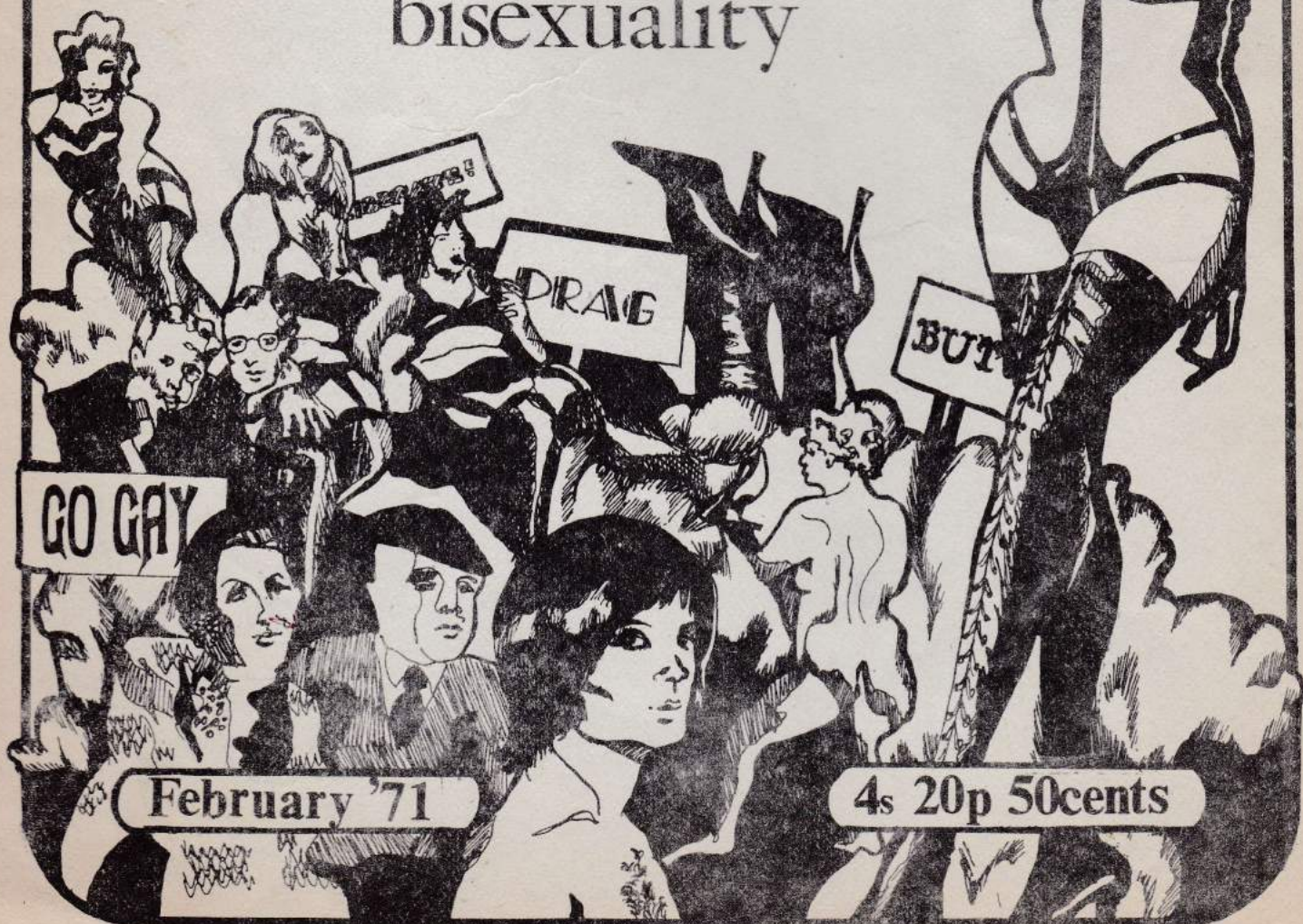


ANARCHY

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Towards a
rational
bisexuality



February '71

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ANARCHY

Volume 1 Number 1 (Second Series)

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P *ress*

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Libertarian Message to Gay Liberation

Most members of the gay community are unaware of how oppressed they really are. In almost every nation-state in the world, homosexual activities are outlawed and homosexuals are legally harassed. This makes them one of the most persecuted minorities in the world. Whether it be in Hollywood or Havana, in Milwaukee or Moscow, sexual nonconformity is repressed by the state apparatus.

The basis for this repression is two-fold: first, there is the nature of the state as an institution. Whether they are elected by a majority or the result of the dictates of an authority, governments are structures of forced conformity. One's behaviour must largely conform to the values of a majority, or a ruling elite. Your life is not your own; instead, someone can tell you what to do simply because he wears a uniform and has the legal backing of a dictator or a majority vote. Those in power attack minority groups or non-conformists in order to gain the sanction, or votes, of the others whom they control. This is the nature of the state.

The second basis for repression derives from the concept of objective value. Many people believe that there is an intrinsic value in things. This leads them to conclude that their own evaluation of things, whether cars, magazines, money, or sex, are the "true" value of those things. Thus, if you "know" the "true" value of an object, there will be no problem in forcing your behaviour on others. This is true whether you are referring to Marx's "labour theory of value", which causes communist governments to repress homosexuals, or to people who feel they can force Judeo-Christian values on others. It is the concept of objective value that causes the problem.

The libertarian philosophy encompasses beliefs that are contrary to both of the concepts on which repression is based. We believe that **EVERY INDIVIDUAL HAS A RIGHT TO DO ANYTHING HE CHOOSES, AS LONG AS HE DOESN'T INITIATE PHYSICAL FORCE AGAINST ANOTHER PERSON OR HIS PROPERTY.**

The libertarian philosophy truly stands for life, liberty, and property, as individual rights. Thus, we are opposed to the idea of government as a matter of principle, and feel that voluntary relationships of a free market are much better than state coercion.

Also inherent in our philosophy is the idea that everyone values things in a different way. Because everyone looks at things differently, something very valuable to one person could mean nothing to another. The only thing we hold to be inherently wrong is the use of force to get people to accept what you want them to. The libertarian philosophy holds this as a violation of another man's rights. So we believe, of course, that people should be free to act on their own sexual preferences.

The California Libertarian Alliance is a group of community and campus activists who are striving to promote their ideas of liberty. We have seminars, discussion groups, and action committees in most areas of California. There are gay members, although the emphasis of the organization is on total liberation of all individuals from state coercion, and not just gay liberation.

If you are interested in working with us or becoming further acquainted with our philosophy, write to us,

California Libertarian Alliance,
Box 572,
Santa Ana,
California 92702, USA.

Be Realistic— Demand the Impossible!

In his book on homosexuality Dr. D. J. West has some harsh judgements to pronounce on the subject of bisexuality and it is ironic that this state will often bring down the scorn of both the heterosexual and the homosexual with equal vehemence. Both will show contempt from differing motivations but both will have dangerously similar reasons for doing so. Anyone who seemingly wants the best of both worlds will be seen as greedy and unreasonable but on a deeper level bisexuality is capable of upsetting the status quo of both groups and as the atheist diminishes the believer's god so the bisexual will diminish people's preconceived notions of sexual conduct which are still rooted in Judeo-Christian morality.

Dr. West states that bisexuality is "a failure to develop the strong inhibitions assumed by the majority" but continues "In itself it can hardly be called pathological and may imply no more than the possession of a strong sexual appetite that seeks every possible outlet". This is perhaps a typical medical viewpoint but later he accuses bisexuals of being degenerate characters: "The individual who acts out the boast that he can make use of man, woman or beast is likely to be the sort of person who has to satisfy his every impulse regardless of the consequences to himself or others. Such intractable rebels against the mores of sexual conduct have much in common with pathological liars, criminals and other antisocial types". Apart from the emotive linking of bisexuality with bestiality surely it is evident that people who are rash enough to make such boasts very rarely carry

them into action since sexual bragging is so often indicative of an anxiety about one's sexual potency and psychologists have shown that impotence is far more likely to find expression in the sado-masochistic syndrome rather than in tender and loving sexual congress.

People can certainly be very anti-social at times but it is far more reprehensible to be antilife and one argues the case for a rational bisexuality on the grounds that we are in danger of extinction as a species even though many would prefer to ignore this pressing and urgent fact. Society is often haunted by the spectre of the fall of Rome and of a community homosexualizing itself out of existence but surely the odds on this happening are far smaller than on the prospect of nuclear, biological and chemical warfare becoming a reality. A bisexual society would stand far more chance of preventing such an occurrence for far from being a near pathological state it is the most natural and harmonious mode of conduct that civilized people can encourage and its implementation would benefit civilization in more ways than we could now predict.

The often socially acceptable forms of bestiality (bullfighting, stag and foxhunting and harecoursing) are only rarely traced to their pathological sexual origins. The inherent dangers of repressed homosexuality have long been known to psychoanalysts as they have been known subconsciously to artists and writers long before the radical discoveries of Sigmund Freud but knowing about a thing and then doing

Towards a RATIONAL BISEXUALITY

something about it do not always follow each other. It is like the thinking of a person who has a growth but is deterred from visiting a doctor because he dreads having his worst fears confirmed. A very human and understandable reaction but not a very rational one.

Although society can be shocked at its own antilife impulses (the more so if it actually *sees* them) it does not exert sufficient imagination to realize that life can be harmed in many more ways than by the termination of life itself. Society at large has failed to realize that the continual murder of animals in slaughterhouses all over the world is not only an affront to the life force but reduces the stature of the humanity of those who have to carry this work out for them. Thus we can see that the guilt that this produces is assuaged by the psychopathic devotion that people lavish on dogs, cats, horses and other pets. I see no harm in people actually kissing animals but I am inclined to the view that they would not feel the need to do so if they stopped eating them. At the same time society does not hesitate to say that it is wrong for a member of one sex to have carnal relations with a member of the same sex and yet in time of war will sanction mass murder on all the sexes. Speaking personally I would rather make love to my enemy than murder him and the revolutionary nature of bisexuality was subconsciously well summed up by Albert Einstein when he said "We are pacifists out of biological necessity".

If society persists in deadening life and crippling people's ability to experience life in its most joyous of manifestations which for want of a better word we call love then it should at least be able to demonstrate that civilization is indeed benefited by such actions. One has only to read the misery in one edition of any newspaper to realize that society has failed because it has chosen to ignore what psychology has taught us over the last 50 years and what common sense has always taught us, that the need for love in the human animal is as strong an appetite as the need for food, water, shelter and clothing. Clothing is certainly an unnatural addition to human intercourse but surely only the most ardent nudist would deny that it is now so much a part of our lives that it has become perfectly natural.

Just as a starving man would eat food which under different circumstances would be repugnant to him so in life the pressing need for love and affection can lead to equally unhappy solutions. This was very vividly illustrated in Tennessee Williams' play *A Streetcar Named Desire* when Blanche DuBois is confronted with the facts of her sordid past which she has been at pains to conceal. "After the death of Alan intimacies with strangers was all I seemed able to fill my empty heart with" and later she asks "Straight? What is

straight? A line or a road can be straight but the heart of a human being?" If society condemns Blanche DuBois for her behaviour then it should be able to offer a rational alternative for her conduct and the fact that at the end of the play her mind finally cracks and gives way totally shows that society has failed her just as much as it alleges that she has failed society. There is no pill or potion that could 'cure' the malaise that troubled Blanche DuBois but that is not to say that society couldn't devise prophylactic measures against such despair and anguish of the psyche.

Many would claim that the sexual revolution is now an accomplished fact but sexual contacts are probably hardly any greater in number than they have been in the past, the only difference being that it is now at least easier to talk about them. Even so, if one is prepared to admit that such contacts have in fact increased over the last decade it is not to say that mere promiscuity in itself is anything like a revolution. It might well be the stirrings before such a happening but it is not an end in itself. The flower power love generation of a couple of summers ago was very shortlived, quickly disillusioned and embittered. It would be wrong to dismiss it as worthless because it was a brave if naive attempt to tackle a malaise that has been with us for centuries but it calls for a gigantic leap on the part of the imagination, the emotions and the intellect in order to bring about such radical changes in social patterns of conduct and behaviour.

People are often very reluctant to think through their philosophies and will often stop when they arrive at conclusions which conform to their comfortable preconceived ideas. It is this halfhearted intellectual approach which is the real enemy of all true progress. The very human instinct to conform to the general pattern of one's surrounding environment can also act as a brake on rational thinking and pure logic and people are beset with the anxiety that should one accept this conclusion then it might lead to the acceptance of another which is even more socially unacceptable and in the end these anxieties are allayed with the thought that if this is the case then it is perhaps better not to think at all. People are intimidated by paper qualifications and mistrust their own thoughts and feelings which spring from their own human needs.

Wilhelm Reich postulated that cancer was caused by sexual frustration and stasis which is an alarming conclusion for the orthodox moralist to accept for if this is so then obviously the remedy lies in sexual needs being fed by orgasm and emotional needs being fed by love. An enlightened bisexuality or pansexuality would automatically double one's chances of these needs being fulfilled but apart from this it would so galvanize human relationships and conduct as to amount

to a true social revolution. For not only does bisexual conduct encourage the power to love and to find orgasmic experience it also reduces the things which divide the sexes and mitigates sexual conflict. It is a blasphemy to reduce love to biological necessity and it is a crime against nature to limit love.

Although sexuality is a widely explored and discussed subject love still retains an element of mystery that no amount of intellectual or scientific investigation can unravel. In fact when one wishes to investigate this phenomenon one turns instinctively more to the arts than to science since one knows in one's bones that it is an enigma that lies far beyond the grubby grasp of science. In Turgenev's novel *The Torrents of Spring* the love that Sanin feels for Gemma is paralleled by the warm affection he has for her brother Emilio who undoubtedly had a crush on Sanin. Happily, Sanin is so swept along in the overwhelming embrace of love that he finds he has a surplus to spare for Emilio too albeit on a subconscious level and at one point consoles himself for Gemma's absence with the thought that Emilio reminds him of her. Had Sanin and Emilio expressed their affection in physical terms it could not possibly have reduced Sanin's love for Gemma since it would have been love of a different kind.

This love of a different kind was recently brought to the attention of a wider public through the film of D. H. Lawrence's novel *Women in Love*. Through the relationship of Rupert and Gerald many people who perhaps would not otherwise have thought much about the matter were presented with the potentiality of bisexual love forces and this must have reflected many of the subconscious thoughts that many males feel towards their male friends. At the end of the film when Gerald is dead Rupert is asked if he needed Gerald by his wife Ursula who says "You can't have two kinds of love. Why should you?" Rupert replies "It seems that I can't. Yet I wanted it." "You can't have it" continues Ursula "because it's false, impossible" and Rupert answers "I don't believe that".

Lawrence was not the first person to give voice to this longing for a wider love experience within the human psyche and it is possible that before writing *Women in Love* Lawrence had read and his own homosexual impulses had responded to what Napoleon Bonaparte had written in 1798: "I shall not have lived on earth in vain if it is granted to me to find a friend, a being who is more than a brother and more than a wife, unchanging and just, a measure of my soul as I shall be of his . . . I knew when I was 10 years old that another man carried within himself, perhaps unknown to him, a part of my soul". Although history does not remember Napoleon as a bisexual he displayed much of the warm humanity and tolerance that grow from such acceptance of

oneself. He bent over backwards to avoid being given proof of Josephine's sexual infidelities. He insisted on sleeping with her in a double bed in an age that regarded such things with distaste. And the Napoleonic Code adopted in France removed all legal sanctions against homosexual conduct amongst adults.

It would be wrong to define bisexuality merely as being capable of experiencing sexual congress with members of one's own sex (for under given circumstances surely everybody would acknowledge the possibility of this). Better to define it as the ability to welcome *equally* sexual contact with either sex, to be more precise, to welcome and respond to *human* sexual contact which one hopes will also dispose of Dr. West's fantasy about bestiality. This of course is not to confuse it with the more recent manifestation which has been dubbed unisex which is the very opposite of enlightened bisexuality. Bisexuality does not ignore the differences between the sexes but rather serves to intensify and emphasize the delightful characteristics which are appropriate to each sex. Rather than encourage the subconscious to mimic the characteristics which are natural to the opposite gender it encourages people to explore the characteristics which are natural to their own sex and which of course are delightful to both sexes both in and out of bed.

If people are reluctant to really examine the differences it is not the discoveries they might make about the opposite sex that makes them hesitate so much as the discoveries they might make about their own. Notions of what is manly and what is feminine are rarely based on biological facts but more likely on sociological prejudice. The 'battle of the sexes' is nowadays a very passe expression but it is still festering beneath society's surface and the gradually increasing momentum of organizations like Women's Liberation gives hope that society might still yet achieve a harmonious equality between the sexes and see an end to the present male-supremist pattern of thought and behaviour which not only reduces the stature of women but also that of men. In this field alone bisexual behaviour would bring about colossal changes. But men are still very reluctant to yield to 'blue stocking' demands and for deeply held reasons.

