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REINVENTING ANARCHY. RKP
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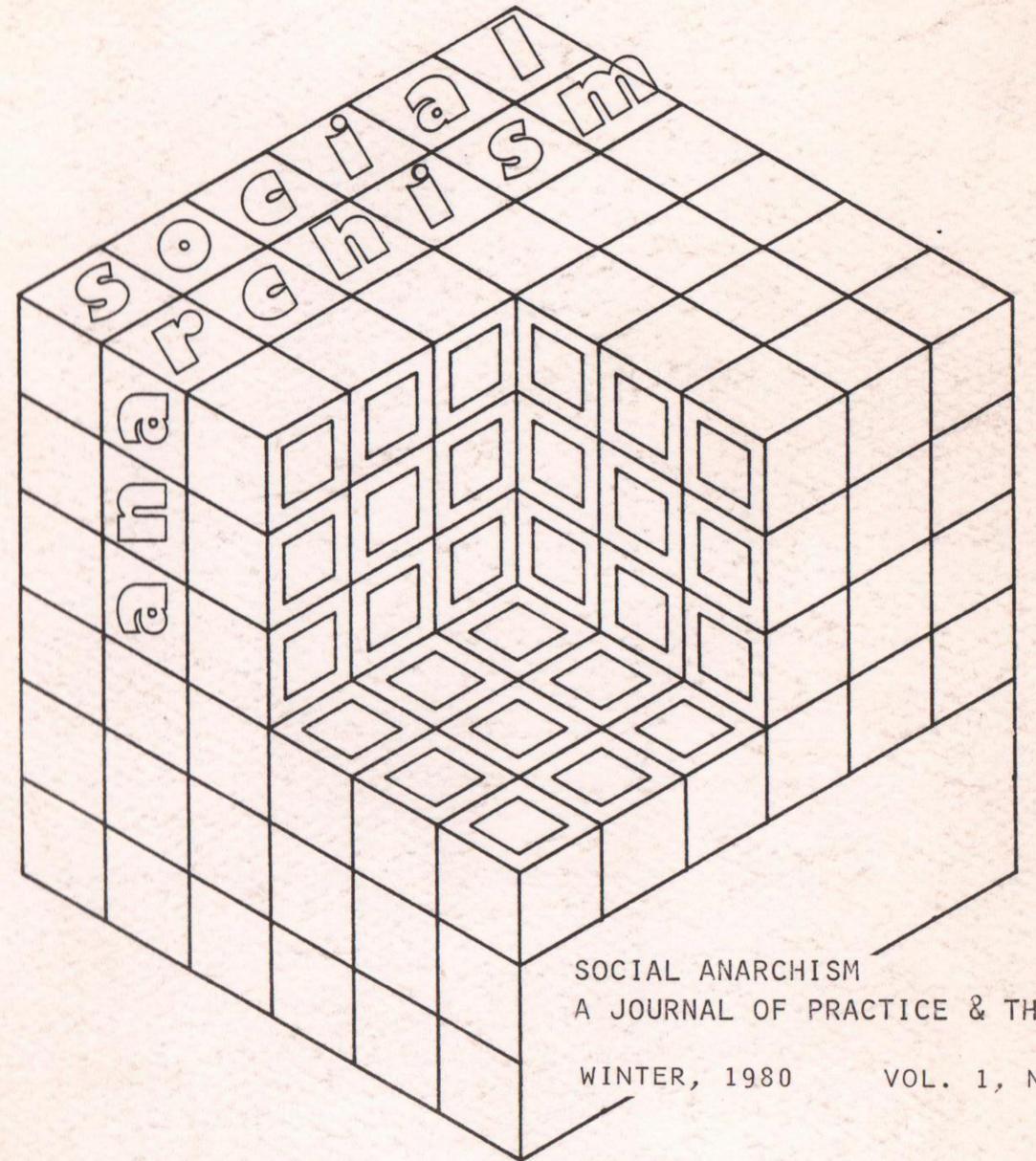
REINVENTING ANARCHY. WHAT ARE ANARCHISTS THINKING THESE DAYS?

This anthology brings together the work of living anarchists, writing on contemporary issues and ideas, and offers what is probably the best single statement of the principles of social anarchism yet produced. All the articles except one were written within the last ten years, and many of them are here published for the first time. Among the topics covered are the state of anarchist organization, the anarchist-feminist connection, and the problems of reinventing anarchist tactics. As part of the editors' goal of representing current anarchist thinking, the anthology contains reprints of contemporary posters, leaflets and graphics, as well as the poetry of anarchist writers.

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Social Anarchism

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From the Editors--

In the autumn of 1978 after the manuscript for our anthology of contemporary anarchist thought had been mailed to our London publisher, we began to think about producing a magazine. Our attempts at securing manuscripts, our correspondence and personal meetings with anarchists across the continent, our readings and conversations with dispirited marxists and depressed liberals--all led us back to our starting point. We came to believe even more strongly that there is a need for a serious magazine for the expression of anarchist practice and theory.

This magazine has been two years in preparation. We think it was worth the effort, and we are already looking forward to beginning the second issue. And in order to avoid the pomposities of opening day speeches, we end.

Here it is. Read and enjoy.

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SOCIAL ANARCHISM

A JOURNAL OF PRACTICE AND THEORY

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 1

WINTER 1980

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INVISIBLE DICTATORS

Social Science Research and Liberal Politics

Peggy Kornegger

Federal department officials achieve significant insulation from criticism of their behavior if they can cite a "think tank" study....Although hidden by considerable camouflage, this game is an instrumental one, designed to ratify, certify, or initiate what the federal bureaucracies and their corporate beneficiaries -- a well-fused duo -- are doing or would like to do. It is a ritual involving millions of dollars each year that in turn directs annual expenditures of billions of dollars. But it is more than that. [Emphasis added]

-Ralph Nader
Introduction to *The Shadow Government*

Very few of us in this country feel particularly powerful in our daily lives; on the other hand, almost all of us are aware of how power is wielded over us, in our jobs, our homes, "our" government. Rarely are our decisions completely free. Habitually, we choose, as in electoral politics, the lesser of two evils, or we decide what we can or cannot afford economically. Often, we know who *does* have power and economic freedom in America. We can point to a Rockefeller or a Kennedy and feel anger or frustration. But do we know exactly how they got there and how the American system functions to keep them there?

If we look closely at our lives, we can see the U.S. political and economic structure in microcosm. If we look at our schools, our workplaces, our local government, and yes, even our homes, we can see the seeds of power politics. We can see a social system based on hierarchy and the supposed necessity of a top and bottom, of authority (whether President, boss, or father). From a very early age, we are taught to relinquish our decision-making power to the nearest authority figure. By the time we are adults, we "automatically" step into our roles as responsible citizens, i.e., rule-followers. This is the nature of hierarchical societies. The message is to climb to the top, not to try to eliminate the top entirely. To be "on top" is definitely a privileged position; yet, we are also told that we are all equal -- the double message of liberal American politics. Very confusing, and it seems to become more so all the time. There are reasons for this. How can we uncover them?

In my own life, the politics of anarchism has helped clear away some of the confusion thrown in my path from all directions every day. Anarchist theory denies the necessity of power and hierarchy and postulates a social structure based on genuine equality and collectivity. For the past nine years, anarchism has functioned for me as both a political tool and a hopeful vision. As a tool, it helps me cut through phony liberal rhetoric and see what's really going on, and as a vision, it gives me hope that things really can be done differently.

My personal experience of liberal politics in America has been varied, but I was nowhere more "enlightened" than at a research corporation where I worked (as a typist and copy editor) in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Its name: Abt Associates, Inc. Before I lived in Cambridge I never knew such consulting firms or "think tanks" existed. Research to me had always meant a nonprofit academic endeavor. Not so. In Cambridge, home of Harvard and MIT, professional organizations whose sole product is research ("in-depth studies" made under contract to clients) do more than exist; they proliferate. Not only do they proliferate, and make millions of dollars each year, they are asserting a greater and greater influence in American and world politics, an influence that, particularly in the area of social science research, is becoming a most subtle and insidious means of social control.

How do such organizations operate, and who are their clients? Their clients are the federal government; state, local, and foreign governments; educational and health institutions; industrial and business corporations; and, often, one another. The federal government alone spends over \$100 billion a year on grants and contracts for "research and development," "training and technical assistance," "systems analysis," and various kinds of "consultant services." This phenomenon is only beginning to be investigated. In their book, *The Shadow Government*, (Pantheon, 1976) Daniel Guttman and Barry Willner describe the "government's multi-billion-dollar giveaway of its decision-making powers" to "think tanks." They discuss the waste of

money, the uselessness of many studies, the award of contracts based on personal friendships and influence, and the collusion triangle formed as both government and private business contract with the same consulting firms.

These aspects of the consultant game are certainly important to bring to public attention. However, there are other, less obvious considerations, and these concern the creation of new forms of political control of individuals and society as a whole. In a so-called liberal democracy such as ours, the ideas of "freedom" and "equality" are crucial: Americans are taught to believe in them -- in the abstract anyway. In concrete reality, our political system is based on a social and economic hierarchy in which personal power comes from being of the right class, race, and sex. Real freedom and equality are thus non-existent. Yet, most Americans believe they are both free and equal. Why? Brainwashing would be a much too unsubtle description of the education we all experience in this country (in or out of school). The kind of fascism George Orwell prophesized for 1984 is taking a much quieter, sophisticated form in America. It has been 200 years in preparation, and its final manifestation is invisibility. This invisibility is supported by one well-known institution -- liberal politics -- and by a newer, less known phenomenon -- social science research. I believe that this research, the process and the product, constitutes one of the most dangerous forms political control can take.

ABT ASSOCIATES INC.

*The hypothesis was that an unusual degree of participation in the decision-making, risks, and rewards of the enterprise would result in high levels of effort by a high quality staff. In a sense we have been reaffirming the Puritan ethic, and it works. The staff exhibit great devotion to the work, put in many hours of unpaid overtime, and keep trying to improve their work and their own skills for doing it.**

-Clark Abt
President and Treasurer
Abt Associates Inc.

Founded in 1965 by ex-Raytheon employee (manager, Missile Systems Division) Clark Abt, Abt Associates has grown in size until today, at its main offices in Cambridge, over 700 staff work on about 100 different social research projects, with contract revenues totalling nearly \$18 million a year. In addition to a Washington, D.C. office and branch offices in major cities

*This quote was taken from a booklet called *Abt Associates Inc. 1965-1975*. Other quotes in this article, when not otherwise referenced, come from this booklet, the 1976 Annual Report and Social Audit, the 1977-78 Abt Publications Catalog, or similar promotional brochures.

throughout the United States, Abt has recently gone multinational, with the opening of offices in Ottawa, Canada and Heidelberg, West Germany. In six major Areas (Economics and Environmental Analysis, Health Care Systems, Social Experimentation and Research, Education, Child and Family, and Law and Justice) and two auxiliary operations (Survey Services and Publications), Abt Associates contracts with government and private institutions to provide "analysis of social problems" and "design, operation, and evaluation of social programs and institutions." During 12 years of operation, Abt's clients have included almost every department of the federal government, countless state and local, as well as foreign, governments, and private institutions and businesses ranging from Harvard University and the Rockefeller Foundation to those infamous multinational corporations Rand, Raytheon, Union Carbide, and United Fruit. In 1976 the company net worth was over \$4 million, and retained earnings (after taxes) were near \$2.5 million. Clearly no small operation.

Visually, Abt Associates Inc. resembles a hip, architecturally "nouveau riche" social club or ski lodge. The complex of buildings in Cambridge includes: large, sunny plant-filled offices; a library; a cafeteria (regularly serving croissants and quiche) facing a tree-and-flower-landscaped (\$10,000 was spent on trees alone last spring) inner courtyard complete with barbeque and picnic tables; a two-floor, pillow-strewn, skylighted open space referred to as "the Reality Gap"; a child care area called Children's Village (charging about \$80 a week per child); a Recreation Center including a sauna, swimming pool, sunbathing deck, and tennis courts; garden plots for employees; and a new solar energy building, which was dedicated by Massachusetts Governor Dukakis. An indoor/outdoor intercom system pages employees not in their offices to the nearest hall telephone when calls come in. Each Area has a unit providing free coffee, tea, or hot chocolate; the women's bathrooms provide free tampons; and the halls have strategically placed boxes for recycled paper.

Abt employees themselves look like they stepped out of either a swinging singles club, an athletic spa, or a university campus. Bluejeans, barefeet, track shorts, or swimsuits are common, as the predominantly youthful staff alternate "business" with the pleasures of tennis, running, swimming, etc. More sedentary types can be seen playing chess or bridge in the cafeteria. Exercise and karate classes are often offered at lunch hours, while such classes as statistics and editing or talks by visiting lecturers are given at other times of the day. The building is open 24 hours a day, and it is not unusual for staff to work all night at "crunch" periods before proposals or contracts are due. Working hours are "loose"; although 9 to 5 is the base line of company operations, some staff work only at night, others parttime, still others fulltime plus overtime.

At first glance, Abt employees seem to follow some socially conscious analysis of the latest population statistics on minorities, women, the handicapped, etc. One would swear that a

chart had been consulted in order to hire x number of blacks, x number of people in wheel chairs, and so on. These liberal hiring policies go even further in the Typing Center, where artists, musicians, political leftists, lesbians and gay men work part-time as typists and copy editors. The walls near the Typing Center are full of newspaper clippings with political commentary and notices of demonstrations or women's movement activities. I wouldn't go so far as to say that revolutionaries or lesbians are deliberately hired (in the way that minorities and handicapped are), but they are "tolerated" in an atmosphere of pseudo-liberalism that pervades the whole company.

