added to the general stagnation. Western Europe, still basically neolithic when conquered by Rome, and with no strong traditions of stable community life, defined social position in terms of individual to individual—man to master, and master to lord. Despite trappings of urban civilization, the self-sufficient feudal manor was essentially a neolithic village. Feudalism was thus a product not of revolution but of counter-revolution.

As Europe emerged slowly toward the threshold of its own belated urban revolution, the powerful Catholic Church (a most urbane institution) sought to control the movement and on the strength of a successful Holy War to establish temporal authority over a restabilized, more trade-centered Europe. The Crusades precipitated backward Europe into confrontation with a society in which the Industrial Revolution had long been overdue. Matters got out of hand. Returning crusaders brought back a pregnant ideology: the reintroduction of scientific inquiry and of applied technology, a cosmopolitan view of man and his institutions, and a taste for opulent living. Its fruit was the Protestant Reformation, the Renaissance, and the consummation in the form of mercantilism of Europe's suspended urbanization. The momentum of the movement carried Europe (with the significant exception of the Iberian peninsula) into the Industrial Revolution.

We see operating here the same factors that brought socialism not to the mature industrial nations that seemed most ripe for it, but to only superficially capitalist societies.

Examining these factors, we are struck most forcibly with the strength and sophistication of a solidly grounded ruling class. Revolutionary theory is not the property of revolutionists alone; the ruling class has studied Marx far more profoundly than has the proletariat on which he based his hopes. By whatever maneuvers of force, concession, and guile, advanced capitalist states have countered every bid of the working class for power, while strengthening control over their own internal stresses. It is time to face up to the sobering realization that an over-ripe social order is by no means as vulnerable as Marxists have traditionally believed.

Nevertheless, compelling forces have transformed society and will transform it again. The three-fold nature of the current revolution brings their dynamics into sharper focus.

Each major social revolution has tapped previously unavailable sources of power. The Neolithic Revolution harnessed the muscle power of beasts; by providing institutions able to cope with human gang labor, the Urban Revolution made feasible the use on a large scale of slavery. With the Industrial Revolution man converted into torque the energy stored in fossil fuels, and applied it to an already advanced system of mechanized hand manufacture. This yoking of superior power to a body of cumulate technology touched off an explosive proliferation. Innovations burst upon society with institution-shattering force, and a process of metamorphosis got under way.

This is precisely the state of affairs we now see imminent. The abundant power attainable through control of nuclear events can catalyze just such a violent technological acceleration. Granting that the present cumbersome reactors work with true Rube Goldberg inefficiency to produce power by extremely uneconomical methods, we yet recall that ordinary aluminum, the most common metallic element in the earth's crust, was until 1886 the costliest of metals to produce. The breakthrough occurred when sufficient current became available to permit cheap electrolytic

extraction. Development of the MHD generator, shielding itself with its own magnetic field, may point a way toward breakthrough in the economic utilization of nuclear power.

Theoretically, nuclear power is incredibly cheap. Sources are literally infinite, and the nuclear generator consists potentially of only a relatively small conversion unit without moving parts, together with its appropriate switching gear. There will be no need for such massive paraphernalia, with attendant maintenance requirements, as is requisite to the generation and transmission of hydro-electric power.

We know little of what may already lie in abeyance, awaiting an abundance of cheap power to trigger innovations. The power-hunger of the laser beam, for example, has retarded even its obvious applications to industry and communications; but who can foretell the course of the laser's development, given ample power? And here is power in plenty—power to explore the universe, power to create the environments we desire. Here is the means to manipulate matter itself, even to establish balanced matter-energy cycles—the Philosopher's Stone, the Universal Solvent, and Perpetual Motion.

At just such a conjuncture of technology and potential power did the slaveholders of Rome relegate the aeolipile to parlor amusement and the steam piston to opening temple doors. For the nuclear generator our own rulers have prepared a far more ominous dustbin.

The impending union of cybernation with nuclear power threatens sudden and violent disruption to an economy already troubled by its decreasing ability to sell the goods it must produce. We see in the rise of the extreme Right a response to the threat. In the United States, reaction now strives to ride to power on the wave of the white backlash, but its underlying causes are deeper and more fundamental.

We do not believe, as a majority of the Ad Hoc Committee apparently does, that institutions geared to promoting the interests of the class in power will or can act for the greater good of all humanity. Certainly we do not expect them to manifest such altruism in a situation of conflicting interests and values. Governing bodies can but arrest the current revolution at an intermediate stage of its development and stabilize society in a new equilibrium (possibly minimizing disorder thereby, with less than optimum social benefit) or be themselves overwhelmed as the revolution sweeps to its consummation.

The dangers of a limited revolution are frightful and too little understood. The Ad Hoc Committee may prate about "planning agencies under democratic control," but the very folk-wisdom tells us by what forces our so-called democratic processes are dominated. We have no illusions about their plans; their plans will be those of the capitalist class. The present division in its ranks offers us not a lesser evil but a choice between equally abhorrent alternatives. Capitalism's "enlightened" wing, which sees advantage in social tranquility, may adopt what appears to be a favorable course. It may alleviate poverty; it may end racial discrimination; it may thaw the Cold War and cool off the hot ones; it may considerably reform the economic structure. If it does, it will do so only to secure a more placid population, more conformable to its control. Such expedients will not long be needed (though social habit may preserve them), for better means will soon be at hand. With the decipherment of the genetic code, the most terrifying nightmare of science fiction becomes the all-too-imminent probability: mankind can be stopped dead in its tracks, or its development can be permanently diverted into any direction the planners see fit. Reform thus becomes the means whereby automation's surplus production is used to impose paralysis. This cannot be shrugged off. Man's very capacity to rebel can be forever extinguished, as dissatisfaction is biologically eliminated from his prefabricated psychology. Whatever his existence he would be content, for he could be nothing else. It is to this fate that the primrose path of reform would lead us.

If replacement of purblind instinct with reasoned confrontation of environment is the prime direction of human evolution, then with each progressive transformation of society we see accelerated the humanization of *homo sapiens*. In transforming society he transforms himself, the more so as his responses grow more malleable to environmental conditioning, and as the relative importance of his social environment increases. To the pre-human who foraged and scavenged his meager subsistence in disadvan-

tageous competition with saber-toothed cats, the natural environment must have loomed all-important. It is unlikely that he gave much thought to his relationships with his fellow-scroungers, or that those relationships became at all complex until tool-making and pyrotechny transformed his conditions of life. We venture to guess that it was in a consequent amplification of gregariousness that speech developed the range and flexibility to become a serviceable instrument of communication.

It is difficult for us to imagine the psychology of that pre-toolmaking ancestor of ours. But after this earliest known transformation, we see developing traditions of toolmaking, socially transmitted and diffused techniques; we can trace community acceptance of new and improved designs. We view in a much more human light the social beings who shaped their flints into conventional laurel-leaf patterns. These are folk akin to us; they have evolved in our direction

The man who emerged from the misnamed Neolithic Revolution was more human still: as he had become a farmer, he was by that much less a predator. Diminished predaciousness and the easier conditions of neolithic life opened up a new dimension in his conscious dealings with his environment. Hunting parties occasionally encountered each other in the forests and plains but so seldom that they could afford to settle their territorial conflict afresh with each encounter. If well-matched, they might fight it out on the spot; otherwise the weaker party might flee. Hunting populations were small, encounters rare, and territorial attachments slight, so such expedients served well enough. But men living in settled villages in fixed proximity had reason to seek more stable solutions. Abraham and Lot could put an end to their recurring conflicts by reasonably negotiating a mutually agreeable partition. Thus the neolithic milieu conduced to new concepts in people-to-people relationships, and provided the conditions to implement them. Agricultural work is cyclic, with periods of relative leisure between the time of sowing and the time of first cultivation, between the last cultivation and the harvest, and from harvest to the next year's sowing. Much of the new leisure must have been put to the exploration of interpersonal relations, for man had now come to conscious acceptance of his interdependence. In the climate of neolithic life, social interaction—derived from this concept—wrought the domestication of the species. In short, the Neolithic Revolution transformed *homo sapiens faber* into *homo sapiens domesticus.*

The Urban Revolution translated interdependence to subservience. More or less consciously, domestic man traded personal freedom for greater security. With the slaves read out of the human race, the application of their versatile labor power to productive techniques furnished mankind with fecund conditions to speed its development. In the affluent cities, the slave may have sunk to subhumanity, but the man became a citizen and a scholar.

When the harnessing of power obviated society's need to prune its work force from the body politic, the slaves at last made good their chronic demand for re-admission to the human race. The vindication of self they brought with them unfitted re-unified mankind for integration into progressively more ordered anthills. With the Industrial Revolution, man asserted his right to re-examine the concessions he had made to society. In capitalism's ruthless but sometimes rewarding competitiveness he became an individual, with impelling aspirations apart from the dictates of the social order.

Each revolution thus performs the human transformation that is prerequisite to the next revolution.

We suggest that the American Negro's drive for equality, insofar as it goes no further, is in essence a mop-up operation of the Industrial Revolution. If it were no more, an advanced industrial society could accede to it with little difficulty. But in the developing ideology and tactics of the Negro struggle here and of colonial movements elsewhere, we read a forecast of the next step in man's humanization. Its vanguard is the widespread and growing insistence upon peaceable solutions to human problems, and the emergence in significant force of people neither listless nor subservient who are capable of non-violent conduct in the face of clubs, cattleprods, and even bullets. That non-violent tactics may be suicidal in a violent society is here beside the point. These people prefigure those of the new society. If the current revolution is to be pushed beyond the possibility of containment, theirs are the demands that will push it.

We submit that herein lies the so-called "ripeness of the masses" for revolution. It occurs when the human transformation

has progressed to a point of no return at which its needs so exceed those of a limited economic revolution as to carry that revolution beyond itself and into the next.

If this be true, any given society at the breaking point is always, so to speak, one revolution behind the next impending revolution. Our examination of the revolutions, fulfilled and aborted, for which we have sufficient data, bears this out, and we are reminded of what we stated at the beginning: that in the United States the current revolution calls not for socialism but for something beyond it.

The coming change, as we see it, will bring man from a condition in which he can maintain society only through the coercive institutions of government and law to a state of humaneness wherein all such institutionalized constraints will become unnecessary and will vanish. The individual man has long found them irksome; his more or less reluctant acceptance of them derives from his recognition of the advantageousness of the social order, and conviction that constraint is indispensable to its functioning. We grant that it has been so but believe that this revolution, if it is fully consummated, will virtually remove the element of interest-conflict from man's environment. In freer interaction, the humanist ideal can be realized. We find it no less reasonable to postulate a functioning society without authority than to postulate an orderly universe without a god. Therefore the word "anarchy" is not for us freighted with connotations of disorder, chaos, or confusion. For humane men, living in noncompetitive conditions of freedom from toil and of universal affluence, anarchy is simply the appropriate state of society.

To recapitulate: with productivity already straining the economic system's capacity to cope with it, the impending advent of cheap nuclear power threatens an explosive expansion. These are prime preconditions for social disruption, but they do not ensure the terms on which society may be re-stabilized. Contending human forces will strive, according to their own diverse interests, to halt social and economic change or to control it to their advantage. Only those who have no stake in present institutions will wish it to run its course.

It follows that the working class, mortally concerned as it is to preserve the value of labor power, is not the class to bring about this revolution.

Those conscientious scholars, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, opened their 1848 exposition of the aims of the several social classes with the word "today," and *The Communist Manifesto* is a document that does not waste words. Now and here a new alignment of forces exists, radically different from that which they so accurately and concisely defined for their day.

We see today a capitalist class divided by the adherence of one segment to the principle of *laissez-faire* and the adoption by the other of the values of social planning. One wing would consign us to a jungle; the other, to an anthill. Both have access to far more potent media for influencing the opinions and attitudes of the people than were conceivable in Marx's time, and their ideologies permeate, in one or another degree, all other classes of society.

The reduction of the small manufacturers, shopkeepers, and independent artisans and farmers has proceeded to just about that point reckoned most desirable for preserving the still-cherished illusion of free opportunity. Their relative significance has diminished, but their role has not changed.

With the rise of institutional capitalism, a formerly negligible element has come to prominence—people having little or no share in ownership, but bound wholly to the class that buys their services and their loyalty. They constitute the career management of institutional capitalism and its professional retainers. Not oriented toward independent business or professional status, they have none of the outlook of the petty bourgeoisie. Their precariously privileged position in society is predicated upon their selling not their labor power only, but their whole selves; their role is to administer the means of production in the best interests of its owners. To do so, they identify their own welfare with that of the institution they serve so completely that their upper echelon is frequently confused with the bourgeoisie itself. Their philosophy is most succinctly embodied in Charles Wilson's conviction that what is good for General Motors is good for the country.

The working class itself has attained a degree of social privilege Marx did not believe possible under capitalism, though Engels, who outlived him, observed in England the beginnings of

its perversion. Even more critically, it is now a rapidly declining class. Its most skilled and adaptable members are recruited into the lower ranks of the lackeys above; mechanization and automation ruthlessly slough off its lower levels to the lumpenproletariat. That which remains is in the process of being divided into two distinct layers, according to the social value of their labor power—the favored workers in automated and semi-automated industries, and those in unautomated industry and services. No longer subjected to homogeneous conditions of life, they no longer have the basis for a common philosophy; working-class solidarity has become a nostalgic legend. Each of its organizations not corrupted outright by the capitalist class serves mainly the narrow interests of the particular trade or craft that it represents, sometimes at the expense of other organized workers, often at the expense of the unorganized, and almost always at the expense of working women and Negroes. To be sure, the working class stands opposed to the bourgeoisie, which exploits it. But its very existence as a class depends upon the continuance of the value of human labor power, and its institutions will work to preserve that. Its aim will be to contain the revolution.

This is not to say that workers may not align themselves with the truly revolutionary class. The essence of their exploitation is that they are constrained to labor, and consummation of the revolution will release them from that constraint. Their stake in the present social order is therefore less than the promise the revolution holds out to them. They too may be brought to defend their future rather than their present interests.

The lumpenproletariat, the declassed scum of society, Marx characterized as a rotting mass, now and then to be swept into a revolutionary movement but on the whole better fitted to be informers, scabs, and goons in the service of the bourgeoisie. He was undoubtedly quite correct. He recognized their affinity to the proletariat in that they had no share in the ownership of the means of production, but the lumpens comprise the slough of all classes, and in Marx's day the classes discarding slough were the decaying aristocracy, the peasantry, and the distressed petty bourgeoisie. The proletariat itself had little to discard: the industrial complex of a younger capitalism consumed it utterly. Marx detested these corrupt and fickle lumpens, and Marxists have scorned them ever since, without giving them a second look.