Bernard Shaw illustrated this point well in his epic masterpiece *Back to Methuselah*. After Adam and Eve have left Eden they are visited by their son Cain who begins to brag of his prowess in the field of battle (here Shaw is very astute in his linking of violence and destruction to sexual matters) but when Cain connects his deeds with the esteem his wife has for his virility Eve loses her patience and scolds him: "Do you risk your life when you trap the ermine and the sable and the blue fox to hang on her shoulders and make her look more like an animal

than a woman? When you have to snare the tender little birds because it is too much trouble for her to chew honest food? You have to twirl a stick to feel your strength: you cannot taste life without making it bitter and boiling hot: you cannot love Lua until her face is painted nor feel the natural warmth of her flesh until you have stuck a squirrel's fur on it. You will not raise your head to look at all the miracles of life that surround you but you will run ten miles to see a fight or a death". Just as nature cannot afford to recognize manmade marriage so too she cannot risk accepting manmade definitions of what is 'masculine' and what is 'feminine' if they are not based on reason.

I am neither a lover of labels nor of inflexible definitions since they restrict thought and prevent the spirit from truly liberating itself and life is nothing if it is not always moving, changing and seeking to achieve mastery over itself. The person who regards himself as 'homosexual' makes as grave a misjudgement about himself as the person who is convinced he is 'heterosexual' and one would be prepared to indulge these notions if they were not so dangerous but there is a wealth of rational evidence to show that these concepts are hazardous because they are false. It was Ursula and not Rupert who was "false and impossible" even though she was very lovable.

It was not until 1962 that the destructive impulse of repressed homosexuality was examined in depth with the publication of the book *Black Ship To Hell* which was written by that lively and lovely humanist Brigid Brophy. The fact that the book was either ignored or abused by the critics when it appeared and is only rarely referred to now should not deter you from studying the sane and rational arguments and ideas that she explores within its pages. Like the works of Freud, Shaw, Rodin, Lawrence, Modigliani and countless others whose philosophy and art have enriched mankind's understanding of himself the frosty reception of *Black Ship To Hell* only showed that Miss Brophy's critics were no match for her. For if her critics did not agree with what she wrote they would have had to counter her thoughts with equally rational arguments to show where she had gone wrong and no one has been able to do this. Of course the fact that the book was written by a woman may have only served to antagonize her critics. In my opinion it is one of the most important books to be written in the 20th century.

Naturally it would be presumptuous of me to try and give a brief explanation of the import of such a massive and erudite work but Miss Brophy traces with unswerving accuracy the outline of the rootcauses of the malaise of civilization and not surprisingly perhaps arrives back at the same conclusion that so many others have reached before her, that love alone

is able to overcome mankind's ills. Miss Brophy however is in an advantageous position over her predecessors in that she is essentially a 20th century person who can and does enlist the help of 20th century thought to make her points. As she says "Psychology is the most useful invention since the wheel" and one can only despair that its rationale is not so commonplace a sight.

Although the world around us might give little hope for optimism things need not always be so and society can hope to overcome the problems which are built into civilization if it will genuinely seek a way. In *Black Ship To Hell* Miss Brophy gives many reasons for hope but the main one is put on the final page of her book where she states with a succinct eloquence that verges on the poetic the simple truth "There are few ways in which man can be more innocently employed than in making love" and she concludes that it is our duty to dedicate ourselves to this end.

Truth is often so simple and selfevident that it can border on the cliché and although many are happy to sing along with the Beatles' "All You Need Is Love" few are brave enough to face the gigantic potential of these few words and the implication that they hold. The argument in favour of the bisexual position is that such carnal activity is more likely to escalate to loving in the broadest sense of the word than any other form of sexual activity. If you feel because of an irrational upbringing or because you find it difficult to liberate yourself immediately that you cannot bring yourself to make actual physical contact with a member of your own sex should the opportunity arise then at least let your imagination become totally bisexual and in turn totally loving. Although people will agree with the utmost enthusiasm with the therapeutic value of love one does not see so many actively engaged in it and even fewer make it as much a part of their day to day existence as all their other routines and habits.

Loving should be reflexive and innate and not something that one needs consciously to set after and pursue. This is why when people 'fall in love' they do just that! So unprepared are they for this phenomenon and so unlike their preconceptions do they find it that their first impulse is to take flight rather than to face its challenge. There is an element of dare in love since the risk of being hurt is in direct proportion to the intensity of love experienced so if people are intimidated by this, few will really accept the challenge and of these even fewer will dare to "love to the point of madness".

The surrealists who coined that expression were intuitively very aware of this problem and expressed it well in the manifesto they wrote that was included in the programme for Luis Bunuel's surrealist film

L'Age D'Or when first shown in Paris in 1930: "The day will soon come when we realize that in spite of the wear and tear that bites like acid into our flesh the very cornerstone of that violent liberation which reaches out for a cleaner life in the heart of the technological age that corrupts our cities is love. Only love remains beyond the realms of that which our imaginations can grasp. Bunuel has formulated a theory of revolution and love which goes to the very core of human nature. That most tragic of all debates galvanized by wellmeaning cruelty finds its ultimate expression in that unique instant when a distant yet wholly present voice so slowly yet so urgently yells through compressed lips so loudly that it can scarcely be heard: Love . . . Love . . . Love . . . Love".

Forty years after the poetic logic of this statement was published it is still not achieved and this should serve to show us that no amount of mere longing will bring it into reality. The masturbatory fantasy products and images of the mass media with their fallacious romantic notions and sexnegative feedback corrupt the natural instincts and sensuality of the young before love has a chance to liberate itself from its tyranny and the authoritarian structure of society is thus selfperpetuating. The wrecked in turn become the wreckers.

Although it is perhaps easier to show what love is not, very few writers (surprisingly few when one actually comes to research the subject) have ventured to tackle an actual positive definition of what love *is*. The closest was given by Dr. Viktor Frankl: "Love is the only way to grasp another human in the innermost core of his personality. No one can be fully aware of the very essence of another human being unless he loves him. By the spiritual act of love he is enabled to see the essential traits and features in the beloved person and even more he sees that which is potential in him, that which is not yet actualized but yet ought to be actualized. Furthermore by his love the loving person enables the beloved person to actualize these potentialities. By making him aware of what he can and should become he makes these potentialities come true". (*Man's Search for Meaning*.) If the very profound truth of this statement is appreciated and if this spiritual love is then extended a degree further to include the almost mystical symbolism that expresses itself through loving, sexual contact then only a person who has never known love could state that any such contact was wrong and having grasped the import of this reality then the actual sex of the beloved person become irrelevant.

Thus to declare any sexual contact between any of the sexes as 'wrong' or 'immoral' is solely the outcome of negative considerations and the only 'wrong' (or perhaps more accurately, *error*) that could transpire from such a situation would be for these negative

views to inhibit full sexual contact. There are points which are reached in love when it is 'immoral' *not* to allow oneself to be swept along to physical consummation. Experience shows however that the traditional moralist's point of view is more likely to prevail since having distorted people's minds since they were born they have succeeded all too well in instilling fear and guilt in the place of happiness and ecstasy and have replaced love with hatred and impotence. Even on a straight heterosexual level the situation is fraught with neuroses.

The sadomasochistic charade that today passes for heterosexual conduct is also sadly echoed in homosexual circles and very few homosexuals appreciate the revolutionary aspect of their orientation. Whereas the bisexual man or woman is a person who by the very nature of things will have led a life full of experience and rich in understanding the exclusively homosexual person just as much as the exclusively heterosexual person will deliberately and consciously reduce his potential experience of life by half and his potential experience of love by half at the same time. Whilst orthodox medicine is prepared to admit that there cannot be such a thing as a 100 percent male hormonal creature and is even prepared to acknowledge that there is a latent homosexual impulse within each of us it has not yet shown the imagination how to take this thing further and catch up with the genius of Freud's staggering intellect and realize that bisexuality is the primal state of the human animal. It is therefore ironic that the smallest of sexual minorities should be able to lay claim to being truest to the original state. One is inclined to wonder if man's fall and subsequent expulsion from Eden were not in fact primitive analogies to illustrate man's deviation from the sexual norm. Perhaps too the surrealists subconsciously realized this when they wrote their desperately moving preface to a film that had the evocative title of *The Age of Gold*.

We should not assume that bisexual experience is necessarily as rare as we are led to believe. Facts about sexual contact are extremely difficult to amass and it could well be that more people have experienced it than would be prepared to admit. I have in my personal experience met many people who would be regarded and would regard themselves as totally heterosexual and yet at the same time would not be adverse to homosexual contact if the opportunity arose. One can only hope that they will continue to pursue pleasure and eventually discover the broader horizons that conscious bisexuality can open for them.

Women in particular would benefit from a bisexual society for it would at last free them from the tyranny of men and of women's concept of themselves. Even people who prefer an exclusive homosexual or heterosexual mode of conduct would benefit since the climate of sexuality would become so tolerant and benign

that it could only serve to diminish the neurosis that stems from their condition and would encourage them in time to liberate themselves also from society's artificial and unnatural arrangements between the sexes. Present day society will only tolerate those homosexuals who are endowed with some outstanding aptitude in the arts and people still refuse to acknowledge that there are homosexual footballers, construction-workers and policemen since these occupations and that predilection do not equate in their minds with their conceptions of 'masculine' and 'feminine'.

If society bases its assumptions on biological evidence then we are done for since biology will readily confirm that in fact women are the superiors of men. Because men subconsciously realize this truth they persist in creating artificial dangers to overcome in order to maintain the frail illusions they have of themselves. Men can wash, knit and darn as well as any woman, as can be proven in the one social context that makes this acceptable, i.e. men serving on board ship, and right now in Britain we have our first lady busdriver proving that the wheels of a bus will obey the directions of a female as well as any male's. The fact that her working behind the wheel provoked strike action is but another proof of the anxiety that female emancipation produces in males.

What men fail to realize is that in imprisoning the female in her sociological role they also imprison themselves and any overlap is regarded with horror and fascination in equal parts. It is perhaps not without significance that any audience at a drag show is a predominantly heterosexual one and the present popularity of these shows is due to the fact that such performances and exhibitions allay the fears of the average heterosexual and reduce his anxieties by making him feel that although he does have doubts about himself at least he is not as mixed up as the people he is watching perform. At the same time drag shows bolster the male-supremist syndrome and in parodying women affirm that the cock is still truly the king of the barnyard. I look forward to the day when women will perform their own drag shows which will be just as entertaining and from a man's view much more edifying.

Ask the average person what they want from life and they will usually answer "happiness" and yet their behaviour patterns ensure that they will reap the very opposite. People talk of being free and yet fail to realize that liberation of the psyche will bring a natural morality that is far more demanding than any manmade laws and rules could ever be. Truth is often found in paradox for in some ways truth itself is often absurd. Evolution itself is an absurdity. To what end and for what reason do we continue and why is it that in our very souls we instinctively know that we must struggle upwards and onwards and never the reverse? Surely the only rational answer

to these questions is because it is so. But there is a big difference between wishing a thing and bringing it about. When people truly want to be free in the fullest sense of the word then the revolution will not begin in the streets or through mass action but rather will develop through the gradual evolutionary change that will reject the antilife mores of the Piscean Age and will set out to understand their own basic natures and needs. This enlightened selfinterest will overflow onto life itself and a change in the structure of society will follow as surely as night follows day.

Those people who state that it would be better to be dead than red miss the point of man's evolutionary nature completely and can only see as far as their dread of state communism. What they fail to realize is that not even something as deadly and as antilife as communism or fascism could finally remove what Dr. Frankl termed "the last of human freedoms—to choose one's attitudes in any given set of circumstances". It is in these same attitudes that man's strongest hope lies. If mankind has so far strayed from his biological roots that he is unable to retrace his footsteps and see where he took the wrong turning then the outlook for mankind as a species is grim. But if on the other hand we are not afraid to face the challenge of our own imaginations and are prepared to preserve and uphold life there is indeed hope. We must not fear that which we cannot yet see. Wilhelm Reich asked himself "What is the function of the orgasm?" and through asking just this one question he was drawn into hundreds of avenues of truly scientific research. The natural sexual impulse towards pleasure must free itself from its coincidental link with reproduction of the species and faced with the prospect of world overpopulation one knows that the time is now right to rethink the whole function of the sexual experience in man's life on earth. The truly living man or woman will not hesitate to celebrate their love through carnal pleasure and when love fills an empty heart it fills it to overflowing so that the more one gives away the more is left in the reservoir. It is a revolutionary truth and it is the same surrealist truth that was expressed in the dialogue of *L'Age D'Or*:

Young woman: You are hurting me with your elbow.

Man: Move your head closer. The pillow is cooler on this side.

Young woman: Where is your hand? Stay there. Don't move.

Man: Are you cold?

Young woman: No, I was falling down.

Man: Go to sleep.

Young woman: I have waited for you so long. What joy! What joy! To have murdered our children!"

Alternatively it is the same truth that is expressed in the anarchist slogan "Be realistic—demand the impossible".

WOMEN'S LIBERATION:

Freedom through counter-revolution

We here in Seattle have just been (are still going) through an experience I think should be instructive for anarchists everywhere. That's why I've written up the events and some of the implications as I see them.

Most of the little group of anarchists here work in other organizations, including movement organizations. Some of us, including myself, work with Seattle's "underground" press; others in the bookstore most receptive to anarchist material; some in women's liberation; some in schools; and all of us relate in one way or another to all facets of the movement, trying, wherever possible, to impress a libertarian content upon them, co-operating in such of their activities as we believe worthwhile, while resisting submergence in any of them. I suppose that's probably the way most anarchists work when they find themselves a small minority in a very factionalized overall radical movement. I don't think it's boasting to say that we have an influence in Seattle quite disproportionate to our numbers and our resources.

Most of us (not including myself—I'm 50) are young. So when the Seattle Liberation Front began organizing here with heavy emphasis on "youth culture", it was to be expected that Seattle anarchists would be interested in the Front's activities. We participated, as an independent contingent, in a number of actions dominated by the SLF. The accompanying clipping from "Sabot" and my account of the same events will tell the rest. Please accept my apologies for its length—it just wasn't possible for me to write it up more briefly without making assumptions about its readers that cannot in conscience be made in this time and place.

For Freedom!

LOUISE CROWLEY.

I Who does the organising....

The Seattle Liberation Front sponsored the Sky River Rock Festival. Three women were gang raped. One woman was stabbed attempting to escape. A fourth rape was prevented by a female "chauvin patrol".

Two days after Sky River, women from the women's liberation movement intruded upon an SLF general meeting. We denounced seven men who had fucked us over, used and destroyed people, and created a white, male supremacist movement in Seattle.

The movement in Seattle is, in many ways, a microcosm of the movement across the country. The

men we denounced are not unusually evil, brilliantly manipulative, or exceptional leaders in any sense. All over the country men have defined the Revolution. People who want to act have had to exist in the context these men set up. We feel a responsibility to sisters across the country to explain our action and the history behind it.

It began, in Seattle, with the arrival of Michael Lerner from Berkeley. He set up shop as Radical Marxist Professor at the University of Washington, and used his classes to inject politics and liberal guilt into his students. But he was not content with the notoriety his yippie-

style histrionics and flamboyant hairiness won him. Lerner used his voyeuristic Berkeley experience to give him credence, his former roommate Jerry Rubin to give him glamour and access to the media. The Berkeley Liberation Programme (with a section on the workers tacked on) was bait for the "groovy people" he wanted to use as organizers.

It worked. A collective was formed, composed mainly of Lerner's students. Then, on 19th January, a meeting was called, the programme read, and two more collectives began to pull together.

A lot of us hadn't been in the

movement before. We had looked into existing organizations and dismissed them. SDS was Weather-MAN controlled. The only alternative to SDS, Radical Organizing Committee, spent its time in sterile debates over meaningless agendas.

We thought that SLF would give us a chance to connect; that the collective structure would allow us autonomy, creativity, and self-respect.

We might have harmed ourselves less and recognized sooner the impossibility of achieving anything good in that context if the Sundance gang hadn't arrived. Chip Marshall, Bobby Oram, Jeff Dowd, and Michael Abeles, fresh from Cornell SDS, arrived ready to take over the Seattle movement. (Joe Kelly was to arrive soon after.) Sundance spotted Lerner as a man they could use when he spoke with Rubin at a rally, three days before the first SLF meeting. They contacted him the same day and began their alliance. Lerner provided the "base on campus". Sundance provided revolutionary models for hero worship, objects for media infatuation, and much of the energy and direction of SLF.

We found our energies absorbed into a whirlwind of "organizing" defined and directed by the all-seeing, all-knowing eye of the Sundance centre. There was no time for us to find and defend what was important to us. The Chicago Conspiracy trial was ending—we felt we had to respond.

RAPE!

TDA came and went as a window-smashing melee. We got our riot credentials running through the streets breaking bank windows, pushing people out of the way of the rocks falling around them, while the well-disciplined squad arrested 75 people.

The demonstration got Lerner and Sundance the publicity they wanted so much. They were made SLF by the media, and they were SLF to the people who poured into the organization afterwards.

Sundance had injected some youth culture hype into the programme and they became the centre of the

Seattle movement social scene by arranging huge parties with lots of beer, dope, wine, and girls. By procuring money for expensive, multi-coloured leaflets and programmes, they made an immediate impact on a movement so impoverished that the acquisition of mimeo paper was a hassle. Many established groups, who at first refused to incorporate themselves as SLF collectives, began to succumb to what was happening. And SLF was what was happening. People were afraid to be left out of the Revolution.

To the burgeoning and freaked-out SLF, the Sundance "command collective" made clear the only thing to do was become a professional revolutionary. So people quit their jobs, dropped out of school, grew their hair, smoked lots of dope, and hung out with the people at the Century Tavern.

