

# HOW TO SMASH EVERYTHING



an anarchist sourcebook

Singlethorn Collective  
@2007

*dedicated to*

*Jordan Matthew Feder  
1980-2003*

*and*

*Bradley Roland Will  
1970-2006*

*brave friends who died in the fight,  
but whose hearts live on in the struggle.*





# *Warning!*

The real world of twenty-first century politics is quite violent and chaotic. Forget the sanitary images in the corporate media, politics mark the difference between life and death for thousands of people every day. We live in a world where rotting ideologies from the graveyard of history rise to walk among us thumping nineteenth century manifestos or twentieth century Mein Kampfs, while soulless corporations and authoritarian religious terrorists – at the head of state or not – plague humanity.

Some people may find the shattering of deeply held assumptions within their own hearts, and the sharing of rebellious ideas, passions, tactics, stories and skills, as inappropriately or too abruptly life-altering. Note that none of us within the anarchist movement condone nor encourage racism, sexism, homophobia, exploitation, oppression, militarism, capitalism, greed, religious superstition and zealotry, ignorance, bigotry, authoritarianism, reformism, statism, conservatism, liberalism, neo-conservatism, neo-liberalism, fascism, neo-fascism, or violence against innocents. Political discretion is advised.

-- evl, editor.

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# Creating The Anarchist World...

*“But life is death without the dream; the dream is the reality to which we move.”*

*-- William Reedy.*

Anarchy. For many, this word conjures fear, uncertainty and violent disorder. This is how opponents of anarchism set the stage. Others might think of pure chaos or subcultural scenes like punk. Real anarchists enter this theatre with the audience expecting, even demanding, that we fulfill their fantasies or fall into easily marginalized stereotypes.

As revolutionaries, the world we desire must be created from our hearts. As anarchists, we must make a conscious effort to break that fourth wall, the invisible wall that separates the audience from the actors, and to involve the audience as active participants.

Anarchism has never been a single ideology in practice, but rather a political philosophy rooted in a diverse yet closely related family of ideas.

Our various traditions go back several hundred years, but we begin more recently. Since the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, the anarchist movement has been reborn as a true alternative for equality and liberty with the rise of anarchism in the global struggle against neoliberalism.

Today, anarchism is a driving force for revolutionary social change throughout the world. The *especificismo* anarchists of Latin America, the anarchist social centers of Europe, anarchist collectives in Africa, autonomous anarchism in Russia and anarchists in Israel and Palestine fighting against racist occupation.

Yet as a movement, we are young. No one taught us what we've learned, no one held our hand. Many of us learned the hard way. Over the years we have gained a patience that comes with certainty, against those who attempt to commodify, divert or crush the movement. Because beyond all the distractions, distortions and obstacles that surround us, there is something more central to our motivations that we can harness, direct and draw upon.

We rebelled once.

We see the world in which we live being forced into a deteriorating spiral of endless war, corruption and repression. Indeed, the greatest challenge humanity and the earth faces today comes from the threat posed by capitalism, state power and religious fundamentalism. Anarchism is a potent revolutionary political philosophy to combat this threat. We have only to rediscover this hope and move forward.

We can rebel again.

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## Glossary of Terms

**affinity group (AG):** a small group of people (from 5-20) who work together on direct action. Non-hierarchical, usually comprised only of those who can be vouched for. The use of affinity groups dates back to 19th century Spain, where they were called tertulias or grupos de afinidad. They became popular again in the 1970s in the anti-nuclear movement. AG's are used by many different activists from animal rights, to environmental, anti-war, anti-fascist, and anti-globalization. A collection of affinity groups working together is called a cluster.

**anarchism:** political philosophy based on the concepts of autonomy, mutual aid, solidarity and the abolition of the state. Anarchists often define themselves in one or more of several ways:

- *Social or collectivist anarchists* – includes Anarchist- Communists (also called Libertarian-Communists), Platformists, Magonistas, Anarcho-Syndicalists, especificismo anarchists and others who stress a collective, horizontally organized, deliberately structured mass movement for social revolution. Often described as “Red” Anarchists. Their primary critique is of capitalism as a economically totalitarian and class-based social system, and of the centralized authority of the state as the hand-maiden of capitalism; ie capitalism cannot long exist without the state.

- *Individualist or mutualist anarchists* – includes Anti-Organizationalists or Folk Anarchists, Insurrectionist Anarchists, Situationists, Post-Left Anarchists, Primitivists, and possibly Nihilists or others who stress an individually autonomous, decentralized movement based on small, revolutionary affinity groups. May often, but not necessarily, include those who identify explicitly as “Green” Anarchists. Their primary critique is of mechanisms of authority, the state as oppressor of individual freedom and often focuses on the destructive impact of technology, industry and civilization on the earth and natural, free will.

- *Small “a” anarchists* – also called anarchists without adjectives. Non-sectarian by intention, they primarily stress an identification with anarchist methodology rather than with anarchist ideology. Many contemporary small “a” anarchists draw on the traditions of Zapatismo and other non-Western, not explicitly anarchist movements. They advocate working within broader social movements as well as working along explicitly anarchist lines, creating “autonomy within solidarity.” People’s Global Action is a good example of small “a” anarchism in practice on a mass movement level.

**anarchy:** a term derived from the Greek for “no ruler,” refers to a society based on the realization of anarchist ideals. Often misappropriated in a derogatory sense as a synonym for chaos.

**anarcha-feminism:** not a specific political

tradition of anarchism per se, anarcha-feminism instead combines anarchism with feminism. Anarcha-feminists view patriarchy as a manifestation of hierarchy and believe that the struggle against patriarchy is an integral part of class struggle and the anarchist struggle against the state. In essence, then, the philosophy sees anarchism as a necessary component of feminism and vice-versa.

**anti-fascist:** one who directly opposes, confronts and attempts to neutralize or disrupt fascist organizations and actions. Anti-fascists do not view fascism as a legitimate political idea, but as a clear and present threat to the safety, freedom and well-being of all people. Since fascist speech ultimately leads to fascist organizing and assaults on marginalized social groups, anti-fascists oppose fascist activity at all levels, including fascist speech. Anti-fascists are often at odds with the state. Anti-fascist groups include Anti-Racist Action (ARA) in North America and Anti-Fascist Action (AFA) in Europe. Also known by the contraction **antifa**.

**APOC:** Anarchist Person / People Of Color.

**black bloc:** also known by action specific names like the Revolutionary Anti-Capitalist Bloc (RACB) or similar. Black blocs are a militant street tactic used by anarchists at mass protests. For more info, refer to Guide to Militant Street Tactics 1: Black Bloc.

**capitalism:** social and economic system with high inequality and few freedoms independent of wealth in practice, capitalism is based on the exchange of commodities, private ownership of the means of production by a select few and the exploitation of wage workers. It both reinforces and is dependant on a hierarchy of economic classes determined by one's relationship to the means of production (i.e. through ownership, management or labor).

**communism/communist:** social and economic system which relies on mass ownership of

property and of the means of production, either by the state or by the people themselves; most commonly refers though to various forms of Marxist-Leninist, state socialist, state capitalist or authoritarian vanguard parties who advocate seizing state power in order to crush the capitalist class, and then to see the state "wither away". This second stage has never occurred in history following a vanguardist political revolution. Contemporary examples of vanguardist parties are too numerous to mention here, primarily due to a tendency of factions to split or fracture over time.

**direct action:** revolutionary action taken independently (rather than the reformist action of appealing to the power of politicians, bureaucrats, and employers). Autonomous direct action may consist of property destruction, sabotage, appropriation and redistribution of commercial goods or other willfully disobedient social, political or economic acts. Most mass direct action is in the form of strikes and other workplace action, tax or draft resistance, and blockades or civil disobedience. These are only a few examples.

**direct democracy:** the equal and direct participation of people in the decisions that affect us. As opposed to representative democracy where we choose people to have a say on our behalf and hope for the best!

**fascism:** originating in Italy in the 1920s, it is a right-wing, fiercely nationalistic, totalitarian ideology to gain mass popular support and crush movements for social equality. Also described as "corporatism" by Mussolini, the total unification of corporations and the state. Often highly racist.

**federation:** an organization based on the principles of federalism where different groups or collectives, bound together by free agreement, form a structured political entity to work toward a common goal. Examples of anarchist federations include(d) Love & Rage,

the North Eastern Federation of Anarchist Communists (NEFAC), Federation of Revolutionary Anarchist Collectives (FRAC) and the Northwest Anarchist Federation (NAF).

**khakiflage:** (aka bougie-bloc'ing) the act or instance of dressing conservatively or in a mainstream appearance to disguise revolutionary affiliation or intent.

**libertarian:** aspiring for greater liberty, and reduction of the powers over the individual, whether by the state, capital or any other hierarchy. Originally synonymous with "anarchist," now often wrongly associated with anything-but-liberating capitalist neoliberalism.

**means of production:** any and all resources, materials, equipment or intellectual products which through the efforts of workers enable people to survive in contemporary society.

**reformism:** attempting to improve the world working within capitalist and state structures without challenging the root cause of injustice.

**revolution:** radical social change over a short period of time where an existing ruling class is overthrown and replaced with a new way of structuring society. There are two main types:

- *Political Revolution* – comparable to a military coup. One set of rulers is overthrown and replaced by another, like in Cuba in 1959 or the United States of America in 1776.

- *Social Revolution* - the overhaul of an entire socio-economic system, usually in spite of state opposition, where the intrinsic structure of economic, political and other social relationships between groups and individuals is fundamentally transformed.

**solidarity:** a fundamental ethical value of anarchism, based on the idea of "An injury to one is an injury to all!" which obliges one to support the struggles of other anarchists or allies.

*¡Que se vayan todos! ¡Que no quede ni uno solo!*



So what is social revolution?

*Every one of them must go! Not one of them can stay!*

These simple words sung by people in Argentina in December 2001, banging pots and pans together in what came to be called *la noche de los cacerolazos*, signaled one crest of a series of crashing waves that were sweeping across Latin America.

Angered by corruption and economic misery brought about by neoliberal policies, the people of Argentina ousted five Presidents in three weeks. Other waves had already been lapping at the coast of Latin America for some time, and kept crashing home.

In Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Mexico, Nicaragua, Brazil and Guatemala new kinds of revolutionary movements had been rising. On January 1, 1994, the Zapatistas of Mexico rebelled against the neoliberalism of NAFTA, imposed at the end of Mexican Army bayonets, doing something which caught everyone off guard.

They said, ¡Ya Basta! Enough already!

We will keep our guns, as we keep our right to rebel, but these are weapons that aspire to be useless.

Our word is our weapon.

Social revolution is the overhaul of an entire socio-economic system where the intrinsic structure of economic, political and other social relationships between groups and individuals is fundamentally transformed. Anarchist social revolution is not all that different from the indigenous Zapatista social revolution, for direct democracy and liberation at work, in our schools and in our communities.

Anarchist social revolution achieves results by advancing methods, setting examples and taking immediate steps. It calls for motivating and preparing people for self-action, for autonomy. It stands for organizing workers in order to abolish the wage system and work as we know it while preserving the wild, free and unscarred areas of the earth that remain.

We don't want a single revolution: we want a hundred revolutions, large or small, in every neighborhood, town, city, office cubicle, checkout counter, mountain top and desert ravine.

Everything for everyone and nothing for ourselves.

That is social revolution.

The Zapatistas, and other indigenous rebels in Oaxaca and elsewhere, formulated a new kind of revolution: rather than overpower and seize control of the state, they sought to render the state irrelevant. They reached out to others, to students, radicals, queers, women, workers, the marginalized and invisible.

In doing so they called on all peoples across the globe to help bring forth, not a single ideological world hegemony based on a vanguard idea or on greed, but a world of many worlds, each supporting the Other, in struggle.

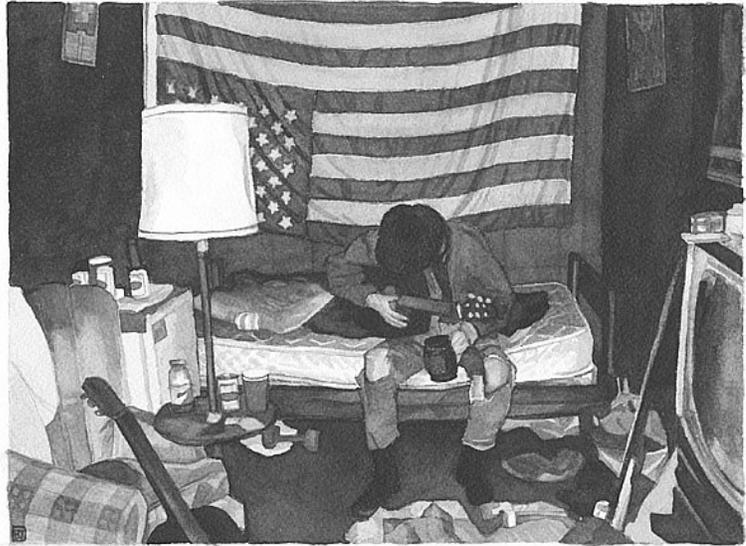
An autonomy within solidarity.



# where we're at

## nine principles that guide us as anarchists

Anti-Authoritarianism,  
Anti-Capitalism, Autonomy,  
Solidarity, Equality,  
Mutual Aid, Liberation,  
Accountability, Reality



### Anti-Authoritarianism

more than simply being against formal leaders, anarchists take a principled stand against authoritarian hierarchies in whatever form they arise, based on the idea that no one person or clique can ever know what is best for everyone, only everyone themselves. anarchists therefore organize in a decentralized, non-hierarchical manner and stress a consensus decision making process.

### Anti-Capitalism

anarchists stand firmly opposed to any socio-economic system based on private property. private property, as opposed to personal property, derives its value not from what the possessor needs, but from the need of those who lack it and would therefore be forced to purchase or rent it, thus creating a coercive, dependent relationship simply by virtue of possession. anarchists seek to replace this with a cooperative value model.

### Autonomy

autonomy is the understanding among anarchists that ultimate authority resides within the liberated individual as a free and equal social entity. all association and interaction is therefore either free, equal and beneficial or coercive, unequal and detrimental; only when coupled with the idea that one's rights extend only to the point another's begin can true equality or liberation be realized.

### Liberation

liberation is both the act of attaining liberty (rights and freedoms) and the active manifestation of these rights and freedoms – in reality, there is little difference between the act and the state of being, as means and ends are effectively equivalent. liberation struggles have the consistent goal of winning rights and freedoms for the oppressed with the understanding that until all are liberated, none are free.

### Equality

this is the scientific, rational and ethical recognition that all people (some would say sentient lives) are inherently equal in rights, regardless of status, identity or ability; the struggle for equality within capitalist society is one part of and only a step in the struggle for liberation from capitalism. an understanding of equal social responsibilities as well as common respect for autonomy and reality are a necessary balance to this.