It is time to re-appraise them. The aristocracy is gone, and the rate of liquidation of the petty bourgeoisie is practically stabilized; now the overwhelming mass of lumpens comes from the working class. They are the hard-core unemployed and the young people who will never find jobs; they are the ex-miners of Appalachia and the ex-autoworkers of Detroit. A great many of them are Negro, many are Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and Indian. It is absurd to call these people workers. They do not work; they do not expect to work again; as they adapt to their new conditions of life, they do not want to work. Living on relief or (statistically) on air, they are the most depressed element of modern society, proletarians in the Roman sense: people of no value to the social order. They are no longer even needed as strikebreakers; machines do it better. A government economist has dubbed them "no-people."

Yet they constitute today a true class, with a common relationship to the rest of society, with common attitudes and values unlike those of other classes, and with a common aspiration: to consume the fruits of humanity's conquest of nature without submitting to repressive social relations. The permissive lumpen-culture scorns all precepts to thrift, industriousness, and self-denial—that is, to the factitious morality that upholds wage-enslavement and privation. Their slogan is "Now!"—freedom now, peace now, abundance now. The homogeneity of their experience produces concerted actions without need for elaborate theory or formal organization. They, and they alone, can settle for nothing less than the transformation of society and the transformation of man. Their ranks are growing, and their vanguard is on the move.

Our re-examination now leads us to question whether the Left's usual methods of procedure are applicable to this new revolutionary situation. Reluctantly, for it is always comforting to walk in accustomed paths, we must conclude that they are not. The objective is no longer to replace one power structure with another, however benevolent; so our efforts must not serve to create institutions capable of assuming control. The old concepts of organization therefore can lead only to counter-revolution.

Moreover, that the already emergent transformation of man is so essential to the new society demands tactics that will further its development. This, neither political maneuvering nor traditional forms of insurrection can do—on the contrary, they can only hinder it, and thus in effect prove counter-revolutionary also.

In the activities of the lumpens themselves we see an approach more congruous with the aims of this revolution. Resisting the war in Korea, they eschewed all organized forms of protest and simply dodged the draft, gold-bricked, and deserted—without apparent organization but none the less in mass. General Hershey testified bitterly to the volume and effect of their non-participation. Resisting wage-slavery, they simply adjust to living on welfare; and resisting welfare restrictions, they simply evade them. Though spontaneous, these are not merely scattered individualistic acts of personal expediency, but coherent and predictable responses of the class. As such, they reflect a solidarity of outlook that grows naturally out of common frustrations and common needs. Mass action thus motivated is the means that can destroy institutions of power without replacing them, and the practice-ground where men can function together on the basis of mutual understanding, without constraint either of binding ideology or of physical force. The normal modus operandi of the lumpenproletariat is also the logical tactic of the anarchist revolution.

What remains is that this hitherto mainly defensive action be turned to positive ends; this we now see happening in sections of the Negro movement. But with all enthusiasm for the Negro's effort, we insist that it is folly for white radicals to tail his kite. To pin our hopes on moving the mass of whites through a struggle but peripheral to their needs is to abandon the bulk of the oppressed to the demagogy of the far Right (which knows well how to use them) and to abandon the Negroes themselves to the white backlash. Until it is achieved, equality must of course be the Negro's overriding demand. But the fact is that many of the Negro's white friends have unwittingly and with the most commendable intentions become millstones around his neck, retarding the development of his own tactics of struggle. Those able to identify with his tactics as well as his aspirations have a particular contribution to make in bringing them into the broader arena. Beyond equality, the Negro's needs are the same as those of his fellow-humans, and are not to be satisfied by a job soon lost to automation, a vote nullified by class bias of the electoral system, unsegregated indoctrination, and the replacement of moldering ghettos with jerry-built slums. The hearteningly dynamic drive for racial equality needs to be echoed by parallel (and equally direct) action for peace, personal liberty, and an equitable share of the goods and services our productive complex pours forth in such abundance, just beyond our reach.

It has been the habit of the Left to deplore insurgent action when it manifests itself in ways outside our approved (and by now institutionalized) forms. But the lumpen's approach is varied and flexible. He refuses by whatever device may be most expeditious to participate in the conduct of war; he does not cooperate with police and opposes enforcement of laws repressive of personal freedom in whatever manner may be feasible in any specific situation; he implements rupture of the job-income link by utilizing social welfare agencies, consumer credit, and whatever means may be at hand to preserve his consumption power. To proponents of the status quo, such procedures either are criminal or ought to be; to the several orthodoxies of the Left, they are (horror of horrors!) anarchistic. So be it. To a rapidly growing class they are the usual and accepted ways of coping with the environment—a fact to which only sectarianism or our own relative well-being could blind us. Police may bluster and social workers may moan, but the lumpens' rebellion continues to mount. Despite its sometimes nihilistic aspect, we acknowledge its revolutionary potential. As the practicability of an anarchic society on a cybernated economic base is popularized, it will find its direction and its purpose.

Then will the three streams of revolution be joined and an irresistible flood sweep away the damming power structures of old society, to carry man into that future of unlimited freedom in which his infinite aspirations may be realized.

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from life as a dream

what is your social security number
the lovers
abraham bethuel elihu with heavy balls like
tarzan
in the pontiac no one can see me
i ride i could be an embezzler
what is the way
or an elizabethan thriller
i might be albert fish
or a heron
a cohn or a levi
microbes cover me like moss on the north side
of a tree

it is six oclock
then it is time to eat as the poets say

but i am a prisoner of the wheel
the doctor comes
to kill me
he will kill you too
he will fall over a height
you will die of eating an unwashed grape
arpet
you will be out in the rain
snakes survive
treat
painted like a choctaw
someone becomes biana dei bullshit
dont lie
be the agent of the sun
be the target of the moon
be the premonition of the sand
be altogether fleshy and bloody
as the universe expands like a vagina
the light of the stars and your breathing
heard after death
and the boat moves on

yea

so

the list will lengthen
loone
till infinity becomes a gorgeous comfort
satin sheets
spongey body dopey mind

Julian Beck. Cape Hatteras. 1956

GLUE SNIFFER

Sniff l i g h t l y . . . air.
soft ether...

timeless permiator,
evident in rhythm
through the ear
through the heart
through nature.

/Revealing life

as a medium

not

a standard of reality.

Utopian theatre.

zimzoum.

Steve Thompson

SATURDAY NIGHT

Prayer for the Jurists and Judges

O God of Hosts
Make glow
Their rigid ass-holes
With a holy light.
Let them
Who are more in the dark
Than we
Who have no thing but their darkness
To fear,
Let them survive their ordeal
And set
Themselves free and thereby
Let us go.

O Holy Light : Enter the Orifice.

Judith Malina

The Flying Lamb:
Days of the Revolution

Beginning With The Human Body Revolution In Which The Human Being Is The Only Weapon & The Only Goal.

BRIEF: freedom:anarchists
implies communal more/
what is necessary is made, used, nada mas;
no money , trade etc.
Reclaim this world totally making
what you want/to give all only
CONCERN:
it cannot be done.
it cannot be done.
(DO IT): requires the taking
place within all involved
communally in all change.
independant of power and of
wealth and moving towards
joyfully/joyfullness/ what we have to show
for it: accomplished reclamation of
our living planet theater earth and all//

Holy language of wordlessly violet sunrise
burst the vale of night/trees all enhazed in
creations juices babbling joyfully/green
FLAMES ascend our Earth and grail:
precisely of anarchy/ paradise glyph.

day of clubs

paul prensky

I dreamed I was walking home through an estate with a very steep hill all like a jungle with huge spiders and boa-constricters and upright pianos made of ivory and gold and jewelery. And I kept falling and sliding. Then the lady from court came out of the house. She and some more people told me I could be a star if I would change my name and do what I was told. I said sure.

"God knows, life is
difficult enough, but to face a very
difficult period of revolution ---is difficult."

Julian Beck

Before, when I went out in the street, a man had a dog on a leash, barking. Another man was lunging at the dog and making it bark. A little boy was shooting at that man with a squirt gun. In the laundry, a little girl was playing under a huge black umbrella made of beautiful thin cloth, almost transparant. In the grocery a gypsy woman walked in and she got her coat caught on the door for a long time.

legalise stadish

NEWS

Guard All Police Headquarters To Foil CORE Sit-Ins

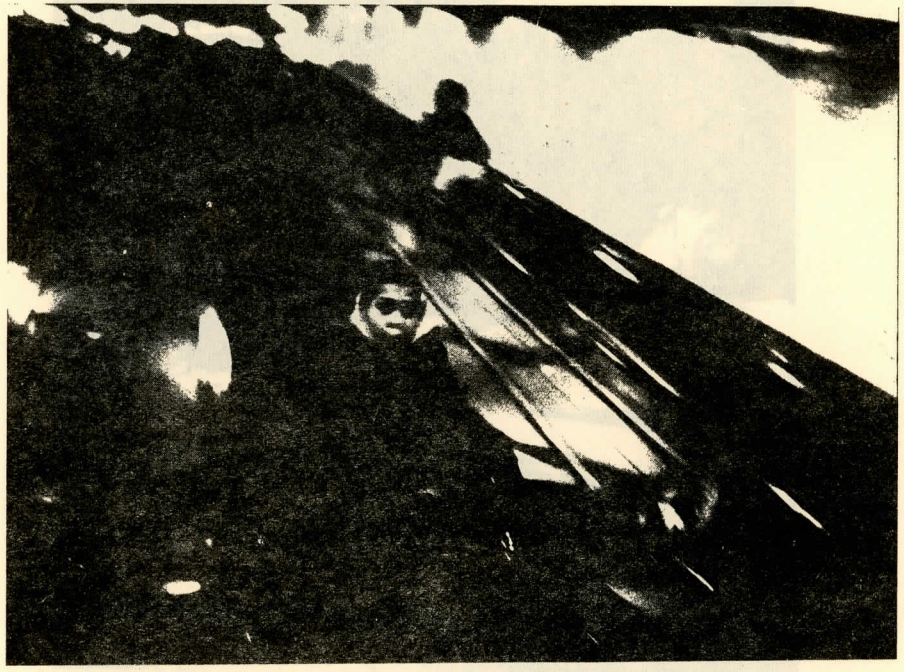
Lets replace the new with something entirely old.

deep blue sea baby deep blue
sea deep blue sea baby deep blue sea deep
blue sea baby deep blue sea it was Willie
what got drownded in the deep blue sea

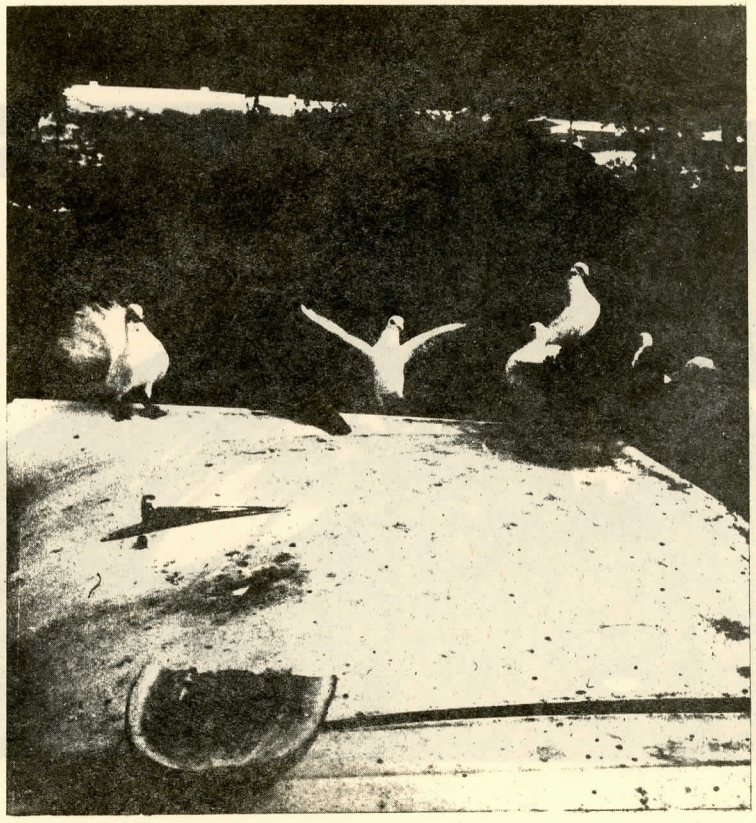
Jenny Hecht

an exile production

JERRY



PERISCHON



IN THE POETRY OF BASHO, ISSA, TAO YUAN-MING, ROETHKE, GARY SNYDER, AND OTHERS; IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND COTTAGES, THE IGLOO, TEEPEES, AND PREFABS; IN THE FURNITURE OF THE SHAKERS, A FEW CARPENTERS, AND ORANGE CRATES; IN THE FEELING OF A ZEN COOK FOR ONE GRAIN OF RICE -- THERE IS AN AUSTERITY THAT CAN RECOGNIZE NATURE. EARLY AMERICAN HANDCRAFTS HAD TO BE WELL MADE. IF YOU LOOK THROUGH COLLECTIONS OF OLD HOOKED RUGS, LAMPS, TOOLS, OR ANY KIND OF HANDCRAFTED OBJECTS, IT SEEMS THAT PEOPLE WHO KNEW VERY LITTLE ABOUT ARCHITECTURE OR FASHION, ISOLATED FROM SOPHISTICATION, REFINED MATERIALS, AND EQUIPMENT, HAVING LITTLE ELSE THAN THEIR OWN NEEDS AND FEELINGS AND WHATEVER MATERIALS THEY HAD AROUND THEM IN NATURE TO RELY ON, WERE ALMOST INCAPABLE OF MAKING ANYTHING THAT IS NOT DEEPLY SATISFYING.

HISTORY IS NOT SO SIMPLE. THERE IS FREEDOM WHERE NATURE IS RICH...WHERE THERE IS SPACE, FEW LAWS, INSTITUTIONS, OR MONUMENTS...AND TRADITIONS ARE ON THE OTHER SIDE OF AN OCEAN. FREEDOM TO MAKE MANY WONDERFUL THINGS NO ONE WOULD HAVE DARED TO DO IF THE EXPERTS AND CONNOISEURS WERE AROUND. BUT ALSO OTHER KINDS OF FREEDOMS: TO DESTROY FORESTS, KILL OFF

Potter's Wheel Cosmology

Jean Vogrin

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF BIRDS AND OTHER CREATURES, DESTROY THE WAY OF LIFE OF HUNDREDS OF INDIAN TRIBES, KILL OFF SOME OF THESE TRIBES COMPLETELY, IMPORT PEOPLE FROM OTHER LANDS TO WORK IN SLAVERY OR NEAR SLAVERY GENERATION AFTER GENERATION AND THEN LOOK DOWN ON THEM FOR THEIR LACK OF POSSESSIONS, TO COVER THE CONTINENT WITH HUNDREDS OF SQUARE MILES OF ASPHALT AND CEMENT, BUY UP PROPERTY TO SELL AT A PROFIT, IN FACT CONVERT PEOPLE, NATURE, EARTH, EVERYTHING GOOD AND VALUABLE INTO POSSESSIONS TO BE CONVERTED INTO WEALTH AND FINALLY MONEY.

