Let me make this perfectly clear

- Why I do not think the group as constituted has the competence to do community Memory and only marginally the chance to "sell" pacific into competentant hands.
- @ What I think my relationship to that competance is
- The other side that "contempt" = the continually changing roles of the Same, and the individuals. end ever growing frostration.
- @ What needs doing.

First perspective -

cooperative forms, though I'd would have to say that of all my co-operative experiences have been in straight jobs and with adventuring bands of friends. The formalization of co-operation in both co-op's and collectives seems to frequently replace the spirit with the letter and eventually ends in war fare.

Cooperation is important but there is nothing holy about its intellectualized forms. Futher, cooperative forms must have means of Dealing with the world as it is, not as it might dream it to be.

In an ideal organization there are many things to be maximized in addition to cooperation.

They in clude?

The spirit of the group.

The justice of the group.

The "correct" external world behavior of the group.

The imagination of the group.

The intelligence of the group

The productivity of the group

All

the freedom and development of the individuals.

- I. Why I think this group is not up to its espoused task, This includes myself as part of the group.
 - A. Historical "facts" and other points of greater objectivity.
 - 1. There is not a common understanding of a common goal. Just what does it mean to do community memory and who in which subgroup sees this as the primary goal? My estimate would be less than 1/2 of a full tuesday meeting could claim a serious comittement even to the words, uninterpreted.
 - 2. For five years the group has lived off the earning power of a few individuals and continues to do so.
 - 3. The actual programming problem is extreme it has be never been solved in any existing system, I believe that with two other designers with about the same skill level as myself we might crack it. I do not believe any one in the shop has a skill at design approaching mine even remotely. I think if steve wanted to be trained as a designer instead of a mathematican he could probably develop that level of skill. No one else seems a likely canidate.

(see note on designers, generalists)

4. There has been no improvement in the care or premeditated ness of hiring practises though every one agrees this is an enormous whole,

Designers, Generalists, and Specialists.

There are a variety of trained skills that are very important in doing Community Memory, these include programming, political theory, writing, design and trained generalists. There is also the important shillof visionary, but I don't know how one trains, (I think Mark Szpakowski is our only skilled visionary),

Generalists and designers have alot in common but they are not the same thing. There are four people in group correctly that are to some degree generalists, mostly be cause they are information sinks; ten, Judeth, Miller, and my self. Miller probably has the greatest spread of practical and almost practical knowledge, the Jude the greatest and deepest knowledge though much is tangential to the situation at hand like medicine and Japanese form forms, ten is probably the most successful at generalist thought and it think that may come from intention on his part since I meet him at world Geme a generalists day dream. I originally conceived my self as a generalist later decided to become a designer, a closely allied speciality,

Generalists are the key to the success of any grand undertaking, Many entre preneurs are generalist, in fact many generalists go into business explicitly because it is one of the few areas that does not try force them down a narrow channel (if they succeed) or equate general throwledge with dilettantism. Obviously the unsuccessful generalist is not good at anything but the successful ones are not so much good at anything but the successful ones are not so much good at anything but the successful ones are not synthesizing new things from existing areas and can bind together efforts that

criss cross &varied expertise, CM is such an undertaking and unfortunately our generalists are a little under trained and not suported to develop as generalists. They small should be.

A designer is not a fancy programmer nor is it necessarily a generalist. The focus of the idea as a designer as a distinct trade comes from architecture and has only recently been picked up by the "systems" world. My training and interest came originally from an interest in mathematics and bioTogical process, particularly the nature of consciousness and interplay between consciousness and form. Later I picked op The skills of a systems programmer and film direction is very similiar to the other process of processes of design. Trying to make a synthesis of film, and systems design, and politically useful work lead me to identifing as a designer in 1972. Since them I've explicitly studied the design literature in architecture and pactage design, along with some actual architecture, art, art history, algebra, political theory, economies, film theory, theoretical blology, tomber digital electronics, systems theory, foundation physics, other cultures both for their own sake and for what general design principles can be elscidated.

It is not clear what a designer needs to know in addition to all the "vsusal" techiques ofany aver shes going to work. However it must include alot of something else and a dose of generalisms or the will be locked into the frame of reference of a brilder notal designer.

Community Memory and Pacific Software

Efrem

The major issues between CM+ps at the

time of issuance of P.s. stock seem to be

- O The nature of the sequitor license, provided and the amount of royality to be paid eM.
- (2) The amount of stock to go to CMish purposes.
- The amount and manor in which employee's are to receive stock.