This atmosphere, superficially so free and easy, open and egalitarian, is the cover for a hierarchy which is just as rigid as any traditional conservative capitalist enterprise. In actuality, there is an upstairs/downstairs structure to Abt Associates which manifests itself *physically* (consultants, contract managers, etc., have sunny upstairs offices; support staff -- Typing Center, Xerox, Design and Graphics -- work in the basement), *economically* (Clark Abt makes over \$90,000 a year before taxes; Typing Center staff start at \$3.75/hr.), *politically* (minorities and women occupy visible "token" positions, while the majority of upper echelon jobs are held by white males; the Abt "population" does not simulate U.S. population statistics -- the company has in fact had both sex and race discrimination suits filed against it), and *psychologically* (the Horatio Alger rise-to-the-top ethic is continually stressed, while employee participation in company decisions is touted as the height of democratic process). It is this latter area of psychological/sociological double talk which is the product of Abt social science research and which is practiced in-house and sold outside to provide the perfect cover -- invisibility -- behind which political control of social behavior can flourish.

ABT RESEARCH

The world of child maltreatment has been a bastion of strength against those who would attempt to operationalize its indicators.

The propensity to move the residence should be related to the household's historical mobility behavior.

Children of very young mothers have a higher probability of being first borns than do children born to older mothers....

QUOTES FROM ABT REPORTS

Social science jargon is becoming increasingly notorious as many writers lament the misuse of the English language. The political dimensions of this new phraseology, which is steadily

"THE WORLD OF CHILD MALTREATMENT HAS BEEN A BASTION OF STRENGTH AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD ATTEMPT TO OPERATIONALIZE ITS INDICATORS."



creeping into our everyday conversation, have not been fully explored. In the early 1970s, there was criticism of the government's use of such words as "megadeath," "body counts," and "overkill" to denote the horrors of the Vietnam War. Vague, impersonal terminology and 3-noun phrases which confuse, mislead, or veil oppression form the very basis of social science research. "Minority-group isolation" (racism), "nonpositive termination" (firing), and "prison population" (number of people imprisoned) are watered-down word substitutes which attempt to hide the fact that there are specific powerful people responsible for these situations. Conclusions drawn from research range from the blatantly obvious -- "Those with higher incomes are more likely to be wealthy..." -- to the insultingly elitist -- "It appears that the preference for parks and recreation increases with income." One paper I typed (submitted to a social science journal) made a plea for safety and health education in public schools in order to "reach people before their attitudes toward work-related injuries have become inflexible and self-destructive...." The burden of blame for on-the-job accidents was put on the worker "because many employed people have little confidence in the pronouncements of employers, government officials, and educators regarding the dangers of their jobs." Picture, if you can, the kind-hearted capitalist telling the worker of the dangers of brown lung.

The elitism inherent in these statements goes unnoticed by the Abt "professional staff" because the majority fall at the middle to upper end of any class analysis. These are the "unbiased" researchers who are flooding the government and private institutions with sociological analysis and ever more effective methods for efficient use of "human resources." These individuals furnish those in power with lubrication for the wheels of the status quo...under the guise of social change. This "change" sounds so good, so well-intended, in Abt brochures. Many Abt researchers probably are well-intended people who believe in the "good" of their work, but the point is that this is all part of the liberal illusion of working within the system for social change. What actually changes is very little, only enough to keep things the same, to keep the hierarchy intact. This is the service that social scientists provide: to find better (i.e., unnoticeable) ways to keep the Amerikan Myth Machine running smoothly. And Abt Associates Inc. plays a major role in the provision of this service.

PARTICIPATION WITHOUT POWER -- THE ABT SOCIAL AUDIT

Probably the most telling illustration of Abt methodology is one of its products -- the Social Audit -- Clark Abt's own invention, about which he has written a book (*The Social Audit for Management*, 1977). Described as a "humane management technique," its goal is "to practice internally what we urged externally -- the efficient and equitable management of resources for the general good." The technique is to annually survey employees, stockholders, clients, and community neighbors and ask

them to "estimate the worth of whatever social benefits and costs generated by the company concern them." These results are then converted to a series of tables and figures which "quantify" Abt's "social performance." The results are then published in booklet form and supposedly provide the basis for future company decisions.

The in-house Social Audit is a long and detailed questionnaire which asks employees to choose company benefits (would you rather have free breakfasts or dental insurance?), to rate management actions (would you prefer company profits to be reinvested or to go toward raises?), and allows plenty of space for the expression of dissatisfaction or grievances (how much overtime do you work; has your home life suffered; adequate opportunity for career advancement?). Aside from the pretense of participation in company decisions, the most important function of the Social Audit is that of providing a built-in mechanism for "blowing off steam."

The effectiveness of this technique is demonstrated by two incidents that occurred while I was working at Abt. The first was a direct outcome of the Social Audit questionnaire process. A Typing Center employee filled in her questionnaire with an extended political analysis of the Abt hierarchy and an angry diatribe against the phony raise-yourself-up-by-your-bootstraps attitudes. In response, Clark Abt called a "Quality of Life in the Basement" meeting for all basement staff. The meeting started off mildly with Abt asking about working conditions ("Jim, could you address the stale air issue?") and providing easy monetary solutions for most complaints (acoustical treatment of ceilings and typewriters for the noise problem). The Social Audit theory behind this practice is that "sometimes a relatively small change in supply in the desired direction (i.e., low cost changes) can produce a relatively large change in the imputed satisfaction of staff...."

Next, he read aloud the critical response of the Typing Center employee in its entirety, taking almost 15 minutes. There was general applause at the end, after which Abt said he was not surprised by the support for this position and asked for comment. The meeting then became a grievance session, during which much anger was expressed, and Clark Abt responded quietly, "reasonably," with an expression of regret and concern on his face. In this quiet, rational manner, he successfully diverted the discussion to the issue of whether or not one can actually "advance" in the company. This was something he could deal with, citing examples of those who had worked their way up from the bottom, expressing a sincere desire for people to do just that, and striking a "what can we all do to make it better" pose. No one was particularly fooled by his manner, but the diversion tactic itself was successful in that it got everybody arguing about specific grievances, rather than focusing on whether a hierarchy (or Abt Associates) should exist at all.

A few months after this meeting, a full-fledged movement

began in the Typing Center to oust our supervisor, who was firing individuals based on personality conflicts and making various other arbitrary decisions about Typing Center employees. Forty people signed a petition to ask for a performance review of her competence as Typing Center manager. Unfortunately, we were focusing on trying to get her fired (revenge) rather than realizing that all managers are more or less the same and the real issue should be getting rid of managers altogether (revolution) -- or at least trying to get a union organized for our own protection. Be that as it may, the handling of our petition by personnel and administration followed typical Social Audit philosophy lines. After several weeks of consultation and repeated assurances that they were seriously considering the problem, a meeting was called, with our supervisor sitting up front with her immediate supervisor and a company vice president. The director of personnel sat out in the "audience" with the Typing Center staff.

In this classroom-like physical setting, our supervisor's "superiors" proceeded to placate us with the presentation of various "management tools" (e.g., feedback/complaint sheets for our work, a chalkboard listing our skills and the kinds of tasks we prefer), which were supposed to help make our supervisor a more "competent" manager. Thus, the discussion was diverted to specific grievances (why don't we get paid for times when there's no work?) and the usage of these "tools" (should there be a letter or number code for each skill?). Not that the issue of "no coverage for down time" is unimportant, but the fact remains that when we left that meeting, we were just as powerless as we had been originally. We still had no protection against arbitrary decisions made about our lives. We were left with those "small low-cost changes" supposed to increase our "satisfaction." The basic structure of Abt's corporate hierarchy was unshaken, and we remained on the bottom, demoralized by our own "failure," uncertain as to exactly why we had failed, and without energy or enthusiasm to try again. The Typing Center revolt had been successfully crushed.

Placation (through minor, "low-cost changes") and diversion (through a grievance session which detonates anger before it reaches the boiling point) are the modus operandi of the Social Audit. Their function is to break the back of any revolt before it can get really started. The Social Audit philosophy permeates Abt Associates; it is used both in-house and outside to squelch rebellion. Scratch the surface of any Abt study or report and you find Social Audit theory at work. Its superficial simplicity and innocuousness make it all the more dangerous because one has to dig deep to discover the real motivations beneath the liberal rhetoric.

Sometimes, however, the true nature of the Audit, and of Abt Associates, shows itself in a more obvious manner. Unsurprisingly, this is particularly true of work done by the Law and Justice Area. A case in point is a California Youth Authority project, in which a formal hearing and appeals procedure was

created to reduce hostility between inmates and staff in California's juvenile prisons. "...[A]n easy-to-use grievance system helps keep unresolved problems in a prison from generating hostility, or even open confrontation, between inmates and staff." Here at last is a fairly direct statement of what the Social Audit is really about. In short, give prisoners everything they want, including a voice in how their prison should be run, and maybe they'll forget they're in prison (on the job, in school, etc.). This is what Abt Associates is selling, and the similarities to American liberal democracy are unmistakable.

CLARK ABT AND JIMMY CARTER: THE SMILE THAT LIES

As I watched the festivities for Jimmy Carter last winter, I was struck by the similarity between what went on there and what was happening at Abt. Seen together, they seemed indicative of a trend in American politics that, though not new, is taking new forms.

First, a pre-Inaugural concert featured a liberal spectrum of performers -- Lily Tomlin, John Wayne, and Warren Beatty all shared the stage, while Aretha Franklin gave a "soulful" rendition of "God Bless America." Jimmy Carter smiled and applauded throughout. The following evening, he (with Rosalyn and Amy sharing the spotlight) attended not the usual one, but several Inauguration parties given in his honor. These were his first actions demonstrating a new "open Presidency." Next he opened up the White House telephone lines to calls from the American public and went on the air to answer questions from the "people" (a variation on "Quality of Life in the Basement"). Nothing too innovative in these activities; Presidents have always tried to prove that they are "men of the people" ("good old boys"), unchanged by their ascension to power. Still, something about that toothy smile made me realize that with Jimmy Carter as President we have given new life to the longstanding liberal illusion: that a change in who's in power has an effect on how a government functions, that there really can be an "open Presidency."

This is what liberal politics is all about. Americans are urged to vote away their decision-making power to representatives, who will make decisions for them. To vote is to take part in a fake democracy, where the choices involve only which candidate will make your choices for you. (Who chooses those particular candidates? Those already in power of course.) So, in fact, this is the same philosophy as the Abt Social Audit -- participation without power. The people are "placated" by minor social reform and "diverted" by squabbling over which candidate or program is best. Meanwhile, the basic power structure does not change: there is still a top (a President) and a bottom (the people). Still, today it has become politically advisable to at least pretend to have a social conscience and profess egalitarianism, so liberal politicians must come up with increasingly subtle ways to camouflage the rigid hierarchy that is government. Enter social science research.

Supported by the millions of dollars spent each year on contracts and grants, Abt Associates Inc. and other research corporations are developing more effective methods of control of human behavior; "management tools" on a small scale become on a large scale the weapons that any hierarchy (government or corporation) uses to perpetuate itself. Social science research is perfecting *invisible* control: the voice in your sleep, the velvet hand at your throat, the smiling "Big Brother" who hides an iron fist beneath his cloak of egalitarian social concern. So while we the people are beguiled by the illusion of democracy, the ruling class is learning more and more insidious ways to rule. This is the form that fascism is taking in the United States, and as its power is bolstered by places like Abt Associates, each grows off the other's strength.

TODAY, ABT -- TOMORROW, THE WORLD

The longer term international goals include becoming a significant international social and economic policy research organization, making a contribution to effective program operations and policy decisions in other parts of the world, and achieving longer range growth for Abt Associates... A variety of international marketing opportunities will be pursued with international agencies, multinational corporations, and selected developing and industrial countries.

-House Organ
Abt Associates Inc.

Each year the Abt operation gets bigger; its influence spreads, as its market widens. The multinational corporation phenomenon, which has long been a cover for U.S. economic exploitation and political interference around the world, is taking on a new, even more frightening aspect: mind control. With the advent of social science research, U.S. imperialism expands to include the manipulation of "human resources" as well as natural resources.

Abt Associates is already well-equipped for this role. It has had clients in all parts of the world, including France, Puerto Rico, Japan, Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, and now with offices in Canada and West Germany, its operations can become even more expansive. And where Abt staff can't go, Abt publications can. Abt's Publications operation is also increasing in size; the 1977-78 catalog had over 200 listings. Besides reports, studies, and books also included are a number of products from Games Central, one of the most profitable enterprises Abt Associates has engineered, and another pet project of Clark Abt.

In his 1970 book *Serious Games* (translated into both Portuguese and German), Clark Abt advocates the use of "serious games" (simulation of real-life situations) in the solution of social, economic, and political problems. In the preface, he describes how he came to his social games theories and why he left military-hardware-oriented Raytheon to found Abt Associates: "My

idea was to work on domestic, nonmilitary problems combining the computer-simulation and war-gaming techniques I had learned in the aerospace industry with the methods of the social sciences."

This merger of the military and the social sciences is clearly visible beneath the liberal facade of the games Abt describes for use in Education, Occupational Training, and Planning and Problem-Solving in Government and Industry, to name a few. He discusses how games can be used in police academies for training police ("...to teach new law enforcement officers the effectiveness of alternative police methods, such as crime prevention by deterrence, physical denial, surveillance...citizen cooperation...") and in the community to improve relations between local government and citizens ("The ability of residents to manipulate simulated data concerning a proposed school, budget, or zoning change can reduce their feeling that they have little say in what goes on in town government..."). The direct, harsh authoritarianism of the military is softened by the social science approach, once again working to squelch rebellion (or crime) before it occurs through "citizen cooperation," i.e., participation without power.