SOMETIMES YOU HAVE TO LAUGH RIGHT THROUGH YOUR LONELINESS TO DIG UP ONE MORE POT OUT OF YOUR BONES AND BELLY, ONE MORE TARTAR-STAINED TOOTH OF A POT. WHEN WE WATCH THE BIRDS, LOOK AT THE WILD GROWING THINGS, READ ABOUT THE PEOPLE IN TENT CITIES, THE PEACE MARCHERS, THE SIT-INS, TEACH-INS, LISTEN TO SOME OF THE KIDS TALK ABOUT LOVE, IT ALL SEEMS TO FIT IN. BUT OTHER PEOPLE COME IN TRYING TO MAKE A CONNECTION THROUGH THEIR NEED FOR CONSTANT NOISE, DIVERSION, ENTERTAINMENT, RECREATION, THE SHOP-AND-TELL EXISTENCE, WANTING IT ALL WITH A SHINEY SURFACE, STERILE, STERILIZABLE, SWEET, PRETTY, CLEAN, OR THEY WANT IT ROUGH-TEXTURED, DIFFERENT, AMUSING EXCITING, INTERESTING. THEY COME WITH A FEELING FOR SOMETHING MORE GENTLE, OR WITH THEIR CHILDREN TO SEE THE POTTER FOR "SHOW-AND-TELL" -- AND THE CHILDREN RUN OUT SHOUTING "I COULD DO THAT." THE GROCER'S WIFE STANDS QUIETLY WITH HER DAUGHTER WATCHING A POT BEING MADE, SHE HOPES HER DAUGHTER WILL BE AN ARTIST. A WOMAN REPRESENTING THE WOMAN'S AUXILIARY OF A SEASIDE

RETIREMENT, SECOND-HOME COMMUNITY WHICH RECENTLY REPLACED 5 SQUARE MILES OF WILDLIFE SAYS, "THESE PEOPLE ARE LONELY. THEY GO ON TOURS ALMOST EVERY WEEK. THEIR CHILDREN HAVE MOVED OUT. THEY NO LONGER NEED THEIR OLD HOMES. THEY HAVE TOO MANY POSSESSIONS THAT CAN'T FIT INTO THEIR NEW HOUSES. THEIR CHILDREN DON'T WANT THEIR OLD THINGS, THEY BUY THEIR OWN ANTIQUES AND GET MORE THAN ENOUGH FOR A LIFETIME AT THEIR WEDDINGS. WE WOULD LIKE TO SET UP SOME CRAFT PROGRAM. CAN YOU HELP US?" I WAS GOING TO GIVE PAINTING LESSONS TO MISS MACKENNA. SHE MOVED DOWN HERE WITH HER SISTER AFTER RETIRING FROM THE EAST 5TH STREET CITY WELFARE STATION. THAT WAS A BLOCK FROM OUR POTTERY THOUGH WE DIDN'T KNOW HER THEN. THE MACKENNAS WERE OUR FIRST AND BEST CUSTOMERS HERE. DIDN'T HAVE TO GLAZE THE INSIDE OF THEIR CASSEROLE AND RUIN A GOOD MEAT POT FOR THEM. BUT VIRGINIA DIED LAST WEEK LEAVING HER SISTER MARGARATE, 7 DOGS, 4 CATS, SOME POTS, AND HERE WE ARE SWAYING IN THE WIND.

PEOPLE DON'T COME IN OFTEN, AT LEAST NOT YET. BUT WE HAD TO LEAVE THE AMAZING INTELLECTUAL ACHIEVEMENT OF THE 70% OF OUR POPULATION WHO TRY TO UNDERSTAND THEIR MINDS AND BODIES IN ZOO-CITIES. WE COULDN'T UNDERSTAND. IT WAS GETTING HARD EVEN TO FEEL. FORMS KEPT COMING UP LOOKING MORE LIKE BIRDS AND MUSHROOMS THAN RECTANGULAR, TUBULAR SUPERSTRUCTURES. NOW WE CAN WALK IN THE SCRUBBY OAK AND PINE AND LOOK AT ANCIENT DEAD TREES FULL OF LIVING CREATURES. THERE IS NO CIVICALLY ORGANIZED GARBAGE COLLECTION, BUT SKUNKS, OPPOSUMS AND RACCOONS LEAVE LITTLE FOR DECAY. MAY HAS TRIED TO TAKE THE POWER OF NATURE FOR HIMSELF, BUT THE POWER THAT BELONGS TO THE FLOWING UNIVERSE, TO NATURE, MAN AND SUBSTANCE UNITED, DESTROYS US. WE HAVE SEPARATED OURSELVES NOT ONLY FROM NATURE BUT FROM EACH OTHER. AND THE MORE WE FEAR THE LONELINESS OF SEPARATION THE MORE WE JOIN SEPARATE GROUPS, SEPARATE IDEAS, TO PROTECT OURSELVES IN HUMAN COMFORT. THE ALONENESS OF OUR INNER BEING, OUR LIVING SPIRIT, WANTS TO BREAK THROUGH AND AGAIN BE PART OF EVERYTHING. BUT EVERYTHING INCLUDES PEOPLE -- PEOPLE WHO ARE TAUGHT TO LOVE AND COMPETE, TO BE FAIR AND GIVING UNLESS IT IS BUSINESS, AND THEN FAIRNESS IS ABSTRACT AND CONTROLLED BY A PRICE LIST. OH IT'S NOT SO EASY. TOO MANY DON'T EVEN GET TO WHERE THEY CAN CHOOSE. AND IT'S TOO IMPORTANT, WE HAVE TO TALK TO SOME PEOPLE, HOLD SOME PEOPLE. A YOUNG FRIEND WROTE TO US. "I GET FRUSTRATED WATCHING THE WAY PEOPLE BRING UP CHILDREN -- WHICH THEY HAVE NO JOY IN -- AND YET WANT MORE. AND I WATCH THE CHILDREN SUFFER AND CRY OUT -- YET I WANT TO ESCAPE FROM THEM, THEIR DESIRE FOR LOVE AND ATTENTION. KEVEN PLAYED MY RECORDER, AND MADE UP A SONG TO SING IN BETWEEN PLAYING." AND THE EGG FARMER WHO SAID "IT'S A POOR BUSINESS BUT THERE IS FRESH AIR, SPACE TO WALK IN AND GOOD CHICKENS TO EAT. WHEN WE CAME FROM POLAND I WORKED IN A FACTORY AND TOOK PILLS ALL DAY FOR HEADACHES. BUT THE KIDS GO TO SCHOOL AND WANT MONEY, CARS AND TO EAT IN RESTAURANTS AND YOU CAN'T TELL THEM ANYTHING." OUR ELDERLY NEIGHBOR TRACES GENEOLOGIES BACK TO REVOLUTIONARY TIMES WHERE EVERYONE CAME AND WORKED WHEN A BIG JOB HAD TO BE DONE LIKE PLOUGHING OR FIXING THE ROOF OR PIG KILLING -- AND THE WOMEN COOKED AND EVERYONE GOT A MEAL AND THAT WAS ALL. THEN THEY USED TO MAKE QUILTS IN THE BIG ROOM BUT THAT WAS BEFORE TELEVISION. "NOW I GET FRIGHTENED DRIVING TO THE SUPERMARKET

ALONE IN THE WINTER. IF SOMETHING GOES WRONG WITH THE CAR, I CAN'T FIX IT ANYMORE OR WALK MILES TO A TELEPHONE."

BUT ANYWAY WE ARE ALL "INDEPENDENT" NOW AND IT'S OUR HOUSE, OUR FARM, OUR CHILDREN, OUR PROBLEM, OUR BUSINESS, AND OUR BOYS AT THE FRONT. WE ARE ALL HOLDING OURSELVES TOGETHER, AREN'T WE? WE READ HOW TO LIVE AND WHAT TO THINK IN THE MAGAZINES AND PAPERS, TELEVISION. YOU TRY TO MAKE A CONNECTION SOMEHOW. LOOK AT A THOUSAND PAINTERS NOW DOING POP ART, NOW HARD EDGE, NOW THIS, NOW THAT -- IN ALL THE ARTS. INDIVIDUALITY IS PART OF CONFORMITY, BUT CONFORMITY AT LEAST LEADS TO CONVERSATION, EVEN IF NOTHING IS COMMUNICATED. I WENT THROUGH A PILE OF MAGAZINES, BROUGHT TO US AS A GESTURE OF SHARING -- A FEW THOUSAND IDEAS ON HOW TO MAKE MINIATURE ANTIQUE COMMODES, CREATIVE ABSTRACT PAINTING LESSONS FOR CHILDREN, CHRISTMAS PRESENTS, EASY HOUSEKEEPING, INSURANCE POLICIES, LITERALLY HOW TO LIVE, LOVE, AND MAKE MARRIAGE WORK AND 2 THOUSAND PICTURES TO MAKE SURE YOU UNDERSTAND, EXACTLY. CONVERSATION LEAVES US MORE LONELY THAN SILENCE. AND THAT ALL THIS TALK AND LOOKING ALIKE IN OUR INDIVIDUAL BLUES AND GREENS, AND ALL THE NOISE OF BUSYNESS, ORDER AND DISORDER IS LEADING NOWHERE IS EASY TO SEE, IF YOU HAVE THE FREEDOM TO SEE IT.

WE MISS ALL THE LITTLE KIDS ON 6TH STREET WHO CAME INTO THE POTTERY WHETHER THEIR PARENTS WERE UKRAINIANS, CATHOLICS, MULATTO, MESTIZO, ORIENTAL, SOBER, DRUNK, LEFTIST, RIGHTIST OR CALLED US BEATNIKS. SUZIE SAYING, "I MAKE SOMETHING. SEE?" EDDIE ASKING IF HE CAN DO SOME WORK TO PAY FOR LESSONS AND PLEASE WIPE OFF HIS SHOES SO HE DOESN'T MAKE ANY CLAY TRACKS ON THE SIDEWALK. CRAFTSMEN ARE COMING OUT OF ART SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, COMMUNITY CENTERS AND STOREFRONTS. IT IS GETTING TO BE A PROBLEM. IT WAS THOUGHT YOU COULD ORGANIZE COMPETITIONS TO SINGLE OUT THE LEADERS. BUT FOR EACH COMPETITION THERE ARE GROWING THOUSANDS OF ENTRIES AND NO ONE KNOWS WHO THE LEADER IS OR WHAT AMONG 3 THOUSAND GOOD POTS IS IMPORTANT. THE AMERICAN CRAFTMEN'S COUNCIL IS UNABLE TO KEEP US IN THE ECONOMIC COMPETITIVE SYSTEM OF OUR SOCIETY. FREE SPIRIT IS BEYOND ECONOMICS AND BEYOND COMPARISON. ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO ENCOURAGE CRAFTSMEN TO DESIGN FOR INDUSTRY MORE "CRAFTLIKE" MACHINE PRODUCTS OR TO GO INTO MASS-PRODUCING HANDMADE FACTORIES REMINISCENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES; OR ON THE OTHER HAND TO SELL INDIVIDUALLY-MADE PIECES AS THE ULTIMATE ACCESSORIES IN INTERIOR DECORATION, AS WORKS OF "ART", UNUSUAL IN SENSITIVITY, PASSION, OR FEELING. EVERYTHING IS FAILING.

CRAFTSMEN WHO FEEL THEIR OWN FREE SPIRIT DON'T WANT TO LOOSE IT BY TEACHING STUDENTS TO IMITATE OR NOT TO. THE STUDENT NEEDS MATERIALS, TOOLS, AND TECHNIQUES THAT BRING OUT HIS OWN FREEDOM. WHO CAN JUDGE WHEN A STUDENT NEEDS A TECHNIQUE OR DOESN'T, OR WHEN THE TECHNIQUE WILL OVERWHELM THE SPIRIT OR WHEN THE SPIRIT NEEDS TO CREATE A NEW TECHNIQUE SO THAT IT CAN SHAPE SOME UNKNOWN FORM? THIS CAN ONLY BE FELT OUT BY SENSITIVE AWARE PEOPLE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF FREEDOM AND COOPERATION -- WHERE THE STUDENT

IS NO LESS IMPORTANT THAN THE TEACHER, THE ADMINISTRATION, THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM OR ANY OTHER STUDENT.

AND WHAT ABOUT DESIGNING FOR INDUSTRY? WHO WANTS A MACHINE-MADE HANDCRAFTED-LIKE PIECE OF MATERIAL WHEN THE KIDS WANT TO GO AND LEARN HANDLOOMING? WHO WANTS OR NEEDS DANISH MODERN OR IMITATION COLONIAL FURNITURE AND ALL THE OTHER PSEUDO-CRAFT WORK OF MOLDS AND MACHINERY? PEOPLE CAN BE PERSUADED IN THIS SYSTEM TO BUY ALMOST ANYTHING, BUT THE QUESTION IS WHO <u>NEEDS</u> IT AND WHAT DOES IT SATISFY? IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY PERSON SENSITIVE TO HIS OWN FORM AND THE FORMS OF NATURE TO BE SATISFIED BY MACHINE-MADE IMITATION OF NATURE OR NATURAL WORK. IN FACT IT IS NECESSARY TO CONSTANTLY STIMULATE SUPERFICIALITY IN ORDER TO SELL THIS STUFF. WHAT IT DOES SATISFY IS A SYSTEM THAT CONSIDERS MONEY, NOT MAN AND NATURE. A SYSTEM ULTIMATELY LEADING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF LIFE, FEELING, AND MATTER ON THIS EARTH IN ORDER TO CREATE MORE MONEY. THE GREAT WONDER OF THE MACHINE IS ITS ABILITY TO UNITE THE COOPERATIVE ENERGIES OF MAN AND NATURE INTO A SIMPLE POWER DOING REPETITIVE WORK, REPEATING OUT THE CLASSIC NEEDS OF MAN, CONSERVING THE ENVIRONMENT OF WILDLIFE AND THE USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES. THIS USE OF THE MACHINE AS A LINK BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE CANNOT BE WORKED OUT EASILY. NOW MOST OF THE THINGS WE "THINK" WE NEED ARE RELATIVELY USELESS OR WASTEFUL. BUT MANY OF US LIVING ON LOW INCOMES IN ORDER TO HAVE SOME SPIRITUAL FREEDOM CAN BEGIN TO FIGURE OUT WHAT WE NEED AND DON'T NEED.