### Mutual Aid

while similar to the idea of solidarity, the concept of mutual aid is nevertheless quite distinct. it is an extension of the natural cooperative impulse humans share for one another as social organisms. mutual aid might include rebuilding a total stranger's hurricane ravaged home or collaborating on a project with a comrade; it can be any concerted and collaborative, active material effort.

### Solidarity

solidarity is best expressed as the understanding that “an injury to one is an injury to all.” it is the expression of the common interests shared by those in struggle against capital and the state who might have no other affinity or connection other than need and common cause. solidarity is therefore freely expressed based on need and the worthiness of struggles as seen by those acting in solidarity.

### Reality

while professing our opposition to the current state of being, we must still survive in this present state of society, in our struggle against inequality we must be cognizant of race privilege, of class privilege and of patriarchy, etc., without letting this understanding render us incapable of action. only by acting with our current reality at the forefront of our thoughts can we begin to undertake a revolutionary anarchist transformation of society.

### Accountability

no individual exists in isolation from society or the natural world, thus accountability in one form or another (disease, famine, climate change, etc.) will always be present, but anarchism requires directly democratic methods of accountability within social and political structures. just as a respect for autonomy ensures the rights of the individual, accountability ensures the rights of the collective whole.



## *How We Roll...*

eleven ways  
we fight back

anti-fascist/anti-racist action, food not bombs, black bloc, independent media, netwar, direct action, action medical, solidarity unionism, prisoner support/prison abolition, active support of marginalized communities, evolving and adapting our tactics.

**anti-fascist/anti-racist action:** active anti-fascism/anti-racism is both a duty and a necessity for anarchists; to remain passive in the face of fascist/racist activity is to abandon both your ethics and your comrades. the means of anti-fascist/anti-racist action vary, but may include active, physical confrontation, infiltration and disruption of fascist organizations and the “outing” or public exposure of fascists and closet fascist sympathizers for exactly what they are.

**food not bombs:** beginning with the idea that food is a right, not a privilege, food not bombs began several decades ago as an attempt both to highlight economic inequality and the wastefulness of consumer society by redistributing food that would otherwise go to waste. food not bombs is organized as a decentralized, non-hierarchical network with explicitly vegan, anti-capitalist principles. it challenges inequality while providing immediate relief.

**black bloc:** not an organization, but a militant street tactic, participants dress anonymously in black, organized in ranks by affinity group as they march or engage in direct action. the purpose is both to provide increased security and effectiveness while directly challenging the forces of capitalism, fascism or the state in the streets. an additional objective of black blocs is to provide anarchist alternatives to either non-violent civil disobedience or ineffective sign-waving; black blocs exist as a necessary intermediate point between pure pacifism and full-scale armed insurrection.

**independent media:** it is an absolute necessity for any revolutionary movement to have access to a means of spreading its ideas. in the case of anarchism, the means of communication are also examples of the future – a viable, participatory media free from corporate or authoritarian influence is vital for the success of anarchist social revolution.

**netwar:** whether or not we use information technologies, they are being used against us. that is reality. netwar uses knowledge of technology to disrupt, circumvent or gain intelligence on fascist, corporate or government activities.

**direct action:** direct action is the simple, deliberate and autonomous intervention of an individual or affinity group against a specific target either through property destruction, active disobedience or creative, revolutionary disruption.

**action medical:** the state will inevitably respond with violent repression to any revolutionary movement and anarchists must be prepared for this eventuality. anarchist action medics provide first aid and immediate medical care.

**solidarity unionism:** solidarity unionism, stressing rank and file control and accountability, autonomous direct action and the importance of organizing workers rather than turning a profit from union dues and fees, differs fundamentally from the business unionism of the AFL-CIO and Change to Win coalitions, whose methods are irreconcilable with any anarchist objectives in addition to being reformist, bureaucratic and authoritarian institutions.

**prisoner support/prison abolition:** the prison industrial complex represents the nexus of state power and corporate efficiency and anarchists have historically done their best to oppose both; anarchists are active both in prisoner support, education and aid while challenging the prison/judicial system with the ultimate purpose of abolition.

**active support of marginalized communities:** an outgrowth of the understanding that all liberation struggles are inextricably linked, anarchists remain committed to supporting marginalized, oppressed communities.

**evolving and adapting our current tactics:** because our enemies and opponents are constantly adapting their own tactics in response to ours, so too must we adapt and overcome, using innovative, revolutionary methods.

# an anarchist timeline of world history

**present:** western capitalist society approaches the brink at the end of the binge. human industrial and economic systems have limits, and capitalism is bumping up against those limits with increasing friction, from peak oil output to the bottoming out of “labor flexibility.” the consequences of environmental exploitation are also acute, with even mild climate changes leading to severe weather anomalies. our own bodies bear the brunt of the chemical laced, hormone jacked, genetically modified and factory farmed vegetable and animal matter we ingest due to our cherished lifestyles. self-proclaimed “democratic” governments no longer make any pretence of accountability or popular mandate; having the support of a hardcore cadre of reactionary intellectuals and corporate power brokers is enough to claim the right, in the name of national security, to oppress their own people. yet some are beginning to discover what really happened.

**2005:** the year nature broke its banks and the iron fist of empire came out of its velvet glove: from the indian ocean tsunami, gulf coast hurricanes, and central asian earthquake, gaia battered humankind with her wrath. at the same time, the united states government openly admitted to spying on its own dissenting citizens, using the nsa, fbi, defense department, cia, and homeland security, while the war in iraq dragged on into a third year of resistance. the green scare continues: numerous activists rounded up and charged with all elf/alf attributed crimes that are yet unsolved. bill rogers is killed in his cell by asphyxiation; police claim he committed suicide by putting a plastic bag over his head.

**2003:** iraq invaded by the united states and united kingdom despite simultaneous peaceful protests by 35 million people worldwide on february 15, 2003. anti-globalization alliance of labor, anarchists and environmentalists (progressives bailed in 2001) briefly reemerges post-9/11 at the miami ftaa protests. afterward, the movement ceases to exist in the united states. in its place are a separate anti-war movement on one hand and an explicitly anarchist movement on the other.

**2001:** green scare begins: the earth liberation front and animal liberation front are declared the top domestic terrorist threats facing the united states, despite never being accused of causing physical injury to any living being. elf/alf actions continue, causing millions of dollars in property damages. the anti-globalization movement reaches it's peak: 50,000 converge on quebec city in april to lay siege to the ftaa summit in that fortress city while 300,000 people pack the streets of genoa in july at the g8 summit. 500,000 are expected at the imf/world bank meeting in washington, dc in september. then 9/11 happens: saudi hijackers with connections to the defense intelligence agency and carlyle investment group ram airliners into the world trade center, killing 3,000 civilians. the united states and great britain retaliate, bombing afghanistan, killing 12,000 civilians in two months.

**1999:** breaking the spell: the tumultuous coming out party for the anti-globalization movement in seattle. 30,000 blockade the world trade organization's meetings, shutting them down, as anarchist black blocs unveil targeted direct action in the form of property destruction against chain retail stores. the years to come will see an average of three confrontations of this scale each year at economic summits around the world. in bolivia, the water wars start, with indigenous people fighting police in the streets in order to regain control of the national water supply from corporations. there are similar uprisings in india against hydro-electric dams. with the late inclusion of people in the industrialized northern hemisphere, a global movement against neoliberalism and for humanity begins to take shape.

**1994:** on january 1, 1994 the zapatista army of national liberation (ezln) launches an insurrection in the state of chiapas in mexico. this war, they say, has a new name but has been going on for many years: the fourth world war, the war of neoliberalism against humanity.

**1990:** first iraq war (gulf war) begins; first black bloc in san francisco. end of the cold war and fall of the soviet union; authoritarian state capitalism bites the dust, leaving neoliberal imperialism as the reigning bankrupt ideology.

**1990-1949:** the third world war, aka the cold war. millions die as superpowers fight to see who represses whom. 1949-1954: third red scare: joseph mccarthy hunts down communists hiding behind every flagpole.

**1968:** the year of the paris revolt, the mexico city general strike, days of rage in chicago and the prague spring: thousands of people rebel against authoritarian control, but are subdued. this is the beginning of the weather underground in the united states and the height of the black panther party. protests against the vietnam war escalate.

**1958:** basque group euskadi ta askatasuna (ETA) formed. initially an anti-fascist, national liberation guerrilla force, within 25 years ETA resorts to unrestrained terrorism against civilians, often bombing workers as well as police.

**1945-1939:** the second world war; hitler, who took control of germany by claiming jewish terrorists burned the reichstag and that germany needed a tighter homeland security strategy, eventually dies but fascism persists. hitler's nazi regime systematically murders upwards of 12 million people, including 6 million jews, in the holocaust.

**1939-1936:** the spanish revolution of july, 1936: anarchist unions and collectives fight for liberation and against fascists in castile, catalonia, andalusia and aragon in spain; stalinists launch an assault on the anarchists at the barcelona telephone exchange in july, 1937 but are repelled. the fascists gain an upper hand in the civil war as the government of the spanish republic (controlled by stalinists) rejects arming the workers and farmers and instead, jails many of its own best soldiers, outlawing the poum (partido obrero unificacion marxista) and anarchist militias. franco eventually conquers spain and executes 30,000+ former republicans, communists, anarchists and basque nationalists. in the ussr, stalin orders purges of the army and forced collectivization of farms; up to 30 million die in the process.

**1928-1915:** the second red scare: in the united states, dissent and protest against world war one and conscription is banned, hundreds jailed. emma goldman jailed, then deported along with hundreds of others after attorney general a. mitchell palmer orders raids. deportees are shipped to russia, where the bolsheviks have begun to jail and murder anarchists and other dissidents. in 1921, leon trotsky's red army surrounds the anarchist sailors of the kronstadt soviet and massacres them. in 1927, italian anarchists niccolo sacco and bartolomeo vanzetti are executed in massachusetts.

**1918-1914:** the first world war: millions die. millions more return home disfigured or disabled.

**1905:** december revolution in russia. anarchists and other revolutionaries launch a failed political revolution against the czar. in the united states, the industrial workers of the world (iww) union is founded. initially a combined socialist and anarcho-syndicalist effort, by 1924 it adopts an explicit prohibition against direct or indirect affiliation with any political party in response to an attempted communist party takeover. its membership peaks in 1928 with 300,000 workers, but in decades wanes to as few as 50 members. by 2005, the iww undergoes a resurgence of sorts with membership expanding by 35% over two years, from 1500 to over 2000 members.

**1901-1885:** the first red scare: on may 1, 1886, a strike is called in chicago in support of the 8-hour day. state militia kill five strikers. a rally at haymarket square is attacked by police after a provocateur throws a stick of dynamite. five anarchist-communists are put on trial and are hanged on november 11, 1887. labor unrest and agitation continues. revolutionary cells – some anarchist, some nihilist – hatch several assassination schemes, few of which work but result in more police repression. in 1901, leon czolgoz kills president mckinley. emma goldman implicated, then cleared.

**1871:** the paris commune.

**1864-68:** formation of the “black” or anarchist international by russian anarchist mikhail bakunin and others.

**1848:** revolutions in the german states, paris, budapest and elsewhere influence bakunin and a relative latecomer named karl marx who soon becomes the ideological godfather of the authoritarian left and ideological foe of bakunin's.

**1840:** pierre joseph proudhon writes, “what is property?” his conclusion: property is theft.

**1619:** a dutch merchant brings the first enslaved africans to the jamestown colony in virginia.

**1492:** christopher columbus spreads smallpox and other diseases to the indigenous people of the western hemisphere.

**622:** year of the hajj; beginning of islam as a world religion.

**325:** council of nicaea; christianity becomes the state religion of the roman empire.

**c. -500:** tao te ching (classic on integrity and the way) compiled; attributed to lao tsu (literally: “the old guy”).

**-3670:** beginning of hebrew calendar.

**c.-4000:** founding of sumerian city states and beginning of an agriculture-surplus based civilization. thanks, sid meier!

**-150,000,000:** the age of dinosaurs.

# Steal These Words: contemporary anarchist essays

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## The Anti-Separatist Manifesto

By Shomi

I am writing this to express why I don't believe in separatism.

I am writing this because I am outraged and saddened by all the fragmentation and infighting that I've seen developing in queer, feminist, and leftist communities for quite a while now.

I am writing this because it seems that many oppressed groups have given up on each other and are no longer working together for change and liberation.

I am writing this because it seems that everyone is just willing to fight only for their own causes and agendas, and won't even try to understand or empathize with the struggles of those who are not like them.

I am writing this because all this lack of understanding and solidarity has led to fighting and separatism amongst oppressed groups, and I don't think this is a good sign.

I am writing this because I think this is a crucial time when all oppressed groups should be engaging in substantial dialogue with one another in order to fight the greater powers that be.

I am writing this because I think separatism does not work.

I am writing this because I think separatism actually hurts our communities and stifles social change.

I am writing this because I think separatism cuts off very important dialogues and interactions between groups of people who might be different from one another but who can learn so much from each other and in turn work together towards positive change in our society.

I am writing this because separatism makes it really hard for oppressed groups to gain allies, and having allies is very important.

I am writing this because I think it is damaging for people to want to completely seal themselves off from those who are ignorant, racist, sexist, classist, homophobic, transphobic, fatphobic, etc. because this means we are giving up on the possibility that they could change. This is tragic because then their children might carry on these oppressive ideologies in the future, and all we will be left with is questions of "what if?"

Many oppressed communities engage in separatism in an attempt to create a form of "safe space." This is the notion of

having a place where we can feel safe from the world and the "isms" that affect us, a place where we don't have to deal with those people who are not like us and who can possibly offend us. While I do think that safe places are quite important, I do not think that separatism is necessary for us to have a "safe space." In fact, I think separatism is not always fair, especially because those who partake in it have to decide specifically who does or doesn't get to join their group/collective/organization/movement/etc. This separatist selectiveness can lead to the exclusion of those who could benefit being part of said groups but who can't due to the fact that they don't fit in perfectly into a specific mold or category. I'm not just talking about allies, but also about people whose identity is not as clearly defined by categories or binaries.

A perfect example of this is The Michigan's Women's Music Festival, which is a feminist music festival that is attended by thousands of women every summer. This is a separatist festival and only women are expected to attend. Furthermore, according to the festival's organizers and most of its attendees, only "women who were born as women" should be allowed in. This is problematic because transgendered women are not welcome to attend said festival because they were not born as "women" and are therefore not considered to be "real women." But who is to decide what a "real" woman is? And didn't this ignorant type of separatism also happen in the 70s when straight feminists would exclude lesbians from their communities because they thought lesbians had "male energy"? And what about all the women of color who have been excluded from white upper middle class feminist collectives? Excluding transgendered women is no different in my opinion.

Transgendered women need all the support they can get from the feminist and queer communities, especially now because our society is still highly transphobic and violent against transgendered bodies. And the most tragic thing is that because of all the exclusion they have faced, many transgendered women (just like many women of color, lesbians, etc.) now refuse to engage in dialogues with non-transgendered people, because they are tired of being misunderstood, hurt, offended, and excluded. This is tragic because this leads to other forms of separatism as a result to an earlier form of separatism and ignorance. And one can only

wonder, had they not been so hurt and excluded by other groups, would these oppressed groups still try to separate themselves from the world in self-defense? Separatism builds a vicious cycle of negative fragmentation amongst groups who could create so much change if they could just respect one another and work together.