The mass dropout in the spring made no sense unless we believed in a teenage revolution—people had none of the skills necessary to survive. But it did provide Lerner and Sundance with a large pool of unskilled labour to use as shitworkers, and people who depended on them completely for direction to their lives.

And the ethic Sundance lived by was not anti-materialistic. The ethic was to rip off. Bobby Oram showed us the way, spending hundreds of dollars hard-pressed collectives had earned for an SLF office, on Sundance rent and beer. "Living communism" was exemplified by Sundance, who declared everything most people have to do to survive "bourgeois", while exploiting people who had money or worked (mainly women) to support their incredibly expensive life style.

We had wanted to exceed ourselves, to transform ourselves. Instead we found ourselves striving for collective salvation by individual suicide. There was no questioning of methods, no discussion of strategy, no confrontation of leadership. In our frenzied state of mind, any confusion, any hesitation would hold back the Revolution. We had developed too much guilt and, as professional revolutionaries, too much contempt for the people we were trying to reach to actually build anything. So we tried to lose ourselves

in frenetic activity. Chip Marshall laid it down for all of us: "I don't care what the form is, as long as we keep the motion going."

A woman who used to be in Sundance described their style well: "Despite our naive intentions to build ourselves into new men and women, we found our lives falsely divided into daytime political organizing and night-time attempts to escape the unthinking robots we had become. After evangelistic meetings to organize dormies, after chaotic meetings full of shoutdowns and bullshit, after scary and whirlpool demonstrations the pattern was the same: go home and get drunk, get stoned, get fucked, but by all means forget. Don't discuss the day's activities, how you felt or what you learned. Escape it, release your tensions. Be prepared for tomorrow's repeat performance."

It was only later that we realized how desperate we had been, and how afraid and unable we were to face ourselves, what we were and what we had become: only later that we realized how afraid and unable we were to face ourselves, what we were and what we had to become: only later that we realized that SLF had brought into being a way of life designed to keep us from anger, from love, from strength, from freedom, from all but the illusions of those things: all of us bound together by weakness, hysteria, and desperate need.

But we realized these things pretty late in the game. Sundance had already abrogated to themselves the right to define our lives and the category of "revolutionary". Their white male arrogance assured them of their right to do so. And they were rich in capital: mastery of the jargon, access to money, media and movement contacts.

Still it was not until the Roach Tavern incident that we full realized what it meant to be women living and working in a male-created, male-defined movement.

The Roach Tavern was a bar popular with Seattle bikers and the Sundance crew; a "movement bar" which held SLF benefits and proudly displayed a sign reading: "This is a man's bar. Women will be tolerated only if they refrain from excessive

talking."

When a small group of independents, Radical Women were threatened and assaulted after tearing down this sign, they took their complaints about SLF's patronage of the bar to the only people who had the power to do anything about it: Sundance. The Sundance men deplored Radical Women's tactics. "After all, fascism is going to come down soon," Joe Kelly philosophized while writing off half the human race, "we can't afford to alienate the bikers."

We stayed in SLF, but we began trying very hard to develop an alternative. Talking with other women, we agreed that the problem was not merely that women did the organizing while men made the speeches. Our humanity was denied to us. Michael Lerner could talk about the availability of a woman for his bed and joke, "Well, boys, I guess it'll take gang rape for this one." (Hey, Mike heard any good nigger-lynching jokes lately?)

The "woman question" became a topic of conversation for the men, but with the carefully drawn distinction between women's liberation—liberals and manhaters—and truly revolutionary women, those who were fighting for the real (white male) revolution.

RAPED

The realization hit us that our oppression and liberation was peripheral to the things our "brothers" talked about and did. The reality of our lives was peripheral to their revolution.

And we began to realize we could not trust them to fight for anyone's liberation. They exploited women in their daily lives. Mike Abeles could fuck a 16-year-old virgin, give her the clap, not tell her, and leave her. And he couldn't understand what he had done: "I don't see how you can be oppressing someone when you're socking it to them." And Chip Marshall was only a little more sophisticated in his approach. When asked what male chauvinism was about, he responded, "It means you don't treat your girlfriend like a sexual object." Jeff Dowd could threaten a woman: "You bitch! I'd like to smash your face in. You're not oppressed. Men are oppressed.

We're the ones that are dying in Vietnam and rotting in the jails."

We were forced to use the oppression of the black people in explaining our own to movement men. But we began to see that although they responded to that analogy out of liberal guilt, they did not understand oppression. They understood power. It was their knowledge of the power they had over other people that sustained their egos and drove them to action.

By April, as anti-male leadership grumblings increased, "secondary leadership" began to emerge. Lerner and the Sundance men chose certain men as proteges and fucked selected women into leadership positions.

Then the conspiracy busts for TDA came down. And the second level leaders swaggered and jived as best they could, trying to make it in the movement. One of the macho men's proteges, Rick Alba, who was later to become the Sky River big schtick, did pages of research on employment at Boeing for an anti-war demonstration there, and presented it to the SLF. Surprise. Not a single fact about black or women workers.

Many women refused to go to the Boeing event; it was just another male-defined, male-led demonstration. Those of us who did go supported one of the women on tactical leadership when she refused to give her speech after being totally ignored by the male leadership. Afterwards the female exodus from SLF began in earnest.

But a few days later came Cambodia, Kent State, Jackson State, Augusta. Everyone reached the point of freaked-out suicidal hysteria we'd been headed for, with the SLF heavies still managing somehow to define the only proper revolutionary response: stupid, ineffective, "militant" actions in which women were ordered into the front lines and were used as cannon fodder for the Revolution.

After the strike, many more people left SLF: some disgusted, some burnt out, some resolving never to be used again. We'd come to realize exactly what Chip Marshall meant when he said, "In a revolution, people have to be manipulated."

BURNT OUT

During the summer we were forced to deal with SLF only twice: once to stop them from claiming a women's centre some of us had set up, as an SLF project; and a second time to stop Jeff Dowd from hand-picking people to represent Seattle on a "youth culture" trip to Cuba. We read disgusting articles which offered the nearly defunct SLF as the answer to a fragmented left.

But many other people had come out of their "revolutionary" trance. The feeling was growing that SLF—and most of the movement—was merely a degenerate form of what it claims to be attacking. We tried to get in touch with our feelings and the reality of our lives; to live as human beings and do our work.

Then came August and Sky River. The reaction of the women's movement to the festival was varied. We were appalled at the arrogance of sponsoring any rock festival after Altamont, and especially at SLF's extravagant claims for it. We doubted they would be able to ejaculate politics into the youth culture whose worst aspects they had hyped as revolutionary.

But after being assured by the Hydra collective (who undertook the festival's sponsorship) that "of course they were against 'male chauvinism'—this was a political event" and that there would be adequate food supplies, sanitary facilities, and protection, some women decided to go. Hoping that the festival could be, if not what the promoters claimed, at least less degrading to women, they agreed to set up a women's liberation booth and do what they could to politicize the event.

Then we heard about the gang rapes. And the reactions of the men: "Well, it depends on the circumstances, but I never saw anything wrong with a little fucking myself." Abeles was not alone in thinking the horror of Sky River for women unimportant. Most of the men brushed it off: "I don't believe there were any gang rapes..." "the women got what they deserved."

We had tried to render SLF irrelevant. But what it did was still affecting us as women. We knew

who had the power in SLF, we knew who had been the most responsible for creating an atmosphere in which rapes could occur and be condoned. That knowledge shaped our decision to denounce those men: Mike Abeles, Ric Alab, Jeff Dowd, Joe Kelly, Chip Marshall, Michael Lerner, and Bobby Oram.

We cannot be expected to tolerate the existence of a movement which is oppressive to women, merely because it is packaged and sold as revolutionary. It is not enough for us to build an alternative to it. What its leaders do still affects us as women. That is why we felt it necessary to expose the basis of their power and attack their use of it.

Both the denunciation itself, and this statement were done with the full awareness that five of the men named—Abeles, Dowd, Kelly, Lerner, and Marshall—have been indicted on federal conspiracy charges for TDA.

Although we cannot support a defence based on macho jive nor an attempt to use this trial to recruit people into a sexist movement, we will support an honest defence.

The defence of the Chicago Conspiracy was based on making movement stars into superstars. Because of their prominence in the movement it was possible to rally support on that basis. The Chicago Conspiracy were not convicted on the conspiracy law and there has been no precedent set on its use.

The Seattle defendants do not have the movement status of those men, and a defence built on that basis will undoubtedly fail. But more importantly, such a defence does not make clear the real dangers of the conspiracy law. What should have been done in Chicago and what must be done in Seattle is to build a defence based on the repressive nature of the conspiracy law, not on the personalities of these defendants.

We feel that an honest defence is necessary. If there is any hope for that at all—or for an honest Seattle movement—this action may have cleared the way for it.

Love and Power to our Sisters.

Fanshen,

Anna Louise Strong Brigade,

Many Independent Women.

FOOTNOTE:

After much consideration of our actions involving the denunciation and statement, our self-criticism led to two deletions from our original statement made at the SLF meeting.

The first is the diminution of the list by one name, that of John Leland, emcee at both the Buffalo Party and Sky River Rock Festivals. His name was first included because of the justifiable anger many women felt at the callous and inhumane way he treated them from his powerful position behind that electronic phallus, the microphone. After consideration, his name was removed from the list. We are attacking a kind of real power used by certain men to fuck over people. Leland was a symbol to us; he too has been used. Our anger is not symbolic; our battles cannot be.

Another part of the original statement which was omitted after reconsideration was the urging that these men get out of town. That would certainly be a relief to us, but what a trash to the rest of the country to wish to inflict this group on some other locale. Besides, legal requirements force most to stay.

2and who learns what?

If revolution be—whatever else it may also be—a qualitative acceleration of changes in the whole fabric of society, the process that leads to a fundamentally different set of social, economic, political relationships, with new ethical values and new life-styles appropriate to those changed relationships, then we are all now engaged in revolution. And if revolutionists be those who, being engaged in revolution, embrace it and make their engagement conscious in order that they may exert on the revolutionary process such influence as they can to enhance the possibility of its achieving the kind of society they desire, then we are all revolutionists.

Such definitions seem almost too elementary to need formulating, yet what is implied in them is the too-little-considered crux of the matter that came to issue in Wednesday's¹ meeting. Namely, whether we, as revolutionists, know what kind of society we want to emerge from this revolution. Make no mistake about this: the society that is created within the microcosm of the revolutionary movement will be the society that emerges

from the revolution if the revolution succeeds. A macho movement will create a macho society. A movement that averts the blatant manifestations of macho culture by the expedient of internal policing will create a police state in the exact degree that it does so. A movement dominated by men will create a society dominated by men; a movement dominated by women will create a society dominated by women. And a movement in which men and women, unable to function together as equals, seek a power balance in separatism will, if it succeeds, create a separatist society precariously balanced on the edge of total species genocide.

Because differential conditioning from earliest childhood bends the male personality toward self-assurance, assertiveness, and a relative willingness to venture, while deterring the development of those qualities in the female personality, even the most consciously revolutionary women find themselves at a baffling disadvantage whenever they try to exert their ideas and

their wills on a sexually-mixed grouping. Repeatedly rebuffed, shunted aside, or at best misunderstood by men whose conditioned assumption of dominance persists even as they denounce its overt manifestations, women tend to withdraw from such frustrating and unproductive encounters. Those who accept the personalities society has foisted upon them, yet retain the will to implement their desires, may become expert practitioners of the so-called "women's wiles"—the expedients, not without psychological validity, of ambitious slaves from time immemorial. Others may content themselves with roles supportive of what they have been brought to believe is a larger or momentarily more urgent issue than that of their own subjection—and when their contentment wears thin, there are always plenty of men, and deluded women, to assert the overriding urgency of some campaign or other.

Now, at long last, women are coming to realize that no issue has more importance or more urgency than that of establishing new and non-degrading relationships between the sexes—that no gain that might be jeopardized by women's insurgence is worth another day of submission or procrastination. But so long as this conviction is no more than a gut feeling, however strong, arising from a woman's consciousness of her own oppression, she lacks the capacity to defend it in debate. Aware, then, of her vulnerability to the always-ready charge of irrational emotionalism, she may seek a power base in solidarity with other women, unwittingly or in desperation thereby setting in motion the machinery of a polarization even more destructive than those with which the revolutionary movement is currently afflicted.

This process, already begun, may actually achieve short-range gains. The other night men, impressed by the women's display of the kind of power they respect, were all too ready to accept the women's action as a coup, and line up behind new leadership that appeared to promise a displacement of the old. The women's power base is probably still too new and not yet strong enough actually to effect such a coup; but it is not inconceivable, given women's ever-increasing desperation, that it might grow to truly awesome formidability. Consider that potential. Do we really want a society held in equilibrium only by the continual see-sawing of power blocs? Unless a sounder alternative to domination develops, and develops rapidly, within the movement, that is the future in store for us, if we have a future at all.

We women know that the gut-level reaction that impelled us to denounce SLF's self-assumed leaders even at the very moment they are facing conspiracy charges is valid and right. We have the obligation to explain its rightness, not just in terms of its being psychologically satisfying to us, but in terms of its validity as an act that can further the development of the non-coercive society this revolution must bring to birth. To do so as fully as it needs to be done will be to create a truly revolutionary ethic, lack of which has heretofore been the critical weakness of the entire movement, and without which all its efforts are foredoomed.

* * *

Of necessity, this paper is being written in the heat

of events, and must repeatedly refer to those events, for it is a part of them. The section above, intended only as an introduction, was written immediately in advance of a meeting called last night (September 11) at the Fanshen Collective, to discuss, with SLF women and particularly those of the SLF Defense Collective, the implications of Wednesday's action in relation to the impending conspiracy trial. It was read at that meeting, and its writer took active part in the discussion there, a discussion finally stalemated in disagreement.

Fanshen is an independent women's collective, formed some months ago by women unable to work any longer within the Seattle Liberation Front. Its activities have been concentrated in the field of women's liberation, and particularly in efforts to help women overcome the submissiveness to which they have been reared. The so-called "youth culture" of which rock festivals are a part has little appeal to Fanshen women.

The Seattle Liberation Front was formed in a whirlwind organizing campaign in the winter and spring of 1970. Michael Lerner, one-time roommate of Jerry Rubin (an eminence of which he frequently informs people) was teaching that academic year at the University of Washington, and received considerable publicity in the local press as Seattle's new radical professor. SLF was created when he was joined by a group of ex-SDS organizers newly arrived from Ithaca, N.Y. According to rumours that preceded their arrival, they were extremely competent, experienced organizers who, upon the breakup of SDS, had surveyed the revolutionary potential of a number of cities throughout the country and singled out Seattle as the place most worthy of their attention.

The first couple of weeks of their residence in Seattle was apparently spent in acquiring a small core of local followers among Seattle people cut adrift by the fractionalization of SDS, and in cementing their alliance with Lerner, who was to provide their "base on campus". Those of us with longer experience little or not at all related to the University were ignored; subsequent events seem to substantiate their apparent evaluation of such elements as irrelevant to the nature of the organizing they came here to do.

Thereafter the University District and the young hip communities of Seattle were suddenly flooded with reams of two-colour printed leaflets and folders announcing the advent of the Seattle Liberation Front. In a movement so impoverished that acquisition of mimeograph paper is a real hassle, the resources suggested by this deluge of propaganda were very impressive. Simultaneously a round of parties, with lots of free dope and free booze, swept bored high-schoolers into their orbit, and the opening of collective houses provided these young people with well-stocked refuges from parental pressures and stultifying classrooms. The rhetoric that accompanied this Tammany tactic was a superficially appealing blend of turned-on hedonism and Weatherman-type heroics, and the combination seemed to be extremely effective.

Existing centres of revolutionary activity in Seattle were dealt with somewhat differently. Each was urged to incorporate itself as a collective in the SLF. The very independent group of anarchists of which this writer is a part was approached with the argument that their doing so would enable them to impress a

libertarian content upon the entire organization. In view of the fact that the SLF's 14-point programme (virtually identical with the programme of the Berkeley Liberation Front published in the summer of 1969) had already been widely distributed, most of us saw little or no possibility of our participation's turning the SLF from a course already incompatible with our objectives. We declined the invitation. Certain other pre-existing groupings accepted; presumably each group that the SLF organizers considered relevant was approached with similarly customized arguments.

At this time the original organizers of SLF were concentrated in the Sundance Collective, popularly recognized as the "leadership" collective. It was from Sundance that the initial energy and resources flowed. Lerner's Yippie-style histrionics and flamboyant hairiness quickly rocketed him and the mushrooming organization to media prominence. Throughout the spring, SLF was what was happening in the Seattle movement. Every promising demonstrative event was preceded by enough SLF-signed propaganda to promote an image of SLF as its primary impetus and sponsorship. Sundance speakers escalated the demonstration around the Chicago conspiracy verdict into a trashing action met by the force of Seattle's Police Tactical Unit, which of course clubbed and gassed many more pacifists than street-fighters. Among the arrests that resulted from that demonstration were those which constitute the basis of Seattle's impending conspiracy trial.