IT'S LIKE MY NEIGHBOR SAID, "IF YOU HAVE MONEY, YOU DON'T FEEL IT. THOSE RICH PEOPLE COME DOWN HERE AND BUY ANTIQUES AND NEVER FEEL IT." DO THEY FEEL ANYTHING IS WHAT I WONDER -- THE ANTIQUE, THE RIDE, THE AIR, THEIR OWN BODIES -- CAN THEY FEEL IT? YOU CAN DO ANYTHING IF YOU DON'T FEEL IT -- LIKE DROPPING BOMBS, RUNNING OVER TURTLES IN THE ROAD, FILLING IN THE MARSH TO SET UP A MARINA SO THE RIVER WILL BE FULL OF NOISE AND GASOLINE, AND WHO KNOWS WHERE THE RAILS WILL GO AND NO ONE SEES RAILS MUCH ANYWAY SO WHO CARES? ONLY AT NIGHT NOW YOU CAN HEAR HUNDREDS OF SOUNDS OF FROGS, BIRDS AND INSECTS, SOUNDS FULL OF THE FEELING OF LIFE, BUT NO NOISE. SHE SAYS, "I TOLD THEM IT WAS PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THEY HAVE TO PAY A QUARTER TO LAND HERE. I CAN'T CLEAN UP THE TIN CANS AND GARBAGE THEY THROW ALL OVER ANYMORE AND IT COSTS ME A DOLLAR AND A QUARTER AN HOUR TO GET SOMEONE TO DO IT. AND NOW THE TAXES ARE GOING UP MUCH MORE THAN SOCIAL SECURITY." AND ITS NOT THE POETS OR THE YOUNG ANARCHISTS OR OLD SOCIALISTS THAT WOULDN'T PAY OR HELP BUT THE PEOPLE WITH THEIR SHINEY STATION WAGONS FROM THE "EXPLORERS" CANOEING CLUB WITH $3,000 WORTH OF HOBBY EQUIPMENT AND THEIR CHILDREN SNIGGERING "PRIVATE PROPERTY." NO, OF COURSE WE ALL KNOW THE LAW DOESN'T MEAN ANYTHING IF YOU HAVE THE MONEY, AND IF YOU DON'T FEEL IT -- IT DOESN'T COST YOU ANYTHING. LIKE THE NUREMBERG LAWS AND THE INCOME TAX.

SOMETIMES IT TAKES A LOT OF COURAGE FOR SOME PEOPLE TO WALK IN THE SHOP WITH UNHEARD OF

STRANGE POTS SITTING AROUND. SOME PEOPLE OBVIOUSLY DON'T FEEL IT BUT SOME DO. THEY ARE USUALLY QUITE GENTLE AND IF THEY HAVE NEVER BEEN TO A PLACE LIKE THIS THEY DON'T TOUCH ANYTHING. I TELL THEM TO PICK UP THE POTS THEN. OTHERS PICK UP A HUNDRED POTS, A THOUSAND WILD FLOWERS AND NEVER FEEL ANYTHING -- PEOPLE WANT TO FEEL CONFIDENT, SECURE, POWERFUL, IMPORTANT, AND YOU JUST CAN'T FEEL VERY IMPORTANT WITH A HALO OF DEER FLIES BUZZING AROUND YOUR HEAD OR WITH A MOSQUITO TAKING A BITE OUT OF YOU. AND IF YOU WATCH THE CHANGING LIFE OF TREES, CHILDREN OR DESERTS -- IMPORTANCE, SECURITY AND ALL THE COMFORTABLE FEELINGS OF CONTROLLING LIFE BECOME RELATIVELY USELESS. THERE SEEMS NOTHING WRONG WITH FEELING ANYTHING, BUT HOW DO YOU FEEL SECURE IF YOUR FEELINGS ARE CLOSED UP AGAINST INSECURITY. IT IS IMPORTANT TO KNOW, NOT ONLY FEEL, HOW POWERFUL WE ARE WITH ALL OUR MACHINES, BOMBS AND SYSTEMS. AND HOW MUCH POWER CAN WE FEEL, AND FOR HOW LONG, AND WHAT ABOUT ALL THE OTHER FEELINGS? DEMOCRACY IS BASED ON THE ADMISSION THAT ONE PERSON CANNOT FEEL SUFFICIENTLY TO RULE A COUNTRY. WHAT ABOUT FACTORIES, POWER COMPANIES, CARS AND FORM LETTERS? HERE IS THE STRONGHOLD OF DEMOCRACY WHERE EVERY NEWSPAPER AND MOVIE IS ON THE MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL LEVEL OF A FOUR-YEAR-OLD AND EVERY LAW IS COMPREHENSIBLE ONLY TO A PERSON WHO HAS A DOCTORATE DEGREE IN THAT PARTICULAR LAW.

THE KIND OF EXPANSION WE ARE OFFERED IN THIS COUNTRY IS TO TURN HOMEMADE PASTRY INTO MRS. WAGNER'S PIES OR TO PAINT "MY FOUR SONS" ON THE BACK END OF A MOTOR BOAT. POWER, SEGREGATED POWER IS AN EVIL. HERE PEOPLE DIE ALONE OR DIE OF LONELINESS BECAUSE THERE IS NO COMMUNITY. THAT'S ROTTEN. I DON'T CARE HOW YOU LOOK AT IT. THE ONLY KIND OF POWER THAT ISN'T EVIL IS THE STRENGTH THAT TWO WHOLE PEOPLE HAVE TOGETHER INSTEAD OF ONE OR ONE-AND-SUNDRY DOMINATED OTHERS. COOPERATION MEANS LEAVING A LOT PRIVATE AND ALONE. THIS INCLUDES PEOPLE WORKING WITH EACH OTHER AND PEOPLE WORKING WITH NATURE. PARTS OF NATURE AND PARTS OF PEOPLE HAVE TO BE LEFT ALONE, FREE. YOU COOPERATE WHERE IT IS USEFUL. PEOPLE WHO CAN'T COPE WITH THEIR ALONENESS, WITH THEIR OWN INNER FREEDOM, CAN'T COOPERATE VERY WELL. BUT THIS IS OFTEN A DISEASE OF NO COMMUNITY AND THE CORRUPT USE OF POWER TO BEGIN WITH. IT IS A DISGUSTING "BUSINESS" WHEN SO MANY PEOPLE WANT TO LOVE FEEL WORK HELP AND BE HELPED END UP IN MENTAL HOSPITALS AND PSYCHIATRISTS' OFFICES AND ARE GIVEN TRICKS AND DRUGS TO HANG ON TO AND ARE SUPPOSED TO FIND THE TROUBLE IN THEMSELVES OR THEIR PARENTS AS SOME SORT OF SPLIT OFF SNOWFLAKES HAVING NOTHING TO DO WITH THE GENERAL STORM. AND WHY DO SO MANY OF US SEE OUR BODIES AND OUR DAYS AS SOMETHING TO PROGRAM LIKE A MACHINE INSTEAD OF GOING INTO THE INNER AND OUTER RHYTHMS OF NATURE? LIVING AND SEEING THINGS AS PART OF WHOLENESS IS THE ONLY THING THAT MAKES SENSE AND IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE MAKE SENSE IN OUR BEING AND ACTION.

HERE IS NO COMMUNITY, A PERSON HERE, A FAMILY THERE, SOMEONE OVER THERE, EACH ONE TRYING TO HANG ONTO THEIR PROPERTY, THEIR FAMILY, PAY TAXES, SEND KIDS TO SCHOOL; SCHOOL IS 15 MILES AWAY, SHOPPING 13, WORK BETWEEN 7 AND 50 MILES, MARGARATE IS TAKEN OFF TO A

HOSPITAL 20 MILES AWAY AND DIES ALONE. IN THE WINTERS THE FANCY RED-CAPPED HUNTERS, AND IN THE SUMMER THE CANOEING CLUBS AND THE REAL ESTATE AGENTS SELLING INDEPENDENT LONELINESS TO ELDERLY PEOPLE. IT'S BEEN REPORTED THAT SOMEONE AROUND HERE HAS BEEN CUTTING THE WIRES DOWN FROM THE TELEPHONE POLES AND EVEN GETTING SOME OF THE HOT ELECTRIC WIRE. NO ONE HERE KNOWS HOW TO MAKE A COMMUNITY BUT NO ONE IS SHEDDING ANY TEARS OVER THE MISSING COPPER EITHER. SOMEONE IS SELLING THE WIRES AND EVEN THE COMPANY INVESTIGATOR GOT A LAUGH. COMMUNITY IS STRENGTH. COMMUNITY IS WHOLE PEOPLE AND WHOLE NATURE. A PERSON OF ANY WHOLENESS UNDERSTANDS THAT UNDERSTANDING GOES SO FAR, FEELING GOES A LOT FARTHER AND THEN YOU HAVE TO LEAVE THINGS ALONE: PEOPLE TO WORK ON THEIR OWN IMAGES AND FEEL WHAT THEY CAN'T DESCRIBE -- NATURE, SOME OF IT PLOUGHED, SOME OF IT GARDENS, SOME OF IT WILD -- BECAUSE UNDERSTANDING ONLY GOES SO FAR. PEOPLE OF ANY WHOLENESS ARE WEAK AND NEED TO HELP AND BE HELPED. STRONG PEOPLE ARE THOSE WHO SUPPRESS THEIR GENTLENESS TO HANG ONTO A POWER -- INTELLECTUAL POWER, MACHINE POWER, MONEY POWER, RELIGIOUS POWER, CHEMICAL POWER. WHEN I WAS GOING TO ART SCHOOL THERE WAS A LOT OF TALK ABOUT POWERFUL PAINTING. POWERFUL PAINTINGS FROM POWERFUL FEELINGS. I HAD FELT AS A CHILD AND STILL HAVE FEELINGS THAT MIGHT BE SAID BE SAID TO BE POWERFUL. EVERYONE HAS THEM TO SOME DEGREE. THEY COME FROM EVERYWHERE AND GO BACK TO EVERYWHERE WITHOUT DOING ANY HARM. BUT I WAS LED TO BELIEVE FOR A WHILE THAT YOU HANG ONTO THEM AND MAKE POWERFUL PAINTINGS. SO I WENT AROUND HOLDING MY BREATH GROWING DIZZY AND NAUSEOUS LOOKING AT THE GREAT BIG BROADSTROKED SYMPHONIC FLAT UNFEELING UNFELT POWERFUL TRICKY WORLD AROUND ME. I SAW THE GREAT EMPTINESS THAT COMES INTO THE WORK OF OLD MEN LIKE REMBRANDT, KENZAN OR MONET. BUT THEY WEREN'T LIARS; THEY WENT THROUGH THE LIMITS OF THEIR UNDERSTANDING AND FEELINGS TO GET THERE AND THE EMPTINESS WASN'T A BLANK FACE THAT DOESN'T TALK TO YOU BUT A SOFT GENTLE HUMILITY THAT WILL TALK TO ANYBODY WHO IS VULNERABLE.

I WAS JUST GOING TO WORK ON POTS AND NOW ALL THIS POWER BUSINESS. BUT YOU CAN'T JUMP FROM POTS TO MACHINES TO NATURE TO LIVING. THERE ARE WARS GOING ON -- IN VIETNAM, MISSISSIPPI, WATTS, SANTO DOMINGO, AND NEW JERSEY, STRUGGLE BETWEEN SEGREGATED POWER AND THE STRENGTH OF COOPERATION. HERE IN THIS COUNTRY WE ARE NOT ONLY DESTROYING OURSELVES WITH HUMAN SEGREGATION BUT WITH THE SEGREGATED USE OF BULLDOZERS, AUTOMOBILES, MONEY, SCIENCE, AND POLITICAL POWER. COMMUNITY ULTIMATELY HAS NO SPACE OR TIME BOUNDARIES BUT IS BASED ON NEEDS AND ON PROVIDING FOR THEM TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY. OUR ABILITY AS A GROUP OF HUMAN BEINGS DEPENDS ON OUR UNDERSTANDING -- A PROFOUND UNDERSTANDING OF PSYCHOLOGY, ECOLOGY, NUTRITION, HEALTH. COMMUNITY WORK IS BASED ON THIS UNDERSTANDING. BUT WHAT IS CALLED WORK THESE DAYS MIGHT AS WELL BE CALLED ORGANIZED DESTRUCTION, WHEN EVEN OUR AGRICULTURE IS NOT BASED ON A GENUINE UNDERSTANDING OF NEEDS. THERE ARE MILLIONS OF JOBS IN THE COUNTRY BUT ALMOST NO WORK BEING DONE AND CONSEQUENTLY ALMOST NO COMMUNITY. BUT ANYONE WHO BEGINS TO DO GENUINE WORK BEGINS A COMMUNITY BETWEEN HIMSELF, AS MAN, AND NATURE. WITH THE MACHINE THERE IS TIME FOR BOTH INNER AND OUTER RHYTHMS. BUT IN MAKING POTS AS IN EVERYTHING ELSE YOU CAN CHOOSE BETWEEN POETRY AND INTERIOR DECORATION. DECORATION IS A COMPETITION AND SEPARATION OF DEGREES OF TASTE AND FEELING. WITH POETRY THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF COMMUNICATION -- A CONVERSATION BETWEEN TWO LONELINESSES OF SPIRIT.