The problem with separatism is that it's essentialist, and it works on the condition that everybody in a group has to have similar experiences or qualities. But none of us really share 100% similar qualities or experiences with others. Separatism does not allow for multiplicity and difference, and this is a shame. Separatism makes it look like people only care about things that directly affect them. Separatism kills solidarity because once they've settled in their safe spaces, a lot of people just refuse to listen to those who are not in their social circles, especially if they don't share their experiences or points of view. Many of us are too quick to get offended and then get defensive towards those who are not like us, but when people get defensive they don't listen all too well. Suddenly we want to live in this world where everyone has to think like us, look like us, and believe in all the things that we believe in. However, nothing really exists in a vacuum like that, The world is not like that, and no space can truly be a safe space really. We cannot seal ourselves off from difference and multiplicity. There is a problem when we get all polarized, we become blinded to the possibility for other points of view and perspectives. This blindness is counterproductive, and this is why we need to see, we need to open our eyes and our ears to others who might not be like us or come from where we are coming from.

Furthermore, I am not just concerned about internal fragmentation and separatism within progressive, leftist, and radical groups. What worries me is the possibility of falling into a type of groupthink and homogeneity when we become part of these groups. Many of us become pretentious and self-righteous and will shut down anyone who thinks differently than we do, especially those who are more mainstream and not as "progressive" as we are, especially when it comes to politics. I think snobiness of this kind is also counterproductive, and I am outraged at the fact that liberals tend to preach to the converted and refuse to step out of their comfort zones, their safe-space-radical-bubbles. Sometimes we need new perspectives.

Sometimes we need to be able to see different sides so that we can approach reasonable points of view, this is the only way in which we can find our true voice. It is very important for us to be careful and not get caught up in forms of groupthink. I've noticed that many radicals give up on people too soon, and we cannot afford this. I believe that the possibility of change is always present in people

This is why we can't give up on people, no matter how ignorant or fucked up they might be. There are all these "isms" and oppressive discourses out there, and we all partake in them in one way or the other. We need to be aware of this but we also need to understand that not everyone is operating on the same level. Just because some people might be more ignorant, sexist, and racist than others, this does not mean that they can't ever change; even the most minimal change is good. People are ignorant but people also have the ability to learn and change for the better. We shouldn't give up on this notion. I am tired of all these reactionary tactics used by many radical leftists because they don't seem to have worked or cause any substantial positive change, and so far all I see is infighting amongst all these different leftist communities. The left is killing itself and the radical right keeps getting stronger, just look at who is in office.

We need new ways. We need to have dialogues, peaceful dialogues, within our oppressed communities, as well as with those who are not as involved or aware, those who we consider too mainstream or too clueless, and maybe then we can plant a seed. And then our discourses might fall in through the cracks and have some impact. We have so much potential to resist oppression in unimaginable ways. We need to start thinking outside the outside of the box. I believe that hate and oppression can be diffused, cut up, chipped at, and melted away, strategically. What we need is patience, empathy, respect, understanding, and most importantly, love.



# **Autonomous Self-Organization and Anarchist Intervention: A Tension in Practice**

## **Introduction: a few definitions and explanations**

Any potentially liberatory struggle among the exploited and dispossessed must be based on autonomous self-organization. As anarchists, who are also usually among the exploited, we have every reason to participate in and encourage these struggles. But since we have specific ideas of how we want to go about our struggles and a specifically revolutionary aim, our participation takes the form of an intervention seeking to move the struggles in a specific direction. Having no desire to be any sort of vanguard or leadership or to be caught up in the joyless game of politicking, we find ourselves in a tension of trying to live our conception of struggle and freedom within the context of an unfree reality, of trying to confront the real daily problems we face with our own refusal to play by the rules of this world. Thus, the question of autonomous self-organization and anarchist intervention is an ongoing problem with which to grapple, refusing to fall into easy answers and faith in organizational panaceas. To begin exploring this question let's start with a few definitions and explanations.

### **Autonomous self-organization**

When I speak of autonomous self-organization, I am speaking of a specific phenomenon that tends to arise whenever people, angered by their conditions and having lost faith in those delegated to act for them, decide to act for themselves. Autonomous self-organization therefore never manifests in the form of a political party, a union or any other sort of representative organization. All of these forms of organization claim to represent the people in struggle, to act in their name. And what defines autonomous self-organization is precisely the rejection of all representation. Parties, unions and other representative organizations tend to interact with autonomous organization only in the form of recuperators of the struggle, striving to take over leadership and impose themselves as spokespeople of the struggle – usually with the aim of negotiating with the rulers. Thus, they can only be viewed as potential usurpers wherever real self-organized revolt is occurring.

Autonomous self-organization has certain essential traits that define it. First of all it is non-hierarchical. There is no institutional or permanent leadership or authority. While someone who proves particularly knowledgeable with regards to specific matters relating to the struggle at hand will be given the attention she deserves for such knowledge, this cannot be allowed to become the basis for any permanent leadership role, because that would undermine another essential trait of autonomous self-organization: horizontal communication and relationships.

This is a matter of people talking with each other, interacting with each other, expressing needs and desires openly, actually discussing the problems they face together and in practical terms, without any leadership to conform this expression to a set line. This brings us to another trait, one that may be controversial to collectivist ideologues, but that is the only way of guaranteeing the first two traits: the basic unit of autonomous self-organization is the individual. Otherwise, it could be argued that all states and

businesses are autonomous self-organization, because on the institutional and collective level they do organize themselves, but the individuals who comprise their human component are defined by these institutions and placed in accordance with the institutional needs.

So autonomous self-organization is first of all the individual organizing his struggle against the conditions this world forces upon her on her own terms, finding the means necessary for carrying out that struggle. But among the means necessary are relations with other people, so autonomous self-organization is also a collective practice. But that collective practice is not based upon conforming individuals to an organization imposed on them, but rather on the development of relationships of mutuality between them in which they discover the areas of commonality in their struggles and need, affinity in their dreams and desires. One could say that autonomous self-organization is the development of a shared struggle based on mutuality for the full realization of each individual involved. To further clarify this point (and to quickly counter a false dichotomy often made in revolutionary milieus), one can look at it in terms of revolutionary class struggle.

While the details vary, anti-state, anti-capitalist revolutionaries generally agree that the “revolutionary task” of the exploited class is to abolish itself as a class as it abolishes class society. What does this mean and when does it happen in the course of struggle? It seems to me, that this means precisely the rediscovery of oneself as an individual with one's own desires, needs and dreams which have no relation to what capital has to offer, desires, needs and dreams best fulfilled in free association with others based on mutuality and affinity. When, in the course of struggle, the exploited begin to find the methods of organizing their own activity together, this process of abolishing themselves as a class has already begun since they are beginning precisely to talk and act with each other as individuals.

Finally, autonomous self-organization is practical. It is not the setting up of any formal organization to represent anything. It is rather the bringing together of the elements necessary for accomplishing the various tasks and activities necessary to the particular struggle. This will tend to include the development of ways to communicate, ways to coordinate actions, ways to gather necessary tools and so on. As will be seen below, in large-scale struggles, assemblies tend to develop for discussing what is necessary; these are not formalized structures, but rather specific methods for dealing with the problems at hand.

### **Anarchist intervention**

We anarchists are ourselves often among the exploited and dispossessed. Thus, we have an immediate need to struggle against this social order. At the same time, we come to these daily struggles with a conscious revolutionary perspective and with specific ideas about how to go about these struggles. Thus, it is inevitable that our participation as anarchists will take the form of intervention. So it is worthwhile to consider what makes our participation an intervention.

First of all, as anarchists, we come to every struggle with a conscious revolutionary perspective. Whatever the specific cause that provokes a struggle, we recognize it as an aspect of the social order that must be destroyed in order to open the possibilities for a free and self-determined existence. Struggles and revolts are generally provoked by specific circumstances, not by mass recognition of the need to destroy the state, capital and all the institutions through which

domination and exploitation are carried out. Anarchist intervention, therefore, attempts to expand the struggle beyond the circumscribed cause that provokes it, to point out, not just in words, but through action the connection of the specific problem at hand to the larger reality of the social order that surrounds us. This would include finding and exposing the commonalities between various struggles as well as the differences that can enhance a broader struggle of revolt.

Because we anarchists come to any struggle with a specific revolutionary perspective, it is in our interest to propose a methodology of struggle which carries this perspective in it, a principled methodology which provides a basis for our complicity in any struggle. The methodology of which I speak is not just a methodology for struggle, but something to apply to all of life as far as possible.

First of all, the struggle must be carried out with complete autonomy from all representative organizations. We need to recognize unions and parties as usurpers and determine our specific activities in any struggle for ourselves, without regard for their demands. Secondly, our practice needs to be that of true direct action – figuring out how to accomplish the specific tasks we pose ourselves on our own, not demanding any authority or any “representative” of the struggle to act for us. Thirdly, we need to remain in permanent conflict with the social order we oppose with regard to the specific matter at hand, keeping our attacks up in order to make it clear that we have no intention of being recuperated. Fourthly, we need to be on the attack, refusing to negotiate or compromise with those in power. This methodology carries within it both the principle of self-organization and the revolutionary necessity to destroy the present ruling order.

Because of the nature of our anarchist aspirations, our intervention in struggles will always express itself as a tension on several levels. First of all, as I said most of us are ourselves among the exploited and dispossessed of the current social order, not part of the ruling or managing classes. Thus, we face the same immediate realities as those around us, with the same desire for immediate relief. But we also have a desire for a new world and want to bring this desire into all of our struggles not just in words, but in the way we go about our practice. Thus, there is the tension of willfully moving toward autonomy and freedom under oppressive conditions. In addition, we have specific ways in which we desire to go about our struggles and live our lives. These methods are based upon horizontal relationships and the refusal of hierarchy and vanguardism.

So there is the tension of striving to find ways of putting forth our conceptions of how to go about struggle that encourage already existing tendencies toward self-organization and direct action that do not fall into the methods of political evangelism. We are, after all, seeking to relate as comrades and accomplices, not leaders. And then there is the tension of wanting to act immediately against the impositions of this society upon our lives regardless of the current level of struggle while again avoiding any tendency toward vanguardism. In a sense, anarchist intervention is the tightrope between living our own struggle in our daily lives and finding the ways to connect this struggle with the struggles of all the exploited most of whom do not share our conscious perspectives, a connection that is necessary if we are to

move in the direction of social insurrection and revolution. A misstep in one direction turns our struggle in on itself, transforming it into an individual radical hedonism without any social relevance. A misstep in the other direction turns it into just another political party (whatever name one might give it to hide this fact) vying for control of social struggle. This is why we have to keep in mind that we are not seeking followers or adherents, but accomplices in the crime of freedom.

Anarchist intervention can occur under two circumstances: where a self-organized struggle of the exploited is in course, or where specific situation calls for an immediate response and anarchists strive to encourage self-organized methods of responding...In the first sort of situation, anarchists could express solidarity, encourage the spread of actions, expose the betrayals by whatever representative hierarchy that exists, share a broader critique of institutions as well as share visions of a different way of encountering life and the world than that of working to maintain a certain level of survival...The second sort of situation is that of the emergence an immediate, urgent and direct threat, and anarchists facing such situations will want to carry out and encourage autonomous responses using direct action rather than making demands of those in power. The precise way in which anarchists might intervene in such situations would vary depending on circumstances, but would always encourage autonomy, self-organization and direct action rather than a political perspective...

## Conclusion

Autonomous self-organization would have to be the basis both of a truly free existence and of the struggle to achieve that existence. It is the very opposite of politics and in practice either rejects it or is destroyed by it. The practice of self-organization seems to develop spontaneously when people rise up in revolt. What distinguishes it from politics is its opposition to representation and compromise – not just with the ruling order, but within the self-organized movement itself. Thus, rather than seeking to impose collective decisions involving compromise, it seeks to find a method for interweaving the desires, interests and needs of all involved in a way that is actually pleasing to each. This is not just a minor aspect, but is essential. Once the aim of organizing our struggles and our lives together ceases to be that of finding the ways for interweaving our differing desires, interests and needs so that all find fulfillment and instead becomes that of finding compromises, positions, programs and platforms start to take the place of desires, dreams and aspirations. Then, the representatives of the various positions, programs and platforms can find their place in the situation and transform self-organization into politics. It has happened before in revolutionary situations with horrible results.

In any case, anarchist intervention, in refusing politics and its methods, becomes a tension toward revolution and freedom in life and struggle, perpetually pushing against the grain for the destruction of all domination and exploitation, for the end of every practice of specialization and representation including that of specialized activism. It is in this tension that the specific self-organization of consciously anarchist revolt can find the way to intertwine with the daily struggles of all the exploited at the points where those struggles begin to experiment with direct action and self-organization. A new world based on joy and the exploration of our desires is possible, it will begin to grow wherever the self-organization of revolt against this world flows into the self-organization of life itself.

## The Emergence of the Black Bloc and the Movement Towards Anarchism

***“Get Busy Living, Or Get Busy Dying!”***

- The Kings of Nuthin, Boston Mass.

by David of the Green Mountain Anarchist Collective

(excerpted from the Black Bloc Papers,  
Black Clover Press, May 2002)

Since the Battle of Seattle the North American Left, and specifically the smaller yet growing revolutionary Anarchist movement, has been invigorated at least as much as it has become a common reality in the consciousness of the public. This has not occurred in a vacuum. Nor has this happened due to a simple quantifiable reason. The reasons are much more diverse and subjective as they are objective and empirically observable.

One facet of this movement (specifically of the revolutionary Anarchist movement) is encapsulated and advanced by the militant actions of a group commonly referred to as the Black Bloc. This informal grouping has acted as a necessary radical action wing of the larger social protest movement. Where Liberal inclinations have threatened to stifle larger demonstrations under a blanket of acceptability, predictability and boredom, this contingent, numbering anywhere from less than 100 to over 1000, has forced a creative unleashing of popular insurrectionary sentiment.

The following essay is primarily concerned with the Black Bloc. However, in order to more accurately discuss this faction, it will be necessary to paint a picture of the larger contemporary framework within and against which it operates. Towards this end this work will be divided into three sections. The first will deal directly with the Black Bloc; its historical roots, as well as the tactics it commonly employs. The second section will discuss the social, political, psychological and economic macrocasm in which the present movement is situated. The final section will discuss the smaller social context in which the Revolutionary Anarchist movement as well as the Black Bloc directly exists.

It is the intention of this essay to provide a historical, theoretical and practical base from which a more grounded understanding of the Black Bloc, as well as the revolutionary Anarchist movement more generally, can emerge. Such a grounding can and will only lead to a more mature discussion and development of Anarchist praxis and revolutionary progress. It is with this in mind that I here turn towards section one.