By late summer, complaints were rife from SLF members (and ex-members) manipulated, ripped off, or sexually exploited by Sundance people and the elite clique that by then surrounded them and their ever-changing harems. The Sundance house itself had been broken up and its personnel dispersed to make their expertise available to other collectives. Several still nominally SLF collectives had begun to function as more or less autonomous groups, rejecting the clique's leadership. The funds with which the original organizers had made such an impact on the Seattle scene were being depleted.

The Sky River Rock Festival and Lighter-than-Air Fair has become the major annual event to the turned-on communities of the Seattle area. This year its sponsorship was assumed by the Hydra Collective of SLF. It was billed to take place in south-western Washington immediately before and after the American Legion Convention, and to be suspended during the convention in order that people from Sky River take part in planned protest actions in nearby Portland.² Advance publicity represented that its early, pre-convention days would include workshop sessions in preparation for heavy action in Portland. Typical SLF rhetoric promised to convert Sky River to a mobilization for attack on the American Legion and a celebration of certain victory—and then to establish a permanent community on the land it was purchasing for the festival.

As Sky River turned out, it was just another rock festival, with three gang-rapes, one death, and a lot of people sick from diarrhoea and Mexican Reds. It ran right through the virtually undisturbed American Legion Convention. There was trouble with the amps, trouble with the food distribution, trouble with the water supply, trouble with the sanikans. There was rain and mud, for which Hydra Collective cannot be

held responsible.

Last Wednesday, September 9, a meeting was called at the Free Store operated by SLF's Tupamaros Collective; among its purposes was evaluation of SLF's handling of Sky River. Fanshen women, women from the Anna Louise Strong Brigade (another autonomous revolutionary women's group) and independent women, incensed at hearing of the gang-rapes, gathered before that meeting and agreed that the glamorization of "youth/drug culture" prevalent in SLF, and exemplified in its most macho aspects by the personal lives of its media-recognized spokesmen, was to a large degree responsible for the atmosphere of commoditization of women in which rape not only could, but inevitably would, occur. The reaction of most men told individually about the rapes was that Hydra Collective, or the women themselves, were remiss in their responsibility adequately to patrol the festival. To the women, this was begging the question; at issue was the promotion, by SLF's policy-setting clique, of the orgiastic rock-festival culture as a prototype of revolutionary society. The women entered the Tupamaros meeting in force and announced their intention to discredit that clique, nation-wide; nothing less than SLF's endorsement of that denunciation could they accept as earnest of its professed good intentions. Of the men they named, two attempted a blustering denial; others were either not there or diligently making themselves inconspicuous. No members of Hydra Collective appeared to be present, presumably because they were aware, even without foreknowledge of the women's intentions, that they would have been criticized there for several aspects of their handling of the Sky River/Portland promotion.

A spokesman for Zapata Collective (at odds for some time with SLF's leading clique but no more congenial to the women who have passed through it than other collectives of SLF) announced its support of the women's action and broke up the meeting with an invitation to all who wished to implement their demands to adjourn to the Zapata house. There, men of Zapata and others expressed their belief that tighter organizational forms and stricter discipline were the needed remedial measures.

By the following day Fanshen had received a letter of support signed by several SLF collectives. It is probably safe to assume that in all cases, support was proffered on a similarly unsound basis.

SLF's Defense Collective, however, was concerned that public denunciation of the indicted persons would hamper efforts to raise funds for their legal defence. This problem had been seriously considered by the women who engaged in Wednesday's³ action. Having already explained their position to the one woman under indictment, they called a meeting for Friday night,⁴ at Fanshen, to discuss it with others still in SLF. It must be understood that these women constitute a coalition united only on the overriding urgency of an immediate, public denunciation of the men they consider most responsible for promoting the macho ethic in SLF; otherwise, there are serious political disagreements among them. SLF women offered little and unconvincing defence of the men in question; most agreed with the coalition's criticism, while insisting adamantly that they delay its implementation till after the trial. The coalition intends to compose its denun-

ciation Monday evening, though the people who will be composing it are by no means united in the reasons they advance for its urgency. There, this weekend, the matter uneasily rests.⁵

* * *

Probably all of the women who participated in Wednesday's¹ action and the deliberations that preceded and followed it are aware that they sliced into a multi-layered malignancy that evening. Recognizing that stripping from the individual men their capacity to project themselves, anywhere, as movement leaders is no more than the topmost layer, they feel it must be cut through, at whatever pain, now while the scalpel is in the wound. Their experience as women has taught them that should they defer to political expediency at this level, they will have relinquished once again the opportunity to penetrate the cancer to its depths. In fact, they will have reneged on their right to. To bog down in debate on this issue, once this position is understood, is to waste critical time on superficialities.

* * *

There is as yet no effectively wide cognizance, among women or among men, that seeking to deal with sexism by altering the movement's organizational forms is scarcely more profound. Sexism is not, in essence, a structural entity; it is a philosophical one. Its eradication cannot be accomplished even within the microcosm of an organization without exposing therein the dichotomy of authority and submission that underlies it and, regulating all social behaviour, constitutes the soil in which it grows.

There are sound reasons for this. Sex is the one quality natural, readily recognizable, perceptible at birth (that is, at the moment social conditioning may begin) and of life-long permanence whereby all the individuals of a society and of the entire species may initially be divided, to be subjected to differential rearing and social experience. That differential—and not the transitory power of adults over children which diminishes as they grow and which they may exercise in their turn over the following generation—is the archetype of social authority, from which all oppressive relationships derive. Within these derivative divisions—those of class, caste, etc.—the original dichotomy into a sex reared to assume authority and one reared to submit to it everywhere obtains, accustoming all individuals alike to a conception of social authority as flowing inevitably from nature itself. It follows from this conception that while the persons or groups in authority may, in a redistribution of power, be deposed and supplanted by others (even by those they have formerly oppressed), the role of power as the ultimate regulator of social relationships is seen as immutable.

The present situation could be resolved at that level. Presumably—unless one accepts the misleadingly incomplete ethnologizing upon which Marxian prehistory is based—our most distant male ancestors assumed dominance by virtue of those physical characteristics—to wit, generally greater size and strength, and more importantly, freedom from pregnancy, child-bearing, and nursing—advantageous to them under conditions of

primitive, probably still weaponless, society. Development of technology has since undermined the relevance of those factors. Conceivably, a power shift could now place women in a position of equity. This is the level to which the Women's Liberation Movement is now willing to probe.

Remembering that the society of the future will be the society that grows as that of the present is dying, consider the tensions of a world in which the power principle retains credence and sexual equity is maintained by parity of power. Certainly—for that too is inherent in social dynamics—ideology would arise to moderate its fundamental insecurity. But cancer at the root would remain, threatening to metastasize if ever changing conditions should disturb its tenuous equilibrium. Rigid social structures would be adduced to buttress it; scientists of both sexes would propose biochemical means to stabilize it; and because these things would be needed, they would prevail. It would be a very brave new world indeed!

But if the principle of social authority, however "naturally" it may have arisen in that distant past when our primate ancestors crouched helpless before brute force, be recognized as no more immutable in our natures than other bestial traits we have outgrown in our long evolution, then new vistas of freedom excite our imaginations, challenging to the utmost our intelligences and our wills. When that happens, we transcend being women or being men, and glimpse what it might be to be human.

We ourselves, men scarcely less than women, were consigned to half-humanity at birth, to expand our potential as we could in a milieu adverse to the development of traits not considered appropriate to our sexes. Do we not seek a society that imposes no such trammels—nor any others—upon the full humanization of our children?

It is in periods of epochal revolution—those overwhelming transformations of society in all its parts, effecting the most fundamental changes in the whole fabric of human activity and relationships—that human nature itself is transformed. Restraints that moulded the socially-pliable human personality are loosened, and latent potentialities break forth. That revolution of epochal magnitude best documented in our history is that which comprises the social phenomena of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Industrial Revolution. Before it resolved itself in bourgeois society, the most searching philosophical visions and the most extravagant social experimentation emerged from its flux (see, for example, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, by Norman Cohn); thereafter, the new conditions fastened their own, different, limitations on personality development, repressing those traits inimical to capitalism's competitive ethos. Yet among the potentialities that, briefly and with tantalizing indistinctness, can be discerned in surveying this aspect of epochal revolution is an urge toward, and a capacity for, egalitarian sexual and social relationships that transcend need for moderation by the power principle. It is this potentiality that the epochal revolution in which we are now engaged can bring to fruition. If it does not, ecological disaster, nuclear catastrophe, or induced genetic manipulation will put an end to the opportunity.

To encourage this potentiality, therefore, must be the prime purpose of our revolutionary ethic.

* * *

Aplomb of the women of Fanshen and of the Anna Louise Strong Brigade was shaken by the resistance they met from other women at Friday's meeting.⁴ Only one retreated from the coalition's position, but all feel vulnerable to the accusation that issuance of their public denunciation will harm the defence. The fact is, of course, that the shoddiness of SLF's organizing methods had created no sound base for their defence in any case. The insurgent women and their SLF accusers both know this. They know too that if the defendants lose in court for whatever reasons, the insurgent women will be blamed and too probably (being yet only partially free of their conditioning as the blameworthy half of humanity since Eve) will shoulder the guilt. Monday's⁵ meeting at Fanshen, called to compose the denunciatory statement, was largely spent in mutual restoration of confidence. General agreement on content, and an outline, did emerge, and a draft is now being written. The women want to be very careful in phrasing the statement they prepare for publication.

* * *

That the present revolution is indeed epochal in scope was indicated, by its juxtaposition with others of like magnitude, in an article which this writer co-authored (*Beyond Automation*, Monthly Review, November, 1964). Though events continue to threaten its curtailment, the potential remains; and the thoroughgoing revolutionist must be oriented to the fullness of its possibilities so far as they can be envisioned. It is from this approach that one must analyze such phenomena as today's efflorescence of immoderately varied, interacting sub-cultural complexes—for example, the interweaving of violently coercive and passively libertarian elements in the drug-dominated "youth culture" SLF's leading clique has espoused.

The outlaw motorcycle gangs—Hell's Angels is of course the type specimen—that aroused media interest in the 1950's were then composed almost entirely of recent veterans of the Truman administration's "police action" in Korea. Their ethic was that with which the military had indoctrinated them, reinforced by arrogance lent them as overseers of a despised non-white population of alien culture and infused with a contemptuous acceptance of life-expendability, the intensity of which perhaps derived from the peculiarly massive, human-wave character of Korean combat. They were the killers General Hershey had demanded, unfit for the grey-flannel America to which they had returned. Their ethos—racist, anti-intellectual, scornful of all qualities but ruthless force, and utterly self-serving of immediate ends—became the mark of the "outlaw" aberration of a pre-existing motorcycle-oriented society already highly machismic. Its egoism was tempered only by that degree of in-group solidarity needful for the gangs' depredations and for mutual support in the prevailing climate of conformism (itself largely a product of that related phenomenon of the '50's, (Joe McCarthyism).

Capitalism's overtures to a newly susceptible youth market simultaneously created the media image of the Pepsi generation. With young workers unnecessary to sophisticated production complexes, social adolescence—the period between puberty and initiation into the social and economic institutions of adulthood—had been unnaturally prolonged; and with more family incomes high enough to provide relatively ample allowances, this limbo was ripe for exploitation. The commodities that sold most successfully were those that catered to its most pressing need: entertainment to distract adolescents from the banality of their functionless lives. Deprived of socially meaningful challenge to their maturing capacities—even intellectual excitement had been pabulumed out of their schoolwork—teenagers (boys; the girls were better conditioned for banality) sought thrills by playing chicken with souped-up cars. They could be sold phonograph records, portable radios, Coca-cola, drive-in movies; and their consumption was stimulated by a spate of vicarious sensation aimed at them from new television screens. Popularized by the media that pandered to their ennui, the outlaws' predatory mores began to pervade the fantasies and the occasional outbursts that meliorated the essential emptiness of their teen years. This process continued through the '60's, while the attention of more purposeful young people, whose long-range life-plans saved them from the adolescence trap by giving consequence to continued schooling, focused on the civil rights movement and the student upheavals that followed it.

The white and black, male and female youth who challenged the legal and extra-legal institutions of Jim Crow in the early '60's entered that struggle with deeply humanistic values. The rejection of violence that characterized it at the beginning was not merely a tactical stance, but an ethical imperative. As they have in the peace movement, adherents of the Society of Friends have always involved themselves in endeavours to promote racial equity and in some degree impressed their ethic of moral suasion upon other white opponents of racism. When, during a post-McCarthy relaxation of Supreme Court conservatism, this Quaker-derived commitment to non-violence was met by a similar black commitment which flowed, through Martin Luther King, both from elements of a reconstructed Early Christianity and from Gandhian *Satyagraha*, that juncture touched off the integrated Civil Rights Movement and infused it with sudden vitality.

But the exigencies of the Southern experience shoved principles aside; as a television play of the period stated with such succinctness this writer has not yet forgotten the words, "There is Right, and there is Wrong; and there is Expediency, by which we are forced to operate". The moral discipline enjoined by *Satyagraha* was incompatible with life-styles prevalent among blacks far more estranged from the American Dream than were the congregations of King and his colleagues. To people whose conditions of life are so insecure their every plan is more likely than not to go awry, foresight is useless; to people so harried by adversity their brief chances at pleasure must be snatched catch-as-catch-can or lost forever, self-denial is a perversion. For them to exercise restraint has more often contravened their interests than served them; so the person

who would urge such qualities upon them, for the sake of some future good in which they can have no confidence, risks being adjudged an agent of their oppressors. When the Civil Rights Movement grew to encompass those whose mores were formed more by the realities of black experience than by the exhortations of their preachers, the contradiction literally tore it apart.

Expediency's victory was complete when while civil rights workers accepted their expulsion from SNCC. When leading black men in the movement recoiled from the risk of cultural submergence inherent in integration, it was among other things their privilege as men that they were defending—the privilege to lord it over “their” women more nakedly than white-liberal society condoned. Guilt-ridden white integrationists had already relinquished their right to demur from argument put forth by blacks, and they failed to reclaim it even at this indignity, thereby reinforcing the subordination of women in the radical movement. Liberals and radicals refuse even yet to face up to the culpability of thus sacrificing black and white women to a play for black-male power parallel to the white-male power of Babylon.

After all, Right is no less right for being inexpedient under any given set of conditions. That the mores of a society may aid survival and enhance faring in that society does not of itself make them worthy of acceptance by people seeking social change. (For an obvious example: inurement to drudgery and scorn for the “weakness” or “laziness” of those of his station who resist it may make a labourer's condition more tolerable, but those scissorbill values will never serve to liberate him, nor to fit him for a society that does not need nor want his unthinking physical toil.) Therefore if we refrain, even if out of respect and sympathy, from judging elements of a people's folkways according to whether they are conducive or inimical to the quality of life we hope to help bring about through our involvement in the revolutionary process, we jettison the compass by which we must steer. What the quondam advocates of non-violence renounced in succumbing to the principle of power—both those, mostly black, who jumped on the new bandwagon and those, mostly white, who withdrew in stricken self-effacement—was not integration alone, but Integrity.

* * *

The meeting (originally scheduled for last night (Wednesday⁶) and postponed until tonight⁷), at which a draft statement was to be brought before the women's coalition, has now been postponed again. Presumably its writer feels obliged to relate most scrupulously the circumstances that compel them to issue it.

Meanwhile, men of SLF have themselves met to deal with the crisis the women's insurgence precipitated. Rumours have reached this writer that at least one man of Hydra Collective denies that any rapes took place at the festival, and has stated that if they did, the victims “got what was coming to them”. This rumour may of course be partially or entirely false, but its credibility to women is unquestionable. Because a common hip seduction ploy assumes that a really “liberated” woman would be at all times eager to copulate with any man, women believe that assumption

to be widely held among men. Given that all women who attend rock festivals either are liberated or purport to be, it follows from the assumption that a woman who there refuses intercourse is perversely unco-operative and (given also the power principle!) deserves to be raped as punishment for her obstinacy.

The ability to engage unashamedly in desired sexual behaviour, experiencing therefrom whatever pleasure her individual sexuality, without irrational repression, inclines her to, is certainly one criterion of a woman's inner liberation. Women feel baffled by the apparent need to assert something so obvious to them as the fact that this does not preclude the occurrence of healthy, individually varying disinclinations to sexual activity, and that the immunity from psychological coercion that enables a woman to respect her disinclinations is also a criterion, no less categorical.

* * *

Out of the South too came the music that welded an agglomeration of estranged teenagers into a (however single-faceted) “teen culture”. In the mid’50’s Elvis Presley’s novel adaptation of black rhythm-and-blues, together with the then-unwonted sensuality of his style, sounded a rallying-cry for the nation’s adolescents. Almost overnight, enthusiasm for rock’n’roll defined the specifically teen-age consumer market. Thereafter its consciousness of itself as a distinct social entity was moulded chiefly by the permutations of the music to which youth, and youth alone, preferred to listen. Because their elders flatly abhorred the new pop music, adolescents’ devotion to it sharpened the always-existing complex of misunderstandings and antagonisms between the generations. In each city one or more broadcasting stations switched their programming schemes to appeal exclusively to teenage listeners. Wooing this audience, song-writers fed into the adolescents’ new transistor radios a sympathetic stream of laments for the indignities and constraints they suffered under the persecution of unfeeling parents, while songs like “Leader of the Pack” and “Black Leather Jacket with an Eagle on the Back” reflected and promoted an increasing identification with elements more dramatically outside the pale of dominant society. When the exuberant, defiant vitality of the Beatles burst upon their ears in the early ’60’s, its impact kindled this smouldering resentment to rebellious pitch.