The issue of how to devide the stock among the 'foundary' does not seem bothy contested, nor are the amounts to give board wenters and friends. The question of how much to give key people in Pacific is corrently a formal question only, though it will no doubt cause debate in the future.

A closet, but sory important question is who has the right to distributed shares? Since more than sor of the shares will treesury stock when the company is formalize, if

the board can issue without consulting the stock holders, The balance of power which has been carefully kept with the stock holders will be shifted to the board.

On The Questions!

The issue of the license troyalities is is extremely important, The balance is between CM getting enough money to make the last 3 years effort worth the trosble and growth. There is also an outside player, if Pacific does Aprovide CM with substantially more income that it could get from another company, we are all going to be in serious trouble with the tax man.

The question of how much stock should go to chich purposes has a much greater (in tom's language) impressionistic component. The players here are diverse including us, past intent, the tax man, and luture venture capitalists. It seems to require an experiential knowledge a do not have. As far as I can tell all the different

positions are based on responses of emotion or self-interest, and that no intellectually solid position capable of direct realization has developed. The 50% founder (50% cm seems the beginnings of one, but has not been carried through to a workable conclusion. This seems an inherently difficult problem.

The question of what and how to give employees stock a problem of doing the home work, the pointing principles being a greed upon. My meager researches indicate that our information from Dick was very in complete.

The license agreement

Generally the question of royalities is being discussed without enough numbers. Evan it the numbers available are in precise they help thought.

| ear | Pacific 15eg License | Pacific Sey Income (at1,000 per) | at 15% |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| 83 | 500 | .500,000 | 75,000 |
| 84 | 1000 | 1,000,000 | 150,000 |
| 85 | 2000 | 2,000,000 | 300,000 |
| 86 | 4000 | 4,000,000 | 600,000 |
| 87 | 8000 | 8,000,000 | 1,200,000 |

Assuming Pacific doubles every year it would not be until 1986 that CM could support a staff the size of the "current shop:" or \$ less than number of support a suppoyee's at \$10/hr

The salwy expenses for CMTVD are correctly about \$150,000/ year. That's without paying then or, any one more than Slother,

A database expert or real communications expert would cost close to \$40,000/yr by 1 em selves.

This is not an entirely accorate picture because X.Dot sales are at some royality and mass sequitur sales might radically increase the figures

next year. On the other hand the usual justification of our way of doing pacific is that CM needs millions of dollars 6000,

the royality question.

- (1) Pairic Software exists because CM needs royality income from its products and Pacific can give it a substantially better deal than anyone else is offering.
- (z) CM's object is to maximize its income not its percentage.
- (3) With a reasonable royality rate growth in Pacific is very valuable to CM.
- (4) Income from Pacific has to be viewed it belance with that which Lee is putting into Pacific and that which that which that which come into Pacific and selling to some one else.
- (5) If Pacific does not pay CM at a rate greater than it can get else where, the state may consider this to be sett-

possibly charge the founders with hand.

- (6) Pacific is going to be very apital poor its first few years.
- (7) Actual profits tept in Practice rather than CM are soing to suffer a big tax bire.
- (8) Pacific royalities are a good mechinism for moving "investment money" From yacific to CM.

My corrent (very weak) understanding of industry royality rates is -

if a product is good, but easily recreated then the authors see between 5 and 15 percent,

if a product is good and difficult to recreate than the vate is between 15 and 25 percent.

Higher royality payments are known,

- (10) John Davork thinks that 25% is the top workable royality, but his actual evidence is Thin.
- (11) It is frequently argued that because sequitor is a mass market item the costs of selling it will be proportionally higher than those for selling X. Dot. Again there is no actual evidence for this. Infact the reverse may be true, we will not know for atleast a year.

(12)

There are a lot of ways to add this all up. The main point is That it has to be added up not guessed at.

My proposed solution is (a) an initial 15% roy ality on small end users sales of sequitor with an understanding that as Pacific Jevelops it will be raised (cautiously) to 25 maybe 30%. but not beyond what Pacific can support (or should be able to support.)

- (b) a 40% royality on large scale sales, to manufactures and The like with the possiblity it may later be raised to ward 50%.
- (c) The current X.Dot 50% left unchanged.

 (Notice that a complete sale of X.Dot is)

 nearly twice as valuable to CM as

 the same size sale made by Pacific
- (d) That for the next year the casy revoltablity of the licenses be maintained, but when the future relationship is more formed they should be replaced by performance clauses so that the terms under which the relationship is to be maintained is more formal.
- (e) The licenses should have a noncompetition clause. Pacific should not be able to develop competive software.