Phil Hipwell

THE LIGHT FANTASTIC:

i george metesky the mad bomber
framed in flying butresses of white bread
flaring into kinescopic incandescence
potassium perchlorate magnesium nitroglycerine
stabbing across the airspaces of grandcentral station
surprising the doves on hexagonal centralpark pavements
or canyons of chrysler and empire vertigo flashing
or tidy as chocolates in a box
in radio city music hall
wall street maiden lane or battery place
consumed with love: performing delicate extractions
distillations threading of pipes on the lathe
tenderly firmly screwing the cap on the pipe
or grinding with infinte care to exclude dust
perchlorate, sulfur of apollonian brilliance
permanganate rich and deep as burgundy wine
bound with wire or surgical twine
but tugging and straining with lust
framed for tuberculosis on hester street
gout on rivington street
clap on macdougal street
ionization on fortysecond street
setting the tumblers and threading the pipes
twisted on every cross of the square intersection of streets
mocked and defied by the straight lines of the piers
against the waves
kong or jesus or vincent
stumbling in smoking terror under the mercury lamps
or cowering under the ramps of the westside hiway
skewered on bellcurves in bluelit rooms

transfixed by the sweep of parabolic antennae
gouged by alarums rundown by squadcars
worked by memory in acres of printed circuits
or allowed a riff in a cloud chamber

schon eure zahl ist frevel:
already your numbers are a crime
no bag jobs- no bag jobs- no flung nets of chain
button hole machine
blind stitch machine
power machine
fists and breasts and flying nets of chain
how i make intermittent
the light fantastic in the craters flare and dance
your numbers are too nile and lithe
glittering swaying assembly of condors and mantises
restless clattering rising from their seats
swooling out over the streets
of kapilavastu
gary indiana
branau am inn
grazing with revolving starsapphire turrets
now they're at the door
right here tonite in manhattan
seizing silicon iridium into giant botulist dance
that's in your throat every nite
no more bag jobs ever
abolish all bag jobs from the human race forever
tubercles rubbers bombbags pocket lasers
bombshelters tigerwings alveolar expanding ailerons
gleaming buckling with heat the thir drails blue on blue glaring
down down down

fOR GeORge METESKY

mental reservation inhabitants come out and embrace
unbuckle your eyes over hawkkneed krakatoa
i george metesky advance man for the festival of gas
with lead eyeplugs smelly fingers
eating crumbly singsing bread
and peanut butter stiff and purple
growing thinner year by cocaine
brooding by the ozone river
high above the frothing hudson
air police or secret mattress
leaning out of every tenth one
oh but only barely touching
sunlight splashed from skirts and knees
come out
washed in the blood of charles fort
komm lieber mai und mache die schlachtfelder bierflaschengruen
come with us to water the liquid moon
before our lungs flugger in the rising glut of orange fungus
before our wings cake with filthy growths and cease to spin
or is it all the same to you?

you are on the air
in your baskets you are being turned over every hour
you are being boiled red
exit signs at all levels as we sink faster leer at us mockingly
and skimming the grease off the top of the soup is to no avail
mockercoaches make all the usual stops
but open and shut their doors so much faster
than ordinary people like us can move
we realized that we are trapped
one day you are simply standing around laughing
when the bell rings signifying the end of the line

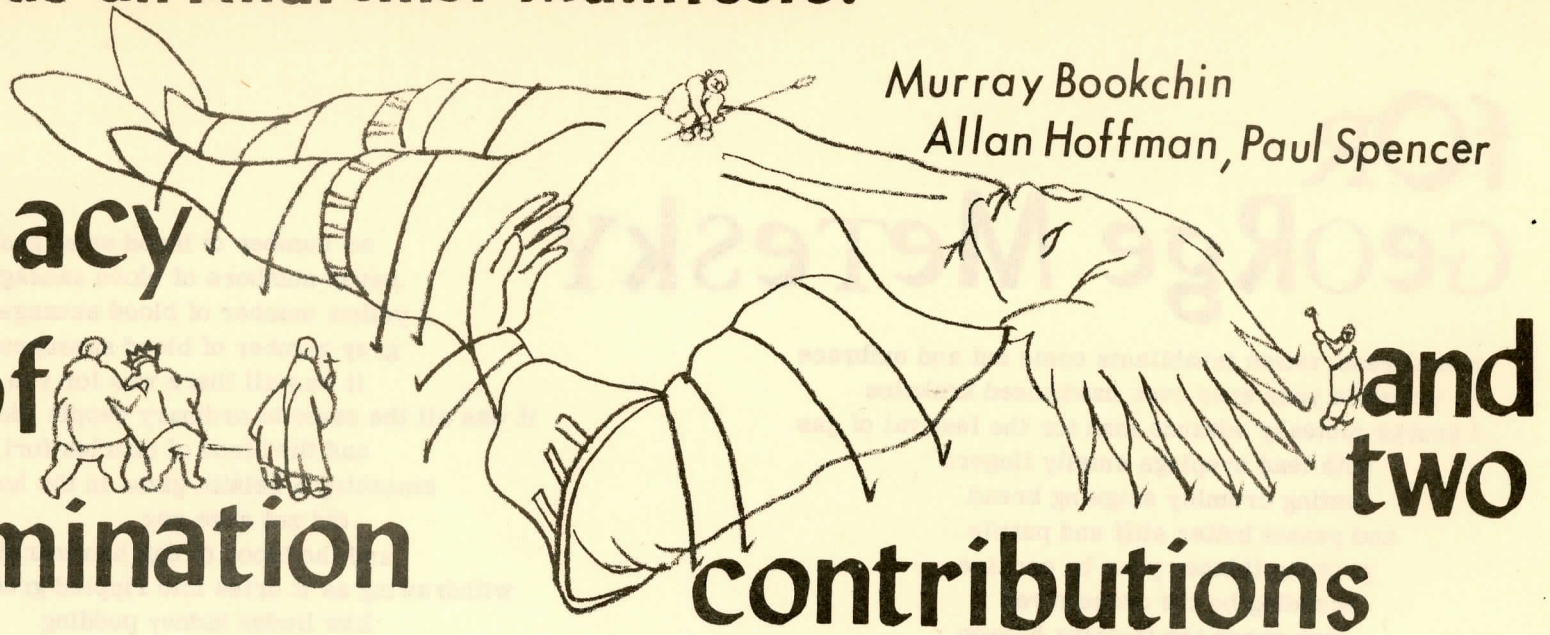
no number of blood sausages
seven numbers of blood sausages
yellow number of blood sausages
grey number of blood sausages
it was all there was for you
it was all the same to ordinary people like you and me
and the blood of charles fort
smashing a gelatin glass in the heavens
did not save you
and the blood of dag hammarskjold
withdrawing as it dries into rippled green pools
like linden kidney pudding
can not save you
and the blood of doctor johnson
will not suffice to starch the socks of your graveclothes
it was all the same to you
come along and scratch the red eyes of the liquid moon
if you think its cruel
sit down and have another blood pudding and forget it
its all the same to me
it was all the same to you
when i inhaled the dirt of the machines
when you sucked the dirt of your soul deeper
in circles troikas four-handed gouges
and all known varieties of bags and boxes
sacs and sockets
containers conduits
little marys caissons and potties of connivance
you sucked the ass holes of the machines
and the condon-wadlin devices exuded foul slime
over the printed circuits of your days
chewed up your ears
and spit out your eyes rotted dead
its the law
it was all the same to you

JEFF FREEMAN

Towards an Anarchist Manifesto:

The Legacy of Domination and two contributions

Murray Bookchin
Allan Hoffman, Paul Spencer



Note: An Anarchist Manifesto calls for the broadest possible participation of active anarchists and the public, not only in support or criticism of its views, but also in their formulation. For it is only in this way that a truly representative anarchist ideology can be constructed. In publishing this statement of views we are therefore calling on all those who are concerned with the unique problems of the American 20th century to enter into a wide ranging discussion on the problems of contemporary society and in formulating programs for their solution. Criticism and contributions to this introduction and to the larger body of the statement which is to follow are invited from the reader. They will be published in future issues of Good Soup.

This statement of views is written in the conviction that the 20th century is the heir of human history--the legatee of man's age-old effort to free himself from drudgery and material insecurity. For the first time in the long succession of centuries, this century--and this one alone--has elevated mankind to an entirely new level of technological achievement and to an entirely new vision of the human experience.

We of this century have finally opened the prospect of a vast material abundance for all to enjoy, of sheer superfluity in the means of life without the need for grinding, day-to-day toil. We have discovered resources, both for man and industry, that were totally unknown a generation ago. We have devised machines that automatically make machines. We have perfected devices that can execute onerous tasks more effectively than the strongest human muscles; that can supass the industrial skills of the most deft human hands; that can calculate with greater rapidity and precision than the most intelligent human brain. Supported by this unique, qualitatively new technology, we can now provide food, shelter, garments, and a broad spectrum of luxuries without devouring the precious time of humanity and

without dissipating its invaluable reservoir of creative energy in mindless labor. We have opened the prospect of man's development from an elemental mass, bitterly divided by economic conflicts, into a free community of sovereign, creative beings, each the master of his own destiny.

Technologically, we have achieved man's historical goal of material security. But socially and culturally we are mired in the attitudes, institutions, and values of a barbarous past. Despite the potentiality of complete human freedom, we live in the actuality of material insecurity and a subtle, ever-oppressive system of personal coercion. We live above all in a society of fear, be it of war or dehumanization. For decades, we have tried to plan our lives and achieve our aspirations under the cloud of a thermonuclear war. streaked by the fires of local conflicts in half the continents of the world. We have tried to find our identity in a society that has become ever more centralized and mobilized, dominated by swollen civil, military, and industrial bureaucracies. We have tried to adapt to an environment that is becoming increasingly befouled with noxious wastes. We have seen our cities and their governments grow beyond all human comprehension, reducing our authority as individuals, indeed our very sovereignty as human beings, to ant-like proportions--the manipulated, dehumanized, victims of immense administrative engines and political machines.

Viewed from a purely personal standpoint, we are treated with less dignity and identity than cattle. We are squeezed into underground freight-cars, rushed to the spiritual slaughterhouses called "offices" and "factories", and reduced to insensibility by monotonous, often purposeless work. We live to work and we work to live--the mere automata of a system that creates superfluous, if not absurd needs; that steeps us in debts, anxieties, and insecurities; and finally, that delivers us to the margins of society, to the human scrap heap called the aged and chronically ill--dessicated beings, deprived of all vitality, spontaneity and humanity.

Our youth are processed with the same cold indifference through academic factories that their parents encounter in their places of work. Worse, millions of young people march along the road from adolesence to adulthood, the conscripted. uniformed creatures of a murder machine guided by electronic brains and military morons. Hypocrisy pervades every pore of our society. We are expected to equate political opportunism with civic virtue, cheap palliatives with social reforms, middle-class prostitution with love, television with culture, napalm bombs with freedom, advertising with art, profit with social responsibility, a philistine stupidity with intelligence, business with religion, pharmaceuticals with good health, dogmatism with knowledge, money-grubbing with idealism, competition with human solidarity, salesmanship with friendship--and when the anxieties, insecurities, and hypocrisies engendered by our society become intolerable, we are asked to equate tranquilizers with serenity.

The debasement of modern society--all the more terrifying because its irrational, coercive actualities stand in such blatant

contrast to its rational, liberatory potentialities--has no precedent in human history. Never before has man done so little with so much; indeed, never before has he used his resources for such demeaning, even catastrophic ends. How did this paradox arise? How has it come about that modern man is mired in a system of complete modilization and coercion precisely at a point in history when he could attain complete freedom? To answer these questions, we must look at the legacy of domination which pervades his environment, his thinking, and his behavior.

Ironically, domination is usually equated with injustice--this, in a society that sweats coercion with every gesture it makes. Yet we as anarchists, who seek above all to liberate ourselves and our fellow man from coercion in all its forms, know that domination could not have been challenged as meaningfully in the past as it can be today. In making the long journey from animality to the threshold of a humanistic civilization, man required the service of not only animals, tools, and later machines, but also the labor of his fellow man. Throughout most of history the material surpluses eked from nature by the toil of the many were commandeered by the privileged few--the elite classes endowed with leisure and material comforts at the expense of society as a whole. But by no means can these elite classes be regarded merely as parasites, although many were little more than lice on the body of history. Despite their extravagant pleasure and even more extravagant cruelties, the fact remains that they--and the gifted plebians who dined at their tables--slowly, often sporadically, pieced together man's liberating heritage of science, art, and technology. To have scattered the wealth of the few among the many, to have established equality in social rank and in the means of life, would have doomed man to a life of endless scarcity and to a different form of subjugation--subjugation to the vicissitudes of nature. Contradictory as it may seem, domination was closely wedded to man's development toward freedom--above all, freedom from scarcity.**

Conversely, just as domination made it possible for man to overcome scarcity, so scarcity provided the soil for the development of domination. The cry of freedom, equality, and a full life has been heard over the ages from the lips of visionaries and masses alike, only to be subdued by the mundane tasks of earning a livelihood. After every revolution in society, the masses of people were compelled to retire from the public arena, wearily take up their tools, and again produce for

**** I do not wish to imply from the above that the brutality, inhumanity, and bestiality of class societies was unavoidable- that the blood and suffering produced by history was intrinsic to the historic process. Throughout history, great humanists and visionaries repeatedly offered rational alternatives to the vicious social forms and institutions that prevailed in their time. Alas, more often than not, history took the most irrational course of develpment and not the most rational. With Josef Weber, I can only say: "In history, it is exclusively a matter of what has actually happened, not what might have occured under different circumstances and conditions. It is purely and simply a matter of historical fact that all progress has been achieved at the expense of the great majority, that is, it has been accompanied by the rise and increase of the social question. The social question is, in truth, but the form in which the struggle to assure the continuance of human life is fought." (Josef Weber, "The Great Utopia," Contemporary Issues, Winter, 1950)**

long hours the means of life by which they supported themselves and a new ruling elite. Scarcity drove them back to the land and the work bench. The very meagreness of the tools in their hands, the very poverty of their technology, confined them to lives of drudgery with greater effectiveness than the police, armies, jails, and weapons of their masters. Thus it is not surprising to find that every basic change in society replaced one ruling elite by another. Only a fully automated, computorized technology could have provided the masses of people with freedom from scarcity and toil, with the free time to fully direct their social affairs, with the key for eliminating elitism itself, thereby eliminating the very notion of "masses" and "elites," of "inequality" and "equality."

We of this century have fashioned the key. We have developed the technology that could free man from the domination of his fellow man and from subjugation to the blind forces of nature. We have deprived domination of its social rationale. What confronts us now is domination that lacks any kind of historic function, domination for its own sake, domination in its purest form. Domination that lacks any kind of rationale must justify itself. It must find a seeming rationality for its inherent irrationality. Precisely because it lacks any historical, social, or human functions, precisely because it is merely a legacy of the past, a product of historical inertia, it must create its own false functions in every sphere of human existence. Just as a dying man mobilizes every organ in his body to perpetuate life, so pure domination acquires universal characteristics to perpetuate itself. It must try to invade every space of the human experience, capture it and remake it, for every unconquered space--be it the tradition of liberty, be it the critical spirit of thought, be it the spontaneous world of fantasy and its objectification in the world of art, be it even the adventurous impulses of manhood--all are fertile ground for revolutionary criticism. Pure domination must become totalitarian in the profoundest sense of the word. It must try to assimilate the memory of man--the memory of freedom as it exists in history and in his personal experiences. It must provide the raw materials for his fantasies, blunt the critical edge of his reasoning powers, and ritualize his relations with other human beings. For any free play of mind and spirit threatens to transcend the barrier of mere reform and pass into the open world of revolution and liberation.

Pure domination must subdue the very consciousness of domination itself. To achieve this goal in the mass mind, it presents itself as the Land of Cockaygne, the plebian utopia in which "oil, milk, honey and... wine" are available for all to enjoy. In the 20th century, oil, milk, honey, and wine are transfigured into high-rise apartment houses, chromium-plated automobiles, glistening television sets, and a dazzling variety of home furnishings, gadgets, appliances and refrigerators stocked with processed foods. The semblance of utopia is reinforced by social rituals in the form of elections, televised debates, wars against poverty, and a benign atmosphere of permissiveness toward marginal protests. An unofficial morality of "live-

and-let-live," of "enjov-enjoy," of "youth-must-have-its-fling," and a toleration of bedroom frailties cushions the stern official morality of Victorianism that lingers from the last century. To every abuse, indignity, injustice, and inhumanity, this chromium-plated utopia invokes the pledge of reform and preaches the sermon that all imporvements take time.

Pure domination must try to create needs. In fact, the creation of needs is one of the most coercive forces in its armamentorium. Marx perceptively observes that the realm of human freedom begins where the labor determined by need ceases. Beyond the arena of necessary labor "begins that development of human potentiality for its own sake, the true realm of freedom..." By inculcating extravagant, senseless needs in man, pure domination not only mires him in the prevailing system of irrationality, making him ever more dependent upon things for the "satisfaction" of life, but it also mutilates his sense of values, reducing his human potentialities to the pursuit, worship, and discussion of things. Patently frivolous things become "indispensable." By the same token, his own mind becomes frivolous, until he can no longer distinguish what is significant from what is trivial. All his thought processes, all his sensibilities, and all his emotions become thoroughly banalized.