The musicians, of course, were far ahead of their listeners. Even while the jazz from which rock’n’roll and its successors ultimately derived was being created by victimized blacks in the Deep South, its creators mitigated the wretchedness of their lives by taking narcotics as well as by singing the blues. The first white musicians (Biederbecke, Mezzrow, et al) who followed their interest in jazz forms into the social milieu that gave rise to them found that the path led to drug usage just as surely and soon as it led to the random violence and the compensatory sexuality of Jim Crow folkways. Use of illegal narcotics had long been commonplace in the relatively unsegregated world of popular entertainment. It was so too in bohemia and certain other subcultural and ethnic communities, but in its almost total confinement to such marginal elements of society it impinged little on the conscious-

ness of Mr. and Mrs. Average W. American. Certainly the expurgated "jazz" popular in their youth never presupposed an **audience** under the influence of drugs, though the dixieland of Prohibition honky-tonks had foreshadowed as much.

The drugs to which emburdened people most compulsively turn are those which diminish perception of their pain, those which stimulate energy for performance of their onerous tasks, and those which release psychological tensions strung taut by suppression of their desires. A modicum of such drugs is usually permitted them by the laws that govern their society, as a deterrent to potentially rebellious discontent and as an aid to productivity; frequently the internal mores of their own sub-cultures allow for more potent ones, or add drugs of a type appreciated for their capacity to provide hallucinatory respite from the stultifying drabness of their lives. Because drugs of this fourth category are fraught with the disturbing potential of alienating their users from objective and social realities, the upholders of social order approve their use only by those—such as mystics—whose alienation provides a stabilizing leaven of devoutly-held misconceptions. With the moderate use of alcohol and mild depressants and stimulants generally accepted (stronger ones being legitimately obtainable on certified occasions of unusual need) and all other drug-taking ostracized to under-worlds of minimal social relevance, the United States appeared to have this situation well in hand at the onset of its current round of military aggressions.

Early opposition to these aggressions had its roots in the Ban-the-Bomb movement and was composed of several strains: (1) moral condemnation of all violence whether institutionalized or personal (e.g., the Friends); (2) pacifism, i.e., philosophical opposition to organized warfare; (3) anti-imperialism—which strain includes but is not limited to the socialists, and can be subdivided into those who, in accordance with their several persuasions, provisionally advocated more or less non-violent methods and those whose strategy did not so limit them; and (4) simple fear that any military adventure in the post-atomic era threatens general annihilation. The tone of the movement was legalistic and its personnel was overwhelmingly middle-aged. Only when disintegration of the civil rights struggle cast its whites adrift did a significant number of younger people join the peace movement. Most were earnest college students who initially respected its established pattern, but among them were traumatized veterans of that fateful summer in the South, their postulates shattered by cultural shock, the ferment of their ideas and emotions irreconcilable with the movement's unimaginative reliance on tactics demonstrably powerless to cope with the Johnson administration's intransigence.

Other such veterans went back to their universities, their widened sense of possibilities tortured by poignant awareness of the mutilations there inflicted in the process of curbing each human student's potential to one of the vapid norms prescribed by custom and catalogue. Disillusioned with both the dominant society and the political left that had traditionally given guidance to those in rebellion against it, many soon dropped out into campus-fringe communities of beatniks whose articulated values appreciated individuality, pursuit of happiness, and creativity unfettered by formal disci-

plines—but whose life-style, ghettoized as they were, was prone to disorientation and opportunism.

Thus by diverse routes and with unlike motives, critical proportions of widely disparate strata of America's youth came almost simultaneously to receptiveness for the potent hallucinogen that had recently escaped its laboratories.

* * *

A draft of the denunciatory statement has at last (September 23, two weeks after the women's irruption into the Tupamaros meeting) been submitted to the women of the coalition. It is a composite account of experiences that revealed SLF's prevailing ethos and convinced them that Sundance was primarily responsible for its propagation. Several of the women suggested alterations in the text, and the rewritten draft is being scrutinized by an attorney to evaluate its probable effect on the trial and to detect any inadvertent libel.

The women's defensiveness reflects no weakening of their resolution. Rather, it is a measure of the damage society routinely inflicts on women's egos; even their most determined undertakings are haunted by self-doubt and anxiety. But the women of Fanshen and of the Anna Louise Strong Brigade are not insensible of the social processes by which their sense of self-worth has been mutilated. Had their group association functioned effectively to repair the damage, they should have been able to act with more dispatch in a situation where hesitating impeaches their contention of urgency.

* * *

Throughout the '50's, in homogeneous suburbs and in the "high-achievement" (read high-expectation) tracks of city schools, Spock-reared middle-class youngsters had moved uneventfully toward adolescence, their parents never doubting that permissiveness so idyllic (in retrospect of the frustrations of a less-enlightened parental despotism had imposed on their own childhood) would ease the stresses of their growing up. But environment carefully artifacted to minimize their exposure to harrowing experiences (and to mitigate the emotional impact of those that could not be avoided) had accustomed them to shallowness of mind and feeling; satisfaction, on demand, of all satiable desires (with contrivance of distractions from those not readily gratifiable) had failed to prepare them to cope with hindrance. They reached their teens with a vulnerably low threshold of frustration-tolerance, gulls for the be-flowered new prophets of Instant Utopia. Thus from the start of its evangelical phase, the hip scene swept up these once-sheltered adolescents in droves, and its media image quickly took on the configurations of their psychology: an unaggressive libertarianism, a rose-tinted faith, a diffuse and passive goodwill. As the flower children sustained their new lifestyle by dealing drugs, the scene snowballed. Aside from its illegality, drug traffic is really a rather typical mercantile enterprise, and as such it tends to corrupt those who live by it as well as to attract those already unscrupulous enough to turn another's need to their own profit. The more young people turned on to drugs, the more took to drug-dealing; and the more took to drug-dealing, the greater became the traffic's drive to expand its market. The flower children soon ceased

to be the dominant component in the hip scene, if indeed they ever had been.

The key facts to be kept in mind here are (1) widely differing segments of youth came together in the common illegality of their involvement with drugs, each bringing into the hip scene elements of its own origins, often in contradiction to those of other segments; and (2) for all the visibility of a home handicrafts industry, drug traffic, supplemented by panhandling and ripping off, is the real economic base of the entire dropout hip culture.

At first the college-oriented New Left was divided in its attitude toward drugs. Opposition to prohibitive laws does not necessarily involve approval of what they prohibit, and many New Left activists were wary of drug use, as diverting potentially revolutionary discontent to personal escape-trips, and as exposing movement people and centres to needless police attention. But as the hip scene burgeoned, it brought into enlightening conflict with law and traditional morality more and more young people who, however disgruntled with their lot in capitalist society, had not before oppugned that society's fundamental values. The New Left's initial caution was dispelled as hippies swelled the ranks of peace demonstrations and spurned recruitment into the military/industrial labour force. By varying degrees, most factions of the young left came to welcome the entire hip scene, and in defending its inchoate ethos against the establishment, came to adopt it in all its jumbled confusion.

But not all the forces that, during the course of revolution, serve to undermine the foundations of old society can help to build the new world we desire. Amid the inconsistencies of the youth/drug culture is much that is at least as pernicious to an embryonic free society as it is to the moribund capitalism that called it forth. We revolutionists do not need to kill the constitutional capitalism we have known, for it is already dying. Nixon and Agnew cannot save it; they can only replace it with a more total despotism. The deceptive mysticisms, the suicidal self-abusiveness, the fear-generating predacity, and the coercive machismo that thread through the youth/drug scene are not revolutionary; they are simply destructive. Useless as it may be to deplore them (they are, after all, inevitable manifestations of old society's decadence), it is far worse than useless to extol and foster them, for while the institutions through which a non-coercive society can function are yet unformed, our alternative is more vulnerable than Nixon's to their impartial destructiveness.

* * *

That long-awaited statement has finally been published in *Sabot*, Seattle's new "underground" weekly, and sent to other publications around the country.⁸ William Kunstler, attorney for the Chicago conspiracy defendants, spoke on the University of Washington campus on behalf of the people indicted here on similar charges, and though he had been informed of the women's position and had read their statement, his only (and slightly veiled) comment on the whole thing was to condemn people who would raise disruptive issues at a time when unity is so imperative. Now⁹ (almost a month after the Tupamaros meeting) it appears that his shoulder-shrugging attitude is that with

which SLF intends to dismiss the criticism. Whether they will be allowed to get away with it probably depends on how much of an airing the statement receives nationally.

* * *

The hippies' most typical conception of women was inherited from their beatnik predecessors. In their self-conscious search for the individual identities so obscured by conventional society's massification and reification of people, they revived emphasis upon the mystic dichotomy between an allegedly active male principle and an allegedly passive female principle: man **does**; woman **is**. This theme underlies their definition of "sexual freedom" whereby hip men can congratulate themselves for conferring freedom upon women by the magnanimous act of liberating their vaginas. It underlies too the role-images of "chick" and "old lady", both of which are seen only as adjuncts to their male partners, and of the "earth mother" blissfully content like a Venus of Willendorf through total immersion in her biological functions. The liberatory potential in the hippies' appreciative rediscovery of sensuous pleasure was thereby aborted at its very conception.

From several sources there developed within the hip movement a veritable cult of Supercrack/Supercunt idolatry for which this yang/yin dualism provided a philosophic rationale. As politically-oriented youth acquired hip values, and as young people oriented toward hip values gained in political awareness, they tended to view even women's demands for equity through the yang side of its two-toned lens. Thus Weatherman, its whole ideology based on the value-system of the two-fisted masculine mystique, could righteously grant equality in organizational functioning to its butch-tough female members; thus the Black Panthers could learn to respect the inviolability of their Sisters' Pad when Kathleen Cleaver proved herself as good a man as Eldridge by facing him down with a gun. And thus Zapata Collective of SLF could "Right on!" the women whose irruption into that Wednesday meeting had all the earmarks of a power play; men dig power plays.

But women seldom behave in that manner by choice; generally, they resort to it only because it appears to be the only tactic by which they can ever elicit serious consideration from men in groups. (When, through regular organizational channels, a group of SDS women brought a resolution to the floor of its national convention, male delegates groaned, hooted, and threw paper airplanes to act out their contempt for anything the women might have to propose. All women active in mixed organizations have time and again had the experience of watching the men's attention turn off as soon as the chairman recognized a woman's upraised hand.) And, of course, when desperation drives women to play the men's power games, they're seldom very good at it—they haven't had much practice, and besides, they approach it with resentment instead of zest. To regulate affairs among people of goodwill, as we expect our fellow-members of voluntary mutual-concern organizations to be, power should not be needed, because with camaraderie, reason would suffice.

But camaraderie is the fruit of shared experience, hard come by where differential rearing and division

of labour create such a gulf in life-experience and understanding as has traditionally existed between the sexes. It is here that the new life-styles can make a very positive contribution. The deepest social division between men and women, determining their differential conditioning and colouring all their attitudes, has traditionally been in the allotment of responsibilities for the performance of necessary work. Under industrial capitalism this usually involves even the physical separation of work-places (e.g., man in factory or shop; woman in home or office) and results in each sex knowing little of the activities, skills, problems, etc., that form much of the fabric of the other's lives. The youth culture's rejection of wage-labour offers an opportunity to eliminate that differential by sharing, rather than dividing, the remaining work. Given the tradition of male dominance and female submissiveness, however, the tendency of inertia is simply to leave all, or nearly all, the remaining socially necessary labour to women. This is already manifesting itself in hip culture as its brittle sexual relations produce more and more small children for whose welfare no man accepts responsibility. When ADC or other income provides survival-level funding, relieving the father of his traditional and unlamented economic liability, the labour of caring for children conceived by two parents should not be allowed to fall entirely to their mother's lot. Men consciously working toward more equitable social relationships should accept a fair share in caring for the children around them, knowing they have begotten others in whose rearing they do not participate. And women should encourage this behaviour by appreciating in men the nurturing qualities they often repress in their effort to conform to a supposedly appealing ideal of masculinity in which tenderness has but negative value.

In fact, the sex gap that cuts us off from camaraderie is needlessly widened by role-playing on both sides. The knowledge that masculinity or femininity is for each of us a biological fact, determined by the mating of our parents' chromosomes at the moment of conception, should dispel any need to prove our sex to ourselves or to anyone else. The quality of freedom this revolution demands cannot flourish in an atmosphere of distrust, so we revolutionists must be straightforwardly **ourselves**, our individual characters open and undisguised. The spurious value-system that demands artifice as a condition of sexual attractiveness is part of a crucial buttress of the society we seek to overthrow.

For the cement that has pervaded the whole of capitalist society, holding people bound to it despite all its evils, is fear—the distrust of themselves and their fellow-humans that impels people to invoke authority and tolerate its agents' dominion over their lives. To lessen that fear is not only to reduce people's dependence on authority and hence their willingness to support it, but is also to further the mutual confidence requisite to arranging their affairs without its intervention—and is therefore a revolutionary objective. But because in the presence of danger fear serves a protective function, we cannot safely plead its abandonment in social affairs without helping—at least by our own trustworthiness!—to diminish the real perils that now give it a degree of validity. It follows that the selfishness so rampant in youth/drug culture (as manifested, for example, in rapes, rip-offs, burns, and the casual

dissemination of crabs, clap, and strychnine) runs counter to the most profound need of our revolution.

Much of it derives from the parasitical nature of the youth culture's alternatives to wage-slavery. As young radicals fall into the patterns of drug traffic and ripping off, they tend to excuse themselves with the thought that such activities add to the establishment's discomfort. It is true that they do; but unfortunately it is also true that in practice the lines blur, and one ends by burning and/or ripping off not where it most inconveniences the establishment (which has the means to guard itself well) but simply where it is easiest—for example, among one's fellow-freaks at a rock festival, or in a commune still trustful enough to grant strangers a few nights' lodging (the next time, it may not be). Conscious revolutionists should recognize youth culture's pressing need for an economic base that fosters development of the humane qualities conducive to comradeship and trust, not simply because without them people will opt for the protection of an oppressive authority, but also because only with them will the non-coercive society we hope for be able to function in peace and equity. Recognizing it, they should know that effort directed to pioneering alternative means of subsistence, while less dramatic than blowing up police stations (which will get blown up anyway) is more cogently a revolutionary effort, worthy of all the self-discipline demanded to sustain it.

(This is not to say that nihilism has no place in the revolution. It will be with us in any case, whether out of ideology or out of sheer frustration—or out of frustration rationalized by ideology. But no rhetoric can annul the fact that insofar as an attentat adds to popular fears, it subverts the revolution's humanistic goal of freeing people from their accustomed timidity. Responsible revolutionists will give this point due consideration in weighing the advisability of any destructive or violent act.)

Moreover, unless the institutions through which post-revolutionary society will carry out its socially needful functions are to be created by fiat of a usurping authority, they must evolve from relationships developed **by the revolution**—those relationships through which revolutionists provide for their own needs and desires, and through which they attempt to cope with the social inconveniences attendant on disruption of long-established procedures. To find non-exploitative, non-coercive, and infinitely expandable means to do the things that must be done within the revolutionary movement now is the only way to lay a sound basis for the emergence of social/economic institutions that will be capable of serving people's wants without limiting their freedom. So we must develop means of supporting our lives and our manifold activities, means of caring for and educating our children, means of exchanging goods and information, as well as means of determining the revolution's priorities and organizing our efforts to meet them—all as much as possible outside the corruptive practices of capitalism, but utilizing and advancing the technological thrust that will free post-revolutionary society from scarcity and toil. And always pushing at the limits of that possibility, in order that our ways of doing things may become independent of authoritarian institutions and capable of replacing them.

do not include the desultory adventurism encouraged here last spring and summer by the Seattle Liberation Front. In fact (and not surprisingly, after all) they are much the same as those which bourgeois society so hypocritically professes to value: honesty; responsibility; bonhomie; profundity of thought and feeling; concern for life, with appreciation of the individuality of one's

fellow-beings; and the willingness to expend one's effort as needed, whether concentrated or sustained, in the pursuit of zealously desired ideals.

The difference is that our goals are unattainable without them. **To make the revolution, we must remake ourselves.**

Footnotes

¹Wednesday, the day of the meeting at Tupamaros' Free Store, was September 9th. (This first section was written September 10th, 1970.)

²The American Legion Convention in Portland, Oregon, took place August 28th to September 3rd, 1970.

³Wednesday, September 9th.

⁴Friday, September 11th.

⁵The weekend of September 12th-13th; the Monday would be that immediately following, September 14th.

⁶September 16th.

⁷September 17th.

⁸Publication in *Sabot* was in the October 1st issue, on sale on the 1st or 2nd, or even possibly on September 30th. This was only the third issue of the paper, and the schedule wasn't very exact at that time. Kunstler's speech on the University of Washington campus was in the evening of October 3rd.

⁹This was probably October 5th or 6th. I don't remember exactly when I wrote it, because I'd stopped for a week or more in the middle. I didn't go to the Kunstler thing myself, and picked up the news of it a day or two later.

He is playing masculine. She is playing feminine.

He is playing masculine *because* she is playing feminine. She is playing feminine *because* he is playing masculine.

He is playing the kind of man that she thinks the kind of woman she is playing ought to admire. She is playing the kind of woman that he thinks the kind of man he is playing ought to desire.