In education, social science games play another important role: early mind control. Abt Associates specializes in these learning games or "curriculum materials," as they're called in the Abt catalog. The very names of some of these games smack of militarism and reveal a good deal about Abt's internationalism: *Slave Coast* (19th century resistance to slave trade), *Empire* (18th century mercantilism), *Grand Strategy* (1914 European diplomacy). *Dangerous Parallel* (October 1950 international crisis in Korea -- originally designed with the Foreign Policy Association), *Settle or Strike* (union/management collective bargaining), and an *American History Simulation* series (including six games: *Colony*, *Development*, *Frontier*, *Intervention*, *Promotion*, and *Reconstruction*). And these are games for young people!

Even more frightening are the ones Clark Abt describes in his chapter on Games in Government and Industry. One called *Politica* and designed by Martin S. Gordon, an Abt employee, and Daniel Del Solar) portrays a "prerevolutionary crisis in Latin America." Players are given portfolios containing information on the roles they will play in the game: "personal and social profiles," which include geographical region (capital city, provincial city, industrial sector, agricultural sector) and political party (conservative, moderate liberal reform, or Communist). Various scenarios can then be used, changing who is in power, etc. Clark Abt states that *Politica* was test played by designers, professors, students, and government officials and "led to conclusions not obvious from the scenario above, and offered the possibility of forecasting individual and group responses to specific environmental stimuli." What a useful tool for U.S. imperialist maneuvers in Latin America! Not to mention the rest of the world.

Social science research and the corporations where it is spawned are providing more and more such tools for government,

big business, and the military. Abt Associates Inc. and dozens of others like it play ever larger roles in both national and international politics. In their true colors, they emerge as undercover agents for U.S. imperialism and ghostwriters for government (and corporate) policies on "liberal" fascism.

How to fight such powerful forces? It's not a simple task. Working at Abt Associates was one of the most insidiously seductive experiences of my life. It took me two years to realize the full implications of Abt research, to see through all the smiling liberalism, the endless staff "benefits," and the loose, hip atmosphere. I was seduced, as are most Typing Center staff, by the "freedom" to choose my own hours and work only parttime. I thought that most Abt research was relatively harmless and that its worst crime was elitism and incredible wealth (bad enough). I also believed that by staying at the bottom, I wasn't really participating. I was wrong.

Even bottom-rung participation is still in some way supporting an oppressive institution. On the other hand, many of us have few choices about where we can get jobs to support ourselves. All jobs are in some way part of the power structure of this country. Still, it seems important to withdraw support, as much as is possible within the context of our own economic survival, from the most oppressive corporations and institutions in this country. More importantly, we have to learn to recognize the authoritarianism and hierarchy which form the base of all capitalist enterprises as well as liberal politics. And with recognition must come action: claiming the right to make decisions about our own lives, on the job, in politics, and in our personal relationships. We must speak and act upon our defiance of any and all authority. Only then can we begin to destroy the "game of illusion" which is liberalism: "concerned" management is still management; "responsive" representatives are still representatives. Both take the decision-making power out of the hands of the many and put it in the hands of the few. Invisible dictators are dictators still.

SIGNS OF POWER

David Marshall

Imagine yourself in Paris riding on a bus: as you stand by the exit door waiting to get off, or as you try to avoid the eyes of the passenger sitting across from you, your eyes wander and casually your glance takes in a poster. If you travel often by bus you have seen this poster many times before, neatly framed by the exit, although perhaps you never stopped to consider it or to wonder what it tells you. It is an advertisement only in the original sense of that word: a warning. It is a bright and apparently friendly sign, depicting a squirrel drawn with color and imagination and carrying the written message: "Conservez votre titre de transport. (Il peut être contrôlé.) (Keep your ticket. It may be checked.)" This message will not surprise you. The Parisian transit system, like many other transit systems in Europe, operates on the assumption that the vast majority of its passengers will be too honest -- or too scared -- not to pay their fare, despite the facility with which one could often ride without paying. Yearly technological innovations are designed to correct blind spots in the system and insure that everyone will pay; and those who are not "honest" know that they risk being discovered by one of the many teams of *contrôleurs* (or monitors) who patrol the buses and metro and check passengers' tickets. So what are you to think of this poster with its cartoon figure of a squirrel? It appears to be a cleverly illustrated, friendly public service reminder. But is this really its message or the purpose of its design?

Consider first the written message (which, as we will see, is the poster's least important aspect). It speaks directly to you, using an imperative and a personal pronoun; but to whom is its good-natured reminder addressed? "Conservez votre titre de transport" presupposes that you have a ticket and that simply out of carelessness or ignorance you might throw it away. However, it seems unlikely that this advertising campaign would be directed to those few passengers who buy the proper ticket and then

This essay, based on a poster which appeared in all public buses in Paris in 1978, is part of a work in progress which focuses on the signs and images presented to us by public authorities in Europe and the United States.

lose it; more probably, it speaks to those who do not have a ticket to begin with. It is an attempt to discourage illegality, not carelessness. The signs in the metro appear to make the same assumption that you have complied with the law, although they are somewhat more explicit about what is at stake: "Ne vous mettez pas en situation irreguliere: Vous auriez à payer immédiatement une indemnité forfaitaire. Don't place yourself in an irregular situation. You would have to pay a fine." Here the warning that your ticket might be checked is accompanied by a squirrel rather than a threat, spoken as if with a smile, as if it were the squirrel speaking rather than the voice of the transit authority. Just as it confuses the guilty passenger with the absent-minded one, the ambiguous pronoun of its parenthetical after-thought displaces the object of the *contrôle* from the passenger to the ticket. The warning is posted for all to read but it admits neither whom it is speaking to nor what it is warning. It does not acknowledge the implicit message it means for you to understand.

However, the writing is only the caption for the real focus of the poster, although at first it might appear that the visual message is simply an illustration for the written message. The picture that your eyes repeatedly (day after day) pass over shows a large and vividly colored squirrel, holding in its paw a yellow shape identifiable as a bus ticket. The ostensible reason for depicting a squirrel is presumably that squirrels save or conserve things and as such symbolize the act of not throwing something away. A Parisian savings bank, for example, also uses a squirrel as its symbol. But is that all that is represented by the squirrel before our eyes in every bus that we ride in Paris? Since childhood, we are accustomed to seeing people represented by anthropomorphic animals, so much so that we might not think twice about this one; but this explanation points to the fact that these sorts of images are usually designed for children, and that in a sense we are being spoken to as if we were children. (That personified animals are often employed by typical commercial advertisements indicates only that advertising often treats us as if we were children.)

Furthermore, the detail of the yellow bus ticket held by the squirrel transforms the animal from a general representation of "conservation" to a specific depiction of the passenger: it stands for you. Public signs indicate the images that society creates of itself for itself -- or the images advertising agencies or public authorities wish to represent to you as you. In this case, at the same time you are appealed to as a child, you (as passenger) are presented to yourself as a small and defenseless rodent, one who is often chased and shot at and easily frightened. This last sense corresponds to the peculiar way in which the squirrel is drawn: although at first it seems cute and playfully designed, consider it and your reactions more closely. Bold red and orange colors fill out an outline that ends in flaming sharp edges, exaggerating shapes almost violently. Danger and anxiety are expressed more than cuteness; to me, the image is reminiscent of drawings by schizophrenics. Are these senses appropriate to the message of the design and the design of the message?

This question becomes more insistent as we look at (as we must) the predominant and most telling feature of the animal figure: its single, exaggeratedly huge, open eye. This eye is what catches your attention, what dominates your field of vision. It does not conform to the scale or to the tone of the drawing, nor with the central action and ostensible reference of the sign, the reminder to save your ticket. Instead, this ubiquitous eye, looking directly at you, conveys an implicit message remarkably different from the explicit communication of the poster, transforming the squirrel into a psychologically powerful condensation of two different images. The enlarged and isolated eye regarding the passengers is obviously a reminder -- and not a light-hearted one -- that they are being watched, that you are being watched, and that if you are without a ticket you might be (read: will be) spied, seen, discovered, exposed; and, as you know if you have even been caught or seen someone caught by a *contrôleur*, you will be forced to play out a humiliating scene before the eyes of the other passengers. The eye speaks not to the passenger who might prematurely discard his or her ticket, but to the guilty -- or to those who are tempted but too scared to be guilty. (Note that in another version of the sign, placed in the same position in buses, the reminder "Conservez votre titre de transport" is accompanied not by a squirrel but by the bold warning: "ATTENTION AUX CONTRÔLES -- WATCH OUT FOR TICKET CHECKS." Occupying the same position on the poster, it is clear that the squirrel (and its eye) is simply a visual translation of this message.)

Recall at this point that *contrôler* (according to the dictionary Robert) means not only "vérifier" and "examiner," not only "critiquer" and "censurer," but also "surveiller," "avoir sous sa domination, sa surveillance." (In English: verify, examine, criticize, censure, watch, have under one's domination or surveillance.) Figuratively, the word means "maîtriser" (to master); "se contrôler" means "rester maître de soi" (to remain master of oneself). (Obviously, the French *contrôler* is related to the English "control.") These are words and issues that most likely do not come to mind as you repeatedly look at and look away from the cartoon squirrel and its reminder to save your ticket; but these words and issues are precisely what are at work in the implicit message of the sign. Their perniciousness lies not just in their authoritarian and paternalistic reminder of power and surveillance, but also in the subtle attempt to disguise the threat of authority and surveillance as a good-humored announcement for the benefit of the public. The image of the striking eye uncharacteristically imposed upon the image of the harmless squirrel represents the dishonest and therefore doubly effective act of making intimidation as benign and pleasant as possible. The condensation of the two images (the eye of authority and the diminutive squirrel) represents both parts of the dialogue you experience every day, especially as you exchange glances with the poster; it acts out intimidation which is no less real for being implicit and unconscious. You are in effect treated as a squirrel: patted on the head by a hand that pleasantly speaks its potential to become a fist.

ANARCHISM VS. SCHOOLISM

The Influential Case of Paul Goodman

Kingsley Widmer

I now believe that we should abolish the larger part of institutionalized education and negate "schoolism" -- the ideology that traditional, bureaucratized training-indoctrination positively answers all sorts of intellectual and social needs. Getting rid of, not just reforming, the majority of high schools and universities seems essential for the opening towards a more free and just and responsive American society. Schooling provides our dominant means for custodializing the young, indoctrinating for the middle class, hierarchically controlling services and professions, training for technocracy, and corrupting the critical spirit. Apologists for such endless institutionalization and control reveal rather more religiosity and mania than sensitive awareness and educational principle.

But, here, rather than directly take up the arguments and problems which deschooling engenders, I want to consider some of the libertarian intellectual roots. Probably the most influential figure in the past generation on such views was Paul Goodman, self-identified "conservative anarchist," sometime progressive educational reformer, notorious ideological gadfly, and finally a schooling abolitionist. While I do not want to ignore Goodman's eccentricities and contradictions, I do wish to emphasize -- and a bit more compactly than Goodman in his frequently awkward and fractured writings -- the central arguments of the

new libertarian abolitionism.

It is new because libertarians have more often than not taken positions which in effect extended formal education and even encouraged hopes for positive social effects from it. This includes many recent attempts in America at "freeing" schools but not people from them. The earlier anarchists were substantially motivated by the then radical desire to give access to the underclasses to educational power and by an enlightenment faith in literacy and the supposedly rational culture that would follow from it. Universal free education, a demand in most anarchist manifestoes, tended to be equated with universal liberation. Anarchists wanted schooling to undermine the authority of "God and State," often proposed more autonomous schooling and more "progressive" styles, but historically contributed to an insistence upon education which ended up serving further indoctrination and control. We should be aware of the pieties of yesterday's revolution.

Libertarians can hardly be blamed for our socially and legally coercive school processing and our technocracy's dogmas of educational religiosity, pseudo-meritocracy and "professional" costumed authoritarianism. Still, the libertarian faith in schooling left anarchists sometimes functioning -- in a not unusual historical paradox -- as the left-wing of "liberal" reforms. Since those reforms often enlarged and sanctioned further educational processing, libertarians might feel some responsibility for the expansive system, even if not for its more corrupt manipulation and piety. An anarchist, then, might feel some obligation to take an abolitionist view of what is now mostly identified as education, and angrily so. In sum, that was part of the development of Paul Goodman's role in relation to the aggrandizing schoolism.

When he wrote in his last year (1972) "I don't believe in modern universities," it may have been a notation of despair from one who had often seen himself as especially a "university man" who yearned for an ancient "community of scholars" (*Little Prayers and Finite Experience* [1972], p. 27; *Drawing the Line*, ed. T. Stoehr [1977], p. 129). At that time he was a Visiting Professor at the University of Hawaii, an enlarging academic factory, though he had happily predicted the year before that soon many of "the expanded neo-Classic community colleges and State universities will soon become ghost towns" (*Line*, p. 244). As a poor Jewish boy who strongly identified with schooling and who was a bright major in philosophy at the City College of New York (in its heyday as the "proletarian Harvard") and who spent years as a graduate student in literature and philosophy at the University of Chicago (in the Hutchins era), where he eventually completed his doctorate, and who taught and lectured at hundreds of American universities (though he never managed to hold a regular academic appointment), one might think he had an intellectual and personal vested interest in American higher learning. He did, and that is why he wanted to shut much of it down.