The stock split

The points here get vague, but fairness seems like a good place to start. I think we should start with a fair division (subjective) of the stock, attempt to realize that as a technical problem then modify that division as forced by either financial necessity or the lack of legal tools adequet to a fair division.

I propose as a possible fair division.

The Founders" 30%

CM 30%

Future Employees 30%

Officers, Board Members and bot shots 10%

Every one would be distred equally for capital or possible very expensive hot shots. At a future date it may also be desirable to raise the employee's share

The major problem is that CM can only hold about 5% directly. If that 5% were never divted it could be made equavalent to 10 or 15%, That leaves 20 to 15% to deal with. Some could be given to Village Design. The vest could be given to a foundation. It could also be held by individuals in separate I vm ps under a verbal/moral as reoment that they would contribute it to attend projects according to a given plan.

[Point foundation worked by giving each director the right to disperse I'm of funds each year on their own discresion]

Mechanism probably exists to go most of the way towards the above "fair" distribution if we are willing to look for it.

Now the arguments for and against CM's share.

For: (1) Pacific software is one of CM's most valuable products. If PS is cashed out CM should partisipate.

Counter Argument - CM will get its share from the sale of the license. and from royalities.

Answer (a) - Think of selling him

6 years that for 10 million
and the license for 10 million.
The license is only software
and it will be hand to for

some one to talk themselves into
spending that much for software.

It will be in the spend 20 Mey
on pacific with 2 to 4 Mey
for the license.

Answer (b) Pacific will is and will continue to try and posts the roy alities down,

Answer (c) If venture money in Pacific cashes out by taking Pacific public extra cM is left out in the cold without a fair share of the gravy

and stuck with a much larger and likely ineffectual (look at apple) marketing organization. in. It is probably not to CMIS advantage for Pacific to go public unless CM get a good share.

(Z) (M was originally going to own most of Pacific and the reason were changed that was legal difficulties.

Counter Arguments - Individuals did the work.

CM gets the royalities.

Since we discovered the legal difficulties the situation has change further.

Answer - true, but not true enough

to so cut back CM so far with

out very care fully making it up

in row alities. And it is not

con elucion that that covers it. ic soins public.

- (3) Abstract fairness.
- (4) maintains a clear common interest between the two organizations.

Against (M stock.

(1) The venture capitalist, will not like it.

directly held by CM they would love it because it is a sources CM's continuing interest.

Hey would not notice. by people,

If it were held by a fandation it world be diluted along with all other stock and world have both positive and negitive impacts on the negotiation. Note that is possible for the foundation stock to be hon voting.

Ha Ha - Idea,

give CM part of it's share indirectly in non-voting stock. I'll check this with the lawyers.

The Employee Stock

My hand is tired so I'm not going to go into much detail know, I still lack a lot of information, but my understanding is.

We should do an ESOP, Employee Stock Ownership Plan.

Pacific gives stock a trust and takes a tax deduction for the value of the stock.

The trust bolds the stock in various employee's accounts making divisions accounts to lose rules we can set up.

The employee's collect either stock or money when they become "vested" after a certain period of time. The rules for vesting can also be made as complex as meded.

The EGOP can also buy stock from Pacific or get loans of for Pacific with very good Tax treatment.

Esops are expensive to set up 32 \$10,000 but seem to be a much better deal for both company and employee than stock options. (The Employer does not pay for the stock)

The trust should be given the stock slowly to maximize the tax benefits.

It does not yet appear that n'is any advantage to setting all the stock to given aside.

We should agree now to the eventuel divisor of the company, even if it does not have to be formalized.

I'll continue research, There is a book called Employee Ownership that has a lot of information.

Pacific Software in Community Memory

In what follows it should be the clear at the start that by PS TCM and I do not mean specific individuals but formal organizations and states of mind.

Yeur

Tom, -> you still donot hear

of your mouth. Mostly you pick on weather people or the group as a whole.

I've heard you abuse Mary, Hiller, Jude and Philip with more visciousness than you use on me, so don't say that your use oxyour mouth is the result of your anger with me.

Most typical is a meeting which has no chain you uniformally grap the chair, Even when a meeting has a schair you frequently try and grab control. Remember the last time philip stopped you, you are not a good chair in fact your a miserable, lovel mouthed, authorizing chair,

goodness are the same thing, I think you have one of the better hearts in shop, even though I've frequently seen you mash people it seems like a wild animal get of from a Deficency of soul. However, I do not respect your thinking, I especially do not respect your pelitical this ting I feel your a political idiot. Since you have no

idea to abotter one ence you can be made to see it. However that task is usually enormous and for me has long stopped being worth the trolble.