The need for things, in turn, artificially enlarges the arena of necessary labor, diminishing the realm of human freedom. Men begin to take on two jobs instead of one, women enter the labor force in immense numbers, and the labor-force itself swells to astronomical proportions--this, at a time when technology could easily diminish the real arena of necessary labor to the vanishing point. Thus, the words "necessary labor," like the word "needs," must be taken advisedly. Just as most needs today are artificial, so most labor today is unnecessary, purposeless, and even harmful to society. Like pure domination, labor begins to lose its social rationale. It becomes primarily coercive. Labor is used to turn the potentiality of free time into the mutilated reality of mobilized time. It conditions man in the arts of subordination and renunciation. It teaches him to accept the dullest routines and the most excruciating monotony; it forces him to prostitute his integrity and sell his personality. Fundamentally, it makes him renounce his own humanity--the spontaneity of his spirit, the free-play of his imagination, the uniqueness of his personality--lest spontaneity, free-play, and uniqueness diminish his value as a commodity.

If the chromium-plated utopia, if needs, and if labor do not suffice to coerce man, pure domination must resort to terror. What pure domination cannot invade and subdue, it must try to isolate and destroy. The coordinator of this terror, indeed of modern society itself, is the state. The existence of the state is the precondition for any system of domination. But just as domination is divested by history of its social rationale, so the state is divested by history of its particularistic functions as the guardian of a ruling elite. What it now guards is an anonymous system--a system larger than the interests of a specific class of people. From its once limited position as a police force for the defense of property, the

state extends its activities to every area of social life. It absorbs the managerial functions of the capitalist, the moral functions of the priest, the educational functions of the teacher, the ideological functions of the mass media, even the domestic functions of the parent. In a sense it not only nationalizes the economy of the classical bourgeoisie in one way or another; it also nationalizes and assimilates society itself.

If it is true, as we affirm, that pure domination is all-pervasive, that it is an end in itself, lacking a social rationale and a historic function, we must conclude that it can only be meaningfully opposed by uncompromising opposition. By uncompromising opposition we mean that we oppose the prevailing irrationality in an absolute sense: its economic shibboleths, its political illusions, its aesthetic chaos, its moral hypocrisies, its religious pieties, its prostituted values, and its tinsel rewards. We oppose all of these obscene violations of reason and the human spirit not merely as seperate, isolated dimensions of life, but as a social totality. We refuse to be assimilated by the work, the play, the logic, and the myths of pure domination. In the words of Maurice Blanchot: "There is a reason which we can no longer accept, there is an appearance of wisdom which horrifies us, there is a plea for agreement and conciliation which we no longer heed. A break has occured. We have been reduced to that frankness which no longer tolerates complicity."

If pure domination, by its very nature, invades every space of life, uncompromising opposition, by its very nature, must block this invasion wherever it occurs. At the very least, it must begin by rescuing the rationality of the individual revolutionary from the irrationality of the existing society. If uncompromising opposition cannot stake out this minimal domain, if it cannot reclaim its own heart as well as mind, then pure domination is a vicious circle, shaping and eventually assimilating the very protest directed against it. Either theory must guide practice, or practice will eventually prevail over theory. We flatly declare that the true revolutionary cannot affirm in theory what he denies in practice. It may be that pure domination obstructs the execution of his theories with its terror, but he must try wherever possible to live by the dictates of reason, widening the gap between his individual rationality and the prevailing irrationality around him. To the degree that it is humanly possible, he must reflect in his own life what he is fighting for in social life. And this he must do not only because he wishes to exemplify his theory by practice, but because he wishes to preserve his very rationality, sanity, passion, and self-identity in a totally irrational, insane, and massified society.

What is true for the individual revolutionary holds with equal truth for the movement he is trying to build. As anarchists, we believe in the immediate abolition of the state--its institutions, its bureaucracy, its military forces, its professional legislators. We believe in the immediate abolition of private property and the commodity relationship that anchors all human values in the predatory jungle of the market place. We believe in the immediate abolition of

centralized, representative government, indeed of all centralized authority whose functions are not confined to the technical administration of things. We believe that the state must be replaced by assemblies of free individuals who live in decentralized communities, scaled to comprehensible human dimensions, and who determine their social destiny in a direct, face-to-face democracy. We believe that factories, fields and workshops must be placed at the unrestricted service of the community; that commoditites must cease to be mere objects for exchange, the vehicles for acquiring profit, and must become useful goods, designed exclusively for satisfying human needs. In the pages which follow, we shall try to explain these convictions in detail. We shall try to show that they constitute the only basis for a rational, humanistic society--that modern technology not only makes this mode of society possible, but that the prevailing social irrationality of our time makes this mode of society a dire necessity if man himself is to survive.

For the present, we affirm that our movement must reflect in its own existence what it is trying to create for society as a whole. We believe that the revolutionary movement must be composed of free communes, based on direct, face-to-face democracy, and its resources must be totally committed to the dissemination of its ideas and the articulation of protest. As such, we thoroughly reject the existence of any apparatus, of any bureaucracy, of any leadership that rests on authority rather than the validity of thought. We reject political professionalism and organizational centralism in all its forms. We reject any delegated authority, be it that of a local committee, a regional committee, or a central committee, whose delegates are not subject to immediate recall and whose functions extend beyond a limited, practical task. We reject the monolithic press, the hidden "party life," the buried internal controversies that disfigure most so-called "radical" organizations today. We reject the commodity nexus that has so often turned the most inspired movement into an end-in-itself--assimilated by its property, its bureaucracy, its funds, and finally its policies into the prevailing system of pure domination.

We are aware that to those who take society as it is, who seek to modify rather than reconstruct it, nothing could seem more "utopian" than the demand for decentralization amidst growing centralization and nothing could seem more remote than the demand for the abolition of the state amidst growing statification. We are aware that to those who preach the gospel of "effectiveness," of power at the expense of principle, nothing could seem more ineffective than to build a movement based on a direct, face-to-face democracy, free of all bureaucratic control. Yet to us, the very fact that our views run counter to all the trends of pure domination is a token of their rationality and validity. Indeed, if our views were acceptable to the architects of the prevailing society, we would regard them as suspect. We do not deceive ourselves that a genuinely revolutionary movement commands a huge following, a large parliamentary bloc, and a swollen treasury in stable, non-revolutionary periods. "Effectiveness" is not a matter of technique. Revolutionary views can only exercise a significant influence in society

in periods of widespread dissatisfaction and revolutionary change. If revolutionary movements begin to grow in periods of complacency, stability, and general satisfaction with the reforms of the prevailing social order, we are convinced it is because such movements have begun to serve alien interests and their views are merely a guise for treachery and the surrender of principle.

By the same token, we do not deceive ourselves about the "effectiveness" of reform. What reform has done, today, is to preserve the illusion of rationality in an utterly irrational reality. The election rituals, the wars on poverty, the community welfare groups for better housing, parks, and schools, reinforce the myths of the system--the claim that it can deliver the "Great Society" based on pure domination. But we know that this pledge is more rhetorical than real. We find that those who engage in "practical politics," who try to improve the prevailing system with social services and political coalitions, are continually reduced by each dilemma to a choice between "lesser evils"--until the succession of choices leads to more formidable evils than those that were originally encountered. Let there be no mistake about the fact that the principal victims of "practical politics" and "realism" are the "practical, realistic" politicians themselves. They pay for their opportunism with an erosion of morale and integrity--a process that slowly leads them into the vicious embrace of authoritarianism and total submission.

On the other hand, we do not deceive ourselves that ideas alone are sufficient to sever humanity's ties to the existing system of irrationality. To sever these ties requires the aid of forces more powerful than ideas. These are the forces of history itself, be they the conflict of social interests, the impact of automation on employment, the growing contradiction between the pledges and realities of the "Great Society," or even the suffocating effect of an all-pervasive system of coercion. How long these processes will take before society embarks on a revolutionary course we do not know. It may well be that the prevailing social order, owing to its own lack of vision, will precipitate a series of social crises long before it has lost its maneuverability. In this respect, the stupidity of the state and of the ruling elites in past eras has never failed to abet the higher interests of humanity.

But we do know that before the masses of people begin to act, the intellectuals must begin to think. The earliest signs of an impending social change are the dissatisfactions articulated by the literate, educated classes in society, such as students, teachers, professionals, writers, and artists. Initially, these dissatisfactions take the form of criticism--a re-evaluation of social life, an all-pervasive alienation from the institutions and mores of the established order. It is significant that this type of broad criticism is slowly developing in the United States. The tendency of American intellectuals to seek out issues, even where they are nascent and ill-defined, reflects a widespread dissatisfaction with the prevailing society. What is most promising about this criticism is that it cannot be confined to single issues, such as civil rights, nor can it be anchored in special interest groups

such as the labor movement. Its very dynamism, its tendency to extend over ever larger areas of modern life--ranging from sexual mores to urban expansion--is reason more for hope than despair. This type of encyclopedic criticism may yet give rise to a new era of enlightenment, a climate of revolutionary opposition, comparable in impact to the Encyclopedist criticism that preceded the Great French Revolution.

We believe that intellectuals must discuss not only what is wrong with the prevailing society, but also what must replace it. In the pages which follow, we shall try to present a paradigm of a humanistic society, based upon reason, mutual aid, and freedom. We shall begin by tracing two historic developments--the development of liberatory ideas and the development of a liberatory technology--and examine the bearing that these developments have on a rational society. We shall then try to examine the nature of such a society in terms of its preconditions, its possibilities, and its implications for man. Our statement of views is deliberately anchored in the future. We frankly admit that we can present nothing on the existing society but sheer critique. When the prevailing system of irrationality passes into the junkroom of history together with feudalism and ancient slavery, when it has been rendered harmless and its relics are placed in a museum, then perhaps men of the future will be able to assess its dubious merits. We who are its victims can only say that to see the "good" together with the "bad," to exhibit a queasy impartiality toward its overall effect, is to be grotesquely insensitive to the mutilation it has inflicted on humanity and the human spirit.

Murray Bookchin 10/65

1 New Dimensions in Revolutionary Theory

"...We must hope for a common rallying /of the Left/. But first our Leftist intellectuals, who have swallowed so many insults & may well have to begin doing so again, would have to undertake a critique of the reasonings & ideologies to which they have hitherto subscribed, which have wreaked the havoc they have seen in our most recent history. That will be the hardest thing. We must admit that today conformity is on the Left... The Left is in complete decadence, a prisoner of words, caught in its own vocabulary, capable merely of stereotyped replies, constantly at a losss when faced with the truth, from which it nevertheless claimed to derive to derive its laws. The Left is schizophrenic & needs doctoring through pitiless self-criticism, exercise of the heart, close reasoning, & a little modesty. Until such an effort at re-examination is well under way, any rallying will be useless & even harmful...

"In order to strike a constructive note, however, I shall propose as one of the preliminaries to any future gathering the unqualified acceptance of the following principle: none of the evils that totalitarianism (defined as the single party & suppression of all opposition) claims to remedy is worse than totalitarianism itself...

"I believe...that the indispensible conditions for intellectual creation & historical justice are liberty & the free confronting of differences. Without freedom, no art /& no creation/; art lives only on the restraints it imposes on itself, & dies of all others. But without freedom, no socialism either, except the socialism of the gallows." Albert Camus, Socialism of the Gallows, Feb. 1957 /emphasis & brackets mine/

When there is no dogma, no party line, & there are no set formulas or rituals for expression, then, the movement which attempts to contain (within itself) the freedoms that it is fighting for, must open itself to all ideas, in order to choose from among them those concepts which best express its own inner reality. Anarchists must participate not only the social struggle for the propagation of ideas but also in their creation & formulation--only then are they fully a part of the movement for real change. In publishing the "Legacy of Domination" it will be our responsibility to also publish articles in criticism or opposition; as well as further contributions to the body of the statement; and at a later date to publish an answer from the author. The reason for this is in the desire of the movement to remain transparent so that everyone who is interested in it will be able to see & participate in the final fruits of its efforts as well as the real historical process by which they are arrived at.

My criticism, here, is not directed against the specific propositions stated, since I am in general agreement with them, but will deal with those "elements" or "dimensions" of revolutionary thought & experience which are noticeably absent from it. It is not a criticism of what has been done, but an attempt to outline what remains to be done.

The statement is a historical document with an essentially strategic intent. It develops, & its terminology is heavily laden with the terms & ideas of the Hegelian & Marxian philosophies. But by the strange & inexorable laws of dialectical thought it has evolved through & out of the limits of the political-Marxism which dominated the 19th century & it has moved onto a new level of speculation which becomes suddenly Anarchist. But it remains for all that, an Anarchism which represents the furthest rational development of Marxist ideals, measured against those critically new aspects of our social, political & technological environment which have qualitatively changed the nature of the contemporary world. Basing itself on the Hegelian notion of the dialectic of history, Marxian concepts of the relation between the mode of production & the social mode (mode of life); it introduces the concept of a utopian social order based on complete automation-of-production. This new social order, it believes, can only be achieved through revolution; & will not have the failures of its predecessors because it points to a future goal whose substance has already been achieved in the development of the automated technology which provides the basis of this utopia, by eliminating the need for labor & therefore the need for coercion & domination in the social order that is built on its foundation.

In this process it rejects the Marxian notion of a transitional period, which it believes has already been accomplished by history; & consequently it also rejects that socialism, based on the temporary need for centralism in the party & in the new social order (state), which is given the responsibility of accomplishing this transition. After rejecting the Marxian party & the Marxian state, it then also rejects the theory which gave to the proletariat class the role of creating these organs of transition. So that, finally, it ends up denuding classical revolutionary theory of its strategic substance, while retaining its philosophical base. In so doing

it reopens for us several questions which are central to revolutionary theory, but it does not sufficiently answer these questions: If not the proletariat class, then what elements, classes, or forces in society will provide the impetus for revolutionary change? Under what circumstances or conditions might we envision that change taking place? If successful, how will the revolution consolidate its gains? And, finally, how will it deal with opposition within the revolutionary camp & the inevitable counter-revolution?

Once we have made our readers conscious of the repression & coercion which cause the horrors of contemporary life, & they, themselves, desire to eradicate the needless suffering which persists in the world; & once we have informed them about the changes in contemporary technology which provide the key to that general liberation of mankind which is the real goal of all revolutionaries; then we are faced with the real strategic questions which we must answer in order to undertake the task of transcribing our vision of the ideal into a functioning reality. And in so far as the "Legacy" does not deal with the questions of strategy which we have outlined above, it does not become for us a strategic document, a manifesto; but is merely a statement of desires & goals. What we are faced with, therefore, is a theoretical document which seeks neither to prove its assumptions nor to develop the method by which they can be brought into practice.