Goodman's educational views were often a rather ambiguous mixture of what some radicals might regard as the contradictorily "elitist" and libertarian. At the personal level, part of that might be understood as the love-hate yearning of the hotly graceless egotistical outsider who had yet, he felt, proved that he really belonged to a superior communion of the learned. But unlike many leftists, Goodman's objections to the universities were not just on issues of social inequality but on inadequate, or corrupted, free intellectual quality. He held to an ideal of the university as an authentic contentious scholarly community, however rarely realized, which the anti-intellectual misinterpret as social elitism. While I accept his underlying assumption of special intellectual vocations and qualities, which American universities have mostly degraded, I am rather unsympathetic to Goodman's particular version of it. He had a tendency toward pious methodological pedantry, quoting often, and twisting, the earliest recorded Greek one, practicing his version of Chicago-style neo-Aristotelianism in literary studies (*The Structure of Literature* [1954], and elsewhere), and repeatedly proposing to return the university to some facsimile of its medieval form by taking most earnestly its trappings of ancient clerical duty, international self-governing community, and disputatious religious brotherhood of male (only) masters-scholars (*The Community of Scholars* [1962]). I find this medievalizing no more persuasive than Kropotkin's thick praise of medieval cities and guild economics -- a romanticizing impetus of much European anarchism.

In the other direction, which has usually been in scornful opposition to such "schoolasticism," was Goodman's advocacy of much of Progressive Education. This he saw as the continuing tradition of Rousseau, Jefferson, Veblen, Dewey, Neill, and more recent radical American school reformers ("From John Dewey to A. S. Neill," *Seeds of Liberation* [1964]). For Goodman, progressivism had failed by not going far enough in the direction of learning-by-doing and full educational democracy. Moral cowardice and the administrative mentality had corrupted it, as had the anti-intellectual "adjustment ethic" and the ideological subordination to suburban-corporate-technological imperatives. However, some conflict between his ancient academic ideal and progressivism surfaces now and again in Goodman, as when he criticized his admired A. S. Neill for a "latitudinarian lack of standards" in intellectual matters, or when he scorned his student sympathizers for preferring Rock to Bach and *Howl to Paradise Lost* (*Line*, p. 75; *Growing Up Absurd* [1960], pp. 78-86; *New Reformation* [1970], p. 85).

Goodman's angry anti-academic rhetoric often aimed at other "school-monks." By this he less meant traditional faculty, whom he tended to treat a bit gingerly, than their replacement by "administrators and scholars with administrative mentalities" (*Scholars*, pp. 74, 63). The bureaucratic and the time-serving -- the anti-intellectual academic majority -- maximize corruptions: grants and government research and corporate servicing; the "imposed order" which defines education within the competitive and

repressive American social norms; and the aggrandizement of "the academic machine for its own sake" (*Freedom and Order in the University* [1967], pp. 31-56). The university has primarily become a bureaucratic factory for producing bureaucrats. It serves and perpetuates the "new class" of schooled technicians and certificated professionals and indoctrinated managers -- now "society is run by mandarins" -- with their manipulative ideologies which rationalize more and more compelled schooling and arbitrary expertise. Furthermore, the academic careerists submissive to this processing drive out the work of the impassioned intellectual and the original scholar, replacing appropriate thought with the "methodical busy work" so especially evident in the social sciences (*Absurd*, p. 278). Thus the universities themselves become the enemies of intellectual quality. But socially more destructive is the current condition (the 1970s) in which absurdly over-rewarded hierarchies of manipulative schooled monks tend to academicize all of life, from sex hygiene to international production, from media entertainment to universal war. "The old monkish invention of formal schooling is now used as universal social engineering" (*Reformation*, p. 75; *Line*, p. 71).

From a libertarian view, this processing must be opposed, be it the psychologically injurious grading system, the anti-academic job certification, the state-submissive curricula and research, or the intellect-swamping mass-custodialism. Obviously, a large majority of the students in the colleges and universities ought not to be there, "ought not to be academically educated." Only a fool would deny it. Most of those students "want and need another structure and identity, that only an objective task and some other kind of community can give them" (*Scholars*, p. 4). And even the appropriate small minority should be in the universities later: "College training generally should follow -- not precede -- entry [at an apprentice level] into the professions." "University education -- liberal arts and the principles of the professions -- should be reserved only for adults who already know something about which to philosophize" (*Line*, p. 80).

In a perhaps exaggerated but revealing statement for a long-time student of philosophy and literature, Goodman rejected their academic version: "I have not heard of any method whatever, scholastic or otherwise, of teaching the humanities without killing them" (*Line*, p. 69). Perhaps more pertinently, he noted that the "culture which we have inherited is by now in total confusion," which hardly leaves it teachable. Passing on high culture requires that it be "re-created in spirit or it is a dead weight on present spirit, and then it does produce timidity, pedantry, and hypocrisy," and so is "better forgotten" (*Reformation*, p. 116). Most science, also, is not best developed in the corrupt "pork-barreling" university research but on the job (technology), critically in the field (ecology), and in autonomous efforts ("shoe-string science") which encourage independence and initiative (*Absurd*, p. 146; *Compulsory Mis-education* [1964], pp. 117-23; *Mass Education in Science* [1966], p. 16). However, Goodman, with such models in mind as the self-taught scientist Michael Faraday, did not take account of most of

the likely consequences of his position, which would be the end of "Big Science" (and its dependent technocracy), including his beloved "space programs," specialist professions and much else.

As for university faculties, they generally won't do since "college teaching is not itself a profession" (in the sense of medicine or architecture) -- a view he apparently held for all teachers -- and we need the clear standard that the "college teacher is a professional who teaches," a returned "veteran" of the more elaborate crafts, a philosophical practitioner back in the "walled city" to reflect upon and pass on his guild wisdom (*Scholars*, p. 30). Goodman's weakness here, I think, is that while he was iconoclastic about the academic humanities and sciences, he was unthinkingly pious about the other learned professions. "Professionalism," after all, tends to be one of the most dehumanizing elaborations of the division of labor. Contrary to much evidence -- and to the libertarian arguments recently restated so well by Ivan Illich (*Toward a History of Needs* [1978]) -- Goodman assumed the essential disinterest and democracy and wisdom of the specialist practitioners though they must be considerably an exploiting caste.

But my objection here extends rather than undercuts Goodman's abolitionist arguments about the universities. Though not always consistent, he rightly insisted that the modern American university less served true educational functions than, like so many American institutions, its own self-rationalization and self-perpetuation -- the ultimate Weberian bureaucracy. It further expressed the "official superstition" and "wrong religion" of endless schooling (even the old now are urged to go back to school as if there were nothing else in life!). Academic expansion destroys what might be good in higher learning by "dilution and stupefying standardization" as well as misapplication. This goes beyond waste in that "the long schooling is not only inept, it is psychologically, politically and professionally damaging" (*Scholars*, p. 8). The dubious and wrong functions of the universities also tend to destroy the few things they might truly do, such as provide "havens for those scholarly by disposition" and committed to the life of the mind (*Mis-education* p. 154). If not doing that, then, as the 'Sixties militants chanted for rather lesser reasons, "Shut it down!"

Goodman's case against the universities, of course, is broadly generalized. In the muddled realities of an exploitative and anomic society, the inefficient academic bureaucracies may allow some little place for the true humanities and sciences and some small sanctuary for the unwanted young and a remnant of authentic intellectuals. Still, I suspect that most of Goodman's many charges against the American academic (*Scholars*, pp. 84-106) were, and largely remain, true. For reasons of social democracy, among others, libertarians should be inclined to agree with him that even some of the positive functions of the universities might often be better carried out in a variety of other ways -- sciences in the work places and institutes, the humanities in the media and elsewhere, the learning young and the

critical intellectuals everywhere. Goodman sometimes role-played the educational "reformer" (it gave him much of his publishing and other public possibilities), emphasizing certain limited criticisms and changes, but what he was really propounding was broad social revolution.

Some of Goodman's tone seems quaintly conservative, as with his neo-Aristotelianism, his metaphors of the medieval university, and his incongruously pedantic tastes in the humanities and sciences. Also, because of the curious historical development of American "liberalism," those who oppose more money for administering and who insist on limiting institutional spread and control may be misinterpreted as reactionaries. Reactive Goodman certainly was; he apparently sometimes thought he would correct the debased present by recalling universities to ancient functions. But the sweeping condemnations and demands for change insist that nothing less than broad abolition of the institutional order will do. Contrast this with the substitute authoritarianisms in education that characterize most Marxist-tinged views, or the desperate re-sanctioning of school processing (especially by the expansion of social administering) in most liberal views.

Goodman did dally, over several decades of writing and lecturing around education, with some variety of emphases. In one direction, he sometimes demanded a dissenting academy -- "the community of scholars must confront society, often in conflict" he said in one repeated lecture. At other times he had "practical proposals" (part of the popular American pathology of "positive thinking"), perhaps to assuage his sense of outlandishness by seeming "realistic," and to allay his anxious pessimism. In *Community of Scholars* (pp. 131 ff.), for example, he proposed "secession" with half a dozen professors, along with some community professionals, and a hundred and fifty students going off to found autonomous colleges. But they would not go so far from the established university that they couldn't use many of the more elaborate facilities. Such libertarian traditionalist colleges would be riding piggy-back on the established system while yet supposedly dispensing with all its controls. Charming, but this demi-utopianism makes some dubious assumptions, such as that the aggrandizing established bureaucracies would really tolerate such autonomy. His discussions also rather foolishly assume that faculty are often not more conservative than merely manipulative administrators, that most of the good but not especially popular teachers would not get wiped out, that a quite non-traditional community would yet produce a considerably traditional education, and that where there is a discontented will there is an obvious communal way. Such notions of Goodman's presuppose the communal ideology which must be created, and which certainly requires a stronger faith and larger social purpose than the vestigial humanistic educational values now in such decline. He obliquely responded later to such criticisms -- and perhaps to the intervening experience in the middle 1960s of the "Free Universities" which sometimes drew upon his arguments and writings (as I did in one) but quickly descended into either political agitprop (which soon led the militants properly back into the streets) or

into the mushy culture of "the freaks" (occultism, cute games, psychopathic "self-expression" and cult therapies which can't bear intellectual attention). "A community finally has to have its own poetry" was Goodman's curiously understated way of putting the need for a powerful social motivation and ideology to create new social forms. We can suspect that the successful development of new educational communities should not be treated as a defiant anarchist tactic to exemplify decentralization and direct democracy but as a whole way of life (*People or Personnel* [1966]). Thus to be taken seriously, Goodman's "practical proposals" in education would have to be viewed as institutional reformist gestures pointing to broad social changes.

The radicalness of Goodman's educational "reforms" appears even more emphatic at the level below the universities, perhaps because that called forth less subterranean personal identifications, and no classical and medieval models. At his last public speech (1972), he said in answer to a question about reforming secondary education, "we should abolish the high schools, period" (*Line*, p. 270). He allows that "a few really academic kids, 2 or 3% of the population," might reasonably still "go to little academies." But "an academic environment is not the appropriate means of education for most young people, including most of the bright." Indeed, as he correctly noted elsewhere, much of the work of college freshman English teachers is to get the students to unlearn what little they have acquired in the high schools (*Mis-education*, p. 30). Many resented learning it, resent unlearning it and end with resentment as a major learning experience. This, of course, leads to an inability to learn, including an illiteracy from schooling (*Reformation*, p. 67).

Goodman suggested that since the "high schools are especially worthless" the money spent on them would be better "put directly in the pockets of adolescents if they are doing anything useful for themselves or society" (*Line*, p. 24). He does not, of course, consider such major secondary schooling activities as sports, dating, doping, etc., which could most likely be better done in another environment than the schools. And so could real learning. The high schools probably can't truly be remedied. "I do not see any functional way to recruit a large corps of [good] high school teachers" (*Reformation*, p. 77). Few adults have the right responsive relation to adolescents in the schooling situation, and fewer continue it; even the best tend to sink into bureaucratically frustrated resignation. The curriculum (that usual regenerative focus of the hopeful reformer) must become poorer and poorer "because an honest educator cannot seriously believe that the social sciences and the humanities are life-relevant to the average" of the mass of mis-motivated students in custodial care for bureaucratic mind-rinsing (*Absurd*, p. 24). The outside pressures (parental and commercial and political exploitations of schooling) further reduce learning possibilities. In addition, "Commercially debauched popular culture makes learning disesteemed" (*Nature Heals*, ed. T. Stoehr [1977], p. 97). So does the defensive "youth culture," which after all intends resistance "against the adults" and their culture by those alienated

in a narrow and powerless sub-culture (*Scholars*, p. 91). Therefore, attempted reforms just obscure the irrelevance of high schools to education and to the lives of adolescents.

Goodman repeatedly noted, with a pained sympathy for the young, that the secondary school processing lacked a sense of social reality just when that was most needed by adolescents in their uncertainty. Instead of relating to an actual sense of things, in our schooling "everything is preparation, nothing realization and satisfaction." So the self seeking the world loses confidence, interest, responsiveness, and ends in "baffle-ment and nausea" (*Gestalt Therapy* [1951], p. 343). Thus frustrated, many students develop inabilities at learning, an acquired schooling "stupidity." In answer to this, the school-monks multiply remedial levels, or try fatuous gimmicks such as "teaching machines" which violate the organism's own structuring, or add more extrinsic motivations and punishments, including more schooling by compulsion (*Reformation*, p. 76). The spread of bad schooling drives out the good. Our typical schooling becomes imprisoning, dulling, anti-intellectual, dis-spiriting; it "arrests growth" (encouraging that permanent state of adolescence which marks so many Americans) and does other "positive damage" (*Mis-education*, p. 173). Simply abolishing secondary education would be a positive service.

But as usual, Goodman also tossed around some varied "practical proposals." Some of these, as with his discussions of higher education, appeared to be patch-piece reforms, such as eliminating controls which may do psychological damage. Thus the falsely competitive and anxiety-inducing exams and grading should go, as should mandatory attendance, the over-loaded scheduling (so nothing finds its proper time and shape), the commercial and statist indoctrination, and the self-serving imposed pieties towards doing everything in institutional ways, which may permanently damage initiative and autonomy.