The only reason we have not talked about the report generators in public is that you have not prought it up in public 1'se never done any thing to stop you, I just don't feel compelled to be judath's manager -- I explicitly dropped that role a long time ago.

Lagree, the stock questions should have been settled long acoll However before they can be settled some basic, is required. What I said is that instead of shooting your mouth off for 200 meeting about doing it know, after the 5th time you should have as ked what need to be done and done some of it or investigate why it was not getting settled. However all you did is yell and shout and they and Miller and I had to go do the work. I am tired of heaving you shout about what your not going to do. Your mouth gets nothing done.

As for my various imperfections as a homan being I'm sure many of them are true.

As for the military sale decision it makes more senge that no policy, that I mean our decision not what Dick Gray wrote, Though it is charming. I. However, I will not do any more tadical technological advance ment under the latest policy - it does not meet my needs it's mearly better that the economist stupidity that you like to spout.

Hum

Efrim;

OK, here's one for you...just as blunt as the one you wrote.

It seems to me that it would make a big difference if you could

step, for a moment, out of the technocratic framework in which the solutions to all problems can be reached by finding the right "design" and look at this fix we are in developmentally.

It seems to me that you should look at the destructive way that you express your opinions. These opinions, in themselves, are we sometimes well thought out (except for your several blind spots), but your presentation of them is so steeped in bitterness and disregard for other peoples opinions and feelings that you are almost known impossible known to deal with. When you leave a meeting it becomes possible to have a discussion, while you are there it can only be an argument...that is, unless what is being discussed is so k unimportant that you will let the peons have it for a while.

And you arrogance is, my friend, so unfounded. I can imagine that a group of reasonably developed human beings would agree to submitt to the will of some übermench who was possessed of some truely brilliant vision. But you are wrong a lot, and sometimes in a quite predictable way. This delegitimates you in the public aye and makes you appear as an overbearing asshole. Pick someone and at random and ask them if it isn't true.

Let me take judith as a case in point, for you use her "high level of skill" against the other programmers whenever you can. Let me only say that we the other programmers who maintain the system decided long ago that it was OK with us to accomidate to her needs, and to give the support within which she could be reasonably productive. Personnally, I like Jude. But what do you think others think of your judgement when you insist that she is a better "programmer" than me, and even than carl. (which you have been known to say.) And, by the way, I think you are nuts if you think the way you "protect" her is good for her.

The report generator, three years later, is one of the weakest parts of the system. Why haven't we been able to talk openly about this?

Youedouble standards are widely precieved, as are the ways in which you conflate the interests of "CM" with your own opinions. You may not believe it, but I would be glad if you were to begin to see what would be necessary for you to begin to work co-operatively with people who, unlike Jude and Phillip, will not submit to your will.

As for my mouth, I agree it is a problem. The anger that I feel at what has happened is a so great that it bubbles out whenever I don't make a real effort to control it. I am sick of whatching you push out those who cannot or willnot stand up to you. I am sick of the hypocracy that was so carefully cultivated about the "collective". I am sick at your manipulative ways. I am sick of you self-reightous bitterness. I am sick of your dogged, stubborn refusal to see the key xx role x that you have played in the creation of the present wherex situation.

I still think things could be changed. You are bright and have lots of good ideas. I say this even knowing you are not gracious enough to say the same. (But do you know how rediculous you look when you say things k like "none of you could understand what I have been doing on the IBM?) Brightness is not enough -- if you cannot co-operate with others that dis-agree with you about important things then it is politically irresponsible to even try to do CM, for you will fail. This money could be better spent than that.

THIN About the stock: You have some good points, but I think you misunderstand my insistance that resolution occur soon. I don't the think that we, organizationally, can survive on the obscurity and ill-defintion that you thive on (and which you rationalize in your datacratic terms as provisional design) I want to nail things down for exactly the reason that formal organization is preferrable (in times f of conflict, or in the presence of people like you who would rather drive everyone else out of the meeting with interminable disaggreement than actually co-operate). Because informality and fluidity is the source of power of those who are willing to impose their wills on others. You, Efrim, more than any other, are the reason for the darkening of these waters.

In the hope that you might hear something in writing which you can't hear when it is said to you loo times this?