### Section I:

#### *The Emergence of the Black Bloc*

#### *History, Tactics and*

#### *General Constituency*

*“I wear the black for the poor and beaten down...[And] for the prisoner who has long since served his time.”*

- Johnny Cash

The Black Bloc can trace its historical roots all the way back to when and wherever people comprising an oppressed class or group militantly rose up against their particular oppressors.

Elements of the particular tactics of the Bloc were previously utilized by the Weather faction of the Students for a Democratic Society (the SDS) in North America during the “Days of Rage” in 1969.

[During that action, approximately 600 committed Communist youth converged upon the city of Chicago in order to protest the trial of the Chicago 8, as well as the continuing war in Vietnam. Their method of confrontation was that of direct physical conflict with the forces of the State (in this case the police). They organized themselves into small affinity groups and showed up equipped with clubs, helmets, bricks and other means of low tech hand to hand combat. Once assembled they actively attacked the forming police lines and fought the cops with ferocity...While this action clearly represents a link between the present Bloc and past militant tactics, it differs in many regards. First of all, the Weather contingent organized themselves by strictly hierarchical means...Second, their action occurred without the benefit of being part of a larger, more tactically diverse, protest action...Third, following the action, the Weather leadership did not believe such forms of protest could be maintained without resulting in a negative blood bath...]

[Recent research also reveals a Black Bloc of sorts utilized by Jewish anarchists in a shtetl, or village, in Russian occupied Poland in 1905. The anarchist youth dressed head to toe in black overcoats, marched in bloc and engaged in property destruction and battles with police as businessmen “boarded up their windows in fear.” -- 1/2006.]

Specifically, the Bloc's tactical aesthetic and more refined methods of State confrontation began to concretely emerge in the 1980's Autonomie movement in Germany. There, the seriousness of the anti-nuclear movement as well as the demands of the continuing Anarchist/anti-fascist movement required that mass protests be brought to a higher level of militancy and unanimity. Hence, radical collectives, often from within the anarcho-punk scene and typically of working class composition, began to urge their members and social militants generally to assemble at demonstrations donning uniform black (with masks), and to march as a single protest contingent (among many others). With their identities effectively hidden in temporary uniformity, they were able to successfully push protest actions in more militant directions while protecting themselves from being singled out for direct State oppression and/or later legal charges. This process matured to the point that the emerging Black Bloc began to develop better self-defense/militant tactics. It must be understood that this formation was not the birth of a formal, or rather continuous organization. It simply acted as a temporary cohesive grouping with the immediate goal of creating a temporarily contingent street fighting force, which in practice would dissolve with the conclusion of the action at hand. This is not to say that the sole focus of these included persons and/or collectives revolved around such action. On the contrary, those making up the Bloc commonly were rooted in the social and political organizations which the specifics of their local community demanded. They had their roots.

[Such activity at the local level is 100% necessary in the ongoing movement towards social revolution. In such, the relative lime light placed on Black Blocs must be subjectively diluted with this necessary fact.]

In addition, the militance and subsequent actions of the Black Bloc must also be understood as the embodiment of a certain means of struggle amongst many others, a means which are both legitimate and effective.

[Here it is necessary to understand that at this stage of the struggle, the tactics employed by the Bloc are most effective when performed in conjunction with others. This includes non-violent lockdowns, street theater, 'legal' marches, etc. In addition, it also must

be clarified that such action, when used in conjunction with more militant tactics, are effective and legitimate. Lastly, it should be noted that many Anarchists are also involved in these actions as well.]

As a Black Bloc, this grouping was an alliance of independent persons and/or affinity groups. Collectively, the Bloc acted by directly democratic means whenever possible, and by internal affinity group consensus when situations demanded. Other than that, the grouping conscientiously lacked any formal structure or authoritarian hierarchy.

Typically, the Bloc took positions at the front, rear, or perimeters of the protest march in order to provide a strong defensive presence at normally vulnerable points. In this way, the police were prevented from disrupting the movement of the demonstration without first having to subdue a highly militant, dedicated and prepared section of the protest. In order to strengthen its capacity to achieve these tactical objectives, the Bloc began to carry metal pipes, wooden clubs, and don protective padding and helmets. In addition, other tactical developments included the use of large continuous banners, poles or ropes lining the perimeter of this regiment. The purpose of these tools was to make the common police practice of picking individuals out for arrest a harder chore. For here, the cops would have to pass through a collectively held barrier, while simultaneously contending with blows from clubs in order to carry out such arrests.

More than acting as shock troops, or defensive units within the larger protest contingent, the Bloc began to take on an offensive role regarding the conscious destruction of Capitalist private property. Here, affinity groups within the Bloc would facilitate the smashing of windows, spray painting of revolutionary messages and trashing of police and/or military vehicles. Of course all such activity was clearly directed against Capitalist targets. Despite the inaccurate assertions of the corporate media, arbitrary vandalism never was, nor is, the goal or practice of the Black Bloc.

Another function of the Bloc was often to push the protest at hand in a more militant and socially comprehensive direction. Largely this was achieved by the Bloc positioning itself at the forefront of the demonstration, and subsequently forcing an escalation on the part of the State forces and the larger protest contingent generally. Simply by resisting arrest, refusing to remain on sanctioned parade routes, challenging police barricades and by actively directing its anger at corporate targets, the Bloc ensured that such an escalation would ensue.

The purpose of such escalation in part lies in the belief that such conflict necessarily results in the unmasking of the brutal nature of the State, via the subsequent brutality of the opposing police/military force. And here it is believed that by showing the larger population the basic means by which the status quo is maintained, a significant number of people will become further radicalized by this physical and visual demonstration of the nature of the State. Also, escalation has the desired effect of forcing an action to transcend its often Liberal underpinnings and become an actual example of contextually conditioned revolt. Here, direct action expands the confines of simple symbolism and hence begins to delve into the very real territory of subjective and objective revolutionary insurrection. In short, the demonstration here begins to assume its own identity free of the social spectacle of the commodified-consumer culture, and begins to move in a more fluid, self-defining manner. The role of the demonstration as a social pressure valve, both impotent and non-revolutionary, begins

to be inverted into an actual expression of social unrest. In this regard, spontaneity, via militance and violence, becomes an actual expression of the mass action. Hence, the action becomes a free means by which natural human identity is demonstrated through its basic rejection of subjugation, authority, Capitalism and status quo.

This element of social clash is necessary by way that it allows the oppressed and alienated person a real experience by which one's pent up and sheep-like identity and boredom is shattered in a situation of blood, bricks, and contextualized revolt. Here the person begins to feel the future reality that the streets and the city, as a basic creation of the worker, truly do belong to them. Here, possibilities of full revolt and victory are crystallized through the adrenalin of conflict. In short, this conflict is good in that it allows one's mind to understand real physical struggle, while also allowing one to feel, if only slightly, the possibility of collective self-management without the confused abstraction of police and government. The city, in the vicinity of conflict, truly becomes the people's to be won, lost, held or discarded.

To paraphrase Jean Paul Sartre, 'The reason the worker does not revolt... is because [s]he does not imagine what a liberated society would actually be like.'

And further from the Anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, 'Let us remember, no great step forward in history has ever come to fruition without first being baptized in blood.'

Therefore, regardless of the particular success of the action at hand, the activity of those within the Black Bloc must be encouraged and understood as both necessary and positive in relation to the subjective requirements necessary in the continual advancements of the revolutionary Anarchist struggle.

The practice of such Blocs are as socially/psychologically healthy as they are real. In this capacity, persons claiming to be of the Left, or even Anarchists, which argue against the need for a Black Bloc, or that the Bloc is socially and/or tactically ineffectual, must be understood as persons who either do not understand the subjective dynamic of revolt, or ones who are so weighed down in indecision and tacit acceptance of the status quo that they must be considered ignorant at best, or the enemy at worst. These folk would substitute another generation of ideological debate, meetings and boredom for real action. Despite their professed goals, they become the harbingers of defeat and alienation through their inability to understand risk, action, movement and experiential freedom. Thus, the revolutionary would do well to discredit their words through action and, as we are not bloodthirsty neanderthals, through the continuing development of legitimate Anarchist theory.



*The Black Bloc Papers: An Anthology of Primary Texts From the North American Anarchist Black Bloc, 1999-2001, compiled by David and X of the Green Mountain Anarchist Collective, can be ordered from the Green Mountain Anarchist Collective at: [Greencollective@chek.com](mailto:Greencollective@chek.com), through AK Press or through [Infoshop.org](http://Infoshop.org)'s Breaking Glass Press.*

## 3 Myths About Sex Work

by Sarah Paterson

*Whores...are the dykes of the nineties, the lavender menace whom it's still considered okay to ostracize.*

-- Jill Nagle, *Whores and Other Feminists*

### **Myth #1: Sex workers are different than other kinds of workers because sex work is more oppressive.**

Though every worker has their own unique experience of work, sex workers are commonly portrayed as being placed under a particularly oppressive, degenerative set of circumstances, not comparable to those of experienced by the average worker. It is often argued that because the body is the site of sex workers' commercial gain, the locus of the laboring that a sex worker does, that sex work is in some way a greater violation of the worker than more traditional work might be. The commodification of the body can be extended, though, to other kinds of work. For example, if an assembly worker develops severe arthritis from the repetitive nature of his/her job demands, it can also be said in this case that the body of the worker is compromised by his/her work. Yet when a street walker is raped by a john, the common reaction is that although this act is unfortunate, it is part and parcel of sex work; it is not given the same legitimacy as a similar act or incident would be in other lines of work.

Additionally, this distinction also has gender ramifications. To make a unique case of sex work is to ignore the sexual divisions present in all work, whether it is focused on the body's sexual aspects or not. As Vicky Funari points out in the essay "Naked, Naughty, Nasty: Peep Show Reflections" of the collection *Whores and Other Feminists*:

"What is the difference between jobs within work systems that hypocritically deny the importance of sex to their smooth operation as opposed to those that exploit it as their very reason for operating? If capitalism was structuring my work experience, and if sexism was structuring roles within capitalism, what had I to lose by facing overt rather than covert realities?"

Without evaluating all work as having sexually exploitative, physically and emotionally degenerative possibilities, the truth about sex work (and indeed, all work in general) remains unevaluated. Sex work is not special in its ability to possess drawbacks; making a unique case of it denies the oppression of work circumstances in general.

### **Myth #2: All sex workers are women and all pornographers are men.**

When reading about sex work in the essays of such anti-pornography feminists such as Andrea Dworkin and Katherine A. MacKinnon, it is clear that for them, women are always the sex workers and men are always their bosses. In the anthology *Feminism and Pornography*, MacKinnon goes so far as to describe sex work as, "institutionaliz[ing] the sexuality of male

supremacy, fusing the erotization of dominance and submission with the social construction of male and female." If society is indeed, as many feminists believe it to be, a patriarchal one, then the entire landscape of American society is shaped by male desire and its supremacy; in this way, the gendered subtext of sex work is not unique, as it mirrors the subjugation present throughout American living. The problematic nature of this line of thinking extends further, though. To believe that there is always a male oppressor and female victim creates a heteronormative vision of power structures that is dangerous in its narrow vision. It ignores the possibility of sex workers who are male or TS/TG and therefore provides them with no representation as workers. It suggests that oppression can be boiled down in one way only, which removes the possibility of other worker's voices being recognized and examined.

When looking at power dynamics in these terms, they seem overly simple. For example, who maintains power and who loses it when two men perform in a porn that is directed and produced by men? Do they have power? Is this a situation in which, somehow, power does not exist? Though that seems highly improbable, there is no way to find an answer without a discussion of sex work that is not only gender-based, but also examines the rights of ALL workers. It is too easy to believe that one person in a work situation maintains all power (or even that those with power have a stable possession of it), while the other has none; it also erases the possibility that the vision of the sex worker is a multitude of images, not just that of a female.

### **Myth #3: The sex industry hurts both the women in sex work as well as women in general.**

There has long been a fissure between sex workers and feminists regarding the the role that sex work plays in the subjugation of women. Obviously, for anti-pornography feminists, the existence of sex workers perpetuates negative images of women; Dworkin explains in her essay, "Against the Male Flood," that for those who watch pornography, it is "what women are and what women are for and how women are used in a society premised on the inferiority of women." In contrast, sex workers argue that this kind of thinking is what makes things harder, not easier, for those working in the sex industry. By presenting all sex workers as victims of circumstance, it places feminists in the role of "saviors" who know better about the nature of sex work than the sex workers themselves.

First of all, maintaining a discussion of workers' rights without engaging the worker in that discussion alienates the worker from his/her own representation and experience. There is also a question of the chicken or the egg. Think back to your own experiences of pornography. When you sought out porn to watch, did you already imagine what you might want to see, before you'd even seen a pornographic image? Or did pornography fill in for you what your imagination hadn't? When examining the oppressive systems society creates, it seems difficult to know whether pornography is the source or result of oppression. Perhaps it is both. Finally, there is merit in having feminist sex workers within the sex industry, who, despite what non-sex worker feminists might believe, are empowered individuals changing the face of the sex industry through the way in which they engage their johns, the choices they make for themselves, as well as by their mere presence within it.

# Pornography and Liberation: False Parallels, Dangerous Illusions

by Harjit Gill

The issue of pornography I feel falls at the center of the issues of feminist liberation and equality for women. To some, the argument becomes one of free speech and the right to see and experience whatever one wants. To them, support of pornography is veiled in arguments of victimless crime and freedom of symbolic speech. This side purposes that this “victimless crime” must not be subject to any social restriction, ethical reproach or regulation. Since the women are supposedly free to choose sex work as an occupation, it becomes a matter of freedom, which is something that is not easily argued against. Most people like to believe they are for liberty and freedom, not for censorship and it is precisely this impulse that has been used by the proponents of pornography and the pornographers as a crutch to gain support from the mainstream of America.

The opposing side argues against this by using moral or biblical arguments. This is the side of Jerry Falwell and other evangelists who make the argument about what God would allow and want our society to be. This argument uses ideology that expressly invokes a “Christian society” that successfully divides the society among those who support Falwell and those who disagree with him, independent of their views of pornography. Put in this position, I would choose to disagree with Falwell, regardless of the other side’s argument.

The final side is the one I’ve found most recently that attacks pornography not as a moral point, but goes to the heart of the free speech argument and dispels the myth. This is the debate brought forth by Katherine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin, as well as many male critics of the societal support of this crime.

The basic problem with pornography is this: there are victims. This is not a “victimless crime.” There are victims during production, and there are victims that suffer because the effect it has on men who view it. There are victims throughout the process and it creates a society that ignores these victims under the guise of free speech. By virtue of the detrimental social consequences of pornography, it can therefore be viewed as a crime.