If he were not playing masculine, he might well be more feminine than she is—except when she is playing very feminine. If she were not playing feminine, she might well be more masculine than he is—except when he is playing very masculine.

So he plays harder. And she plays . . . softer.

He wants to make sure that she could never be more masculine than he. She wants to make sure that he could never be more feminine than she. He therefore seeks to destroy the femininity in himself. She therefore seeks to destroy the masculinity in herself.

She is supposed to admire him for the masculinity in him that she fears in herself. He is supposed to desire her for the femininity in her that he despises in himself.

He desires her for her femininity which is *his* femininity, but which he can never lay claim to. She admires him for his masculinity which is *her* masculinity, but which she can never lay claim to. Since he may only love his own femininity in her, he envies her her femininity. Since she may only love her own masculinity in him, she envies him his masculinity.

The envy poisons their love.

He, coveting her unattainable femininity, decides to punish her. She, coveting his unattainable masculinity,

decides to punish him. He denigrates her femininity—which he is supposed to desire and which he really envies—and becomes more aggressively masculine. She feigns disgust at his masculinity—which she is supposed to admire and which she really envies—and becomes more fastidiously feminine. He is becoming less and less what he wants to be. She is becoming less and less what she wants to be. But now he is more manly than ever, and she is more womanly than ever.

Her femininity, growing more dependently supine, becomes contemptible. His masculinity, growing more oppressively domineering, becomes intolerable. At last she loathes what she has helped his masculinity to become. At last he loathes what he has helped her femininity to become.

So far it has all been very symmetrical. But we have left one thing out.

The world belongs to what his masculinity has become.

The reward for what his masculinity has become is power. The reward for what her femininity has become is only the security which his power can bestow upon her. If he were to yield to what her femininity has become, he would be yielding to contemptible incompetence. If she were to acquire what his masculinity has become, she would participate in intolerable coerciveness.

She is stifling under the triviality of her femininity. The world is groaning beneath the terrors of his masculinity.

He is playing masculine. She is playing feminine.

How do we call off the game?

—BETTY ROSZAK AND THEODORE ROSZAK: Foreword to *Masculine/Feminine: Readings in Sexual Mythology and the Liberation of Women*. (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1970, \$2.45.)

REVIEW

Eros and revolution

AUTHORITARIAN CONDITIONING, SEXUAL REPRESSION AND THE IRRATIONAL IN POLITICS by M.G. (Solidarity Pamphlet No. 33, 2/-, 46 pp.).

SEXUAL FEAR AND REPRESSION, the association of sex with dirt; sex as commodity and spectacle, an object for alienated voyeurs; the authoritarian basis and consequences of repression; the intimate connexion between sexual and political liberation—these are analysed and discussed in *Solidarity's* recent pamphlet.

Solidarity continue in their excellent tradition. Once more they have brought out a publication that discusses an issue of great interest and importance for libertarians, radicals and revolutionaries. The discussion is detailed, intelligent, independent and critical of comrades without degenerating into mere sectarian slogan-mongering. The anarcho-marxist Solidarists score over many anarchists in that they insist on having a consistent and rigorous theoretical basis for their political activity. The a-theoretical and ad hoc anarchist can learn much from *Solidarity's* approach—even if he differs from their actual conclusions.

The pamphlet begins by giving "Some Examples of The Irrational in Politics" (p. 1), and then a summary of "Some Inadequate Explanations" (p. 2) offered by traditional revolutionaries. It points out ("The Ignored Area and the Traditional Left" p. 4) that the influence of the unconscious on individual and social behaviour as explored by psychoanalysis can remedy the inadequacy of purely political or economic explanations, and continues by discussing "The Process of Conditioning" (p. 7) and "The Function of the Family" (p. 10) in a manner that draws heavily on the earlier work of Wilhelm Reich. (See ANARCHY 105 for a discussion on Reich.) "The Historical Roots" (p. 15) examines the anthropological evidence on the origins of the family as a repressive institution which serves the function of socialising the worker-to-be. Then the intimate connexion between political and sexual liberation is considered ("Wilhelm Reich and the Sexual Revolution" p. 19). Here it is argued that although sexual liberation is not the sole or primary priority for revolutionaries, the tendency to ignore it, or to believe that it can be left to automatically take care of itself in the wake of political revolution, has accounted, to a large extent, for the failure of revolutionaries to achieve their real goals. The

essay concludes by summarising the actual sexual liberation that has been achieved in bourgeois society since Reich wrote ("Limits and Perspectives" p. 24). Bourgeois society has absorbed this degree of liberation by turning sex into a commodity. Nevertheless, in considering the future, the final note is optimistic: liberation in one sphere shifts the ground on which the struggle takes place, and is bound to lead to a demand for total liberation which will be irresistible. The task of the revolutionary is to encourage the demand for freedom in all spheres.

There is a second essay included in the pamphlet: "The Russian experience", which gives an invaluable and informed account of both attitudes and policies towards sex in Russia since the revolution. Despite a certain amount of early progressive legislation, there were gross inadequacies in the Bolshevik understanding of the problems of sex in relation to revolution. Even Trotsky, writing in exile, never really understood the importance of these problems. It is not very surprising, then, that reaction set in here as well as in other spheres. And in the last twenty years, we learn, "the sexual counter-revolution has gained even further momentum" (p. 37). A brief run-down on T. S. Atarov's *Problems of Sexual Education*—a book to warm the cockles of Mrs. Whitehouse's heart—shows how profoundly ignorant and repressive the official Soviet line is.

In addition there are two appendices. The first, "Reminiscences of Lenin", is a reprint of Clara Zetkin's interview with Lenin on the questions of sex, marriage and women's liberation, which were being seriously debated by female comrades in Germany at the time. Here is Lenin's famous renunciation of the "glass of water doctrine", which stated that having sex was necessary and trivial as drinking a glass of water, and should be regarded in the same way; his insistence that the questions that concerned the comrades in Germany were distracting side-issues in the revolution; his belief that sexual liberation is utterly bourgeois; and his identification of sex with dirt—a typically repressed attitude. Lenin speaks of "that particular kind of literature which flourishes luxuriantly in the dirty soil of bourgeois society" (p. ii). He condemns revolutionary sexual theories as a "masked respect for bourgeois morality" which is "just as repulsive as poking about in sexual matters" (p. ii). He poses the rhetorical question, "Will the normal man in normal circumstances lie down in the gutter and drink out of a puddle, or out of a glass with a rim greasy from many lips?" (p. iv). A profoundly revealing question, which shows his identification of sexual freedom with promiscuity, his assumption that the woman is a passive object in sexual relations, and that the "filth" of sex resides in her. The second appendix is an extract from Victor Serge's *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*. Here is a quite horrifying account of the insensitivity of the Soviet officials who tried the boys in the Chubarov Alley case of 1926. Fifteen young workers, who seemed to have gained absolutely nothing from the revolution, were on trial for the multiple rape of a girl near the October station. The committeeman goes on about "new culture", "our wonderful Soviet morals", "foreign bourgeois

culture", and "foreign papers" to boys who had never heard of any of them, were probably semi-illiterate and knew nothing but the culture of their Ligovka streets.

Maurice Brinstone, the author of the pamphlet, has raised a number of important problems, but some of them, one can't help feeling, are inadequately dealt with. For example, the very question of the nature of rationality.

We are given four examples of the irrational in politics: mass support for the First World War, mass support for Hitler, a riot in New Delhi over the proposed slaughter of sacred cows, and the (predicated) behaviour of the British working class in the June election. No explicit definition of "the irrational" is made, but there is an implied definition in these examples. Take the New Delhi riots: "whole sections of the city were occupied, policemen were attacked, cars and buses burned". This is irrational not because of the substance of the behaviour, nor because of its relation to the goal of the participants, but because of the nature of the goal. It is irrational because it took place not "to protest against the social system", but "to denounce some contemplated legislation permitting cow slaughter under specified circumstances". In short, it is irrational because it is reactionary. On p. 7 the identification is made explicit in the phrase "reactionary and irrational ideas".

Actually, "irrational" is taken to mean a bit more than merely "reactionary". The concern of the essay is not the irrational in politics generally, but a specific sort of irrationality: "the continued acceptance by the working class of bourgeois rule" (p. 3). And this irrationality can be defined as "the failure of the 'mass individually' to realise and act upon his individual and class interest". Conversely, rationality can be taken to mean the awareness of where one's true individual and class interests lie and the freedom from mystification.

Brinstone's usage is strikingly similar to the Marxists' "false consciousness", and on p. 26 we read: "To understand revolutionary psychoanalysis is to add a new dimension to . . . the Marxist understanding of false consciousness." Consequently the same difficulties occur with Brinstone's concept of "irrationality" as with the Marxist concept of "false consciousness": both are understood as exclusively working class phenomena, and we are given no idea of what false consciousness or irrationality are like in the bourgeoisie, or whether they exist at all. Is political reaction rational for the bourgeoisie? Is the repressive family? Is sexual frustration? Is the failure to recognise where their class interests lie false consciousness? Such questions show how difficult these concepts are. Strictly speaking we should argue that the middle class revolutionary, like Lenin or Guevara, is suffering from a huge dose of false consciousness because he follows a course of action inimical to the interests of his own class. But such an argument is so peculiar that it forces us to reconsider the value of the concepts.

When one considers it further, Brinstone's usage of "the irrational"

is very strange, and totally inverts what we normally understand as the irrational factors in social life. The Enlightenment introduced the idea of rational society, which was essentially democratic society. In this idea society is conceived as governed by the general will which is inextricably tied up with rational public discussion. In this general will, sectional interest is eliminated along with personal passion. From an advocacy in an age of tyranny, such an idea has become a myth in an age of corporations; C. Wright Mills identifies it as the American liberal myth. But it was Marx who showed that it was nonsensical to conceive of society as so run, and futile to attempt to construct such a society through disinterested rational discussion, precisely because the main operative factor in bourgeois society was an irrational factor: class conflict. Later, Freud made even more untenable the notion of rational society by disseminating his notion that men are really dominated by their unconscious, instinctive life. Brinstone turns these concepts on their heads by suggesting that rationality consists not so much in logical thought and reasoned argument, nor in making action consonant with its ends (whether those ends are socialism or the preservation of Hindu custom), but in the recognition of self and class interest—by workers if not by the bourgeoisie.

There is less false optimism in this pamphlet than is customary in revolutionary writing, more of an attempt to really tackle the problem of the barriers to revolution than to indulge in any mere flag-waving exhortation to the faithful. Brinstone is not afraid to acknowledge that "The average British middle-aged working-class voter . . . is probably hierarchy conscious, xenophobic, racially prejudiced, pro-monarchy, pro-capital punishment, pro-law and order, anti-demonstrator, anti-long haired students and anti-drop out. He is almost certainly sexually repressed . . ." (p. 3). In recognising that sexual repression is a factor in an authoritarian personality (which is as much a personality which submits to authority as one which exercises it) and that the "character armour" of the repressed personality prevents him realising that he is repressed and that he lives in an oppressive society, Brinstone recognises that social change is as much concerned with character as with the structure of institutions. He recognises this in his question, "Unless revolutionaries are clearly aware of *all* the resistances they are up against, how can they hope to break them down? Unless revolutionaries are aware of the resistances (i.e. the unsuspected influences of the dominant ideology) within themselves, how can they hope to get to grips with the problems of others?" (p. 19). Yet the particular virtue of this pamphlet (or, should one say, of Reich's analysis?) is that it does not allow itself into either the pure economism and politicism common among revolutionaries or pure psychologism.

Having said this, one has to express some doubts about the description of the process of conditioning. The point is that it's too easy to allow the wish to become father to the thought, and although the libertarian-psychoanalytical analysis of how familial, and especially paternal authority and sexual repression bolster up the authoritarian

society provide a massive weapon for libertarians, how do we know that such an analysis is valid? How does one *demonstrate* that "The anxiety associated with sexual needs becomes part of the anxiety associated with all rebellious thoughts or actions" (p. 8): "The unconscious revolt against the father engenders servility" (p. 8); the "suppression of the natural sexuality in the child . . . paralyses the rebellious forces" and produces "a general inhibition of thinking and of critical faculties"? What are the procedures of verification for such statements? And, more's to the point, how does one explain the exceptions—all those revolutionaries who come from repressive families? Some of them, doubtless, are themselves repressed and authoritarian, and if they are, we are forced to take a longer look at the actual relation between revolution and sexual repression.

Traditional revolutionaries may be sexually repressed; they may be authoritarian and their revolutions may lead to repressive regimes; but revolutionaries they undoubtedly are. There is no question, for example, that despite his repressed personality Lenin was entirely opposed to the Tsarist regime: there is no cut and dried case here of unconscious rebellion against the father engendering servility, of the suppression of natural sexuality producing a general inhibition of thinking. In fact, what is significant is the frequency with which revolution is associated with sexual repression and a general puritanism—not only in Russia or China, but, remarkably enough, in the case of the Andalusian anarchists. Most likely sexual liberation is tied up with political liberation in much the way that Brinstone argues, and without a doubt there are a considerable number of revolutionaries who are aware of this. But is it sufficient simply to point out that they are so tied up, and to describe how the failure to realise this in the case of the Bolshevik revolution leads to the frustration of revolutionary ideals? Is it not essential to ask *why* it is that revolutions hitherto have not achieved sexual liberation, and why, indeed, so many revolutionaries today—the "trad revs"—ignore this important dimension of revolution? Is it not essential to ask why there is an undoubtedly irrational association between revolution and sexual repression?

Two possible answers suggest themselves. One is that, in some way, the repressed character of many revolutionaries is what drives them to be revolutionaries. The other is that, in a sense, Lenin was right, and that there is a fatal and tragic contradiction between the immediate political demands of a revolution and the sexual freedom which is essential if its goal is to be attained. May not this account for the irony that "those who urge people to think for themselves and to resist the brainwashing of the mass media should be filled with anxiety whenever new ideas raise their troublesome heads within their own ranks"? (p. 2) May it not be that, with some revolutionaries, their furious hatred of the bourgeoisie and their bitter intolerance of deviationism are all of a piece, and that their own hangups drive them to both of them? There is no simple answer to the problem, because even if this is true, it does not necessarily mean to say that *all* revolu-

tionaries are driven to revolution by their repressed personalities, nor that the process of conditioning does *not* often produce submissive, conformist citizens of all classes. The problem is more complex than Brinstone makes it appear. Interestingly enough in this context, A. S. Neill, himself the product of an extremely strict Calvinist home (and a man who has made an immense contribution to sexual liberation and none to political revolution) has now more or less abandoned Freudianism because it cannot provide sufficient explanations.

"Revolution," wrote Engels, "is the most authoritarian thing imaginable." Does not such a statement contradict the essence of revolution, which is liberation? No, it does not. For "the revolution" means two things: on the one hand it means the aspiration to liberty which drives the revolutionary, and on the other it means the historical process by which sudden political changes occur. In practice this process has always been accompanied by a considerable amount of force, coercion and authority. There are considerable similarities between all revolutionary leaders in this respect—Lenin and Makhno, Mao and Zapata, Castro and Durruti. Sexual liberation is an essential part of the aspiration to liberty, but Lenin may have been right: "Everything has its time. I ask you: is now the time to amuse proletarian women with discussions on how one loves and is loved, how one marries and is married? . . . The revolution demands concentration, increase of forces. From the masses, from individuals. It cannot tolerate orgiastic conditions. It needs clarity, clarity and again clarity. And so I repeat, no weakening, no waste, no destruction of forces." It may be actually detrimental to the overthrow of governments. If the evidence of Sweden is anything to go by, it would seem to be quite untrue to suggest that sexual liberation cannot be absorbed indefinitely and inexorably leads to a questioning of the whole apparatus of coercion.

Fortunately, nothing in history is certain: the future is always open. Read "The Irrational in Politics", but read it critically.



I

Dr. Wilhelm Reich is a German psychotherapist whose books were banned by the Nazis, who was arrested by the FBI soon after Pearl Harbour and held almost a month on Ellis Island, who (already disgusted with their intellectual dishonesty) was expelled from the Communist Party of Germany around 1932, and who was thrown out of the International Psychoanalytic Association in 1934 because his psychotherapeutic views were too unorthodox and too radical.

Wilhelm Reich's

II

Simply put, his theory of work is this: the workers should control the work, do the work, plan the work. They should do useful, joy-giving work. They can co-operate in a free self-regulating society. Reich is anti-state (he calls the USSR state capitalism), although he has what I believe are mistaken concepts of the necessity of police. He rejects all authority whether of the state, church, army, boss, etc. He prefers the individual to be self-regulating in perfect, deep accord and harmony with his own biological, sexual, personal, and social self.

Reich tries to root his theory in the biology of life and in orgone energy ("the basic bio-electric energy of the human body"). This he does in great and, for me, convincing detail in the area of sex. He has not worked out the economy of the biological energy of work in such detail. He is at present engaged in a whole book on Work Democracy, his previous work on the subject (in English) being published as articles in the *International Journal of Sex Economy and Orgone Research* and republished in his *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*.*

III

Central to Reich's theories is his theory of sex, which I can only touch briefly here and especially in its relation to his theory of work. However, this sketchiness is no minimisation of its importance and whereas Reich's theory of work (as so far propounded at least) cuts across many other thinkers' conclusions,

*This article was previously published in *Freedom*, December 10 and 24, 1949, before Reich's death in 1957 in a US Federal Penitentiary.

although here too his line of approach is original, it is in his theory of sex that he is most original and astounding and, to me, true. (There is no other word for it: astounding!)