There are two clases of 1 problems -

that one part is determined by another and the whole is not solvable as a onit. For these the procedure of "late binding" works well, First one determines the parts which are reasonably fixed, set them constant than try and selve the resultant simpler problem. Since in a computer program that fixing these time and the results are not clear sutil it is actually done. This procedure takes time and the idea that some parts of the problem are "bound" later They others is literally true, However The shorter than by other means.

the other class of problems
requires knowledge that exists
bot which one does not have.
This kind of problem requires
getting that knowledge. No amount
of yelling, sweaming, pronouncing how
we must settle this now, or general
acting like a jack ass will create
the knowledge from thin air. If
you want the problem solved, you
go get the knowledge.

I am frankly sick of your substitution, the use of the mouth for the use of the mind. It has caused at least Philip, I ude and me considerable on necessary hard ship and lam sure has made many others tives substantially less pleasent.

Mel

I feel I get a lot of flack because I've got very good design instincts, but am not omnipitant. There have been repeated attacks made on repeated columns, the strongest under the leader ship of Derrick Wright. (This is a puzzle because as a prolog fiend he should have understood them better than me). In this process I have "known" at a fairly deep level that they were not only kosher, but necessary for a reasonable system. I have not always known how to make them work correctly, but was confident that the problemwas not too hard. Now I have all the theoretical tools necessary to repeal any attack.

I gave in on some more minor point, but my experience with customers leads to believe that I was right and it is important to pestore them. Specifically the general invisibality of templates and selections output tables.

I do not think I am the only source of good design ideas around. Carls selection scheme and the join & set templates are excellant I do think that the importance of intuition and broading understanding is properly dealt with by the group and eventually will result in products that only advertising will sell and a Community Memory that does not work. I think I do not get enough time to do my proper work which is design and not programming or business (except for planning). I think neither the time nor environment necessary for good design are accepted. Finally, I believe that when I've felt strongly that something should be done a certain way, or that the correct appoach was not clear I've been uniformally wright. Unfortunately I've not been correct either on matters of timing or provisional attempts when the matter was still cloudy. That is I frequently know where I'm going, but k not how to get there. This can lead to a lot of back tracking.

As both a collective and an entrapenural organization we have to develop better means for dealing with the intuitive part as oppossed to the logical part of any long term plan or design. It is only the intuitive part which has real value the other is too easy.

Currently our only means of dealing with intuition is the person all power of the intuitor. The only other mechinism at hand, though rarely used is long term relationship and personal trust. For example I have a lot off faith in Ken's intuition, though I think I've learned how to discriminate his good ideas from his more panicy off the wall ones.

This is a very serious issue and not just for me personally. I believe it is the core of the military issue and likely the core of the CM vs Pacific organizational issue.

Please comment on This DRAFT (For Poblication in RADICAL Science Forwal) - Tom

THE COMMUNITY MEMORY PROJECT --- the story of a "closely-held collective"

More FACTS!

Some months ago Les asked me to write an article about Community Memory, an computer communications project that I have been involved with for about five years now. It seems an auspicious time to take him up on his offer, since the CM system, as a functional technical entity, has finally evolved to the point where it threatens to become operational. After years of struggle and madness, we might actually be able to float a CM system, in the Bay Area later this year.

In retrospect, I would have to say that CM is one of the strangest and most contradictory organizations I have ever been involved in. It is simultaneously a high-tech software house; a coterie of assorted left-communists, communitarians and liber-tarians; a well known and often cited populist computing center; the publisher of a respected if small-circulation journal (the Journal of Community Communications); a computer software company (actually, we attempted to spin off the software company, but never quite succeeded); a nest of friends and ex-friends; and a family surrogate for a handfull of the atomized individuals of late capital. Last but not least, it has long been, and I think it remains, a collective under siege by reality.

A word of explanation: CM, and here I speak of the original and still central goal of the collective, is a "non-hierarchical" computer system now long been in development, a system which is threatening to be finished soon. I will quote our pamphlet:

"Community Memory is a system for the public management of public information. It is an open channel for community communications and information exchange, and a way for people with common interests to find each other. It is a shared community filing cabinet. It is a tool for collective thinking, planning, organizing, fantasizing, and decision -making."

"The Community Memory system gives people a place to store and label information, which can then be selected, sorted, and fished out as needed. All the information in the Community Memory is put in directly by the people who use the system: anyone can post messages, read any other communications that are there, and comments or suggestions at any time."