Since Goodman wrote, a few changes have developed; some, such as "equivalency" exams for leaving school early, from the top; others, from the bottom, include pandemic plagiarism (in the colleges, too), "grade inflation," heavy truancy, and other modes of what we might call "natural anarchist resistance." But, to my knowledge, most of the problems Goodman discussed remain basically the same. Rightly enough, then, he did not really explore reforms. He had almost nothing to say about more interesting curricula for the high schools, the selection and preparation of teachers (except that it was bad), school democratization to eliminate specialists in administration (except that it was imperative), and other partial changes that could flow from his criticisms. For his real concern was with other ways of learning than by school processing. Though he appeared partly reformist (as in speaking to educational groups) and partly conservative (as in testifying against more federal schooling money before a Congressional committee), his essential direction was high school abolition, a revolutionary transformation.

Abolishing high schools raises alternative ways of entry into adult social realities for the young. "Other kinds of youth communities should take over the social functions of the high school" since "our aim should be to multiply the paths of growing up" instead of concentrating on custodial bureaucracies (*Line*, p. 77; *Reformation*, p. 87). Even if we have ten percent or so (the usual estimate of the academically competent) doing school work in languages, mathematics, etc., there should be half a dozen other ways than schools for the rest of the young: an extensive youth work corps (less military and more varied than the CCC of the 1930s); more urban versions of the primitive "youth house," with autonomous support; kibbutz-style communes which integrate the young into the on-going work of intentional communities; non-schooling educational programs developed to service local cultural needs (media, theatre, and other arts); non-commercial work in small town and city redevelopment; and vast apprenticeship programs not only in the trades and crafts but in all modes of technology and the professions.

Admittedly, Goodman's treatment of most of these possibilities is ideologically suggestive but hardly developed -- as usual, more earnest than serious. For example, his repeated insistence on apprenticeships was patently by someone with no experience as an apprentice (or most other sorts of work), and with little historical sense of some of the reasons apprenticing declined. It was often tyrannical and exploitative in ways the bland school processing could not so obviously be. And for reasons of invidious hierarchy, modern corporations prefer discrete prior conditioning -- the disjunction of schooling and employment, like the suburb/work schizophrrenia, heightens functional mobility and controllable anomie. Implicitly admitting the criticism, Goodman later granted that apprenticeships, public or private, were morally ambiguous in our society because they put "the young under the control of the employer." Therefore, we "must design apprenticeships that are not exploitative," and that encourage critical participation -- another version of anarchist autogestion or workers' self-management (*Line*, pp. 78-80). Once again, an apparent education reform turns out to be a move toward a larger libertarian order.

Surely some of Goodman's suggestions seemed reasonable within the conventional social context. Some American politicians have strongly advocated, and even partly developed, "youth corps" proposals, though usually at a protective distance (in foreign countries, ghettos or wilderness), non-competitive with the schools (for drop-outs, delinquents or post-graduates), and sufficiently small in number and funding not to make a substantial difference in the society and its schooling pieties and controls. It may be that since Goodman wrote apprenticeships and other vocational emphases have increased (certainly academic humanities at all levels have notably declined), though, sadly, still often dominated by the "school-monks." The young have sometimes shown some initiative towards communal forms, resistance to endless schooling (or tended toward increased moratoria), and a spreading disenchantment with the "spirit-mashing" school processing -- natural anarchism. But the conditions that Goodman deplored from

the 1950s to the early 1970s still seem largely present, which may warn us that American schoolism remains ideologically and institutionally at the center of our social controls.

Goodman argued that "incidental education," that is, what one organically learns in games and rituals with one's peers and acquires from adults in community activities and socially significant work, constitutes the larger part of real education -- not what is shoveled in classrooms (*Line*, p. 67). True educational reform would less come from improving the schools than from making "our whole environment more educative" (*Line*, p. 68), with more open access for the young. Instead, and especially in the 1960s, what Goodman viewed as the fatuously reactive youth-culture enlarged. That was how empty "adolescent society jealously protects itself against meaning," with its cultish argot and rituals of the powerless insulating passivity and flight from commonsensical reality. The traditional humanist shows through here. Without some deep connection with the fuller Western high culture, "one becomes trivial and finally servile" (*Line*, p. 68; *Reformation*, p. 85). Protective-exploitative youth culture "prevents ever being grown up." But what American schools usually consider grown up consists mostly of institutional submission and *petit bourgeois* character. This is disastrous to intellectual development and its "intrinsic motivation." Learning "incidentally," on the other hand, will have the open dangers of freedom: "Choices along the way will be very often ill-conceived and wasteful, but they will express desire and immediately meet reality, and therefore they should converge on right vocation more quickly than any other course" (*Reformation*, p. 88). (Oddly, Goodman had a rather Lutheran sense of "vocation.") And, not so incidentally, the result will undoubtedly be more responsive people.

But what of the much-broadcast values of the schools as mechanisms for "socialization," from the Americanization of immigrants through the "raising-up" to middle class access of the "minorities" and other poor? The immigrant servicing, which led to some of the early fervent expansion of schooling, is largely done with (except for the Hispanics, with whom it doesn't seem to be working very well). As for the contemporary poor, "It would probably help to improve the educational aspiration and educability of poor youngsters to give the money to poor families *directly*, rather than channel it through school systems or other social agencies that drain most of it for...the middle class" servicing professionals (*Mis-education*, p. 72). In fact, the usual schooling approaches merely reenforce the socio-economic inequities. As Celine used to dryly note, "The poor need more money." Or as Goodman also notes, the poor should be given improved access to *all* institutions rather than be fobbed-off with the schools as a substitute for equalitarian justice. Equally important for Goodman (who identified with bohemians and other "marginals" in urban society), the society could make decent poverty reasonably possible instead of the endless hassling and self-degradation which subsistence living necessarily becomes in our warped affluence ("Paradigm III," *Communitas*, rev. ed. [1960]).

For the earlier years of schooling, in partial contrast to the others, Goodman (who had some experience with libertarian early schooling efforts) does not advocate abolition or sweeping reduction. The affluent society could more generously provide baby-sitting from six to twelve. At that age children need sanctuary from the family -- Oedipal escape -- in an indulgently protective environment. He allows a schooling context for this, though with an emphasis on guided activities outside schooling scenes, in proper Progressive tradition, which requires minimizing administration and furthering local community involvement and control (see the scattered essays on this in *The Society I Live In Is Mine* [1962]). For this, Goodman had a whole bag of concretely sensible proposals of an essentially libertarian cast. His idea of early learning required varied experiments and alternatives, with small classes under sympathetic semi-amateurs who liked children (rather than just the professionalized indoctrinees of Schools of Education) in a child-concerned curriculum. (The larger developmental pattern: child-focused in the early years, social-activity focused in the adolescent years, intellectual-subject focused in the mature years.) He assumes that given a freely stimulating environment children will naturally learn -- learning to speak the native language provides the implicit model here. Illiteracy, in contrast, must be the result of reactive stupidity in our word-assaulting culture; and the lack of learning curiosity must be an engendered pathological condition. Even if the society wants to demand of its primary schools "uniform standards of achievement," it should recognize that "they cannot be reached by uniform techniques" applied to diverse people. So even at the primary level, compulsory or other imposed schooling must also be rejected as antithetical to encouraging responsively learning children (*Reformation*, pp. 98, 95; *Mis-education*, p. 42).

Rejection of coercive social ordering (not just legal compulsion) provides the libertarian crux of Goodmanian educational views. He combined his traditionalist humanism with Progressive Education, usually seen as opposed, by eliminating imposed schooling of either kind. Liberating most students, and faculty, from the high schools and universities leaves progressive schooling in the early years not as hierarchical preparation, which induces much of the submission syndrome, but as partial liberation from the family into a larger responsiveness. What formal later education remained would be, by conventional American standards (including that of ostensible radicals), for an "intellectual elite," that is, for those dedicated to "humanities superior to power and success." The rest of learning for the young would be put back where it belongs, into the varied ongoing activities of society, perhaps even eliminating "youth" as an ambiguous class, a sub-culture, a pathology.

We may note again that Goodman's apparent reforms, both largely abolitionist (for the universities and high schools) and progressive (for the early schools) direct us to a radical social transformation without coercion and outside of formally controlled hierarchical institutions. That might well serve as one larger definition of anarchism. Rightly suspicious of American

reformist changes which rationalized and re-enforced the coercive schooling mania, Goodman sometimes even warned against improvements: the "practical social problem is not how to establish good schools, but...how to keep it [society] from enslaving whatever good education happens to be occurring" (*Scholars*, p. 48). This also points to an admirable libertarian ethic of resistance. On the good anarchist premise that education is a "natural" social function, we must unschool America to allow it to learn.

Only anarchists, right and left and natural, now seem to systematically object to compulsory and other imposed schooling, and to the more general American ideology of responding to intellectual and social issues -- from inequalities to cultural illiteracy to delay of senility -- with doses of schoolism. That, as Goodman significantly argued, provides a good test of libertarian as against bureaucratic-liberal views. Negating schoolism becomes a paradigm for freeing society.

Bibliographic Notes

Goodman's arguments on education are necessarily taken from several dozen writings, not all of which are cited here. Parenthetical references to books are to the original (hard cover) editions. While I have published a number of essays on my own views of education, several of which are reprinted in my *The End of Culture* (San Diego State University Press, 1975), my concern here is to stay fairly close to Goodman's views. I have further discussed them in *Paul Goodman* (Boston: TUSAS, in press). Perhaps the best introduction to his views of schooling is the section on education in *New Reformation* (New York, 1970), though his best social criticism will be found in other volumes, such as *Communitas*, rev. ed. (New York, 1960). My evidence is that his educational views have had considerable influence. Examples of those acknowledging it in books include George Dennison, *The Lives of Children* (New York, 1969); the editors, Ronald and Beatrice Gross, *Radical School Reform* (New York, 1969); I. L. Gotz, ed., *No Schools* (New York, 1971); a number of John Holt's books -- *Freedom and Beyond* (New York, 1972) and *Escape from Childhood* (New York, 1974); Everett Reimer, *School Is Dead* (Garden City, N.Y., 1971); Ivan Illich, who wrote that "Goodman most radically obligated me to revise my thinking," *De-Schooling Society* (New York, 1972). There are a number of others, and there is currently considerable academic interest in some of Goodman's work.

TRANSFORMATIONS: A DICTIONARY OF CONTEMPORARY CHANGES

is a diary, a confessional, an autobiography, a cultural/political analysis by a man who is attempting to understand the dis-ease of contemporary Americans. Robert Merideth offers the record of his personal struggles as representative of the predicament of other white, male intellectuals during the 1960s and '70s.

Robert Merideth is associate professor of American Studies at the University of California at Davis, and founder of Connections Press. He was one of the bright young men of academia who published early and copiously: By 1968, when he was only 33, he had published four books and a large number of essays. He should have continued his rapid rise in the academic world; but, like a small number of other academics, his life was transformed by the events of the 1960s. Merideth became involved in radical political activities and found himself -- both politically and personally -- at permanent odds with "Usonia," the American political and cultural system. Writing of that period, Merideth says:

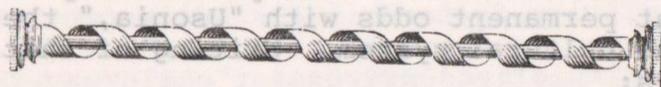
My political involvements led me to a Marcusean analysis of the Usonian socio-cultural order, which in turn made my misery visible to me, which in turn led me to therapy, which in turn provided the context in which I began my most recent transformations and wrote this book.

Merideth follows in the tradition of other writers who can be loosely categorized as inspiring the New Left/counter-culture/libertarian movements of the past decade -- Paul Goodman, Theodore Roszak, Herbert Marcuse, Abraham Maslow, Fritz Perls, Norman O. Brown, among others. In its emphasis upon certain themes, Merideth's work is broadly anarchist: (1) The refusal to support this, or any other, system of government; (2) A view of the common predicament of humankind, with its shared pathologies and shared strivings for community; (3) The indissoluble connection of the personal and the political; (4) The necessity of changing one's consciousness in order to alter interpersonal relations, and ultimately to build a good society; (5) The understanding that a good society is one without any form of hierarchy; (6) The belief that humans are capable of building and maintaining non-hierarchical society; (7) The sense that revolution is a *process* that takes place in the small, everyday acts of one's life, and not a point in time; (8) The knowledge that revolution encompasses the totality of life -- it is cultural, personal, ideological as well as political and economic; (9) The belief that the most revolutionary acts are those that break through what is ordinarily thought to be "possible" and demonstrate new possibilities.

The first four excerpts are from the Introduction to *Transformations*; the last eight are taken from Merideth's dictionary of (re)definitions. --editors

EXCERPTS FROM TRANSFORMATIONS

I believe with Ram Dass that my journey takes me to here and now, which is all there is. And I agree that the "rule of the game" is that "everyone work on himself in order to find" the "center where 'we all are'" and in order not only to "meet with other human beings in that place" but to give what light each has to illuminate the other's journey. I believe also that my work here will resonate especially for members of my generation, particularly men. Or so at least I have found showing it around.