*“Imagine that for hundreds of years your most formative traumas, your daily suffering and pain, the abuse you live through, the terror you live with, are unspeakable – not the basis of literature.”*

This is the first line of MacKinnon’s book, “Only Words.” She goes on to give painful real life examples of historic rape and sexual abuse perpetrated on women by men who had full control over them, from husbands to grandfathers, to show the context that women’s sexuality is shaped by. We must first look at the sexual history of women in society; pornography cannot be looked at in a vacuum. This abuse by men set the historic precedent for pornography. MacKinnon goes on within this very chapter and destroys the whole argument of pornography as speech. Her argument is that this historic abuse of women by men for sexual gratification has branched out into the “victimless” world. Pornography is just a modern solution to historical, social and indeed physical enslavement. It simply enables more men to take advantage of each individual subjugation of women.

Furthermore, in this context, MacKinnon argues, “speech is not your right to object, but what your abusers do to you.” By calling pornography speech, you give it precedent on the same level of consideration as the women who are affected by it. This diminishes women’s equality by saying their basic right to not be exploited falls below the right of men to be gratified. The debate comes down to this fundamental principle, as MacKinnon puts it: “Protecting pornography means protecting sexual abuse as speech, at the same time that both pornography and its protection have deprived women of speech, especially speech against sexual abuse.”

It can also be argued that pornography takes the meaning out of sex and leads to sexual abuse by turning the women into a faceless object for use. This objectification of women means that pornography, according to Gloria Steinem, “is not about sex. It’s about an imbalance of male-female power that allows and even requires sex to be used as a form of aggression.” Further, we cannot separate from this the fact that pornography happens in the real world; it is not a mental act, there is physical action occurring. The industry is what gets women into these positions to be in these films, not the ideas. There is a reality that is not abstract and theoretical.

*“Women are gang raped so they can be filmed. They are not gang raped by the idea of a gang rape.”*

These women are victims quite often of circumstance and financial problems which lead them into being cajoled into the industry, although no blame should be attached to the porn itself, because the videos themselves have no intrinsic evil; it is their use, production and the associated unequal social dynamic that causes the problems. In this as well is not an argument against sexuality, but rather an argument against a society where the objectification of women is acceptable.

As a final point, the utilitarian principles put forth by John Stuart Mill should be examined. As Peter Singer applied Mill’s principle of equal consideration to the issue of animal rights, we must apply it to women’s rights and to pornography. The principle states that equal consideration must be applied to the subject and object of any action. Singer points out that while death is not intrinsically bad, suffering is. Causing another suffering must be done only in the most extreme of cases. Singer points out that one’s appetite and pleasure of enjoyment of food does not justify the suffering creatures face in factory farms, that this is unethical and must stop immediately. So too we must apply this to women’s rights.

The gratification of some men and women does not justify the suffering of the women who are raped by men who are pushed by pornography. There must be equal consideration paid for those women who do become victims of abuse. Since suffering is occurring for some, we must stop the practice of allowing pornography to be produced for the gratification of those who gain from it. Suffering is always wrong, so we must do our best as a society to stop suffering from occurring.

By showing that the issue has nothing to do with free speech and then by using a utilitarian approach to ethics to undercut the arguments of pornographers, the burden of proof then falls on the pornographers to prove that what they are providing is beneficial to society. If it is not, then it is not pragmatic and is harmful to society. This means we should work on eliminating it to help our society move forward with real equality and equal consideration.

# Feminism and gender binaries

by Stephanie B

Feminists have often been accused of reinforcing gender binaries. When women-exclusive events take place, when an emphasis is placed on women's issues, or even when the word "woman" is used, people from all over the political spectrum, including some feminists, denounce the event as holding us back by reinforcing the idea that women and men are inherently different.

First of all, it indeed can be said that naming something does in fact legitimize and reinforce it. Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* is noted for deconstructing and exploring language and gender theory. Her theories are grounded in poststructuralism, which basically says that our words and behaviors create the reality we know. It is true that simply saying the word "woman" reinforces the idea of two separate genders. Unfortunately, though, I am bound by my language and culture to some extent. I need language to communicate with others. The most that I can do is realize that every time I open my mouth I am contributing to a language that is centered in patriarchy.

The thing is, we still exist in a context, in a specific time and place. For the time being, in order to overcome the gross inequalities that exist in this context in which we live, we need to temporarily use labels as a way of identifying these problems and making them intelligible. For example, by using the term "patriarchy," we are in a sense creating it. However, if there is such a clear trend of male domination, it is helpful, for the time being, to name it. Thus, we call it patriarchy so that we can make it concrete, expose it, and conquer it.

It is important to make the distinction between what is natural and what is constructed. According to the poststructuralists, nothing is natural. After all, how can we claim to know what is and isn't natural when we are all existing within this society? We need to realize that gender, sexuality, and race are all social constructs. Once this is done, we need to deal with them within this context.

So, if I decide that a distinction needs to be made between men and women, it is a distinction based on social constructs, not biology or any natural characteristics. As Pendleton Vandiver writes in "Feminism: A Male Anarchist's Perspective,"

"Feminism can perhaps be best defined as the attempt to get beyond the state of affairs where people are oppressed because of gender. Thus, it is not possible to go beyond gender without feminism; the charge that feminism itself perpetuates gender categories is patently absurd."

It is a catch 22. Society clearly segregates us into different groups. Then if we name these differences we are accused of perpetuating them. Perhaps the best way of reconciling this problem is what theorist Gayatri Spivak calls "strategic essentialism." For the time being, we must acknowledge that "women," as a group, is an oppressed class, and is treated differently from the class of men. We must acknowledge that, temporarily, women are different from men, not in any totalizing or universal sense, but in how they are constructed, viewed, and treated by our society. In this sense, then, we are not reinforcing stereotypes but doing quite the contrary – trying to show that, for no reason at all, society has grossly divided us into arbitrary categories of gender, race, sexuality, etc.

Thus, harping on difference is a political tactic that must be utilized until we achieve liberation. So when we separate women and characterize their experiences as different, it is imperative to remember that difference is reliant on societal constructs. Any oppressed class, which in this case is the oppressed gender, needs to separate themselves from the oppressor's class at some point in order to fight the inequalities that exist. Women-exclusive events are obviously not the end all be all, nor should they be the majority of events that occur, but they are useful for the time being. Until true equality is achieved, there is something to be said for the occasional exclusive event.

Though this should go without saying, let me stress that I in no way believe that all men are bad or that they should not be involved in this movement. On the contrary, it is vividly clear to me that not all women are pro-woman and that many men are. My point is to guard against this tendency to define many feminist tactics as counterproductive or "reverse sexist" and to recognize the difference between reinforcing gender binaries and attempting to deal with them by pointing them out.

# Confronting Privilege as Revolutionary Anarchists

*Play-acting anarchists and mommy's little skinheads...*

*Fuck off, who cares?*

*About your stupid scenes, your shitty zines,  
the straw men you build up to burn...*

*-- Propagandhi, Back to the Motor League*

by the Singlethorn Collective

On April 19, 2001 a few of us stood smoking cigarettes near the US-Canadian border at Cornwall Island, NY. The sun was setting. A large portion of our caravan of some eighty fifteen-passenger vans, headed for the Quebec City FTAA summit protests, had been turned back here on the Akwesasne Mohawk reservation by US and Canadian border guards. There had been some talk and rumors that the more militant Mohawk intended to seize and open the border for us; the sight of hundreds of heavily armed US agents dispelled that notion fairly quickly. Rather than split our numbers, the rest of the caravan turned back as well, waiting for a mass Plan B that never materialized.

Our affinity group's van was further down the line. We had just met the inhabitants of the van we stood in front of then.

"Man, fuck the Mohawk," said John. John was white, in his early twenties and dressed in jeans and a black hoodie.

One of us asked him to repeat what he said.

"Fuck the Mohawk. They said they would open the border for us, but they didn't."

His attitude pissed us off, but we decided now was not the place for a fight. We walked back to my own van.

The encounter, and others like it, got us talking. Here was a white male condemning indigenous people for not being able to magically overcome the superior numbers and guns of white men's armies that have occupied their land for centuries. But why did John condemn them? He identified as an anarchist and anti-racist, but obviously this was not enough for him to escape this privileged mindset. We began to notice a trend.

John was simply replicating a view we encountered a great deal that month: privilege expressed as a belief in absolute, yet unmanifested equality; that is, the belief that everyone else – regardless of background or current oppressed condition – is equal to and therefore exactly similar in condition to you, a consequence of which denies any consideration to the unequal circumstances experienced in reality by oppressed and marginalized segments of society.

Nevermind that perhaps John's sentiment was genuine, that he genuinely viewed the Mohawk as equals; he applied this in a way that denied the history, circumstances and reality of the oppression a marginalized community faces. And it robs that community of its very essence and makes the entire process about white activists, rather than the Mohawk: *They said they would open the border for us*. We were there in solidarity of resistance. Who the fuck were we to make demands?

A second, pervasive trend places the oppressed or marginalized as victims on a pedestal to be saved from or revered in their victim-state by privileged activists. This is the "white liberal to the rescue" syndrome, one that denies the marginalized anything but a token voice while using them as a focal or rallying point for ineffective, self-satisfying symbolism. This mindset is just as denigrating as that of any homophobic, wealthy racist.

So we all need to be acutely aware of this privilege, be it race privilege, class privilege, sexual privilege, gender privilege, linguistic, cultural, religious or whatever exists as an unequal relationship in a larger, social reality or even practical sphere. No one status trumps another, like white privilege is necessarily a greater issue than economic or sexual privilege; nevertheless reality also dictates that an upper class, white, Anglo, heterosexual Protestant male will have a far easier time in American society than others.

But with that understanding also comes a catch. To be a revolutionary anarchist, to push and agitate for a radical and fundamental restructuring of social, class and political dynamics based on liberatory ideals, we cannot condemn outright the identity, in reality, of the other. Just as it is wrong to condemn the Mohawk for being in the position of being Mohawk, with all this entails, so too must we not condemn one who is privileged simply for being in the position of having been born into privilege [actions speak louder than birth], or else we lose any hope of redemptive or revolutionary social transformation. Carried too far, such hope might turn into a naive tolerance of our own oppressors/oppression, so we must also explicitly define privilege in order to confront it.

Privilege is not an inherent state of existence; it is a social construct, an unequal and disempowering social dynamic. White privilege is predicated on white supremacy and racist tendencies within our society that empower whites and disempower people of color; it is a consequence of real, but alterable social relationships. It is not called white privilege because whites are somehow inherently abusive, oppressive or bigoted. It is a social structure that can be transcended, smashed, reconstructed, subverted or altered in one form or another or we have no right to call ourselves revolutionaries.

A great deal of misunderstanding has also developed among some regarding the notion of "manarchism" rather than the social reality of male privilege. This expression may be quite authentic at heart, but the concept ultimately fails to take social structure into account in an effective, revolutionary and anarchist manner. We will cite one instance here: at a protest a few years back, a few anarchists on one side of the debate criticized the black bloc at that action, characterizing it as being composed entirely of testosterone-charged, twenty-something males who denied women and people of color a voice and only wanted to pick street battles.

The irony was that this critique was directed itself at two women. These women happened to be bloc'ed up at the time and were perhaps indistinguishable from their male counterparts. In fact, slightly less than half of that particular bloc was comprised of women. A woman wrote the bloc's call to action. There were also a number of people of color who were, due to their clothing, indistinguishable from others in bloc. The bloc had a specific intent and purpose at that protest; it just didn't include participating in "green zone," or non-confrontational, actions.

But this knee-jerk depiction, in the face of reality, itself is a product of privilege that we must encounter, confront and dispell. It is the idea of male, or white, etc. as the default identity, the automatic assumption made about the unfamiliar or unknown. The *association* of revolutionary confrontation, collective self-defense and stubborn resistance – at times and by necessity often violent – as uniquely male tendencies are the result of male privilege, and not the confrontation, self-defense or resistance in and of itself.

As revolutionary anarchists, we are fighters and we cannot deny that aspect. This is more than a struggle – it is a dirty brawl. But as anarchist revolutionaries, we must also be motivated by love, by what is in our hearts, to understand and listen to identity without being deafened by it, informed by the other, yet remaining ourselves.

## Especifismo: South American praxis to build popular movements and form anarchist organizations

by Furious Five Revolutionary Collective

Throughout the world anarchist involvement within mass movements as well as the development of specifically anarchist organizations is on the upsurge. This trend is helping anarchism regain legitimacy as a dynamic political force within movements. In this light, Especificismo, a concept born out of nearly 50 years of anarchist experiences in South America, is gaining currency world-wide. Though many anarchists may be familiar with some of Especificismo's ideas, it is an original contribution to anarchist thought.

While more of a practice than a developed ideology, the first organization to promote the concept of Especificismo was the Uruguayan Federacion Anarquista Uruguaya (FAU) founded in 1956 by anarchist militants who embraced the idea of an organization which was specifically anarchist. Surviving the dictatorship in Uruguay, the FAU emerged in the mid 80's to establish contact and influence other South American anarchist revolutionaries. The FAU's work helped support the founding of the Federacao Anarquista Gaucha (FAG), the Federacao Anarquista Cabocla (FACA), the organization from Sao Paulo called Luta Libertaria (libertarian struggle) in their respective regions of Brazil and the Argentinean organization Auca (Rebel).

While the key concepts of Especificismo will be expanded upon further in this article, it can be summarized in three succinct points:

1) The need for specifically anarchist organization built around a unity of ideas and praxis. 2) The use of the specifically anarchist organization to theorize and develop strategic political and organizing work. 3) Active involvement and building of autonomous and popular social movements, called "social insertion."

### Historical Perspective

While only coming onto the stage of Latin American anarchism within the last few decades, the ideas inherent within Especificismo touch on a historic thread running within the anarchist movement internationally. The most well known would be the Platformist current, which was started with the publishing of the "Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists" document written in 1926 by former peasant army leader Nestor Makhno, Ida Mett and other militants of the Dielo Trouda (Workers Cause) group based around a newspaper of the same name. Exiles of the Russian revolution, Dielo Trouda criticized the anarchist movement for lack of organization which allowed the Bolshevik's to turn the workers soviets into instruments of one-party rule. The alternative they proposed was a 'General Union of Anarchists' based on Anarchist-Communism and "theoretical and tactical unity."

Other similar occurrences of ideas includes "Organizational Dualism," which is mentioned in historical documents of the 1920's Italian anarchist movement. This term refers the organization of anarchists both within anarchist political organization and as militants within the labor movement. In Spain, the Friends of Durruti group emerged to oppose the gradual reversal of the Spanish Revolution of 1936. In "Towards a Fresh New Revolution" they emulated some of the ideas of the Platform in critiques of CNT-FAI gradual reformism and collaboration. Influential organizations in the Chinese anarchist movement of the 1910's like the Wuzhengfu-Gongchan Zhuyi Tongshi Che (Society of Anarchist-Communist Comrades) advocated similar ideas. While these different currents all have specific characteristics that developed from the movements and countries in which they originated, they all share a common thread that crosses eras and continents.