2766

Community Memory, as an organization, is more difficult to explain. There are many of us, I'm not sure just how many. Tuesday night dinner/meetings are usually attended by about a dozen, but altogether there are about twenty "friends of Community Memory." We are writers (many of us have improved our writing quite a bit here, polishing our licks on some of the left's first word-processors.) We are computer scientists who would rather not work for the military -- or the banks. We are environmental activists -- many of us have been involved in the Abalone Alliance and the Livermore Action Group. We are alternative communications experts; one of us even has a degree that says so. We are ex-hippy marginals now earning absurdly high rates as technical writers. We are, as a group, sharp, scientific, and articulate. Oh, and we have our own sociologist, a lucid and funny quy with writers block that makes \$75.00/hr as an APL hacker, but whose real love, as with most of us, lies elsewhere.

CM is formally organized as a workers co-operative and run, for all practical purposes, as a "closely held collective." In the event of a irreconcilable dispute we can fall back onto our bylaws and vote, but this has happened only once. Most of our disputes are broken on the back of a slowly evolving group process. And we have other organizational manifestations as well. There is Village Design, a full non-profit corporation that does fundraising (as yet unsuccessfully) and publishes the Journal. And there is Pacific Software, a stock-company in the business of selling our software to bring in the bacon, and of perpetually drawing us into the turmoil and "passion" of a dynamic and rapidly consolidating sector of the economy. And we have private enginnering companies, joint ventures and Limited Research and Development partnerships coming out of our ears. It's all very fertile ground for organizational schizophrenia.

We have a beautyful warehouse in Berkeley which we share with the technical staff of Pacific Software, which increasingly handles the technical work of maintaining our products. For the record, there are two:

- 1) Seguitur, a relational Database System with integrated word-processing,
- 2) X.Dot, a portable C-language implementation of the international standard packet-switching protocol, X-25.

Our co-habitation with Pacific's programmers gives a certain peculiar air to our warehouse, and exemplifies the balancing act which has occupied us for the bulk of our history. Pacific's technical staff shares our our offices, our computers and our kitchen, and yet even the most junior of them makes more than the \$10.00/hr which we pay ourselves.

In fact the whole organization has a peculiar air to it, an air that has driven more that one of our people to the brink of insanity. Until we instituted the "co-ordinating committee"

MACK?

about a year ago, our weekly Tuesday night meetings were so taken up with the business of the business, and so little occupied by practical steps towards the implementation of the CM system, that when we did finally try to talk about it, it seemed an abstract and dubious exercise.

PREHAPS A FEW STORIES WILL TELL A BETTER TALE...

Ok, so there we were, about two or three years ago. We had set up a software company to make a lot of money so that we could "do CM." The trouble was that Sequitur was never quite finished and ready to sell. In fact, Sequitur being "almost finished" became quite the witty comment.

The other product, X.Dot, for some peculiar reason which I don't fully understand, was marketable even though it wasn't really finished.

Ok so there we were, just about broke. (We've been just about broke for years now, though we've managed to make the payroll until a couple of months ago.) And we were trying to sell X.dot (which goes for a couple of hundred thousand bucks per copy), and we hadn't sold one in guite a while, and then it turned out that we had a hot customer...in Johanasburg!

The punchline is that we didn't do it. In fact, the license agreement for X.dot, as it took shape in the wake of the South Africa discussion, specifically prohibits Pacific Software (which we hope to lose control of any month now) from selling to South Africa.

But the discussions were bloody, and for no good reason except our own collective confusion and individual personality problems. The situation was basically thus: no one really wanted to make the sale (except for the few who sometimes seem more identified with Pacific than with CM -- and they didn't press it.) But the situation made us wonder just what the fuck we were doing. There was a certain amount of feeling (particularly identified with the views of the author) which while somewhat sophistic are nevertheless sincerly held -- that the banks are just as bad, if not worse, than the military. (The discussion of South Africa melds in my memory with the related discussion about sales to the military.) Others argued persuasively that slow death (banks) is better than fast death (armies.)

It was a long discussion, and all sorts of arguments were put forth. The "all money is dirty money" argument seems, in retrospect, to be particularly relevent to our history, for it forced, or at least allowed, us to consider CM as a political project in a universe of other such projects. Instead of swelled heads about how great and exceptional we were in computer nurdland, we began to weigh CM against the much more concrete political realities of anti-military organizing and international technology

boycotts.