I do mean to give some account of my recent present, specifically of the circumstances which preceded and surrounded writing this dictionary, starting with fall 1972 when, after five years spent growing toward radical political understandings and five years acting them out according to my lights and not content, I decided on gestalt therapy for myself. My therapist was Paula Bottome, the 'Paula' of this book. The therapy was *gestalt* partly because I am working on a book about Paul Goodman, one of its collateral founders, and could justify my way into therapy by my research needs, which I did. I needed gestalt to understand Goodman. And partly because gestalt is one of the handful of liberating (as opposed to adaptive) therapies. And partly because gestalt was available in San Francisco close by. I wanted *therapy* because I was miserable. And then in therapy I learned how "because" Jacks force. For two years I worked my way into and then often out of my misery, developing my powers, learning from new friends, feeling freer. In the summer 1973 I was divorced (though not finished, as the entries show). Toward the end of the second year, in the winter 1974, I began a formal study of the Gestalt Institute of San Francisco (its history, structure, and political significance in the context of an argument about the nature of cultural revolution), the experience of which forms the basis for the

book to follow this one. And then in the summer 1974 I co-lead a seminar on psycho-political action with Paula and Abe Levitsky, which focused my attention. All of which is to say schematically that my political involvements had led me to a Marcusean analysis of the Usonian socio-cultural order, which had in turn made my misery visible to me, which in turn led me to therapy, which in turn provided the context in which I began my most recent transformations and wrote this book.



Usonia dominates Earth by its geo-strangling realpolitik. It pollutes the waters and land. Suffusing its media network with mass consciousness maintenance material pounded out in 30-second spots and feature movies by mad Dr. Strangelove subalterns at electric typewriters, it also pollutes consciousness and everyday life. Its power and fuel bases are running dry. Its technology has become technique, as Jacques Ellul says. Its industrial system gears for planned obsolescence. Its mechanical agriculture culminates in suburban supermarkets and TV dinners. Its works of box architecture and tract houses are set on a standardized grid street plan. (Its works of industrial engineering are sometimes noble.) Its people move in giant loaded vans back and forth restlessly via the freeway, once every five years at least changing from this to that town (like me). Its sex and racial caste systems generate untold human suffering. Its age and wealth hierarchies float unacknowledged by its citizens, who do not run their country. Its families are nuclear, isolated in urban apartments and suburban expensive ticky-tack, daddy to empty work in the morning, mommy to empty housewifery, children on a bus to a vacuous school. Its language grows desiccated and bureaucratized. Its legal system has become depersonalized regulations maintained by an elaborate court apparatus serving the established order. Its military and secret agents scourge the Earth, from the Plain of Jars and genocide to the CIA in Latin America and assassination. Its

political system like Ptolemaic astronomy requires frequent epicycle reconstruction so as to correspond illusorily to socio-cultural and biotic reality. Its vehicle for sustaining those millions of poor and unwanted it produces remains a creaking minimal welfare system that pervades all dimensions of life. Its religious institutions like its schooling and media institutions function to maintain this increasingly oppressive and bourgeois non-contactful version of reality, only shadows of Christ's wisdom lingering. Its knowledge is distributed by sterile formula, often in the 'how-to' books my colleague David Wilson studies. Its belief system is a series of obfuscating ideologies couched at worst in the language of liberalism and at best in a transformable anarcho-democratic communitarian individualism. Its mass culture has escalated into a giant plastic shuck, and powerful. Its collective dreams of destiny have become nightmare shambles. And in it most individual lives and available everyday experiences feel cracked and neurotic and truncated like a clean-cut obsessive skid-row alcoholic just emerged from a night at the Salvation Army.



Consider the liberation movements now underway and nearly all underground, if only in the sense that they seldom or never appear on the nightly 6:00 news and are seldom taught in the schools. I mean movements among couples, children, old folks, gay people, women, and men (not to mention the racial minority liberation movements, which I hear on a wave length different from mine and do not include in this underground I am talking about). Taken together, despite the spiritual limits of the counter-culture and communitarian radical movements of the '60s, especially their inability to institutionalize themselves enduringly beyond an occasional remaining coffee house or experimental college or commune or free school, these liberation movements add up to an underground of substantial proportions, whose

communication system, as in Thomas Pynchon's *The Crying of Lot 49*, is wholly out of official view. Most of the communication is face to face. Talk. Strangers connect quickly. Old friends reveal themselves and find convergences and parallels in the development of their lives. The new therapies touch them all. Landing with my colleagues on Friday evening in San Diego, for example, where we are to lead weekend American Studies workshops, we are met by a friend of 15 or so years, a 42 year old former Mormon with five children who is a Professor of American Literature at San Diego State University. He says he is going to show us *his* San Diego. So he takes us first to a park where gay men and women meet, then to two gay bars where obviously he is known. (He combs his hair before he goes in. He kisses the male waiter.) The bars are friendly. People are sensitive to each other, dancing, talking, making connections, doing what they want. Karl is, of course, gay. This tour is his way of announcing to us his new allegiance. He has become himself only in the past two years, he says. His wife and kids know what he is up to and he has not yet come out at the university or in his teaching and writing. He has still more disclosing to do. I am moved by his opening up to us and appreciate him for showing me his world. Karl comes to my workshop on Saturday afternoon--to receive revelation, he says. I give a talk about connecting private troubles to public issues. I show by simple gestalt techniques how those connections are fully present in all our lives right now. Karl participates and, after a woman cries for herself at the end of the group, he says he has the revelation he came for. He intends to start gestalt therapy and I assume that if he does eventually he will finish with his criticism of himself for cocksucking, as he says. The gay world fringes the underground I am talking about. So far as I can tell from the outside, the work on the self that is characteristic there has less human depth than I would like; Karl estimates there are 100,000 gay people in San Diego.



the rewards of revolution this time around in history can be understood as the revolutionary act itself, not at all the same as the spoils of government and power. "The ends in history exist before the means to realize them are discovered," Herbert Marcuse says. The revolution and its rewards are the act itself, the act of being a new man or new woman in a new universe newly and daily constructed. The revolution is the revolution. To be together in Usonia is objectively to be a revolutionary (though always probably it will be possible to politicize my revolutionary significance more fully and sharply). Revolutionaries have more fun. In the 1970s in Usonia the un-revolutionary life is not worth living. Be the revolution and the revolution will be. "No cultural revolution can be built on the denial of reality." Naturally, the universe being just. "Every one of us . . . must become the model of the era which we desire to create." An act is revolutionary "only when its appearance within a culture establishes irrevocably a (significantly) new possibility: a trespass of cultural boundaries which beats a new path. A revolutionary act is the unexpected proof of a new social fact, which might have been foretold, expected, or even called for but never before irrevocably shown as possible." Revolutionary acts reorient the "dynamic pattern of the culture" in which they appear. They bring "radical renewal." If culture is a "historically patterned structure of limits on freedom" the revolutionary act breaks through those limits and establishes possibility as fact. I recite all this from my 1972 essay on Ivan Illich, whose thought and language have stayed with me. The metaphysical and political points are important. And so is the psychological point: that making the kind of revolution I advocate is healthy human functioning in a difficult environment. I think I know the objections to my view of the universe and to the politics I advocate. I hope that if you live the radical politics of guilt or self-abnegation you will read me through. I have been you and it is you in part I work on here. And I continue to learn how to get and stay together,

which may, as I say, lead me to not finish, though as I also say, I think not. For me, following Reich, the question is not: how do people become revolutionaries? It is: how do they not? how do they and I hold ourselves back from healthy revolutionary functioning? By the muscles, surely--Reich says character armor. By the power of the superego (Freud) or the introjective process and top dogging (Perls). By institutions, particularly the economic ones (Mills, Marx, Marcuse). By culture (all anthropologists). I hold myself back, as I assume you do also, by numerous means provided for me by my civilization. Civilization provides the means by which paradoxically I capacitate myself to hold myself back from realizing myself. And, as if dialectically, civilization also provides me with the means for its own reconstruction and mine.



DICTIONARY

HABIT. Daily I do my morning ablutions, eat, sleep, wear jeans, smoke two packages of cigarettes, teach my classes, make love, and find time to write these probes. Repetitively I beat my heart, breathe, digest, and shit. Insofar as I am unaware of what I do, especially insofar as I experience any of these as involuntary functions, I have habitualized myself. A habit is repetitive behavior outside my awareness. Habits may be useful when my unaware behavior is healthy and I am focusing on something else for the moment, but eventually unaware literally I lose touch with myself. I routinize myself, I miss the uniqueness of moments and figures, I become gross, without fine tuning. I am programmed to repeat retained behavior appropriate to my past but not necessarily present circumstance. My habits are hardly distinguishable from repression, armor, and neurosis. Habits are a means by which culture is internalized and given continuity at the level of individual self. They are individualized versions of institutionalization. They demand respectful attention.

HIERARCHY (anarchy). A formal way to put this is to say that for a long time increasingly I've gravitated toward groups, institutions, experiences, ideas, and visions prefiguring a society without imposed rank order. For example, gestalt therapy groups, friends who share themselves fully, some drugs, a loving mate who stays with me, post-scarcity anarchism, Marx's vision of after history, Jefferson's image of the garden, William Morris' *News from Nowhere*, Paul and Percival Goodman's *Communitas*: all these give me solace at least, which I need. Like everyone I live in the midst of hierarchical society; I work in a bureaucratically organized system (where my rank lingers at Associate Professor V); and on the whole daily I am immersed in invidious comparisons, closed categories, status, prestige, and emphatically external instead of organismic arrangements. I have so much formal hierarchy I begin to think I must want it. But what else would it be easy to know? Hierarchical consciousness is pervasive. Still I live with its seepage. If something costs more, still I am likely to value it more. I rank women in much the same way as other Usonian men. I think well of my experience according to public agreement: for example, a trip to Europe has more "class" than a walk by Putah Creek, though Europe itself may be fraught with stupidities. My children are graded at school and I too still give out grades. There is a social hardening. And nevertheless I am more an anarchist now than ever. The history of western civilization and many non-western societies is of hierarchies and their mutation and evolution, from Greek democracy built on a slave base through the feudal into the industrial orders. If there has been freedom and mutual aid, as Kropotkin says and I increasingly see, always it emerges in spite of hierarchy.

IRONY (sarcasm, teasing). An ironist is a dissembler, maybe an agonized academic or jaded, hurt intellectual or frantic prophetic artist or just bored rich, which itself is an ironic con-

dition, who literally, from the Greek root *eiros*, says less than he thinks. You can construct an ironic tradition from Socrates and the tragedians to the rhetoricians of objective social science and Lenny Bruce. But I think of irony as mostly a recent, post-Renaissance verbal mode, the development of whose historical possibilities reached apogee and a new plausibility in the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Coming of age during the decade and a half after, from a working class where irony was unknown, I entered the university in 1952 full of the discrepancies between my wants and the world and found in music a cool west coast jazz; in literary studies a reigning New Criticism that celebrated irony as ambiguity; histories criticizing American moral rhetoric as not real; and Veblen's sturdy, biting anger dribbled into the abstracted empiricism of Parsonian functionalism. There is no wonder that over the years irony became for me and others a familiar mode. But it is a bundle of sickness without a center, rage restrained, pain taking itself lightly, egomaniac manipulation, polite disgust, pride's outlet, a victim's lament, and so on. Irony is mind in despair. It says a guarded, protected truth. Ironists decline responsibility for saying it out. By smile and tone I take the edge off my comment, or maybe I get an extra edge in. Teasing and sarcasm are milder, less extensively hostile, cruder related modes. As with irony, they diminish the other and compel h/is participation. And the diminisher deprecates h/himself by not affirming the validity of h/his negative feelings. (See *Affirmation*.) I say in effect I am not taking you or myself seriously enough to tell you straight how I am and that neither are you to take me altogether seriously. I discount you and give you permission to discount me too. We laugh uncomfortably.

LAW (lawyers, rule of law). Lawyers and the legal mind are shit, I blurt in the midst of my lecture, discovering by this embarrassing means what I see I believe all along. I lurch into my nightmare: I am asked and unable to justify

myself by law to this court or that committee. They won't hear and if they would won't accept. Further, I am still more guilty than they imagine. I am disloyal to their values, their system, even their very existence. So I am saying I don't believe in them. And still I want consent, justification, and approval. On the one hand I'm disloyal, on the other hand I'm wanting. The associations tumble out: by the time of the Nixon impeachment proceedings the legal mind had clearly captured Usonia; the legal style is now Usonian public style; Daniel Boorstin and Perry Miller celebrate the legal mind in America years earlier; I'm just now catching on; Jefferson, Calhoun, and Daniel Webster were lawyers; unthinkingly I have approved of Clarence Darrow, Perry Mason, Louis Nizer, the Supreme Court, and other legal heroes, off and on TV; of all I have heard in the name of the "rule of law" (which in practice merely means the court/lawyer/advocacy/precedent/objective/category system), very little has been critical; my early '60s commitment to the ACLU; the AAUP's legalisms; the legalisms of all academic senates and committees, in which so often I have participated with a headache; my divorce proceedings, so abstracted and unreal for me; the traffic ticket I took to court in sacred anger and won; my amazement at the gall of lawyers in court saying their ritual things and doing their dance and advocating; my envy; their melodrama and abstractions and shaded truths; how strong people can nevertheless enmesh themselves deeply in a court conflict; the excitement of the Chicago 8 (and then 7) trials; the puerile stupidities of Judge Hoffman; Sacco and Vanzetti; how revolutionary heroes become that by their struggles in the courts, martyrs often; how the law is *used* to support interests and moralities not mine--for example, alcohol, real estate, oil, finances, corporations, the family, national security--and to block my own visions and wants: dope, flow, contact, liberation, revolution, anarchy, concreteness, feeling, expressiveness, directness. The world suggested by my fast associations around the law system is gross and controlling.

The law is supported by a large police, jail, and coercion apparatus. Finally the rule of law is a subpoena and a policeman's gun.