### Especificismo Elaborated

By raising the need for specifically anarchist organization built around a unity of ideas and praxis, the Especificists inherently state their objection to the idea of a synthesis organization of revolutionaries or multiple currents of anarchists loosely united. While these critiques have not been elaborated by the South American Especificistas to our knowledge, North American anarchists has offered their experiences of synthesis organization as lacking any cohesiveness due to multiple, contradictory political tendencies. Often the basic agreement of the group boils down to a vague, least common denominator of politics, which leaves little room for united action or developed political discussion among comrades.

Without a strategy that stems from common political agreement, revolutionary organizations are bound to be an affair of reactivism against the continual manifestations of oppression and injustice and/or a cycle of fruitless actions to be repeated over and over again, without little analysis or understanding of the consequences.

A particular stress of the Especificismo current is the role of anarchist organization, (or federation generally) formed on the basis of shared politics, as a space for the development of common strategy and reflection on the groups organizing work. Sustained by collective responsibility to the organizations plans and work, a trust within the members and groups is built that allows for a deep, high level discussion of their actions. This allows the organization to create collective analysis and be continually reflecting on and changing their work based on the lessons gained and circumstances of the times.

The last key point of Especificismo is the idea of "social insertion." It first stems from the belief that the oppressed are the most revolutionary sector of society and that the seed of the future revolutionary transformation of society lies already in these classes and groups. Social insertion is seen as anarchist involvement in the daily fights of the oppressed and working classes, not single issue activist campaigns, but the movements of people struggling to better their own condition, to resist the attacks of the state and capitalism; such as rank and file led workers movements, immigrant communities demanding legalized status, neighborhood organizations resisting the brutality and killings of police, working class students fighting budget cuts and tuition increases or the poor and unemployed opposing eviction and service cuts.

Examples of social insertion that the FAG cites are their work with neighborhood committees in urban villages and slums (called Popular Resistance Committees), building alliances with rank and file members of the rural landless workers movement of the MST and among trash and recyclables collectors. Due to high levels of temporary employment, underemployment and unemployment in Brazil, a significant portion of the working class does not survive primarily through wage labor, but rather by subsistence work and the informal economy, such casual construction workers, street vendors and trash and recyclables collectors. Through several years of work, the FAG has built a strong relationship with urban trash collectors, called catadores. Members of the FAG have supported them in forming their own organization that is working to mobilize trash collectors around their interests nationally and raise money toward building a collectively operated recycling operation.

Especificista interaction of ideas seeks not to impose ideas or move movements into 'anarchist' but to preserve their anarchist thrust, that is their natural tendency to be self-organized and to militantly fight for its own interests. Assumes view that social movements will reach their own logic of creating revolution, not as when they as a whole necessarily reach the point of being conscious anarchists, but when as a whole or at least an overwhelming majority reach the consciousness of their own power and the exercising of this power in their daily lives; and in a way consciously adopt the ideas of anarchism.

## **Senzala or Quilombo: Reflections on APOC and the fate of Black Anarchism**

**by Pedro Ribeiro**

In years past, when the slavery of the children of Africa was carried out by chain and whip instead of uniforms and patrol cars, black people in Brazil had only two places where they could be – in the Senzala or the Quilombo. The Senzala was a small hut placed outside the master's house, a shack in which the slaves would stay from after sunset to before sunrise, chained to the walls and behind locked doors. The Senzala was their home; there they raised their children and grew old. In secret, they practiced their language, religion and culture away from white eyes. The window of the senzala would always face the main quad of the plantation where a single post could be seen emerging from the earth's belly. The Pelourinho – the mast in which rebellious slaves were tortured until submission or death, whichever came first. This was the Senzala.

But, every once in a while, a laborious and dedicated group of slaves would defect from the generosity of the slave master's whips and chains and senzalas, and go into the jungle. They would run, day after night after day after night, into the mata, deeper into the forest; away from the treacherous Capitaes to Mato, the black or mulatos overseers responsible for capturing escaped slaves. In the jungle, they looked for hope. In the jungle, they looked for freedom. In the jungle, away from the white man, they looked for the Quilombo.

Quilombos were city-states created in the heart of the mata by escaped slaves. The most famous - the largest and the one whose name was whispered in secret in the dark by those in search of freedom - that was Palmares. Palmares had an estimated population of twenty to thirty thousand, structured in eleven different villages. In Palmares, as in other Quilombos escaped slaves held the majority. Natives and poor whites were also accepted into the Quilombo, with and shared the same rights and duties as anyone else. Decisions were made by village assemblies, in which every adult, man or woman, of every race, could (and most would) participate.

No, Palmares was no utopia. It was no communist society in which the decisions were as horizontal as possible and in which all were seen as equal. Palmares had chiefs, one for each village. The chief of the capital, Macacos, was the king of Palmares. But this is neither here nor now. The now is the quilombo as opposed to the senzala.

Palmares died in flames. It fought until the last person was dead. It had been fighting for its sovereignty and independence for over one hundred years. It gave its blood to defend what it cherished most – its freedom and its self-determination.

Whatever drove the Palmarinos to fight is what I am interested in talking about. A friend of mine said something that struck a cord in me. He said: "People are always talking about dying for this or that. You gotta die for the cause if you are militant enough, if you are really bad ass you should die for your beliefs. But nobody asks, what are you living for? Not dying, but living – what is your life for?"

The Palmarinos were living for something. They were living for their freedom and their collective autonomy. They were living for their right of self-determination, to do away with the chains that held them slaves in the past and to decide by themselves the path of their life. If they died fighting for that, they died for what they were living for. They died the death of free people.

We now call ourselves Anarchists. We say we want the end of all chains and the extermination of all oppression. Yet, in the Anarchist "movement", black folk and other folks of color are still in the senzala. We are still having to disguise ourselves, call whitey "Massa" and chain ourselves to the wall. No, don't talk about racism unless it is in that very abstract sense of "we-are-all-equal-let's-sing-kumbayas-and-pretend-the-color-of-our-skin-does-not-matter" racism. While there might be nobody yelling "die, nigger, die!\*" you can hear a very clear "shut the fuck up, nigger, just shut the fuck up."

We pretend that racism is just a minor problem, something that, like the Leninist State, will wither away if we will it to. The intrinsic racist characteristics that infect Anarchism, specially North-American Anarchism, cannot be questioned without one being seen as some kind of authoritarian nationalist, or even worse, a Maoist. Red-baiting, of all things!

Like in the real senzala, our resistance to racism needs to be covert. It needs to be hidden and made like it is something else. It cannot be what it needs to be, it cannot do what needs to be done, or the senzala would break apart and the master's house would be set aflame. No. Like capoeira, our fight against white supremacy inside North American anarchism needs to disguise itself as a dance in order to become a martial art.

And you know how the rap goes: if we talk about empowerment we are power hungry. If we assert our self-determination, we are authoritarian nationalists. When we expose how white Anarchism is, elitist white Anarchists generally come with excuses like "Hey, I saw a black anarchist once!" or the classic, "well, we need to outreach to communities of color."

Let me tell you something, the reason why the masses are not flooding to your Anarchism is exactly that one – it is your Anarchism. It is a white, petty-bourgeois Anarchism that cannot relate to the people. As a Black person, I am not interested in your Anarchism. I am not interested in individualistic, self-serving, selfish liberation for you and your white friends. What I care about is the liberation of my people. The collective liberation of the children of the African Diaspora, those that have been beaten down and treated worse than dogs all across the world.

So, no, we are not interested in your anarchism. We need to create our own. Understand this, if the whites in Palmares were allies and died with the blacks and the natives it is not because they invited the blacks and the natives into their structure, into their society and said unto them: "We are all equal." It was because the blacks and the natives created their own structure - their own society - in which power relations were different so that whites could not longer by the sheer force of their privilege impose their view of how the society should be run. To try and integrate people of color in your society or your movement, like there would be no culture clash and no confrontation – it is naive, senseless and can lead nowhere but into deception.

In the senzala of contemporary Anarchist theory and practice, the only place for Blacks and other folks of color is the chain in the wall or the Pelourinho. To question the structure of this “movement”, why is it really composed mainly of white suburban boys, is a invitation to the Pelourinho - or to the Quilombo.

Some escaped slaves decided to create their own Quilombo in the forest of North America, and they called it A.P.O.C. - Anarchist People Of Color. APOC was a necessary step on the beginning of the self-determination of people of color inside the movement. This self-determination we seek is to analyze the problems of race inside and outside the movement in our own perspective. To create our own analysis of authority and what it means for us to be Anarchists. What does it mean for those that have always felt odd at an Anarchist event while looking around and thinking are they made the wrong turn somewhere and ended up in a white only area of segregated Mississippi.

When an anarchist tells me about how the cops are fascist pigs, I stop for a second and think. A lot of times I'll of some experience in a protest against this or that corporate meeting or something, in which the cops tear gassed the crowd and whoop some ass and I think, man, you got it easy. I remember in my neighborhood in Brazil, where if you got only an ass-whooping, you would considered yourself lucky. I remember the day they shot my uncle dead. I remember this one cop that used to follow me around and scare the life out of me because I thought he was going to cap me and there no way in hell I was approaching no authorities to complain because then I would surely wind up dead. I remember the police invading my grandma's house, guns in hand, while my cousin was still a baby and was sleeping in my aunt's bed. Even here, in my neighborhood in East Palo Alto, you can always hear the cops fussing around at night and you know they are not looking for no black-bloc kid from some protest or another. So tell me again how the cops are fascists...

The fact is, we know oppression. We live it, we experience it. In one form or another, one extreme or another. We do not conceptualize it. We do not sit down and intellectualize about pain because our people have been hunted down and shot, and burned and beaten and we lost the need to understand pain philosophically when we learned it physically.

So why are the people not filling the ranks of the Anarchist movement? What it is that prevents those people of color that have been feeling the brunt of police brutality, and have been living off the scraps of what capitalism leaves behind, why have they not joined the movement?

The answer is simple: because is not their movement. It can never be their movement while it is being created by and for white middle-class kids with a Jesus complex who think they can save the world (or the ones with Buddha complex who think they can get wet by talking about water). You cannot hustle the movement and you cannot hustle the people. Revolution is not a game in which you can pretend to listen to the voice of the people of color only when is convenient and shut them off when they start questioning your privilege.

APOC, as any revolutionary step, spurned an immediate reaction, a counter-revolutionary step. The amount of voices in the

Anarchist “movement” that have been raised to criticize, put down or, in any other form, discredit APOC (most, if not all of them, white, by the way) have been, if small, consistent and bold. To incur and cite these criticisms is irrelevant to today's discussion. I am not here to defend APOC. I am here to talk about why I don't need to do it.

APOC is our Quilombo. Our keep, our fortress, where we can meet as people from oppressed background and not only share our experiences and how they are relevant to each other, but also how they are relevant in the larger scheme of things. APOC is more than a safe zone for people to feel good about not being in a room without white folk, but is a conscious project of self-determination for people of color. It is a step closer to our freedom as a people and the materialization of the idea that community comes from something in common, something we can share.

No, APOC is no utopia. It is not even close. But that is neither here nor now. We may stumble, we may fall, we may even break our heads wide open. But at least we are walking on our own two feet. It is pointless for me to try and convince white Anarchists of the need for APOC because white anarchists have not experienced what we a people of color have experienced. It is like trying to convince my boss of the need for Socialism – a more often then not fruitless endeavor.

And while there are white Anarchists out there who remember that only the oppressed can liberate themselves and the end of white supremacy cannot be brought about by white people – there are those that, in their arrogance and shortsightedness, will not yield and cannot tolerate the thought that maybe there is something that Anarchist people of color need to discuss that does not include white people.

And if, for a moment, I thought that APOC needed to be approved by the white anarchist scene that would be the moment in which APOC would lose its appeal to me. Because is not about being accepted, being cherished, being “on the good side” with the white Anarchists – that is the Senzala. It is about self-determination and it is about resistance. It is about creating our own culture, our own analysis and dictating our own future. APOC for me is not about seeking a way to make white people love us, or hate us.

I have to tell you a secret about APOC: it is not about white people at all. It is not, and it should not be ever. I am tired of talking about white people, thinking of white people, analyzing white people and worrying about white people. I want to know what I have in common with my Korean sister and my Guatemalan brother. I want to know about the great struggles for liberation in Uganda and how the Filipino resisted imperialism. What can we learn from each other as people of color? What does my barrio in Rio de Janeiro has in common with a Latino barrio in East Side San Jose?

This is something I wrote for my sisters and brothers at APOC. We need to understand ourselves in order to understand the world around us and be able to fight and destroy the bourgeois plague which eating away our homes, our lives and our cultures. As a black person, my anarchism is Black Anarchism. As a member of the exploited class, my anarchism is Class-Struggle Anarchism. As a person who wishes for a better future, my anarchism is Anarchist-Communism.

Vamos a ela, porque temos muito, muito para construir.  
Não tá morto que peleia!  
Viva a Anarquia!

# Anarchism, Or The Revolutionary Movement Of The Twenty-first Century

by David Graeber and Andrej Grubacic

It is becoming increasingly clear that the age of revolutions is not over. It's becoming equally clear that the global revolutionary movement in the twenty first century, will be one that traces its origins less to the tradition of Marxism, or even of socialism narrowly defined, but of anarchism.

Everywhere from Eastern Europe to Argentina, from Seattle to Bombay, anarchist ideas and principles are generating new radical dreams and visions. Often their exponents do not call themselves "anarchists". There are a host of other names: autonomism, anti-authoritarianism, horizontality, Zapatismo, direct democracy... Still, everywhere one finds the same core principles: decentralization, voluntary association, mutual aid, the network model, and above all, the rejection of any idea that the end justifies the means, let alone that the business of a revolutionary is to seize state power and then begin imposing one's vision at the point of a gun. Above all, anarchism, as an ethics of practice-the idea of building a new society "within the shell of the old"-has become the basic inspiration of the "movement of movements" (of which the authors are a part), which has from the start been less about seizing state power than about exposing, de-legitimizing and dismantling mechanisms of rule while winning ever-larger spaces of autonomy and participatory management within it.

There are some obvious reasons for the appeal of anarchist ideas at the beginning of the 21st century: most obviously, the failures and catastrophes resulting from so many efforts to overcome capitalism by seizing control of the apparatus of government in the 20th. Increasing numbers of revolutionaries have begun to recognize that "the revolution" is not going to come as some great apocalyptic moment, the storming of some global equivalent of the Winter Palace, but a very long process that has been going on for most of human history (even if it has like most things come to accelerate of late) full of strategies of flight and evasion as much as dramatic confrontations, and which will never-indeed, most anarchists feel, should never-come to a definitive conclusion.

It's a little disconcerting, but it offers one enormous consolation: we do not have to wait until "after the revolution" to begin to get a glimpse of what genuine freedom might be like. As the Crimethinc Collective, the greatest propagandists of contemporary American anarchism, put it: "Freedom only exists in the moment of revolution. And those moments are not as rare as you think." For an anarchist, in fact, to try to create non-alienated experiences, true democracy, is an ethical imperative; only by making one's form of organization in the present at least a rough approximation of how a free society would actually operate, how everyone, someday, should be able to live, can one guarantee that we will not cascade back into disaster. Grim joyless revolutionaries who sacrifice all pleasure to the cause can only produce grim joyless societies.