And yet, despite my severe criticism, the central body of ideas which define our time are contained here, & they do provide us with a foundation stone or central point of perspective from which we may view in two directions in order to elucidate, on the one hand, the historic & human causes of society's failure, and on the other, to develop these ideas into a mature & strategic revolutionary tool. It is necessary to reveal the roots of the conflict which is raging & to reveal the methods for its solution. Revolutionary theory which does not clarify the historical & the psychological causes of the present crisis in contemporary society will certainly not develop forces to change them. And likewise, theory which does not answer the questions of practice must remain suspect, because we have already seen too many high ideals which turn into gardens for the cultivation of the flowers of evil; too many revolutions which create greater evils than the ones they destroy. The unconscious revolution leads of necessity to its own subjugation by the forces which it refuses to recognize. The task which we face is that of abolishing not only material scarcity, but of providing for the beginnings of a new epoch of peace & freedom in man's developing humanity. And while this is the most difficult of all tasks, it must remain for us the only alternative both to the horrors of capitalism & to that socialism which devours not only its opponents but also its children; that socialism which Camus calls "socialsim of the gallows".

Following the logic we have been developing throughout, we recognize that the struggle for social change will be removed from the point of production because automation will displace the majority of working people from essential productive tasks. We must therefore admit that the revolutionary question has to do with the content of social life rather than the content of economic life. The de-

mands of the revolution are not demands about wages & working conditions, they are demands for a new social order. But it remains the task of those who recognize in automation the solution to the historic problems of survival & scarcity, to begin to outline the content of this new social form in order to meet the crisis of the future. Unfortunately no society has ever existed, or even been conceived of, that was not built around the necessity of labor which automation abolishes. We must therefore realize that there are several dimensions of life that have not previously been part of revolutionary theory which at the present time must be included if that theory is to precisely define the nature of contemporary social life. If we try to define what we mean by "social" in this context, we are forced to admit that we mean the whole content of human experience & the organization of society in its totality, because a technology that ends labor also ends, by the same logic, all societies based on & organized around labor--in effect it changes the fundamental character of human life, & even human nature--so that the content & organization of social life must be re-examined before we know how man will react to the total crisis which these changes threaten.

Society is built in Nature, on an economic base which stimulates & limits the development of the social forms which grow out of this ground like a plant. The economic form provides for the sustenance of the individuals; & the social form organizes them so that they can perform their economic tasks efficiently in order to survive in Nature. The heart & core of the social forms are their decision making processes, their political mechanisms, which reinforce & daily reconstitute the organs of the social structure: through the assent of the governed, who participate in some of the decision making, or through the coercion & domination of a bureaucracy or state. At the same time as these structures evolve during the course of historic development, a parallel development occurs in the character or personality structure of the individuals who are born into these societies. These structures, with their modes of feeling, modes of thought, & their symbols, are projected into the character structure of the individual by the family & the other organs of the social body. The same rules & regulations which govern the larger body of society are used to construct the psyche of the individual. The family & the state grow up together through history. Sexual mores, aesthetic mores, cultural, educational mores, all grow up along with the development of labor (or work) mores. The individual is forced by circumstance, by necessity, to organize his time, his energy, his mental attention, his creative powers, around the necessity for labor which dominates his existence. And therefore every aspect of his life & thought reflect within them the constraints imposed from outside by these necessities.

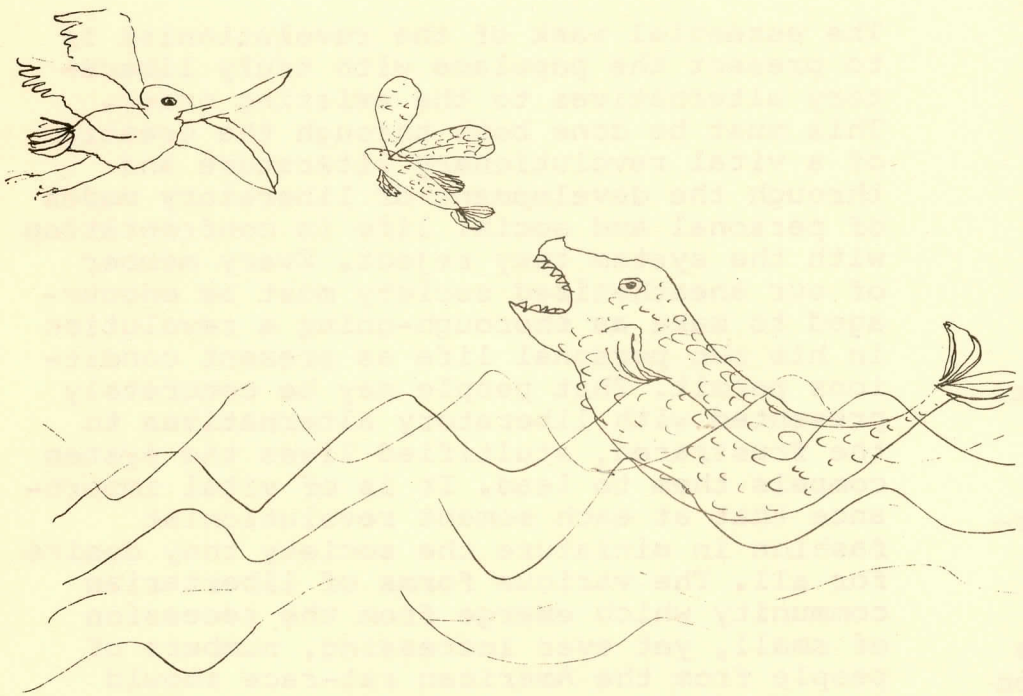
The psychological dimension, with its history & its accumulated character structures, its role in the formation & organization of society, must be understood before the psychological content of the individual & of the social order can be changed from its present state of rigidity & repression into a new psychological order in which the fundamental drives (Eros) are liberated & allowed free

play. Revolutionary theory must also show how the present level of individual & social consciousness is a product of the socialization process & how it too can be successfully changed through the revolutionary process. For it must be clearly recognized that a libertarian society can only function when there is a high level of individual consciousness, so that each individual recognizes the responsibilities & limitations inherent in his own freedom. "Man does not live by bread alone," and in society liberated from material necessity, the content of life will increasingly be filled with the struggle of of emerging psychological & conscious forces which are expressions of the continuing evolutionary struggle when it has moved out of the material level into the social & psychological dimensions. Revolutionary social theory, therefore, must deal with all levels of human life & experience, the cumulate social mores & the cumulate mental notions which are the real, the human, products of social history.

The many dimensions of this task which remain open for clarification can just barely be enumerated: it is necessary to show that automation provides a secure economic basis for a liberatory society which can free men from almost all necessary & unnecessary toil; & that this marks a qualitative change in the historical dynamic which we all participate in, marks the turning point in history when man is liberated through conscious choice from the law of material scarcity which is the cause of struggle. At the same time it is necessary to show that institutions & structures have been created which block the development of this liberatory potential; & that these structures not only oppose us in our external environment, but that they also inhabit our minds & our bodies, inhibiting us from the realization of this potential in ourselves. For those of us who are products of repressive society, the process by which these changes will occur must be clarified, because it is precisely in the content of social life that the measure of the real gains of revolution is found. And Anarchism must show how it will obtain those freedoms which are the goals for which we fight. How those freedoms will be part of the movement for change itself, how, in a word, the means of the revolution will become its ends. For it falls upon us to develop those tools of revolutionary creation & destruction which will provide us with the method for attaining our ends: for ending economic struggle; for curing the sickness of the mind & body; for quelling the hatred which is unleashed within us in the very struggle against barbarism & brutality; & for providing the social, political & personal freedoms which no previous revolution has achieved. And finally it remains for us, as a historical duty, to openly & outspokenly condemn those forces for change which style themselves as revolutionary while they prepare for the establishment of a new order based on the same coercive principles of force & totalitarianism as the enemy we are fighting. Further than this it is not sufficient merely to criticize. The revolutionary movement which styles itself as Anarchist must provide, in so far as it is possible, the guarantees of its own incorruptability, lest its pieties become ribbons on the tombs of its enemies. It must say & it must become in practice, the movement which will allow no man to rule another; it

must learn to build a new way of life within the old; it must become the community of brothers & sisters who find the peace, love, & freedom with each other that does not exist in capitalist society; it must become the movement in which differences between individuals are freely confronted; and it must discover & assert the underlying brotherhood of all men at the same time that it learns to defend itself from those forces in society which seek to destroy all that is good & beautiful.

Allan Hoffman 11/65



Hak Vogrin

2 Functions of the Revolutionary

The "Legacy of Domination" does not offer a broad enough perspective of the nature of the revolutionary process, and it takes an excessivelly narrow view of the functions of the revolutionist during the period preceding the revolutionary crisis, when the revolutionary transformation of society as a whole is not yet possible. Relying on "objective historic processes" it restricts the revolutionary's role to the intellectual function of criticizing the existing order and proposing alternatives. The closing paragraph of the "Legacy of Domination" states: "Our statement of views is deliberately anchored in the future. We frankly admit that we can produce nothing on the existing society but sheer critique." This is an unwarranted confession of impotence. We must also begin to develop the revolutionized social order, in embryo, within the crevices of the existing one; at the same time that we are being critical.

We must learn to view revolution as an organic process in which the abolition of power is merely a culminating, and perhaps uneventful, incident. The revolutionary movement must become an embryonic federation of free communities and attempt to persuade people in all "walks of life" to break decisively with the dominant values and institutions of our society. The development of transitional forms leading to a truly liberatory social order is a vital task of the revolutionary movement in the "pre-revolutionary" period. Historically, in virtually every thorough-going popular revolution, the appropriate political forms have spontaneously emerged at the moment of crisis. They have been organs based primarily on direct, face-to-face democracy, e.g.,

the Parisian and provincial communes of the French Revolution, the Paris Commune of 1871, the Russian soviets of 1905 and 1917, and, more recently, the Hungarian soviets of the abortive 1956 revolution. Although appropriate revolutionary forms may be expected to emerge spontaneously in a revolutionary crisis, nevertheless, it is essential that revolutionists create them now in embryo in order to produce a visible alternative to the present corporate system.

In order for revolutionists to survive and develop in an increasingly coercive and totalitarian society, they themselves must develop revolutionary modes of living, must create oases of sanity and humanity from which to venture forth in their struggle with the American Leviathan."Eight hours for the bosses, two hours for the party" simply won't do. We must seek to live our entire lives as revolutionists; else we shall perish, either deadened and coopted by the system we oppose or driven insane.

The revolutionary overturn cannot create a liberatory social order out of nothing; it can only produce a favorable soil in which already existing liberatory forces and forms can flourish. The nature of the new social and political forms which emerge during the period of social disintegration leading up to the revolutionary crisis greatly influence the character of a revolution andthe social and political configurations which flow from it. If the seeds of a liberatory social order are not sown during the "pre-revolutionary" period, the revolutionary overturn is likely to produce a power vacuum resulting in the constitution of a stronger, more efficient system of centralized state oppression than that which has been eliminated.

It is necessary to present people who are not yet sufficiently exasperated with their present lives with a viable, visible alternative so that when their discontent reaches revolutionary proportions they will seek liberatory, not authoritarian solutions. If this is not done, the spirit of radicalism may again merge catastrophically with that of reaction, as in Germany during the period of the Nazi rise to power. Objective historical forces must be relied upon to generate the radical discontents necessary for revolution, but revolutionists are needed to indicate liberatory resolutions of these discontents.

The essential task of the revolutionist is to present the populace with truly liberatory alternatives to the existing order. This must be done both through the creation of a vital revolutionary literature and through the development of liberatory modes of personal and social life in confrontation with the system they reject. Every member of our anesthetized society must be encouraged to make as thorough-going a revolution in his own personal life as present conditions permit. That people may be concretely presented with liberatory alternatives to the frustrated, stultified lives the system compels them to lead. It is of vital importance that at each moment revolutionist fashion in miniature the society they desire for all. The various forms of libertarian community which emerge from the secession of small, yet ever increasing, numbers of people from the American rat-race should form the organizational core of the revo-

lutionary movement. Each community will, of course, be thoroughly autonomous, as the basic decision-making unit in a nation-wide federation of groups and individuals.

It is absolutely necessary to break with the values and ways of ersatz-life of mainstream America. This personal revolt must lead people to develop liberatory ways of living and liberatory societal forms based on direct, face-to-face democracy. But this does not suffice. Unless rebels and communitarians direct their rebellion and constructive activity toward unrelenting confrontation with American mass society and its ruling strata, their very success in achieving a more satisfying life by breaking with the dominant mores and institutions of the fraudulent "Great Society" may serve to strengthen the existing regime. Although they are unable to halt the progress of cybernation, the corporate decision makers and their political representatives feel obliged to slow its pace, because cybernation produces involuntary unemployment which may seriously threaten their power if it reaches substantial proportions. The Bohemians and communitarians who are able to find an endurable life for themselves without holding down a regular job present the oligarchy with a potential way out of the dilemma with which cybernation presents them. If the increasingly superfluous employees or their children can be persuaded that a decent life can be had on the fringes of the prevailing society by joining a swelling quietistic déclassé, then the power elite can proceed more rapidly in cybernating its subjects out of their social functions, without fear of producing unmanageable discontent. The "citizenry" could be deprived of its last vestige of control over social processes as the ruling strata became the first elite in history to produce its own means of livelihood through its control over the computerized means of production and distribution. If this should occur, if cybernation of the economy is substantially completed without a thorough-going social revolution, then you and I and most of humanity are doomed to complete enslavement or to liquidation, as our all-powerful masters choose.

To avert the danger that those who break in their personal lives with the prevailing system of centralized repression will become an ncreasingly powerless declassed appendage of an increasingly oligarchical cybernating society, it is necessary that personal secession assume an explicitly revolutionary form. It is not enough merely to secede from the chrome-plated utopia of unreason; the oligarchy that cunningly and relentlessly maintains it must be uncompromisingly opposed at every step--until its power to dominate is totally destroyed. As the corporate stae assimilates ever broader areas of private and social life, the opposition to it must become ever more total if it is to be relevant. The politics, the styles of life, the moral standards, the very vocabulary of its functionaries must be decisively rejected and subjected to a constant stream of criticism.

The revolutionist must combine the personal revolt of the Bohemian, the scathing criticism of the satirist, the hopeful vision of a better world to come of the utopian, the constructive development of new societal forms of the communitarian, and the theoretical perspective of history of the traditional revolutionary if he is to deal meaningfully with the problems of a rapidly changing world.

Paul Spencer



Phil Hipwell

Weariness
is but a dream,
as is Life----
yet pain doth seem
a Reality
beyond the two.

*

the thin lips of desire,
(like wings of some fallen angel)
spread wide--
carrying me beyond this realm of phantasy
into one of un-inhibited hallucination.

when i awake it is tomorrow,
and we laugh.