Just why was CM a valuable political project anyways? Was it because it would demonstrate that high technology could be used to bring people together, to counter social alienation and not to reproduce it (as the television and advertizing based computer "communications" systems we will prehaps be all too familiar with will do?) Was it because of the moral/political legitimacy which we as a group of articulate and sometimes very radical black sheep of the computer priesthood could muster to denounce the trajectory of the market/state? Because we could sound off and be taken seriously even in the pragmatist nightmare of modern America because we were doing something? Was it just our institutional existence itself that was important -- that some lost souls of the computer state would hear about us and know they were not alone? Was it because we were trying to take media activism into the future? Or was CM, as an organization, important simply because it was implementing the CM system? Would the system itself, as variously more and fewer of us thought/think, make such a big difference in the world that it could justify our small part in modernizing the metabolism of Capital to pay for it?

In the end we called a front group for the African National Congress, asked them if they would take the money from the South Africa sale and channel it to the guerrillas (we needed the sale not only for money but to establish our name in the market.) They said no and we refused that sale. And we adopted a sales policy that explicitly prohibited military sales. Except for the hard feelings, it was all over.

PERSONALITIES AND OTHER PECULIARITIES DIFFERENCE CAN LONG TO THE Here I can touch upon one of the most unfortunate, and frankly, the saddest parts of the whole experience. One of our founders, at about this time in the history of CM, began to get so seriously alienated from the group, and from certain members of the group, that he eventually chose to leave. Aside from the lessons to be learned about pride, muddied agendas and group process, and there are many of these, this crisis in the group was significant for what it marked the end of.

For the man in question was the pivotal person in the design of the software that our fortunes, to this day, hinge upon. As the malaise of alienation and frustration that built up inside our collective - turned - software company reached a critical mass, one of the most immediate and most serious casualties was the collective design process that had, for the longest time, been one of the greatest joys -- and in my opinion -- one of the most significant facts about CM.

For a while, you see, we were able to write software together within the context of what seemed to be very democratic social relations. We had a "chief designer," just as the corporate "chief programmer teams" did. But we had no rigid division of labor, learning was a respected and crucial part of the design process, the hearty and the strong helped the weak and the halt to make their contribution. And the code we produced was good, sometimes it was damn good.

Why did things break down? I wish I knew. The pressure of the market, if not the key reason, was at least the omnipresent background to our increasingly bitter scenes. We came to call the programmers warrens "the zoo," a title it still holds though would no longer earn. And the mechanism by which things fell apart -- let's call it neurotification. Tolerance was strained. No one felt that they were doing what they really wanted to do. Some of us, in our rising spirals of tension and burnout, became less and less effective as programmers. But finally he pulled rank. In a dispute about an aspect of the command language (which took a long time to design) Mr. chief designer not only disagreed with everyone else but refused to yield his ground. Bitterness, frustration, self-image come to self-importance.

There is something peculiar about the way in which so much trouble came to rotate around one individual -- not only in the technical aspects of the work but throughout the organization. For it couldn't have been, and wasn't, one persons fault. What really happened was that the chemistry of the collective broke down under the pressure of the schizophrenia that permeated our history. Some of us were a lot more trouble than others, but we can ascribe this to the contingencies of personality. The crucial factor was elsewhere, in the lack of definition that was essential to the whole enterprise.

Put it this way: if we do make that big deal we hope to close soon then we will have succeeded in:

- 1) Setting up and cashing in a software company, without having sold anything to the military that would have been of unique benefit to it.
- 2) Establishing a well endowed political organization dedicated to non-hierarchical communications and the socially beneficial uses of computer technology.
- 3) Spreading our ideas though our Journal, which we have recently found to be quite influential in the underworld of lefty techno-creeps.
- 4) Building and propagated a very neat and guite sophisticated public communications system -- and asserting an anti-passivity "myth" to go with it.

Does it seem that the capitalist logic of the first achievement is somehow at odds with the political nature of the others? Sure! But also note that the others would not be possible

without the first. We never got any money from foundations for this crazy computer utopia of ours -- we had to finance it internally. That made us a business, right? And that drove us crazy, or almost anyways. But where else would we have gotten the money?

Things have, fortunately, calmed down quite a bit. Pacific may be a moneymaker yet. And it did turn out, after all, that the "toolkit" we built for Seguitur could easily support CM. The irreconcilable personality disputes that developed in the midst of our collective psychotic episode have been resolved by personnel changes. We've gotten enough positive feedback from scattered political activists to justify ourselves to ourselves—and we even seem to be modernizing our "myth." There seems almost a consensus at this point that if we are going to do something that is as "pro-computer" as CM, then we had damn well better also spend a lot of time holding forth about the reality of computerization in this miserable world of ours. CM is not intended to be advertizing for either the military computer state or the micro-computer corporate utopia. It is intended to say that, damn it, computers really can be used for something else!