These changes have been difficult to document because so far anarchist ideas have received almost no attention in the academy.

There are still thousands of academic Marxists, but almost no academic anarchists. This lag is somewhat difficult to interpret. In part, no doubt, it's because Marxism has always had a certain affinity with the academy which anarchism obviously lacked: Marxism was, after all, the only great social movement that was invented by a Ph.D. Most accounts of the history of anarchism assume it was basically similar to Marxism: anarchism is presented as the brainchild of certain 19th century thinkers (Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin...) that then went on to inspire working-class organizations, became enmeshed in political struggles, divided into sects...

Anarchism, in the standard accounts, usually comes out as Marxism's poorer cousin, theoretically a bit flat-footed but making up for brains, perhaps, with passion and sincerity. Really the analogy is strained. The "founders" of anarchism did not think of themselves as having invented anything particularly new. They saw its basic principles - mutual aid, voluntary association, egalitarian decision-making - as as old as humanity. The same goes for the rejection of the state and of all forms of structural violence, inequality, or domination (anarchism literally means "without rulers")-even the assumption that all these forms are somehow related and reinforce each other. None of it was seen as some startling new doctrine, but a longstanding tendency in the history of human thought, and one that cannot be encompassed by any general theory of ideology.

On one level it is a kind of faith: a belief that most forms of irresponsibility that seem to make power necessary are in fact the effects of power itself. In practice though it is a constant questioning, an effort to identify every compulsory or hierarchical relation in human life, and challenge them to justify themselves, and if they cannot-which usually turns out to be the case-an effort to limit their power and thus widen the scope of human liberty. Just as a Sufi might say that Sufism is the core of truth behind all religions, an anarchist might argue that anarchism is the urge for freedom behind all political ideologies.

Schools of Marxism always have founders. Just as Marxism sprang from the mind of Marx, so we have Leninists, Maoists, Althusserians... (Note how the list starts with heads of state and grades almost seamlessly into French professors - who, in turn, can spawn their own sects: Lacanians, Foucauldians...)

Schools of anarchism, in contrast, almost invariably emerge from some kind of organizational principle or form of practice: Anarcho-Syndicalists and Anarcho-Communists, Insurrectionists and Platformists, Cooperativists, Councilists, Individualists, and so on.

Anarchists are distinguished by what they do, and how they organize themselves to go about doing it. And indeed this has always been what anarchists have spent most of their time thinking and arguing about. They have never been much interested in the kinds of broad strategic or philosophical questions that preoccupy Marxists such as Are the peasants a potentially revolutionary class? (anarchists consider this something for peasants to decide) or what is the nature of the commodity form? Rather, they tend to argue about what is the truly democratic way to go about a meeting, at what point organization stops empowering people and starts squelching individual freedom. Is "leadership" necessarily a bad thing? Or, alternately, about the ethics of opposing power: What is direct action? Should one condemn someone who assassinates a head of state? When is it okay to throw a brick?

Marxism, then, has tended to be a theoretical or analytical discourse

about revolutionary strategy. Anarchism has tended to be an ethical discourse about revolutionary practice. As a result, where Marxism has produced brilliant theories of praxis, it's mostly been anarchists who have been working on the praxis itself.

At the moment, there's something of a rupture between generations of anarchism: between those whose political formation took place in the 60s and 70s - and who often still have not shaken the sectarian habits of the last century - or simply still operate in those terms, and younger activists much more informed, among other elements, by indigenous, feminist, ecological and cultural-critical ideas. The former organize mainly through highly visible Anarchist Federations like the IWA, NEFAC or IWW. The latter work most prominently in the networks of the global social movement, networks like Peoples Global Action, which unites anarchist collectives in Europe and elsewhere with groups ranging from Maori activists in New Zealand, fisherfolk in Indonesia, or the Canadian postal workers' union (2.). The latter-what might be loosely referred to as the "small-a anarchists", are by now by far the majority. But it is sometimes hard to tell, since so many of them do not trumpet their affinities very loudly. There are many, in fact, who take anarchist principles of anti-sectarianism and open-endedness so seriously that they refuse to refer to themselves as 'anarchists' for that very reason (3.).

But the three essentials that run throughout all manifestations of anarchist ideology are definitely there - anti-statism, anti-capitalism and prefigurative politics (i.e. modes of organization that consciously resemble the world you want to create. Or, as an anarchist historian of the revolution in Spain has formulated "an effort to think of not only the ideas but the facts of the future itself". (4.) This is present in anything from jamming collectives and on to Indy media, all of which can be called anarchist in the newer sense.(5.) In some countries, there is only a very limited degree of confluence between the two coexisting generations, mostly taking the form of following what each other is doing - but not much more.

One reason is that the new generation is much more interested in developing new forms of practice than arguing about the finer points of ideology. The most dramatic among these have been the development of new forms of decision-making process, the beginnings, at least, of an alternate culture of democracy. The famous North American spokescouncils, where thousands of activists coordinate large-scale events by consensus, with no formal leadership structure, are only the most spectacular.

Actually, even calling these forms "new" is a little bit deceptive. One of the main inspirations for the new generation of anarchists are the Zapatista autonomous municipalities of Chiapas, based in Tzeltal or Tojolobal-speaking communities who have been using consensus process for thousands of years-only now adopted by revolutionaries to ensure that women and younger people have an equal voice. In North America, "consensus process" emerged more than anything else from the feminist movement in the '70s, as part of a broad backlash against the macho style of leadership typical of the '60s New Left. The idea of consensus itself was borrowed from the Quakers, who again, claim to have been inspired by the Six Nations and other Native American practices.

Consensus is often misunderstood. One often hears critics claim it would cause stifling conformity but almost never by anyone who has actually observed consensus in action, at least, as guided by trained, experienced facilitators (some recent

experiments in Europe, where there is little tradition of such things, have been somewhat crude). In fact, the operating assumption is that no one could really convert another completely to their point of view, or probably should. Instead, the point of consensus process is to allow a group to decide on a common course of action. Instead of voting proposals up and down, proposals are worked and reworked, scotched or reinvented, there is a process of compromise and synthesis, until one ends up with something everyone can live with. When it comes to the final stage, actually "finding consensus", there are two levels of possible objection: one can "stand aside", which is to say "I don't like this and won't participate but I wouldn't stop anyone else from doing it", or "block", which has the effect of a veto. One can only block if one feels a proposal is in violation of the fundamental principles or reasons for being of a group. One might say that the function which in the US constitution is relegated to the courts, of striking down legislative decisions that violate constitutional principles, is here relegated with anyone with the courage to actually stand up against the combined will of the group (though of course there are also ways of challenging unprincipled blocks).

One could go on at length about the elaborate and surprisingly sophisticated methods that have been developed to ensure all this works; of forms of modified consensus required for very large groups; of the way consensus itself reinforces the principle of decentralization by ensuring one doesn't really want to bring proposals before very large groups unless one has to, of means of ensuring gender equity and resolving conflict... The point is this is a form of direct democracy which is very different than the kind we usually associate with the term-or, for that matter, with the kind of majority-vote system usually employed by European or North American anarchists of earlier generations, or still employed, say, in middle class urban Argentine *asambleas* (though not, significantly, among the more radical *piqueteros*, the organized unemployed, who tend to operate by consensus.) With increasing contact between different movements internationally, the inclusion of indigenous groups and movements from Africa, Asia, and Oceania with radically different traditions, we are seeing the beginnings of a new global reconception of what "democracy" should even mean, one as far as possible from the neoliberal parliamentarianism currently promoted by the existing powers of the world.

Again, it is difficult to follow this new spirit of synthesis by reading most existing anarchist literature, because those who spend most of their energy on questions of theory, rather than emerging forms of practice, are the most likely to maintain the old sectarian dichotomizing logic. Modern anarchism is imbued with countless contradictions. While small-a anarchists are slowly incorporating ideas and practices learned from indigenous allies into their modes of organizing or alternative communities, the main trace in the written literature has been the emergence of a sect of Primitivists, a notoriously contentious crew who call for the complete abolition of industrial civilization, and, in some cases, even agriculture.(6.) Still, it is only a matter of time before this older, either/or logic begins to give way to something more resembling the practice of consensus-based groups.

What would this new synthesis look like? Some of the outlines can already be discerned within the movement. It will insist on constantly expanding the focus of anti-authoritarianism, moving away from class reductionism by trying to grasp the "totality of domination", that is, to highlight not only the state but also gender relations, and not only the economy but also cultural relations and ecology, sexuality, and freedom in every form it can be sought, and

each not only through the sole prism of authority relations, but also informed by richer and more diverse concepts.

This approach does not call for an endless expansion of material production, or hold that technologies are neutral, but it also doesn't decry technology per se. Instead, it becomes familiar with and employs diverse types of technology as appropriate. It not only doesn't decry institutions per se, or political forms per se, it tries to conceive new institutions and new political forms for activism and for a new society, including new ways of meeting, new ways of decision making, new ways of coordinating, along the same lines as it already has with revitalized affinity groups and spokes structures. And it not only doesn't decry reforms per se, but struggles to define and win non-reformist reforms, attentive to people's immediate needs and bettering their lives in the here-and-now at the same time as moving toward further gains, and eventually, wholesale transformation.(7.)

And of course theory will have to catch up with practice. To be fully effective, modern anarchism will have to include at least three levels: activists, people's organizations, and researchers. The problem at the moment is that anarchist intellectuals who want to get past old-fashioned, vanguardist habits - the Marxist sectarian hangover that still haunts so much of the radical intellectual world - are not quite sure what their role is supposed to be. Anarchism needs to become reflexive. But how? On one level the answer seems obvious. One should not lecture, not dictate, not even necessarily think of oneself as a teacher, but must listen, explore and discover. To tease out and make explicit the tacit logic already underlying new forms of radical practice. To put oneself at the service of activists by providing information, or exposing the interests of the dominant elite carefully hidden behind supposedly objective, authoritative discourses, rather than trying to impose a new version of the same thing. But at the same time most recognize that intellectual struggle needs to reaffirm its place. Many are beginning to point out that one of the basic weaknesses of the anarchist movement today is, with respect to the time of, say, Kropotkin or Reclus, or Herbert Read, exactly the neglecting of the symbolic, the visionary, and overlooking of the effectiveness of theory. How to move from ethnography to utopian visions - ideally, as many utopian visions as possible? It is hardly a coincidence that some of the greatest recruiters for anarchism in countries like the United States have been feminist science fiction writers like Starhawk or Ursula K. LeGuin (8.)

One way this is beginning to happen is as anarchists begin to recuperate the experience of other social movements with a more developed body of theory, ideas that come from circles close to, indeed inspired by anarchism. Let's take for example the idea of participatory economy, which represents an anarchist economist vision par excellence and which supplements and rectifies anarchist economic tradition. Parecon theorists argue for the existence of not just two, but three major classes in advanced capitalism: not only a proletariat and bourgeoisie but a "coordinator class" whose role is to manage and control the labor of the working class. This is the class that includes the management hierarchy and the professional consultants and advisors central to their system of control - as lawyers, key engineers and accountants, and so on. They maintain their class position because of their relative monopolization over knowledge, skills, and connections. As a result, economists and others working in this tradition have been trying to create models of an economy which would systematically eliminate divisions between physical and intellectual labor. Now that anarchism has so clearly become the center of revolutionary creativity, proponents of such

models have increasingly been, if not rallying to the flag, exactly, then at least, emphasizing the degree to which their ideas are compatible with an anarchist vision. (9..)

Similar things are starting to happen with the development of anarchist political visions. Now, this is an area where classical anarchism already had a leg up over classical Marxism, which never developed a theory of political organization at all. Different schools of anarchism have often advocated very specific forms of social organization, albeit often markedly at variance with one another. Still, anarchism as a whole has tended to advance what liberals like to call 'negative freedoms,' 'freedoms from,' rather than substantive 'freedoms to.' Often it has celebrated this very commitment as evidence of anarchism's pluralism, ideological tolerance, or creativity. But as a result, there has been a reluctance to go beyond developing small-scale forms of organization, and a faith that larger, more complicated structures can be improvised later in the same spirit.

There have been exceptions. Pierre Joseph Proudhon tried to come up with a total vision of how a libertarian society might operate. (10.) It's generally considered to have been a failure, but it pointed the way to more developed visions, such as the North American Social Ecologists's "libertarian municipalism". There's a lively developing, for instance, on how to balance principles of worker's control-emphasized by the Parecon folk-and direct democracy, emphasized by the Social Ecologists.(11..)

Still, there are a lot of details still to be filled in: what are the anarchist's full sets of positive institutional alternatives to contemporary legislatures, courts, police, and diverse executive agencies? How to offer a political vision that encompasses legislation, implementation, adjudication, and enforcement and that shows how each would be effectively accomplished in a non-authoritarian way-not only provide long-term hope, but to inform immediate responses to today's electoral, law-making, law enforcement, and court system, and thus, many strategic choices. Obviously there could never be an anarchist party line on this, the general feeling among the small-a anarchists at least is that we'll need many concrete visions. Still, between actual social experiments within expanding self-managing communities in places like Chiapas and Argentina, and efforts by anarchist scholar/activists like the newly formed Planetary Alternatives Network or the Life After Capitalism forums to begin locating and compiling successful examples of economic and political forms, the work is beginning (12.). It is clearly a long-term process. But then, the anarchist century has only just begun.

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(copious end notes omitted due to space constraints...)



# Student Anarchist Syndicalism:

## Excerpt from An Open Letter to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) from the Student and Education Workers' Union (SEWU)

April 16, 2006

Fellow students and student workers...

...The artificial divisions and barriers placed between groups in our society, and between students and workers specifically, creates a situation where one movement can be pitted against another: student against worker, undocumented worker against documented worker, students of color against white students, and so on. The undemocratic, unjust and unequal nature of our present society can be changed and the common interests of students and workers upheld only by organizing in a way that makes that common interest tangible, so that an injury to one truly is an injury to all.

In particular, we look to a position paper written for the August 1966 SDS Convention by Carl Davidson, titled "Toward A Student Syndicalist Movement." While dated in parts, it identifies a critical need for student union organizing as another method in our fight for a directly democratic society.

Today, the student activist left is still plagued by many of the same mistakes mentioned by Davidson:

- 1) Forming single-issue groups without addressing the fundamental role of the university as knowledge-factory in creating the corporate yes-men, war-planners and bureaucrats who create these problems.
- 2) Organizing around empty issues – university rules that are irrelevant or never enforced.
- 3) Fear of being radical, despite the obvious failures of reformist efforts.
- 4) Working through existing channels, such as administration "open door" policies.
- 5) Waiting for faculty support instead of building student movement initiative.
- 6) Debating pointless issues that are outside of our control.
- 7) Isolating ourselves from other students, education workers and the larger community.
- 8) Forming Free Universities – creating comfortable, activist bubbles.
- 9) Working within student government – as Davidson put it, "We should do this for one and only one reason: to abolish the student government."
- 10) Waiting for unanimity among coalitions, rather than taking justified autonomous action.