Freud in his rediscovery of the importance of sex in human life, of infantile sexuality, of repression and the cause of mental illness, made revolutionary discoveries, challenging the very bases of bourgeois society: the family, authority and even the state. In his youth Freud pondered the challenge his medical discoveries had made: if the society makes so many people sick, is not the society itself sick? Should it not be destroyed, rooted out and a new healthier society take its place? A free society where the individual can express himself sexually and in work and artistically. A co-operative rather than a competitive society. (For sexual suppression and suppression of the workers is closely linked.) Indeed Freud made many socialistic statements and if I am not mistaken hailed the Russian Revolution as a great experiment to be carefully watched and encouraged.

But in his older age he became disillusioned, worked out a theory of suppression and sublimation as being at the base of our syphilisation, and a theory of the Death Instinct whereby people were supposed to desire pain (as well as pleasure). The "progressive" bourgeoisie and Freud's psychoanalytic followers jumped at this easy way out. The thing to do was to realise you had these suppressed sexual desires (only suppressed in Western society) and then . . . forget about it. Therefore you do not challenge the family (the miniature

Work Theory

state) and you do not challenge society, but you go on being the same (consciously) suppressed slob you were.

Freud, too, worked in an era when modern Anthropology had not yet shown beyond a doubt that his analysis of the sex problem was particularly valid only in the West and that some "primitive" cultures had very little of sex problems indeed and also that co-operative societies could and did exist among these same "primitives".

Reich broke with Freud and demanded the revolution. This attitude led him to further intensive concentration on the biology and physiology and physical biology of the sexual act, an area which psychoanalytic prudes shied unconsciously away from, or

took for their surface value only, or refused to investigate, for fear it would have socially revolutionary implications.

Reich discovered and measured a specific life—biological energy in the body which he called *orgone energy*. It is the suppression or the damming of this energy through abstinence or incomplete fulfilment of the sexual act that creates the energy for the neurotic symptom. He argues for the free union of lovers and against the authoritarian patriarchal family which perpetuates and is perpetuated by the state. The patriarchal family is a miniature state, the father is a miniature boss and dictator both. (I remember now from the famous Western Electric experiments—a foreman says, “We prefer the young Italian girls—they are very co-operative and easy to handle.”) It is this submissive character structure in the authoritarian family which creates the fascist personality, the personality which submits itself to a leader. It is this repression which creates the sadist and the masochist. For the function of the patriarchal authoritative family is to suppress the sex of the child and even of the parents—and (as in a castrated animal) to create a submissive child, worker, soldier. Or, as they say in the *Infantry Drill and Regulations* (p. 207), “His (the soldier’s) loyalty to his country should be like that of a dog to its master”.

IV

Reich sees the personality acting on three levels:—

1. The surface—or polite level of ordinary interpersonal intercourse, the “moral” level.
2. The unconscious or perverse level.
3. The deep third level, the inner core, the real man, the centre of life-creating energy.

One might draw a parallel or analogy (this is my own, not Reich’s) between these three levels and the work levels of society:—

1. The surface or polite level—ostensibly we are producing things for human use and the benefit of us all, and we are all partners in production (“we are all partners” in exploitation, *i.e.*, some exploit and some permit themselves to be exploited). Examples: food and clothing production (but here all for profit . . . and consider ostentation, waste and luxury while others starve).

2. The unconscious or perverse level—actually we produce a “hell of a lot” of bombs, weapons of destruction (including uniforms, etc.), useless and energy-wasting time-consuming crap. Over 2,000,000 men (volunteers) in our US armed services and their departments. Book-keeping, money, accounting and sales systems which employ at least a million mostly useless workers (3,188,854 salesmen, for example). Internal police systems—lawyers, police, judges, watchmen, 600,000 guards; 175,000 clergymen and religious workers; 47,000 railroad conductors (ticket collectors); 35,000 advertising fakers; 72,000 buyers and department-store heads; 31,000 “credit” men; 1,174,886 steno-

graphers, typists and secretaries (for what?); 85,266 elevator operators (unnecessary in new techniques); 440,111 barbers and beauticians (can you imagine doing nothing but cutting other people’s hair all your life?); 128,342 bartenders and 604,908 waiters! (is waiting and bartending necessary?); and 2,349,394(!) private family servants (slaves). These are just examples—not a complete list. And how many millions directly or indirectly, partly or wholly producing weapons of destruction?

3. The deep third level—real creative expenditure of work energy, arts and crafts, and the joy of work, *i.e.*, co-operative farms, the Palestinian *kvutza*, the Spanish communes.

The exact character of the energy of the joy of work and its expenditure through the body musculature would be interesting to follow. This would have a definite relation to the problem of fatigue.

Reich says that the sex and work energy are the same and there is no reason to doubt this. But whereas the sex energy has an orgasmic release, the work energy seems to release more steadily and slowly. One wonders though, if this may not be partially sickness. And the approach to ecstasy in the artist, is that an orgasmic parallel? The feeling of release after the accomplishment of a work of art, is that related to the orgasmic release? *Sex and work are both activity.*

The very word *work* as we know it today is connected with unpleasure. But this does not necessarily have to be so. Some day work will be pleasurable.

There is also in Reich’s theory of work energy an answer to the old reactionary canard about “no one wanting to work”. As anarchist theoreticians have stated, there is a necessity for the human animal to do some physical work—a physical necessity—or put in *orgone* terms—the body’s energy must be expended. The human animal becomes physically ill if it is forced to refrain from all physical activity.

Modern machine society would seem to have a tendency to make man mentally ill by prohibiting the full exercise of his functions, mental and physical, by tying him into routine, boring concentrations of simple repetitive machine operations. (The “idle” man can have less of damming-up of mental, and physical energy, because he is free to imagine, to observe and enjoy and to think. He is free to dance and sing. Three cheers for “idleness”!)

V

Or, to put the previous section IV on another level: A Clerk in a brokerage house in the financial district goes to work every morning; he is going for a good reason, *i.e.*, to support his family and to “keep the wheels of commerce rolling”. Once at work, he begins to do useless, compulsive, unnecessary, maso-

chistic, or, if he is a foreman, sadistic (*i.e.*, perverse and harmful work). But deep within him, he (day) dreams of having his own farm and raising the food he eats and making many of the things he uses (and needs) himself (or with friends). Thus, the work segment of an individual's activities can have three levels also: (1) the polite and moral surface level; (2) the perverse, and (3) the deepest creative level.

1. Every job is given this spoken or unspoken moral and polite justification; *i.e.*, atom bombs manufacture is to "protect the country"; the book-keeper "keeps a business going", the sales-clerk in a grocery "gives people food" (what a farce, actually he *gets in the way*). Yet every worker must somehow feel that his work is useful.

2. Every job in a class society has on the second perverse level, the masochistic-sadistic element. Some command and some are commanded; some submit and some do the submitting. The worker can express his fears, hostilities and compulsions through the job—through materials or through the manipulation of people. Bureaucracy is a whole disease of this character.

3. Every worker has deep within him a need and a desire to do creative, energy-releasing, totally satisfying work. This can be felt and seen in their constant dissatisfaction with their work and with the economic structure of society: the whole classically economic revolutionary movement (Marxism and Anarchism) is in a large measure an expression of this feeling. The feeling of joy in work, commonplace of the middle ages was fractured in modern bourgeois society. The growth of Sport is an attempt at a modern replacement. It is significant that children who do varied, light, interesting work (for short periods, of course) like, say, gardening (as in the Palestinian *kvutza*), find it sport and not work. Definitely sport! Full of pleasure and joy. A game, a kind of dance.

The revolutionary movement has neglected the theory of work and assumed that a tremendous shortening of hours would solve everything. This is not exactly so. It has slighted the theory of work as it has slighted the theory of sex.

VI

In his attempt to be fair to the working boss, it seems to me Reich leans over backwards. It is true a boss can be productive, *but not in his function of a boss, not in his function as an arbitrary authority, with power to command decisions, rational and irrational (mostly irrational) and to penalize by firing, lesser pay, starvation and many other ways, including the firing squad (because the state is a boss too, and getting to be the biggest boss). When a boss is productive it is as a worker and not as a boss.*

It is perhaps Reich's error in the evaluation of the working boss which leads him to a second, namely he considers Labour-Management Councils (in the US) as an example of a progressive work democratic

relationship. Anyone can say Labour-Management co-operation (I resent, however, the word management from the beginning.) However, even if we use labour-technician the questions still remain—who gets the profits? Who decides what is produced? Who decides the fundamental questions of hours? What is the character of the work? Who is to do what work? How is the unpleasant work to be apportioned? What of the distribution of the product? In the boss economy—the bosses decide and the workers are roped into the Labour-Management Committees and it is a not too subtle way to make them more efficient slaves—perpetuating the illusion that it is "their" factory. It was also perhaps Reich's initial distance from the American scene that made him such an easy prey to this one. However, these committees *are* of course one other sign of the growing demand of workers and individuals to control their own destiny in the industrial age. However, they are a feint, to throw the freedom movement off balance. And they haven't fooled anyone either: except a few labour fakers who think by now that left is right and right left anyway, or better still that the state is they and they are the state.

VII

Reich says that the best revolutionary is one who is sexually satisfied and sexually free (in his sense). While anyone else can be revolutionary the best freedom workers are those who have their irrational energies released and being personally satisfied and content can see the rational need for a revolutionary change in the economic and social order. All others, in varying degrees tend to be irrational and therefore less effective.

There are those who claim that Reich says that the Sexual Revolution must come first. Well to me the sexual revolution is part of the whole revolution, and it may be true that until much of this block is removed we may not get too far with the concretization of our economic theories. Somehow the problem has a which came first the chicken or the egg air to it. Reich has an aversion to and nothing but bad words for political parties and political machinations and manipulations (this is leadership). We certainly can go along with him there.

Indeed since the sex energy and the work energy are fundamentally the same it would seem logical for them both to be liberated *together*.

In his book *The Sexual Revolution*, Reich shows the degeneration of the Soviet Union in the light of its trend toward a reactionary sex programme which it has today: *i.e.*, curbing of co-education, strengthening the authoritarian family, tightening of divorce laws. He does not to my remembrance establish the causal sequence. Did the economic degeneration lead to a character degeneration or did the character degeneration lead to an economic degeneration? In my opinion—both and reinforcing each other. (This is the negative of the preceding discussion.) Their exact relationship and *our possible* points of attack in different concrete

situations must be worked out. *Neither* can be ignored.

In *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, Reich analyses the character structure of the mass of Germans as being repressed, rigid, authoritarian, middle class, submissive, sadistic, masochistic. This whole constellation (more definitely linked) he calls the fascist character structure. This character structure permitted Hitler to come into power. The Left Politicians have always claimed that Hitler got the support of the people by demagoguery and by misleading them. They have never explained *why* it was possible to mislead and demagogize a whole people. Reich's answer is: their authoritarian character structure (which is not limited to Germany or any class and is not vanished from the earth).

Far from sex satisfaction acting as a deterrent to revolutionary activity, Reich claims it makes the revolutionary more rational and effective. One sees examples of the "married and settled down" bourgeoisified ex-revolutionary but wonders if the individual is really sex satisfied, a "genital character" in Reichian terms. For, for Reich, intercourse and complete orgasm are two different and most times very wide apart affairs. He says it is almost impossible for anyone in our society to be orgasmically potent.

The less sex-satisfaction a person has the less time and energy he will be able to devote to other (more social) problems. His sex problem will tie him in knots.

I should make clear here once and for all (although I think the whole tenor of his theory shows it) that sex for Reich is not just physical sex but is what someone else might call love. He is not afraid to use the term "love" either (but love categorically including sex and the orgasm). Sex is not just physical sex, but a personal interrelationship. Reich maintains complete orgasm is not possible unless there is this personal harmony, love and respect between the partners.

VIII

Reich says that as a person becomes orgasmically free, he will no longer tolerate a stupid job. He demands useful, creative work.

Just as our society (which tolerates, nay asks for useless, stupid, boring and harmful work) to the extent to which the individuals in it become sexually and personally free—just so perhaps our society as it becomes liberated will in general not tolerate this tremendous mass of useless, stupid, boring and harmful work which a casual study of the census of occupations will show beyond a shadow of doubt, that or a real glance about us.

IX

While socialists have been talking about Industrial Democracy for decades now, it is well to re-examine

the concept under new light, especially since the Russian bureaucratic collectivist experience, the British state-capitalist fiasco and the general trend toward a mass collectivist-state-managerial-planned-totalitarian-work bureaucratic society.

According to Reich, Work Democracy is "A rational democratic organisation (of society N.B.) based not on formal and political democratic mechanisms but on actual achievement in work and actual responsibility of each individual for his own existence and social function. As yet non-existent, it is that form of democratic organisation into which present formal democracy might develop" (or better, which might develop in spite of present-day formal democracy. N.B.).

Work democracy is rooted in the natural desire of man to make and use the things he needs and to control the methods, conditions and distribution of the work of his mind, body, heart and soul.

It emphasises the responsibility of each individual in his rôle in society. It negates politics in the old formal sense, attacks leadership, dependence, unconsciousness of work power and creative force, and demands: "Give Responsibility to Vitally Necessary Work!" Free the individual and his character structure for love, for knowledge and for creative, necessary, interesting and exciting work.

Permit man to become the healthy, exuberant, loving animal that he is. What is necessary is to remove the obstacles to this more loving and lovable man that the state, his own irrational authoritarian character structure, capitalist (or class) society, the church, the authoritarian school, the patriarchal family, have imposed for the past 4-6,000 years.

Once these obstacles are removed man will blossom forth into the self-governing, the free character, the free man.

For in each child is the bud of freedom growing.

How are we to remove these obstacles?

This, of course, is the crux of the problem. Certainly not by abdicating our power, by getting others to do it for us. Neither by ignoring the "objective" (economic) situation. Neither by ignoring the character situation. (To an unfortunate man *is* his institutions.) The Marxists in the Soviet Union seemed to have paid too little attention to this "cultural problem". Certainly one thing we can do is to try and spread vital knowledge and better still to act in our daily lives (and try and find ways of acting) in consonance with our general freedom, sex economic and work democratic beliefs. This is no easy task. (Yet the easiest in the world.) The more we do this, the happier we shall be.

Perhaps only the sight of joy will move us.

JACK GALLEG0.

Any form of behaviour that doesn't fit into the image that television and *Reader's Digest* believe the American people should be like is usually categorized as either subnatural or supernatural.

The myths about homosexuals fall into both categories, depending on how close it is to being you.

Lesbians are subnatural when they live next door and supernatural when they live in Paris and write books.

Lesbians as Bogeywomen

Most people's ideas about lesbianism come from pornographic films and magazines, all of which are produced for and by men. It's a very strange thing to find your existence defined as a part of somebody's pornographic fantasy library—sex episode No. 93.

One night at my regular women's liberation group meeting, one of the women said, "You know, the first night you told us you were a lesbian, I sat in terror the rest of the meeting, waiting for you to attack me or something."

Men who are obsessed with sex are convinced that lesbians are obsessed with sex. Actually, like any other women, lesbians are obsessed with love and fidelity.

They're also strongly interested in independence and in having a life-work to do, but other than that, lesbians are not extraordinary.

I once met a lesbian who had built her own house, with her own hands, to her own specifications. (She was about 4' 11" tall.) But I have no doubt that any woman who wanted to build a house, could—except she probably married an architect or a carpenter instead.

Homosexuality and other "bizarre" characteristics are associated with art and artiness partly so artists can be considered that much more supernatural. This keeps people in general from considering themselves as artists; they're not kooky enough. If you can't chop off your ear, you can't paint.

Gertrude Stein didn't write well because she was a lesbian; she wrote because she wanted to, and she had a disciplined, sensitive mind, and she



didn't have to work in a dimstore eight hours a day.

The women in history who were the less fortunate counterparts of Gertrude Stein, unable to retire on papa's money, cut off their hair and joined the merchant marine; or sneaked out west for a life of adventure as cowboys. Some were never discovered until the local mortician . . . all astonished . . . came running out of the funeral parlour . . . "My God, guess what I just found out about old Harry Willits. . . ."

And as a matter of fact, old Harry may never have thought about loving another woman in her life, but she still goes down in history as a lesbian. Every woman who steps out of line gets assigned a sexual definition—lesbian, whore, nymphomaniac, castrator, adultress.

Lesbians who dress and act in a particular manner, do so as a means of mutual recognition—that's how they know who is eligible to fall in love with, since you're not allowed to just ask.

If anybody was allowed to fall in love with **anybody**, the word "homosexual" wouldn't be needed; it's used now only to set people off in separate categories, artificially, so they'll know who to be afraid of—each other.

Bogeymen and bogeywomen function to keep people off the streets, and home watching television and reading *Reader's Digest*.

Lesbianism isn't something you **are**—it's something you **do**—

Specifically, it's the love you give somebody who happens, also, to be female.