Which, I suppose, brings me to a political evaluation of the project, now five or so years old and still not out of the shop.

WHO CARES ABOUT DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATIONS ANYWAYS?

CM's stated and most obvious goal is to demonstrate that computer systems can be built that will facilitate the ability of people to connect with other people with congruent interests, in effect to create an electronic public space. This modest intent is not anti-capitalist, except in the way that all useful utopias are, by implying the destruction of the existing world order by underscoring its' deficiencies. Indeed, CM strikes many computer oriented political activists (especially those oriented towards shop floor politics) as being prehaps off-the-wall, and prehaps even dangerous by way of perpetuating the myth of the friendly machine.

We agree that this is a danger, but see other factors as well. The future is dim, but some things about it seem reasonable clear: capital is transforming itself globally, and if it can continue to avoid its own increasingly exterminist logic (unlikely, but that's another article) we are likely to see our children inherit a very closely bound but unstable world in which islands of high-tech prosperity embed a brutal and barely contained barbarism of ravaged eco-systems and managed desperation. Computers and guns will hold the whole mess together.

The uses of the microprocessor are already more than visible:

- * They allow automation and increased managerial control.
- * They support a whole panoply of surveillance and entertainment systems.
- * They allow for a tremendous increase in the destructiveness and "feasibility" of war, thus pushing us ever closer to the edge of nuclear nightfall.

And simultaneously, they aid the reinvigoration of the most retrograde ideologies of progress and technological transcendence, leaving us more paralyzed than ever by rendering reality effectively invisible.

WOW. RHETORIC.

In such a situation, how could we be so stubborn as to insist on the importance of an alternative vision? Prehaps because, whatever our disagreements, we share a conviction that traditional left approaches, approaches which focus exclusively on the miseries of modern life, and which fail not only to paint a picture of another possibility, but equally to evoke the big picture at all, have earned a deserved failure.

The question around CM is not whether or not to make the point world, but rather HOW to make that point so as to avoid being packaged into some vile ideology or another. David Noble claims (in Present Tense Technology, an essay recently published in Democracy) that "the fight for alternatives...diverts attention from the realities of power and technological development, holds out facile and false promises, and reinforces the cultural fetish for technological transcendence." We agree that it has done all of these thing, but don't believe that a politics uninformed by alternative possibilities will escape the resignation and passivity that comes with the complete "naturalization" of contemporary capitalist society, the pervasive belief than nothing else is really possible.

WHAT HAVE WE ACCOMPLISHED?

So, how well then have we done at proving that these miserable machines (without which I can no longer write decently) can be used to free ourselves? It's hard to say. Until recently, we were so bound up with the fate of our mutant child, Pacific Software, that we hardly made any progress towards the establishment of a CM system. Now we have almost got the thing done, but we haven't got much money left. Our fortunes could change again, but in the meanwhile all we can do is hold forth. We get a lot of publicity, and we use it more or less well as the occasion, and the shifting sands of our own collective intelligence, allows.

Sometime this year we will probably put up a system in San Fransisco or Berkeley. It will be accompanied to a advertising campaign that makes it clear that CM is different than standard Teletext (more commercials you pay to see.) And it will say other things as well, slyly prehaps, but it will say them.

Look at it this way, CM has survived, as an organization and as a idea, because it fits into the local scene. It is a high-tech project in a part of America that lives for its' microchips. Its' history fades back into the Appropriate Technology movement, and its membership goes back even further to the ancient days of the free-speech movement. Its' official ideology, sometimes libertarian and sometimes anti-capitalist, is vague enough to dispel the anxieties of those among the computer priesthood that would do good work instead. And yet we're sharp too, and sometimes we think we know what we're doing. Enough of our people are die-hard American Pollyannas to keep the others from sinking into realism. Add to that the conviviality of the warehouse and the crying need to do something to start carving out a new politics of high-tech, and it seems we manage to keep our heads above the water.

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In the end, I think, CM will echo for a while in the dank canyons of the last days, but that is my personal dispair. Certainly we have had an effect of some sort; our Journal has a clever populist formula that acknowledges the widespread belief in computerized democratization, and then drags it to the left. There are a lot of small radical computing projects starting up in the states, and we're in a position to offer political and technical support. And every chance we get we badmouth "hierarchical communications systems." It all makes a certain kind of sense.

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