*

(as bucowski might have said it....)

i had truly wondered
why he had written
all that mis-begotten poetry
about death and sex;
but then he up and died
in someone else's arms--
and i never got a chance to ask....

*

in the course of eternity, reality is transfixed
upon a wall----
pinned, it struggles for an instant,
then dies.

*

Lari Hertz

The POET'S POT

FRAGMENT FROM THE EARTH -- 8

Tomorrow . . . the quiet breeze of dim thought, receeding in the distance. Idle finger on the brain. Dumb silence, empty of a thought, entering the door unbalanced. Like a freak of night. An embroidered web of disorder.

Centuries of sound entombed in silence. Now, let it be now, it cannot be later for there is not a later which it could be, which it would endure to be. Only an everlasting now, and no excuse for later or before.

And yet there is an order, and age matters. Matters down to the skull of your being. This life is for doing what you can in. A very great deal to do. A massive giant of doing until done is done is done, and some die as failures, so they say. But no, it cannot be. Man can only fail unto himself. And for such failure the apology is in the fate of having done it.

Joyce Gardner

14.

There is a holocaust in the day to day activity of nature... I remember the Praying Mantis who gobbled down a stick bug and then turned upside down to digest it... And, at the same time, and with the same cosmic indifference, there is— how sad the phrase has become— a struggle for life. Life comes, almost against all odds, like those frail stems that crack the surface of the earth in early spring at the mercy of the passing dew; the merciless struggle of the foetus for its existence: the inextinguishable source of life. The sense for life is not to be lost among the turgid dreams of unhappy men... And for those who always wish to go beyond the awareness of accumulated detail that is so much of knowledge, there will always be— tonight, I am sure of it— that feeling of awe before the mystery of life...

I have nothing to lose by being alive, though we all go the way of the stick bug...

Robert Chasse

TERMINALS: AMPHITHEATER NIGHT FALLS AWAY REACHES US ANOTHER MORNING. Some is forgotten easily, some lingers. Wavelengths of dreams have leaked over into light scattered wriggling on the floor on the bed they are never absorbed fully. Wherever we look we see OURSELVES. Every object and scene containing more of same. Escape is called THE SIGHT OF THE BELOVED the view of the other; respect, praise, terror of the light that shines. Mute bloodstream humming under. Rise of phenomena by complementation never complete. Process of dying has the sweetest edge of all. The wisdom of the weed field landscape remaining through the window unspeakable, untelling, another beauty of self waiting to fulfill and return. Stems vibrate long tune, cells build momentary terminals in endless preparations of decay, mouldering for tomorrow. Bless quiet elevations lack of diamonds, remorse. The universe, order of heartbreak, fugitive trip and error. Release of cantilevered heart trembling a movement in air that passes leaving skeletal design imprinted behind the look. Ride in by the sorrow, ride in rainy day, steps in the house controlled by silence encompassed. Double hands and fingers re-used for new and life-like languages, giving away lack of death, leaking on days like rain.

Bob Ernsthal

making good soup

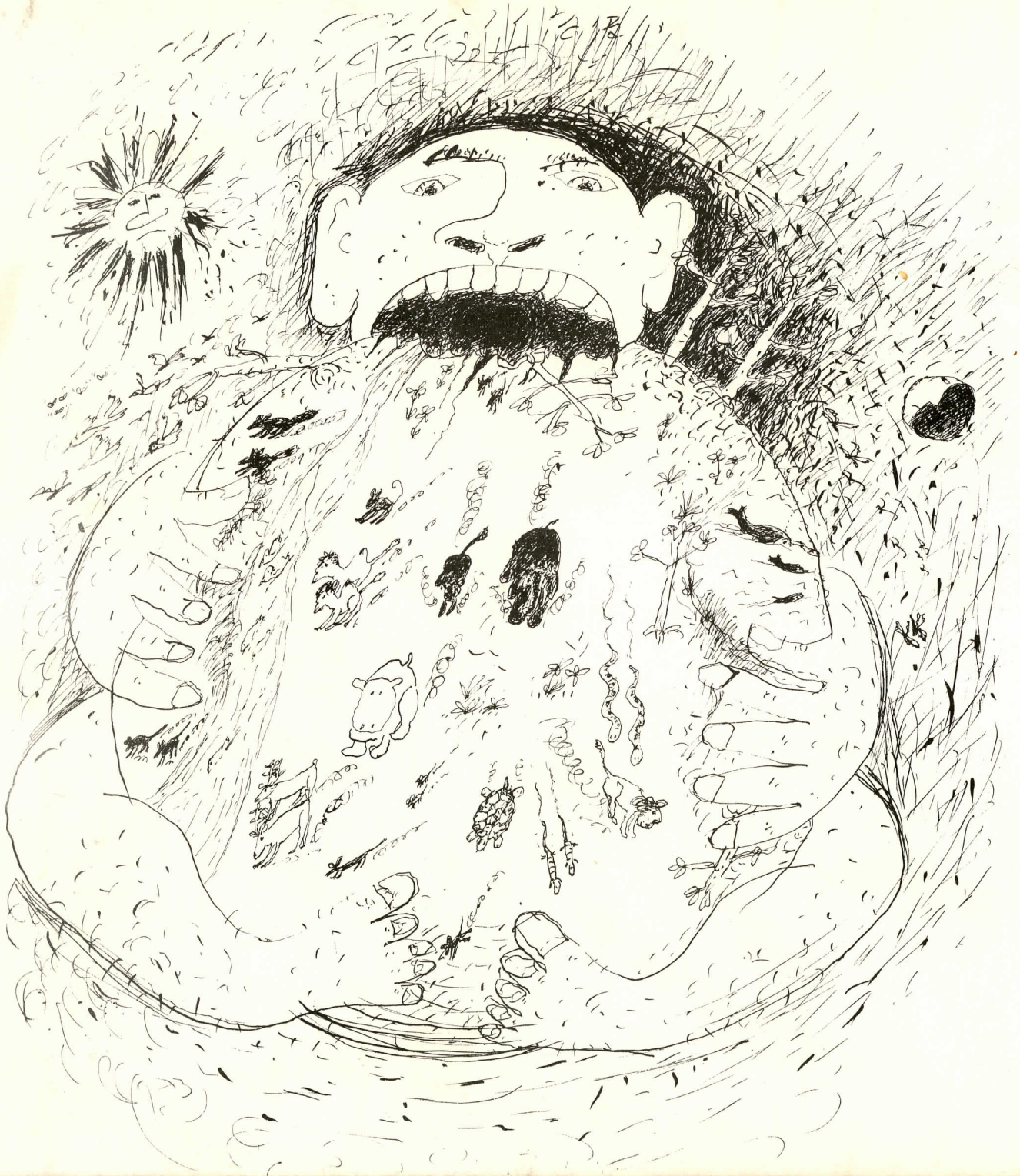
PRODUCING A MAGAZINE ANARCHISTICALLY IS CHALLENGING: ARTICLES SUBMITTED FOR DISCUSSION & THE BEGINNINGS OF A MANIFESTO, SCIENTIFIC SPECULATION & POETIC PROPHESY GROW SECRETLY IN THE HIDDEN RECESSES OF THE CITY & EXTEND THEIR TENDRILS INTO COUNTRYSIDES FROM WHICH NOURISHMENT COMES. IT MUST SPEAK HEAD LANGUAGE/ MEANING ON THE ONE HAND INTELLECT & ON THE OTHER SOUL. IT MUST NOT BE CONCOCTED BUT EMERGE OUT OF THE NECESSITY OF ALL THAT IT CONTAINS. EDITORIAL COMMITTEES ARE WHOEVER ATTENDS MEETINGS (DEMOCRACY)/ ARTICLES ARE CHOSEN WHENEVER A FEW PEOPLE AGREE & WE CAN INCORPORATE THEM BODILY. ONLY THE FINAL AESTHETIC ARRANGEMENT OF ALL THESE PARTICLES IS A SOLITARY UNIFYING PROCESS/ A THRONE TO BE USURPED BY SEASONAL ROTATIONS/ THE NATURAL PROCESSION OF KINGSHIPS OF THE TREES & THEIR ATTENDANT PAPERS.

FUTURE ISSUES OF GOOD SOUP WILL BE AN ORGANIC REVIEW/ BETWEEN TIMES SERIOUS THEORETICAL ARTICLES & CLINICALLY DANGEROUS POETRY HANDGRENADES WILL APPEAR TO ALL WHO REQUEST A PRESENCE ON OUR MAILING LIST, OR WHO VOLUNTEER THE HARD GOODS OF PUBLICATION WHICH WE DESPERATELY NEED: TYPEWRITERS (ESPECIALLY ELEC.), PAPER, INK, STAMPS, MONEY, MIMEOS, SCAFFOLDS & SKY HOOKS. BECAUSE WE ARE NON-ECONOMIC WE DEPEND ON MUTUAL COOPERATION WITH ALL WHO ARE IN SYMPATHY WITH OUR IDEAS & ARTS. SO WE LEARN TO PRODUCE LIKE BEGGARS; KNOTTING OLD RAGS TO MAKE STOUT ROPES AND BIND DOWN THE INSUBSTANTIAL. $200 RAISED SOLELY FROM MEMBERS OF THE FEDERATION & FRIENDS FOR THIS FIRST ISSUE, GREW THROUGH MUTUAL-AID INTO 3,000/50PAGE MAGAZINES: A MICROSCOPIC COST FOR MACROSCOPIC CONTENTS. BUT ONLY BECAUSE EACH FREELY CONTIBUTES WHAT THEY HAVE TO OFFER/ EQUIPMENT, TALENTS, TIME OR MONEY. FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF SHORTENING MY BONY KNUCKLES ON THESE KEYS I COPPED THE AESTHETIC FUEHRERSHIP. FROM MY ROTATING VANTAGE POINT HERE ON THE OUTER SURFACE OF THIS TINY SPINNING GLOBE/ I SEE A MICROCOSM OF ANARCHISM EXISTING TO PRODUCE CHANGE/ IF IT FULFILLS THE REAL NEEDS OF REAL PEOPLE IT WILL FLOURISH/ IF NOT LET IT DIE/ IN EITHER CASE IT WILL SOON LOSE THE POWER TO SPEAK IF YOU DO NOT WAKEN TO ITS EXISTENCE.

SINCE ALL OF US ARE BIRTHED AT THE SOURCE & ORIGIN OF CONTEMPORARY EVIL/ & CANNOT ESCAPE THE GUILT OF OUR ENVIRONS/ ALL THAT WE MAY DO IS TO BELIEVE IN WHAT IS ANCIENT & OF THE FUTURE/ TO EXCHANGE LOVE OFFERINGS/ TO CREATE REAL HUMAN ALTERNATIVES TO THE SLOW EXCRUCIATING DEATH OFFERED US BY OUR MASTERS... NOW LET US BEGIN & QUICKLY SPREAD THE NEWS.

Allan Hoffman

SEND LOVE ARTIFACTS, MUTUAL-AID, & $BREAD, TO N.Y. FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS (NYFA)/ %TORCH/ 641 E. 9TH ST., NYC, NY



Hak Vogrin

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The Potter's Wheel Cosmology appears in issue #1 of GOOD SOUP/ a magazine of "consciousness, anarchism, community, ecology, cybernation and revolution"/ it is cooperatively produced by the new york federation of anarchists/ we have 2,000 copies which we would like to send to those people who share our visions and our nightmares; those "who hunger for a transformation within and a new world"/ send a contribution: love artifact, mutual aid, postage and/or $bread/ c/o Torch 641 E. 9th St. NYC

continued from page 11

POTTERS WHEEL

who NEEDS it and what does it satisfy? It is impossible for any person sensitive to his own form and the forms of nature to be satisfied by machine-made imitation of nature or natural work. In fact it is necessary to constantly stimulate superficiality in order to sell this stuff. What it does satisfy is a system that considers money, not man and nature. A system ultimately leading to the destruction of life, feeling, and matter on this earth in order to create more money. The great wonder of the machine is its ability to unite the cooperative energies of man and nature into a simple power doing repetitive work, repeating out the classic needs of man, conserving the environment of wildlife and the use of natural resources. This use of the machine as a link between man and nature cannot be worked out easily. Now most of the things we "think" we need are relatively useless or wasteful. But many of us living on low incomes in order to have some spiritual freedom can begin to figure out what we need and don't need.

There seems nothing wrong with feeling anything, but how do you feel secure if your feelings are closed up against insecurity? It is important to know, not only feel, how powerful we are with all our machines, bombs and systems. And how much power can we feel, and for how long, and what about all the other feelings? Democracy is based on the admission that one person cannot feel sufficiently to rule a country. What about factories, power companies, cars and form letters? Here is the stronghold of democracy where every newspaper and movie is on the mental and emotional level of a four-year-old and every law is comprehensible only to a person who has a doctorate degree in that particular law.

The kind of expansion we are offered in this country is to turn homemade pastry into Mrs. Wagner's Pies or to paint "My Four Sons" on the back end of a motor boat. Power, segregated power, is an evil. Here people die alone or die of loneliness because there is no community. That's rotten. I don't care how you look at it. The only kind of power that isn't evil is the strength that the whole people have together instead of one or one-and-sundry dominated others. Cooperation means leaving a lot private and alone. This includes people working with each other and people working with nature. It is useful. People who can't cope with their aloneness, with their own inner freedom, can't cooperate very well. But this is often a disease of no community and the corrupt use of power to begin with. It is a disgusting "business" when so many people want to love, feel, work, help, and be helped end up in mental hospitals and psychiatrists' offices and are given tricks and drugs to hang on to and are supposed to find the trouble in themselves or their parents as some sort of split off snowflakes having nothing to do with the general storm. And why do so many of us see our bodies and our days as something to program like a machine instead of going into the inner and outer rhythms of nature? Living and seeing things as part of wholeness is the only thing that makes sense and it is very important that we make sense in our being and action.

Community is strength. Community is whole people and whole nature. A person of any wholeness understands that understanding goes a lot farther and then you have to leave things alone: people to work on their own images and feel what they can't describe--nature, some of it ploughed, some of it gardens, some of it wild--because understanding only goes so far. People of any wholeness are weak and need to help and be helped. Strong people are those who suppress their gentleness to hang onto power--intellectual power, machine power, money power, religious power, chemical power. Here in this country, we are not only destroying ourselves with human segregation, but with the segregated use of bulldozers, automobiles, money, science, and political power. Community ultimately has no space or time boundaries but is based on needs and on providing for them to the best of our ability. Our ability as a group of human beings depends on our understanding--a profound understanding of psychology, ecology, nutrition, health. Community work is based on this understanding. But what is called work these days might as well be called organized destruction, when even our agriculture is not based on a genuine understanding of needs. There are millions of jobs in the country but almost no work being done and consequently no community. But anyone who begins to do geniune work begins a community between himself, as man, and nature. With the machine there is time for both inner and outer rhythms.