* * *

. . . In its present condition, our society depends on making most of its people perform drab work under rigidly boring circumstances. Our government depends on people to fight and pay for wars the people do not actively believe in, and many actively oppose. Our rulers depend on our money being spent for many products we would never volunteer it for: like the stockings, girdles and crippling shoes which have become "necessities" for most women's jobs. And they depend on our tax money, which is often spent for such "top

secret" purposes we cannot even find out whether it went for murder, mayhem, or moon landings.

To keep us running in those circles we must be more closely spurred, corralled and haggled than we realize. Binding people's minds up in endless personal problems and mazes of individual guilt are methods of control, which act very effectively to keep us from thinking about anything else, and seem to be one of the main functions of modern psychology. . . .

But the best method of control used is also the best way to catch a horse—cut him off from the herd. We are cut into all sorts of groups, by race, by sex preference, by class, by education, and even by age groups, which can then be pitted against each other; and we all lose by it. . . .

All of us have heard the business world's excuse for not hiring us: we are "unstable". What they mean is that they have more trouble forcing us to work at a job or live in an area that we do not like. People with children are more vulnerable and therefore "stable"; that is, they can more easily be stabled, and saddled, and broken to the bit. . . .

That's why lesbians are "loose women" in a very real sense—we are running around like mavericks, without the legal and economic bonds of marriage or the smothering and basically unpaid labour of individual childrearing to tie us to a tightly defined life style. So we must be restrained, or else we might encourage other women to be independent; we might become too educated or too political; we might begin making demands which the present system cannot grant—such as the right to have a hand in raising or teaching or adopting children, or the right of equal pay for women. Therefore, we are controlled by systematic, legal and individual repression. Colleges and managers and landlords can kick us into the street, police can kick us into the can, and street boys can kick us in the can.

As homosexuals we are faced not only with the problem of how to change heterosexual attitudes toward us, but also with understanding the basis for those attitudes. If we feel

victimized, there has been a crime committed, and the first problem in solving a crime is to determine who benefits from it. If heterosexuals hated us just for the hell of it, massive love potions would be the answer. But if they are taught to hate us in order to protect the nuclear family structure—which also cuts people off from each other, and forces them to buy more products than, say, communal living would; or if they are taught to hate us because it puts a sharper edge to job competition; or if they are taught to hate us because we function as a social control and scapegoat that ultimately works to keep the money and power and resources of this country in the hands of only a very few people—then we have to be doubly armed against that hatred and ready to fight it at many different levels.

* * *

My last dramatic encounter with rampant anti-lesbianism occurred three years ago, when, after I had parked my motorcycle at a hamburger stand, a drunk-young-man who did not like the way I looked, came up to me and called me a queer; and when I failed to respond, he broke my nose.

The threat of that kind of physical assault had hung over me for years. As a young lesbian, short-haired and defensive, I slouched through many rainy and half-drunk city streets trying to figure out who I was. At that time, every catcall or muffled insult sounded like the prelude to a gang-beating—my world was full of angry young men on street corners. And late at night I sometimes fantasized armies of heavily armed lesbians, ready to help me beat them back in black boot military fashion.

So when, finally, the real fist from the real drunk-young-man's anger hit my face, it wasn't as though I had never prepared for it. But during the period between those violent fantasies and the actual punch, I had changed my hair style and appearance to the point of not being readily recognizable as a lesbian. Essentially I looked like any other woman, except that I drove a bike. The crazy guy was completely out of date—I'd been all set up for him eight years before that, so why did

he wait until I'd gotten almost "respectable"?

Now, in retrospect, I believe he was not so much punching out a lesbian, as he was punching out a woman who was carrying a motorcycle helmet. He didn't give a damn about my choice of sexual partners, or whether I did "nasty" things in bed; what upset him was my intrusion into two of his manly territories: machinery and action.

I had antagonized him, not as a pervert, but as a somewhat liberated woman—capable of acting and thinking on my own—and that's what he'd been taught to react violently against.

The straight women involved in the women's liberation movement are beginning to face various degrees of this same blatant chauvinism from men, the hostility that lesbians have known about for years. They also are beginning to understand the enormous isolation that women (all women) are subjected to: isolation from each other because they have to compete for men's attention (whether he's a husband or a boss) isolation from activity (men do things while women sit and watch) isolation from decisions (women are told they are stupid and undependable) and isolation from knowledge

(men gladly tell other men how the plumbing or the car work, and what keeps a suspended bridge suspended).

The differences between what women are allowed to know and what men are expected to know are so great you would think the two sexes were raised on different sides of the globe. A woman is considered socially and emotionally "mature" when she is sixteen because she has already learned everything she is supposed to know or really needs to know, for the rest of her life. No wonder lesbians have tried to say "Hell, no!" to that role.

But the lesbian solution to a male dominated society has traditionally been to hide, or "pass"—to pair off with a lover (if she's lucky) and to surround herself with a few safe friends, and let it go at that. This double life is so agonizingly schizophrenic and lonely it's a wonder we didn't all go mad long ago.

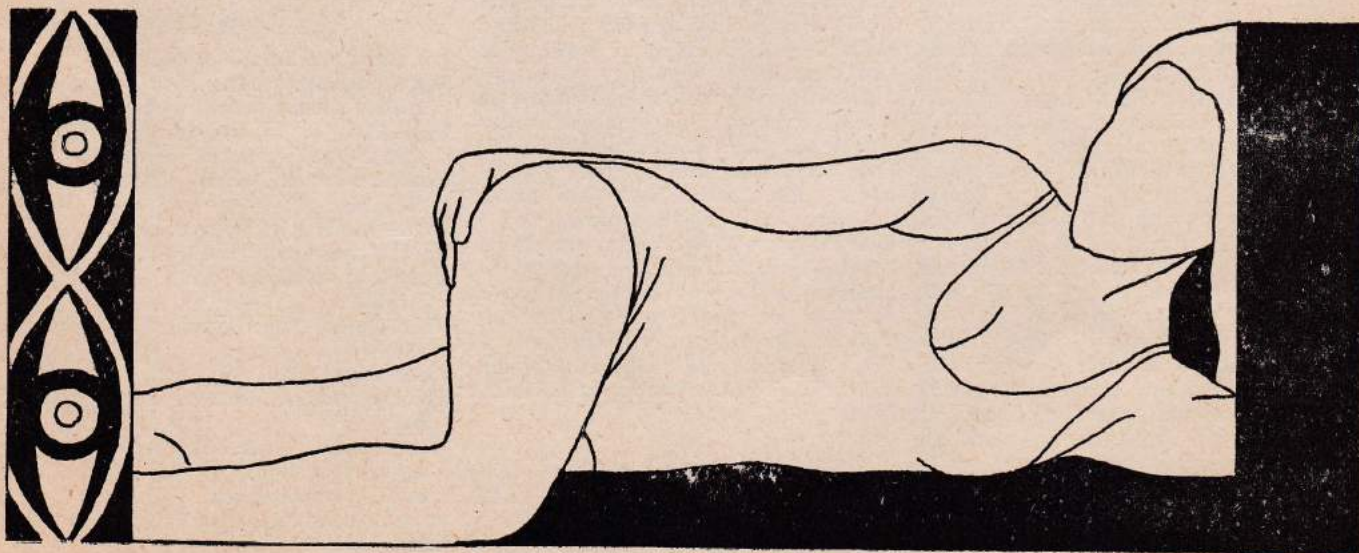
Straight women, as they begin to unravel the extent to which women are cheated and wasted in this society, are finding a better solution—the exact opposite of isolation. By banding together in small groups, they find they can develop strong supportive voices for themselves and each other, to help confront and change male attitudes toward them.

In this process, one of the problems they are having to think about is the fact that many men accuse them of being lesbians, just for taking part in a women's liberation movement, and for starting to think and act for themselves.

If ever there was a chance for a group of lesbians to talk openly, to teach straight women and to learn from them, and to begin to break down some of the myths about us, it's surely in these women's groups.

Because the women's liberation movement is still unstructured and democratic, and so loosely formed, in fact, that no one even knows how many groups there are, it is possible to be completely open and still anonymous. Members meet once a week and rarely see each other the rest of the time. Yet the groups are so small it's easy for the women to relax and get to know each other quickly.

It's been a long time coming, but if a change is going to come, now is when to begin it. My present fantasies are of an army of lesbians, heavily armed with information and support from each other, launching a real attack against male chauvinism and antihomosexuality, by exchanging education and moral support with heterosexual women. Let's go to it.



Aspects of Anarchy:

I SENNA HOY

"I, a mere poet, precede you
In smashing old Earths . . ."

(Senna Hoy, Poem
from prison)

On April 29th 1914, twenty-nine-year-old Johannes Holzmann died of tuberculosis brought about by starvation in a Warsaw prison. His body was brought back to Berlin by some friends and buried on May 11th. For more than half a century Holzmann was totally forgotten, deliberately ignored. Now, it is almost impossible to piece together his life, but it is certain that his influence on his followers was considerable and his contribution to the Anarchist movement large.

Of his early life nothing is known. He was probably a native of Berlin because he is mentioned as a member of Helen Blavatsky's theosophical circle in 1903. Early the following year the nineteen-year-old, sickened with Wilhelmine Germany and the half-hearted opposition of the Social Democrats to it, adopted the pseudonym Senna Hoy (his Christian name turned backwards) and started to publish a weekly libertarian magazine, *Kampf* (Struggle). Despite continual police raids and official harassment, the circulation of *Kampf* leaped to 10,000 in 1905, a remarkable figure for those days. In February 1906 Holzmann ceased to publish *Kampf* and went to Russia in order to try and help the revolution of 1905. He was arrested in Moscow, tortured and imprisoned. In 1911 he was moved to the infamous "Citadel" gaol in Warsaw, from thence in March 1912 to the criminal lunatic division (strange echo of future Russian treatment of libertarians!) where he died two years later. In a message smuggled out of prison to his Berlin friends a month before his death he stated:

"I merely regret every crime I wasn't able to commit."

Kampf is full of prophecies. In 1904 it warned of a future war with England. It prophesied also that the organisation-mad SPD would wholeheartedly endorse that war, and that Germany would head for eventual total catastrophe. The ensuing forty years have proved Holzmann right. Holzmann also had a lot to say which is relevant in 1970. In 1905 he warned:

Universities are becoming stud-farms for police spies; the Chancellor of the Reich is a clown who consorts with Ahlwardt and Pückler (two noted anti-semites—M.J.) in wooing the crazed support of crowds dominated by their worst instincts. In Germany, sham-constitutional Germany, in which Russian police methods are used, where free speech is stifled, where we are locked up, beaten up, where "soldier" means one who would shoot down his own father if ordered.

(*Kampf* No. 15, 26.2.1905.)

In order to combat this state of affairs, Holzmann continually argued that workers should take their fate into their own hands and sidestep the bureaucratic paralysis of the SPD-controlled Trade Unions. Anarchists from the *Kampf* group went to the Ruhr in 1905 to effect this, and a national network began to grow which had sympathisers throughout Germany. Mühsam and Landauer contributed to *Kampf*, poets and artists collected round it who still stand as innovators, such as Paul Scheerbarth, who invented "sound-poems", Else Lasker-Schüler and others.

Kampf was a big achievement for a nineteen-year-old, but in the end, action counted more for Holzmann than words, hence his departure to Russia. Although he never came back to Berlin, his influence lived on, notably in the work of Franz Pfemfert (1879-1954), of whom more will be said. Pfemfert called Holzmann

"A twenty-year-old political conscience in Berlin. He did not go in vain into the fight for freedom."

MIKE JONES.

REFORM:

This can only be carried through on the basis of the existing order and with the means available inside that order. It may modify that order, but cannot change it, cannot overthrow it. Social Democracy, as indeed all the other parties, recognises this order.

Only ruthless economic struggle punches through these barriers and totally transcends the presuppositions of order, and it therefore seems the proper, the only proper means which must lead to a social, and therefore political, metamorphosis.

The most concentrated form of economic struggle is the general strike, and the basis for a general strike is as follows:

Boundless development of the **individual**, unconditional development and education of the masses. Let this be our path!

(*Kampf*, 17.2.1905.)

FREEDOM:

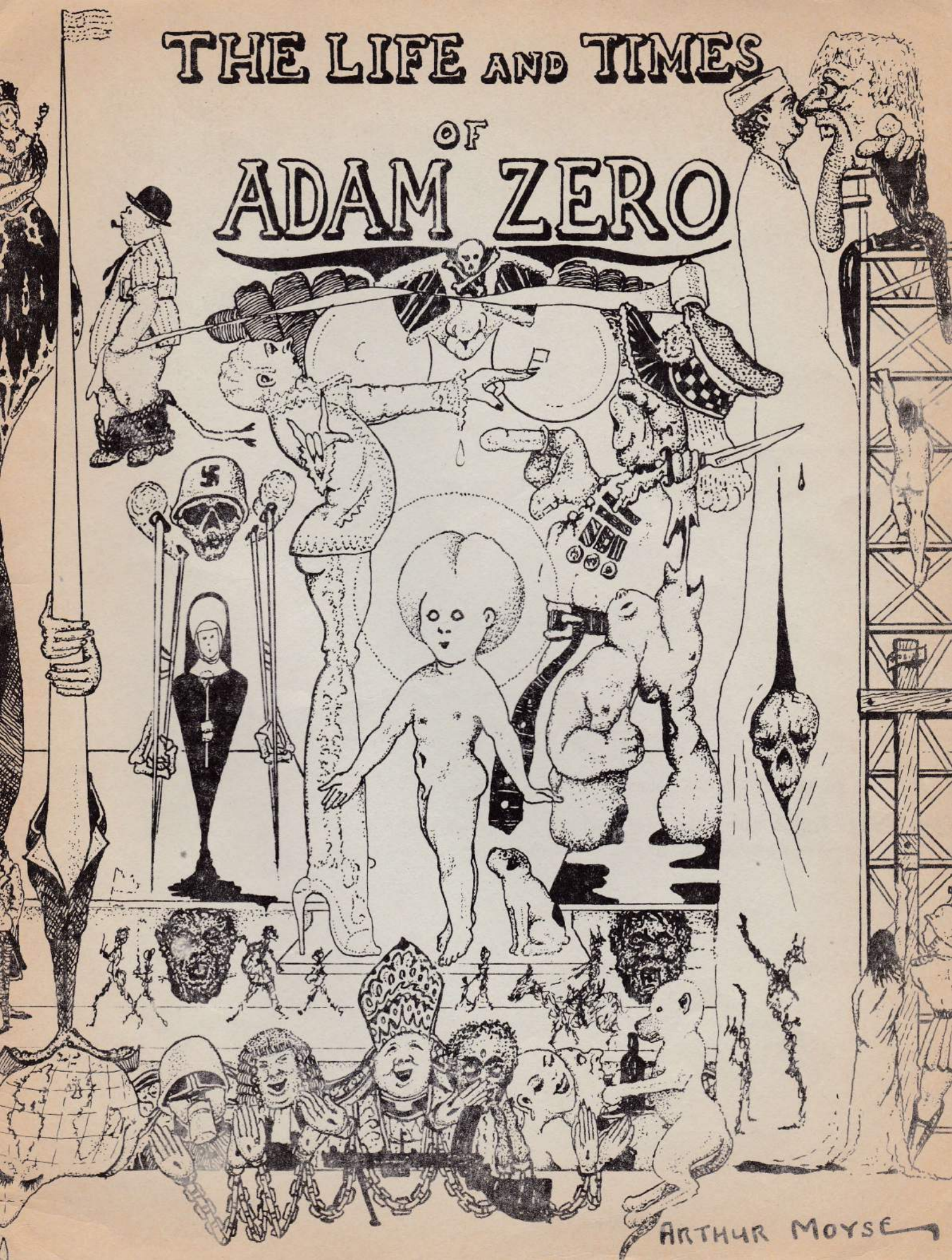
The first, most important step towards attaining healthy conditions must be the secession of intelligent pioneers from capitalist society, as Gustav Landauer just mentioned in a recent Zionist meeting. Only then can we begin to think about freeing the working class.

(*Kampf*, 21.4.1904.)

POEM

(smuggled from Prison in 1914)
What does it mean to have lived, felt,
known, wanted, sown, reaped?
Soon I will be no more and the world—
who knows?—will last for eons.
Deeds there are, which I haven't done,
thoughts
Burn—which I haven't ripened yet.
Pain, whips, which haven't tortured
Laughter resounds, which I haven't
laughed.
There go my gravediggers to their work
with
Pipes, jokes.
The last thought ices over in the brain,
last
Desires shriek in the heart.
I regret every crime in my life that
I haven't yet committed
Every wish which I haven't realised
In my life.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ADAM ZERO



ARTHUR MOYSE

Die Aktion

N.R.

WOCHENSCHRIFT FÜR POLITIK, LITERATUR, KUNST
IV. JAHR HERAUSGEGEBEN VON FRANZ PFEMFERT NR. 19

INHALT: Richter-Berlin: Senna Hoy (Titelbild) / Franz Pfemfert: Senna Hoy ist gestorben / Senna Hoy: Verse aus dem Moskauer Gefängnis / Senna Hoy: Blutstropfen (nach Sologub) / Else Lasker-Schüler: Lauter Diamant / Ludwig Rubiner: Um die Neue Secession / Paul Mayer: War dies alles? / Unveröffentlichte Briefe von Elisée Reclus / Kleiner Briefkasten / Hugo Kersten: Literarische Neuerscheinungen.



VERLAG / DIE AKTION / BERLIN-WILMERSDORF

HEFT 30 PFG.