PLEASURE. Most Usonians I know have even a lower tolerance for pleasure than I. I see evidence in the way my friends hold back and shut down, often refusing opportunities to be high. I see evidence also in my students' diaries, where by their choice of the university as a place to discover themselves, by their sexual self-limitations, by their goal-oriented work, and by the packaged myths of identity and reality they adopt, they give themselves pain instead of pleasure. I reflect that especially those Usonians involved in the job-ethic must have a low pleasure threshold. This is one way the civilizational order has contained them. It has encouraged them to limit themselves drastically, and more: to internalize the myth by which they justify these limitations. Pleasure-limiting myths used to be predominantly work and religious myths, and these to some degree remain--obviously, for example, in the faces of Catholic high school girls and right-wing Presbyterians and Baptists or in the faces of politicians on TV and business men on airplanes. For me, and I assume for many others, the taboos and limits on contactful sexuality are still very powerful even without the support of religion. The incest taboo, the taboos surrounding sex roles, the power of convention, notions of what is right and what is wrong sexually as embodied still in law: these seem still controlling.

PROPERTY. For the left property has been "theft" because in capitalist civilization they have seen it is the product of exploited labor, to which in mass market civilization you can add manipulation and fraud. Structurally the point makes sense, but it doesn't interest me, whereas I *feel* the burdened anxiety of ownership and, lately, the duplicity and bad feelings often associated with property transactions. I respect Thoreau's means

for handling the money/property system by rejecting substantial involvement. He built his own cabin at Walden Pond, got his own wood, dressed for use, and grew his beans. Shelter, fuel, clothing, and food: he negotiated these constant human requirements by simplifying and doing for himself. This is an American ideal, but also international. It is as if he anticipated D. H. Lawrence's argument that "... property is only there to be used, not to be possessed... [P]ossession is a kind of illness of the spirit, and a hopeless burden upon the spontaneous self... A man only needs as much as will help him to his own fulfillment," which Virginia pointed out to me. But I am still far inside the system and feel its burdens. In the past several years since writing this dictionary I and Virginia each have sold one house and then one together, and we have bought two together, we have rented one apartment and three houses, we have sold three and bought three cars and put two new motors in one of them, we have sold most of our household goods at various garage sales, I have made gifts of many books to institutions, and so on. I feel qualified to testify if only on the basis of recent experience that moving things and buying and selling are potentially great burdens on the spontaneous self, though it is also true that some of these transactions have involved very high moments for us. Sometimes they have been symbolic beginning or turning points. But it is very easy for me to become anxious over the disposition and safety of my things. The schedule for buying and selling imposes itself on me. And the actual selling, with exceptions, tends to be even worse. Buyers are suspicious, knowing they must beware, projecting the cheat in themselves, and they expect that the house or car will look in unnaturally good shape. So I wash and wax the car, change the seat covers, get a tune-up, anxiously hoping to meet my fantasies of their expectations. Our exchanges are shadowed by their attempt to buy the car for less than it is worth. I remain ostensibly pleasant, though I dislike our exchange. But I do want to sell the car at its price, or more. This must be how salesmen feel each day. But selling a house is even more grotesque. I deal

with a realtor. S/he is agent for a despicable ethic and talks about property-values, buyers, offers, loans, interest rates, escrow, the title, termite reports, and the like. S/he gets in the way as much as s/he contributes to the sale. I resent h/er that s/he does nothing really human for me though I must pay the commission. My anxiety and needs are the key to the deal.

And so it goes in all these areas, as with renting, where the landlord's anxiety is in the two months in advance, the damage deposit, and the rules. Given all these recent occasions I've worked considerably on myself in relation to property, in which Virginia's natural capacities are greater than mine, from whom I learn, and we are now much less spread out and more simplified than before. But nearly everyone rents an apartment or owns a house, and there are many cars. And everyone moves and buys and sells. It isn't enough to say there are ways to take care of yourself, that this is a form of work on your money number, and that there are high possibilities in any of these. I want a system that is more sensitive.

SHOULD. I have the shoulds today, which vaguely sounds like diarrhea and feels more like constipation. I should myself into a tight, constipated, stopped place where, like Buridan's ass, no action attracts me more than any other. I'm not aware of wanting anything, or perhaps what I want is nothing. I see all my possibilities as obligations. I should: make love to Virginia, get up to get the cigarettes, finish reading the book, feel good, enjoy, be with my kids, fix Anne's bike, go off somewhere alone with Jonathan, go to San Francisco, finish writing the research proposal, start the essay on Problems of Freedom and Responsibility in the Study of American Culture, work on this book, clean the yard, fix the car, make breakfast, shave, get dressed, be someone other than who I am, be myself, be powerful, take care of, leave all this and go to Big Sur to live, not smoke so much dope, stop smoking, do my duty, wash the

kitchen floor, have Stan or Mike or Chris to dinner, attend more to my parents, prepare for tomorrow, get some sun, go out, stay home, make friends, be alone more, work more, work less. My list runs on like diarrhea, as I say, and I deal with it by stopping myself and going stiffly passive. Often I slump into a TV stupor. (I shouldn't watch so much TV.) I am able to should any part of my life in this mood. My shoulds are not limited to the usual Usonian obligations--job, family, morality. I should everything, even liberation and revolution and living well and free. What is destructive here is the shoulding process itself, no matter what its content, as Paula Bottome says. People in therapy groups often should themselves about being more "open" and contactful. That should freezes them as much as a job or moralism should. Shoulding is often like the double-bind. By any action I take I fail. Shoulding is one of civilization's ways of ordering daily life and maintaining ordinary reality as real. Want--should's enemy--is too close to awareness lately for the socio-political comfort of establishments. In a tight, tradition-oriented civilization, should may feel good. (Who knows?) In a civilization like the United States in the 1970s, should feels bad.

SURVIVAL. As experienced by most Usonians, survival means struggle and strain anxiously to adapt to existing conditions in such a way that this given social system is thereby perpetuated. "Survival" here emphatically does not mean, say, mastery of my world, or even living comfortably in it. It means to live on. I "survive" in this sense in prisons, concentration camps, school, my job, a bad marriage, and other such totalistic or powerful institutions. Survival behavior does not seem likely to lead to a transformation of the institutions that encourage and often insist on it. Survival behavior does not lead to an advance in the general energy level of human beings. It leads to more of the same: to tired security, dullness, an

incapacity to enjoy fully, a maximization of the mind-body split, and the like. Survival behavior--as, say, working at a meaningless job to eat, living bureaucratically since that's how it is, getting the degree, being realistic--is death behavior both for individuals and for this dying society. Spencer and Darwin require revision. The actual present planetary struggle is not to survive but to flourish.

(end)

The book which is excerpted here -- *Transformations: a dictionary of contemporary changes* by Robert Merideth is available from Connections Press, PO Box 454, Bolinas, CA 94924, \$6.

Manila -- June 8, 1947

He didn't blame the shipping company or the captain. At first the war had had a pick of jobs. The pay was very good, but somehow, as the old sailor in Lisbon had done a no account taking an advance on a second cruise to spend a day first in the morning and in the afternoon they had been a dozen boats. Now there were only three and the Devon crawler was in dry dock for hull and motor work.

He didn't blame the owner for saying the ship was run in favor of the Singapore to Yokohama route. It was a long way to come back, and he had a good boat to look at. He had a good boat to look at. He had a good boat to look at.

"That's it then. I'll have to see Pietro about staying on."

"Do you want that, deep water, that's what I want. I want a new motor, and the motor won't last the summer."

"I'll write to Dave in St. John's."

"And..."

"I know... I know."

Lisbon -- January 3, 1940

He didn't blame Pietro. He had been told at the beginning that they wouldn't need him more than ten or eleven months, but that had been before the war began. Much as he wanted to stay on the Atlantic, after a month in the strange port, his only offer was from the China Star. No West, where there were no submarines in the Pacific.

ANDREW DEVON LOGBOOK

Newfoundland -- July 5, 1939

In the old days, the storm would have been a welcomed excuse to spend a day free of sea and cod. The men would have used the morning hours for repairing the nets and winches, and in the afternoon they would have congregated at McPearson's Inn for an exchange of ale and gossip. In the old days, there had been a dozen boats. Now, there were only three and the Devon trawler was in dry dock for hull and motor work.

"Can we go out at all?"

"Not if we want to come back."

"That's it then. I'll have to see Pietro about signing on."

"Do you want that, son? Deep water sailing?"

"What I want doesn't much matter. We couldn't even make a down payment on a new motor, and the winch won't last the summer."

"I'll write to Davie in St. John's."

"Dad..."

"I know...I know."

Lisbon -- January 3, 1940

He didn't blame Pietro. He had been told at the beginning that they wouldn't need him more than ten or eleven months, but that had been before the war began. Much as he wanted to stay on the Atlantic, after a month in the strange port, his only offer was from the China Star. At least, there were no submarines in the Pacific.

"Be careful, kid. These oriental trips have a nasty way of stretching out with the money fixed to drain off faster than you can look at it."

"I need the berth, old timer."

"Something could turn up if you hold out a bit longer."

"Naw, I've waited too long already. I need to send some money home. Hell, this is only for one year."

Manila -- June 8, 1947

He didn't blame the shipping company or the captain. At first the war had meant he had a pick of jobs. The pay was very good, but somehow, as the old sailor in Lisbon had warned, a man found himself taking an advance on a second cruise before the first was even over. He didn't blame anyone in particular. The merchant marine was tough and unfair, exactly what he had been told to expect.

"How long since you've seen the Americas?"

"Nearly six years. I'm glad we're going back; I've forgotten what a white city looks like."

Saskatoon -- July 11, 1950

He didn't blame the owner for canceling the North American run in favor of the Singapore to Yokahama shuttle. It was good business, and Andrew understood the reasoning even though he jumped ship and took a job stoking tanker to Vancouver.

"The fields look lazy, don't they?"

"Like a sea dyed orange-yellow."

"Had a rough time of it?"

"Not especially."

"But glad to be back home in Canada?"

"Oh, yeah."

"How far you going?"

"St. John's."

"In Nova Scotia?"

"Newfoundland."

Montreal -- February 13, 1951

He didn't blame the railroad cops. They had caught him fair and square. He didn't blame the judge, and the fine had been the usual one. They weren't to blame that he couldn't pay. The sentence was not unreasonable. There was nothing to do but serve his time and not get caught short like that again.

"Newfie, I thought you was in that South China crew."

"I was, but I got out the same way you did."

"That's the only way. You ready to sign on again?"

"I want to see my father and brother first."

"They still over in St. John's?"

"Up the coast from there."

"Tough. I have a soft deal you could get in on. I'm going to do a Montreal to San Diego freight run. Back and forth. Easy as pie and regular. They still need two more guys."

Panama City -- August 8, 1952

He didn't blame the captain for making them take lower wages when he got wise to their jumping ship. He didn't blame Pete for keeping him from seeing his family. And the ship was a good enough ship, the captain a good enough captain.

"Let's lay on a big one, Andy. I know a swell bitch up in the Alley."

"Haven't got the dough for it, Pete."

"On me. Hell, it's time you started pulling a little luck. What do you say?"

"Let's go, mate."

The Pacific -- August 14, 1952

He didn't blame Pete for taking him. He didn't blame the old woman who sold them the bottle. He didn't blame the American marine. He didn't blame the whore they fought over.

"Why did you take so long to show me this?"

"I thought it would heal by itself. It was only a little slice on the arm."

"What do you think, Cookie?"

"He shouldn't have waited. We'd better get the captain."

"Will there be time to call shore?"

"I don't know. I think you'd better get the captain down here quick."

"Cookie..."

"Don't worry, Andy."

"How bad is it?"

"We'll see. I ain't a doctor you know."

"You wanted me?"

"His arm, Sir."

"What do you think?"

"You know how infections work in the tropics."

"Do you have to?"

"I think so."

Vancouver -- April 2, 1955

He didn't blame Pete. He didn't blame Cookie. He didn't blame the captain. Everyone had been doing what they felt was best for him.

----Dad-dying-Come-home-if-you-can---David----

"Can't go very far with my leg in a sling, can I?"

"It'll only be for a few more days. Then you can move around."

"The doctor told me another week for sure."

"What happened anyway?"

"I was careless. The fog had made the deck slippery, and I was careless like some green hand."

"The company will take care of all the hospital bills. They're good that way, Hook. It ain't like it used to be."

"Yeah, I could treat this joint like a hotel vacation if it wasn't for the old man."

"He'll last. You Devons are tough bastards."

The China Sea -- October 10, 1960

If things had gone the way he'd wanted, he'd have inherited

the old Devon trawler. His life would have been Newfoundland and cod with the companionship of Brewster, McPearson, and the other kids he'd grown up with. But things hadn't worked out that way. He didn't blame the corporations or their power scoops. He didn't blame the old man. He didn't blame Pietro. He didn't blame the China Star. Didn't blame the woman. Didn't blame Cookie. Didn't blame any of the captains. There was no one person, no one place, no one thing to blame or curse. Without anyone's conscious planning or forcing, things had managed to go wrong.

"I hear you're a Canadian too, Hook."

"That's right, kid."

"Maritimes?"

"Newfoundland."

"Ever get sick for home?"

"Sometimes."

"I guess it's kind of stupid feeling like this when you're as old as I am."

"Maybe."

"How about you? Ever think of going back?"

"What for? All my people are gone."

Jakarta -- November 4, 1970

The Ambassador dictated a cablegram:

THE BENEVOLENT SEAMAN'S ASSOCIATION AND LOCAL OFFICIALS HAVE SENT US CONDOLENCES FOR THE UNKNOWN SEAMAN WHO PLAYED SUCH A HERO'S ROLE IN LAST WEEK'S BLAZE. WE KNOW OF HIS NATIONALITY ONLY BECAUSE OF A TATTOO ON HIS ONE GOOD ARM AND THE COINS IN HIS TROUSERS. ALTHOUGH SUCH IDENTIFICATION IS TENUOUS, I THINK WE SHOULD BEAR THE EXPENSE OF BRINGING THE BODY BACK TO AUSTRALIA SO THAT HE CAN BE PUT TO REST IN HIS NATIVE SOIL.

-Dan Georgakas

FEMINISM AS AN ANARCHIST PROCESS

Elaine Leeder

For the last four years I have called myself an *anarcha-feminist*. I have participated in anarcha-feminist groups, meetings and conferences and have taught courses in small group process. Through my experience I have come to realize that the interaction in an all women's group has a unique flavor and style and that this is particularly true of feminist groups. Some writers have called this the "mosaic process." It contrasts with traditional "linear" thinking that has pervaded human interactions in this society. The characteristics of competition and hierarchy are integral to a capitalist system. Linear, logical arguments are used in discussions to perpetuate the values of this system. Linear thinking is done to substantiate or to argue a hypothesis. Women's values of cooperation, emotion, and intuition have been given little credence in this type of thinking. The mosaic pattern that women use includes a supportive structure with considerably less competition. This style uses anecdotal material, encourages the interjection of comments into conversation, accepts emotional data as a legitimate part of intellectual discussions, uses narratives, phrases, shifts directions and moves the group together toward a mutual search for understanding. It is an organic process, non-hierarchical and non-competitive. It could in fact be called anarchist because the values of leaderlessness, lack of hierarchy, non-competition and spontaneity have historically been associated with the term *anarchism*. They are also *feminist* values. From what I have seen, this style exists less frequently in mixed groups of men and women. In fact, it rarely even exists in mixed groups of anarchist men and women. Anarchist literature is full of documentation of the exploitation by

anarchist men of the women in their lives. My own recent experience among old-time anarchists, and even among the new breed, substantiates this statement.

Anarchism's principles and its current practice conflict. There is sexism within anarchism. It is important for anarchists to incorporate this "feminist process" into their practice so that ultimately the principles and the practice of anarchism can become one.

There are a number of feminists including myself who have realized the inherent anarchism in our process and have begun working in groups to study and grow together as anarcho-feminists. This hybrid developed out of the late sixties when many of us were involved in male-dominated, competitive, hierarchical mass organizations. At that time (and to this day in anarchist literature) women were told to work for the larger movement. Instead many of us formed small consciousness raising groups that dealt with personal issues of our lives. These were spontaneous direct action groups organized for ourselves. They were much like groups organized in Spain prior to 1936 and could be called affinity groups. These affinity groups were based on similarities of interests and had an internal democracy in which women would share information and knowledge. These groups generally consisted of white middle-class women who often for the first time were placed in a situation in which they were not in competition with one another. Third world and working-class women were generally not involved in consciousness raising groups, which is also the case today in anarcho-feminist groups.

Out of these early beginnings a feminist theory slowly evolved. Some of us began to study political theories in these small groups and discovered the inherent anarchism in our feminism. We began to use an anarchist analysis to aid in our development of theory and strategy for social change. Some of us believed that patriarchy was a male-dominated hierarchy and that the nuclear family perpetuated that hierarchy. The family, we discovered, teaches us to obey Father, God, Teachers, Bosses and whoever else is above us. It teaches us competition, consumerism and isolation as well as the treatment of each other in a subject-object relationship. I have seen this clearly in the family therapy work that I do. Nuclear families, I know now, are the basis of all hierarchical, authoritarian systems. As a result, if one fights patriarchy one fights all hierarchies. If we change the nature of the nuclear family we may begin to change all forms of leadership, domination and governments.

As a result of this form of thinking, some of us now place value on other ways of looking at things. No longer must we see the world through only linear thought patterns: rational vs. sensual, mind vs. body, logic vs. intuition. We have begun to look at things on a continuum rather than in dualistic, competitive terms. We have come to see that there needs to be a place for both the linear and the mosaic patterns and that both are valid methods of thinking and functioning.

If one continues to look at the world in these terms, it follows that anarcho-feminists do not say that women should get an equal share of the power. Instead we say that there should be an abolition of all power relationships. We do not want a woman president. We want no presidents at all. To us equal wages for equal work is not the crucial issue. Hierarchies and power distribution is.

Feminist groups often follow anarchist principles. Some of us have articulated the connection. Others of us have not, but the form is still there, whether it is conscious or not. Our groups are generally small, and sometimes these groups form alliances to act together with others on certain issues. Within the groups there is an attempt at rotation of tasks and skill sharing so that power never resides with the same person. According to anarchist principles there is equal access to all information, and these groups are voluntary and intentional. The groups are non-hierarchical, and self-discipline is crucial. The unskilled are urged to take leadership positions, and the indigent leaders translate their skills to those not as knowledgeable in certain areas. We work in these groups on practicing the revolution now in our daily lives. We discuss the immediate experience of oppression of power among us and those with whom we live. We work on the everyday issues that oppress us, not just on the theoretical, abstract ideas of revolution.

As a practitioner I have found the issue of conflict resolution crucial in the development of cohesion in these small groups. When conflicts arise among us, attempts are made to use self-discipline and to put ourselves in the other person's position. Dissension is accepted, listened to, and learned from. Sometimes there is a point that is objected to, and then a debate ensues. It is often heard and understood, because many of us realize that our conflicts come from different life experiences. Generally by the end of a session there has been conflict resolution. If not, we return next time having thought the issue through further. We then discuss it or leave it as need be. There is room for dissension because there is a mutual trust and respect that has grown. This trust is a difficult quality to develop in larger groups, which might explain why we continually gravitate to smaller ones. We have learned that communication is crucial, and that through it we can work out our differences. Conflict can and does occur regularly because we have seen ourselves work it through.

Because we see the need to confront sexism in our daily lives some of us have seen the need to confront men (anarchist or otherwise) who do not live in their personal lives what they preach in their political lives. It has been said that women often practice anarchism and do not know it, while some men call themselves anarchists and do not practice it. Some of us have worked on restructuring mixed political organizations so that intuition, emotion, and spontaneity can be experienced by people other than feminists. In some of these mixed groups we have tried to introduce the consensual decision-making process that is usually part of women's groups. For the most part these

efforts have had only limited success. Generally competition, aggressiveness and dominating leadership have taken over even in mixed groups that have tried to be anarchistic. Conflicts are not as easily resolved as they are in all women's groups.

Anarcha feminist groups are now to be found world wide. One such group was Tiamat, an anarcha-feminist affinity group that existed in Ithaca, New York from August, 1975 to August, 1978. I was a member of that group and I think that Tiamat is an excellent example of anarcha-feminism in action. We took the name Tiamat from the Z. Budapest book which described this myth: "When Tiamat created the world she created it whole and without divisions so that life flowed spontaneously between dark and light, season and season, birth and death and all the faces of the moon and sun shone upon the thinking people, the humans, without being separated, put in categories, analysed, owned. Then Tiamat's son grew in power and overthrew his mother, cut her into many small pieces and scattered them everywhere. From her pieces he made his new world, where everything had its place, its number. From this men called him *the creator*. Tiamat's name was still known, and she was worshipped by women, but men feared her now as a goddess of Chaos, of destruction -- of anarchy."*

Our purpose began as study, and for the first year and a half we read anarchist theory together. Later each of us presented ideas and theories that we had studied. Still later we put out a newsletter (*Anarcha-Feminist Notes*), sponsored an Anarcha-Feminist Conference and got involved in local political issues. For example, we protested the building of a local shopping mall and we raised money for a day care center for political dissidents in Chile. We wanted political growth, re-education, criticism, discussion and action; all of this was accomplished.

Our process was central. We used a procedure called check-in in which we each spoke of our lives at that moment, issues we were personally dealing with, and how tuned in we felt to what we were going to discuss that evening. Sometimes we spent the whole session checking in, or discussing one person's check-in, or perhaps an issue that evolved out of check-in. Other times we would deal with intellectual material. Through check-in we became responsible to each other and began to know each other quite well. Often there would be devil's advocate positions taken so that we could delve deeply into a political conflict. All this was done with an air of trust that developed over time. Because of the differences in our perceptions and life styles, we were able to learn much from each other. These differences were also the source of much conflict. Half the group was heterosexual and the other half lesbian. Because of this our

*Jenny Reece as taken from Budapest, Z. and the Feminist Book of Lights and Shadow Collective. *The Feminist Book of Lights and Shadow*. The Feminist Wicca, 442 Lincoln Boulevard, Venice, CA 90291 (1975). Reprinted from *Anarcha-Feminist Notes*. Spring, 1977, Volume 1, No. 2.

personal lives were often a source of tension but our similarities in outlook and agreement on politics and work often helped us to work through the differences. We were a woman-centered group that was intellectual yet action-oriented. Sometimes we were quite linear and logical in our studies, yet there was still a place for emotion and support. We all felt that there was an inexplicable something that held us together through our differences for three years. Our studies included Russian anarchism, Spanish anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism and anarcho-communism. We looked at China, earlier American anarchists and how we as anarchists could live these principles in our lives. We discussed living with men, being married and having children. We discussed separatism and its effects on the women's movement. We looked at wages for housework, and nuclear power as it relates to women. We had birthday parties, picnics and anti-4th-of-July celebrations. We marched together in demonstrations; we tried to help other anarcha-feminist groups get started, and we provided each other with readings and support. We deeply cared for each other, and when we saw each other at other places there were strong feelings of unity and comradeship.

At the end of three years, two out of the nine members moved out of the area. Another member withdrew slowly, feeling the need at that time for more involvement in the lesbian community. As a result the six of us left felt it would not be appropriate to reconstruct a group that had been such a unique entity. Instead we dealt with the demise creatively, feeling that it was now time for each of us to spin off in new directions. Some of us joined a women's anti-nuke affinity group, others joined the Lesbian Alliance, others worked with a mixed group on ecology issues.

Prior to the group's dissolution we sponsored an Anarcha-Feminist Conference that brought together eighty-five women from as far away as Italy, Toronto, Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. Although Tiamat and friends were the organizers, once the participants arrived responsibility was shared by all present. There were numerous workshops including anarcha-feminism and ecology, anarcha-feminist theory, unions, future visions, third world women, working with men and building an anarcha-feminist network, to name just a few. The setting was idyllic. We met at a nature preserve overlooking Lake Cayuga. The rustic lodge, the healthy and tasty food and the perfect warm sunny weather made the weekend ideal. During the day we met in groups and in the evenings we played music, shared poetry, and danced to women's music. One woman, Kathy Fire, sang songs from her album "Songs from a Lesbian Anarchist."

In the discussion groups we discovered the need to keep our numbers small. Groups of more than ten inhibited conversation. It also seemed that designated leadership was important. The role of leader could have been rotated but it was important that there be someone to recognize speakers, highlight the discussion, summarize and move the group on to new areas. We discovered though, that leadership functioned best when it did not rest in

the hands of a few. At one point in the conference the participants decided that the schedule of workshops was too hectic and through the use of consensual decision-making a new scheme was implemented. We struggled, tensions built, and we moved to a new level together. There were no positions of power, decisions were made by all, sharing was spontaneous, painful, but open and leadership rotated. This was an example of anarchism at work. Later, at the closing circle, after a weekend of sitting naked in the sun, 85 women held hands and gained strength in our numbers. We were bonded together in our vision of a new society and what we had experienced together. We had made contacts for our future work. We were no longer isolated individuals or groups. We were part of a larger network of women who could meet anywhere in the world and have kindred ideas and hopes. We set up rotating journals, planned to continue our journal *Anarcha-Feminist Notes* and many of us planned to meet at Seabrook and other anti-nuke demonstrations.

Tiamat and the Anarcha-Feminist Conference are just two examples of the anarcha-feminist process. Often groups embody these principles without realizing the anarchism within. Recently I have been teaching small group process at the college level. Within these classes I try to convey to white, middle class, mainly female students all of the principles I've discovered above by running the sessions much like an anarcha-feminist meeting. Here the students are treated with respect and interest. They slowly begin to share themselves intellectually and personally. By the end of the semester they realize that they can learn from each other and by looking within themselves instead of looking to an outside expert in the hierarchy to impart knowledge to them. Through the process they gain power over their own lives and eventually dissolve power relationships within the class. I have had the experience here in which these privileged students have gone directly in consciousness from fervent capitalists to budding collectivists without having gone through the revolutionary left. It is possible to come to these anarchist conclusions through experiences such as these.

It is clear to me from my experience with women in varying groups that the time has come for feminists to make clear and articulate the anarchism in our feminism. We need to call it by name and begin to create it as a viable and acceptable alternative. No longer does the word *anarchism* have to be whispered. We are living it now in our small groups. The next step is to let ourselves and others know who we are, and what our vision is for now and for the future.

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

All materials submitted are considered for publication. Manuscripts and artwork should be addressed to the editors at the address below.

Preparation of manuscripts.

(a) Submit three copies. (b) Enclose a stamped, self-addressed postcard for acknowledgment of receipt. (c) Manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed envelope of appropriate size and adequate postage. (d) All copy must be typed, double spaced on 8½ x 11 white paper. It is helpful if the left margin is 1½ inches and the right margin at least 1 inch. Pages should be numbered consecutively.

Abstract. Include a summary of not more than 150 words.

Biographical note. Write two or three sentences (not more) about yourself.

Footnotes and notes. Use footnotes only for substantive comments, not bibliographic references. Bibliographic citations should be identified in the text by author, year, and pagination, e.g., (Bakunin, 1864, p. 10). The full reference should be placed in an alphabetical list of citations following the text. It should be typed doublespaced.

Illustrations. Draw with black ink on heavy white drawing paper. Submit copies, but retain the original. Photographs should have a glossy finish, with sharp contrast between black and white areas. If illustrations are accompanying text, then insert a location note in the manuscript where you want the illustration, e.g.,

Place photo #1 about here.

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Letters. The letters section provides a forum for discussion of matters of general interest to our readers. Keep them short and to the point. The preferred length is 250-350 words. Longer letters may be shortened.

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