We see these problems within current student activism just as surely as we see the need to change our universities, in order to build a directly democratic society. In doing so, we must also choose a method of organizing that pre-figures the structure of the society we envision, by its own existence and through our very efforts themselves. It must be direct, effective and exist in tangible solidarity with education workers, who are no more empowered

than we are in the university. The interests of students and the interests of education workers are mutual: neither are empowered as decision-makers within the knowledge factory, both bear the burden of for-profit education in the form of high tuition and inadequate wages and both have much to gain from each other's solidarity and mutual aid...

...To effectively challenge any structure based on unequal, undemocratic principles, one must confront these institutions of oppression and offer an alternative at the same time. On one hand, the threat: student strikes, direct action, protest, agitation; on the other hand, the promise: student and worker control.

Therefore, we encourage all SDS chapters to consider organizing, in association with SDS direct actions, a student syndicalist movement to take the form of a Student and Education Workers Union (SEWU).

That each SEWU forge a close relationship with labor unions – in particular responsive, rank and file unions that practice solidarity unionism rather than business unionism and who will accept the interests of the students themselves as valid – or with campus workers themselves. For instance, the IWW includes students as members and part of their Industrial Union 620, whether those students are full-time, part-time with a job, undergraduate or graduate, teaching assistant or not. Close coordination and cross-membership ensures connections that are real and changes how we perceive syndicalism.

That neither SEWU or SDS chapter be subordinate to each other, but instead embrace a diversity of tactics and organization, working for common goals. SEWUs may find it easier to focus on campus and workplace specific issues, while SDS chapters may find more flexibility in dealing with issues of a different social and political significance, outside of a student-worker context.

That SEWUs coordinate efforts through Regional Organizing Committees, created as necessary.

That membership in the SEWU be conditional only by virtue of being a student or an education worker, but which may be revised based on one's active participation.

We see our world and our universities growing more restrictive and more repressive. The anti-academic right is attempting to gut standards of academic freedom by launching libelous attacks on professors with views that counter neoconservative dogma, while both neocons and neoliberals in state governments erode funding for public higher education. Even when administrators oppose budget cuts, they do so with an utter and public contempt for democratic participation by students and workers themselves. This must change. We must embody the change we wish to see. We must organize.

Because we deserve better. It's our university, it's our union.

Signed,

Student and Education Workers Union (SEWU)  
Rutgers University          New Brunswick, NJ

# guide to radical self-defense: security culture

## Security Culture: a handbook for activists

Produced by the Earth Liberation Front

This handbook is the first edition of what we hope will be an evolving and growing document dealing with security issues and canadian activism. A lot of this information is general and can be applied to any locality -other information is easily adapted to fit other situations.

For more information or to make contributions to this document  
Email: securitysite@tao.ca

Second edition - prepared August 2000

## INTRODUCTION:

Resistance has been on the rise for the past few years, with activists adopting more and more effective tactics for fighting back. Now, more than ever, we pose some threat to the status quo. Our increased activity and effectiveness has meant that the RCMP, FBI, and local police have continued to escalate their activities against us. If we want our direct action movement to continue, it is imperative we start tightening our security and taking ourselves more seriously. Now is the time to adopt a security culture. Good security is certainly the strongest defense we have.

This is a handbook for the Canadian (and even US) activist who is interested in creating and maintaining security awareness and culture in the radical movements. It is not nearly complete - but is what we have got finished at the moment. We are always looking for contributions - so please feel free to email securitysite@tao.ca with any images or text you think belong in a handbook such as this.

If this material appears familiar to you - it's because this is the second edition of this zine that we have put out... mostly to correct spelling errors and other small things. The three articles in this pamphlet have been mostly cobbled together from other writings that already exist on this subject out there so we don't claim any of this to be 100% original material - though we have included quite a bit of fresh info on the Canadian state and its operation (mostly because we have found the majority of info out there to be very focused on US law enforcement). We hope that you will put the material contained within to good use!

## SECURITY CULTURE

What it is, why we need it, and how we implement it...

Agitators; liberationists; abolitionists; union organizers; revolutionaries... From large uprisings challenging the entire political structure, to isolated environmental and social struggles, people have always worked to create a better world. For government the response has usually been to jail activists and revolutionaries through use of the courts and police forces.

As direct action movements become more effective, government surveillance and harassment will increase. To minimize the destructiveness of this political repression, it is imperative that we create a security culture within our movements.

This pamphlet is essential reading for anyone who is associated with groups that advocate and/or utilize sabotage, theft, arson and more militant tactics. The advice herein also applies to anyone who is associated with groups that practice civil disobedience, especially since membership often overlaps and gossip travels freely between groups.

Even if you have never picked up a monkeywrench or been arrested for civil disobedience, even if you think you have nothing to hide, these guidelines will enhance your personal safety as well as the movement's overall effectiveness. Surveillance has been set up on all sections of political movements in the past.

Governments in the western industrialized world have targeted groups that have advocated sabotage and groups that have not, movements that have been militant and movements that have been markedly pacifist. The government's security machinery serves political and economic objectives, and there are over 250 political prisoners in Canada and the US that can testify to this from firsthand experience. By adopting a security culture, we can defeat various counterintelligence operations that would otherwise disrupt both mainstream organizing and underground resistance.

## SO WHAT IS A SECURITY CULTURE?

It's a culture where the people know their rights and, more importantly, assert them. Those who belong to a security culture also know what behavior compromises security and they are quick to educate those people who, out of ignorance, forgetfulness, or personal weakness, partake in insecure behavior. This security consciousness becomes a

culture when the group as a whole makes security violations socially unacceptable in the group.

## WHAT NOT TO SAY

To begin with, there are certain things that are inappropriate to discuss. These things include:

- > your involvement or someone else's involvement with an underground group
- > someone else's desire to get involved with such a group
- > asking others if they are a member of an underground group
- > your participation or someone else's participating in any action that was illegal
- > someone else's advocacy for such actions
- > your plans or someone else's plans for a future action

Essentially, it is wrong to speak about a specific individual's involvement (past, present or future) with illegal activities. These are unacceptable topics of discussion regardless of whether it is rumor, speculation or personal knowledge.

Please note: this is not to say that it is wrong to speak about direct action in general terms. It is perfectly legal, secure and desirable that people speak out in support of monkeywrenching and all forms of resistance. The danger lies in linking individual activists to specific actions or groups.

## THREE EXCEPTIONS

There are only three times that it is acceptable to speak specifically about actions and involvements.

The first situation would be if you were planning an action with other members of your small group (your "cell" or "affinity group"). However, you should never discuss these things over the Internet (email), phone line, through the mail, or in an activist's home or car, as these places and forms of communication are frequently monitored. The only people who should hear this discussion would include those who are actively participating in the action. Anyone who is not involved does not need to know and, therefore, should not know.

The second exception occurs after an activist has been arrested and brought to trial. If she is found guilty, this activist can freely speak of the actions for which she was convicted. However, she must never give information

that would help the authorities determine who else participated in illegal activities.

The third exception is for anonymous letters and interviews with the media. This must be done very carefully and without compromising security. Advice on secure communication techniques can be found in other publications.

These are the only situations when it is appropriate to speak about your own or someone else's involvement or intent to commit illegal direct action.

## SECURITY MEASURES

Veteran activists only allow a select few to know about their involvement with direct action groups. Those few consist of the cell members who they do the actions with AND NO ONE ELSE!

The reason for these security precautions is quite obvious: if people don't know anything, they can't talk about it. It also means that only the people who know the secret can also face jail time if the secret gets out. When activists who do not share the same serious consequences know who did an illegal direct action, they are far more likely to talk after being harassed and intimidated by the authorities, because they are not the ones who will go to jail. Even those people who are trustworthy can often be tricked by the authorities into revealing damaging and incriminating information. It is safest for all cell members to keep their involvement in the group amongst themselves. The fewer people who know, the less evidence there is in the long run.

## SECURITY VIOLATING BEHAVIOURS

In an attempt to impress others, activists may behave in ways that compromise security. Some people do this frequently -they are habitually gossiping and bragging. Some activists say inappropriate things only when they consume alcohol. Many activists make occasional breeches of security because there was a momentary temptation to say something or hint at something that shouldn't have been said or implied. In most every situation, the desire to be accepted is the root cause.

Those people who tend to be the greatest security risks are those activists who have low self-esteem and strongly desire the approval of their peers. Certainly it is natural to seek friendship and recognition for our efforts, but it is imperative that we keep these selfish desires in-check so we do not jeopardize the safety of other activists or ourselves. People who place their desire for friendship over the importance of the cause can do serious damage to our security.

The following are examples of security-violating behaviors:

**Lying:** To impress others, liars claim to have done illegal actions. Such lies not only compromise the person's security--as cops will not take what is said as a lie--but also hinders movement solidarity and trust.

**Gossiping:** Some weak characters think they can win friends because they are privy to special information. These gossips will tell others about who did what action or, if they don't know who did it, guess at who they think did what actions or just spread rumors about who did it. This sort of talk is very damaging. People need to remember that rumors are all that are needed to instigate a grand jury or other investigation.

**Bragging:** Some people who partake in illegal direct action might be tempted to brag about it to their friends. This not only jeopardizes the bragger's security, but also that of the other people involved with the action (as they may be suspected by association), as well as the people who he told (they can become accessories after the fact). An activist who brags also sets a horrible example to other activists.

**Indirect-Bragging:** Indirect-braggers are people who make a big production on how they want to remain anonymous, avoid protests, and stay "underground." They might not come out and say that they do illegal direct action, but they make sure everyone within ear-shot knows they are up to something. They are no better than braggers, but they try to be more sophisticated about it by pretending to maintain security. However, if they were serious about security, they would just make up a good excuse as to why they are not as active, or why they can't make it to the protest (that kind of lying is acceptable).

## **EDUCATE TO LIBERATE**

It is fairly easy to spot those activists who compromise our movement's security. So what do we do with people who exhibit these behaviors? Do we excommunicate them from our movement? Actually, no -at least, not for a first offense.

The unfortunate truth is there are numerous security-ignorant people in the movement and others who have possibly been raised in a "scene" that thrives on bragging and gossiping. It doesn't mean these people are bad, but it does mean they need to be educated. Even seasoned activists can make mistakes when there is a general lack of security consciousness in our groups. And that's where those of you who are reading this can help. We must NEVER let a breach in security occur without acting to correct it. If an acquaintance of yours is bragging about doing an action or spreading security-compromising

gossip, it is your responsibility to explain to her or him why that sort of talk violates security and is inappropriate.

You should strive to educate this person in a manner that encourages him to listen and to change his behavior. It should be done without damaging his pride. You should be humble and sincerely interested in helping him to become a better person and a more effective activist. Do not maintain a "holier than-thou" attitude. This will inevitably raise his defenses and prevent him from absorbing or using any of the advice you offer. Remember, the goal of educating people is to change their behavior, not boost your ego by showing them how much more security-conscious you are.

If possible the educational session should be done in private, so the person does not have to contend with the potential "pride" issues. The educational reprimand should also be done as soon as possible after the mistake to increase its effectiveness.

If each of us takes on the responsibility of educating those who slip up, we can dramatically improve movement security. Once people recognize lying, gossiping, bragging, and indirect-bragging as the damaging behaviors that they are, they will soon end. When we develop a culture where all breaches of security result in an immediate reprimand, all sincere activists will quickly get with the program.

## **DEALING WITH CHRONIC SECURITY PROBLEMS**

So what do we do with activists who repeatedly violate security precautions even after multiple educational sessions? It's unfortunate, but the best thing to do with these people is cut them loose and kick them out of our meetings, basecamps and organizations. With law enforcement budgets on the increase and with courts handing down long sentences for political "crimes", the stakes are too high to allow chronic security-offenders to work among us.

By creating a security culture, we have an effective defense against informers and agents who try to infiltrate groups. Imagine an informer who, every time she asked another activist about that person's activity, received a reprimand and an education on security. That informer would get frustrated really easily. Once the activists discovered she continued to violate security precautions after being repeatedly educated, they would have grounds for her dismissal. And that would be one less informer for us to deal with!

## **THE COUNTER-INSURGENCY MODEL**

Most Western nation-states follow a model of counter-insurgency developed by a British intelligence expert named Kitson who wrote, *Low Intensity Operations*, after

much field work in the colonies. He broke down movement development into three stages:

The Preparatory Phase: is when the movement is small, tends to focus on education, publishing and groundwork.

The Non-Violent Phase: is when the movement takes on more of a mass character. Large demonstrations are the norm.

In the Insurgency Phase: the movement has taken on a popular character. Perhaps a more assertive, guerrilla component has emerged.

Kitson advises that the primary work of the intelligence agency should occur during the preparatory phase. At this time the movements are most vulnerable. They have not experienced a high degree of repression. They consider talk of security as mere paranoia. As they are not breaking laws they believe that it is safe to organize completely openly. The intelligence agency is therefore able to exploit these conditions and develop detailed dossiers on a wide range of people. The information will be extremely valuable to them later on.

It is important that as a movement in we need to learn to practice security at all points in the movement's development. Remember that the State is interested in knowing about activists' beliefs, not just in "hard evidence". Learn and practice security to protect ourselves and our peoples. Don't be afraid. Remember - If an agent comes knockin', do no talkin'.

## **EVERYTHING YOU EVER WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT INFORMERS AND INFILTRATORS**

Informants and infiltrators operate in every radical movement.

The rise of militant radicalism as seen at the WTO protests in Seattle [in 1999], and the declarations by activists to continue the struggle in the streets and underground mean that more and more attention will be paid to activists by law enforcement. Part of this will mean sending more infiltrators amongst our ranks to bribe and entice those weak individuals already involved.

Non-violent movements need to learn to identify such people and and let them know that their actions will never be tolerated by activists in any way.

This section is intended to arm you with information on how to spot and deal with informers and infiltrators in our ranks.

## **WHO IS AN INFORMER?**

There are actually two kinds of informers. The deliberate informer is someone who infiltrates an organization with the specific intent of getting incriminating evidence against activists or even setting them up to be arrested. These infiltrators are either on the payroll of a government agency or may be hired by industry. The second type of informer is the activist-turned- informant -either unwittingly or because of pressure put on them by the authorities. Make no mistake, both kinds exist throughout our ranks and are equally dangerous.

Let's discuss the deliberate informer (infiltrator) first. They are often difficult to identify, they come in all ages and types, but they usually have a similar modus operandi--they come out of nowhere and all of a sudden, they are everywhere. Whether it's a meeting, a protest, or an action, this person will be right in the thick of it.

Keep in mind however that this is also the hallmark of a new activist, whose enthusiasm and commitment is so strong that s/ he wants to fight the power every minute of the day.

How to tell them apart? Well, a planted infiltrator will ask a lot of questions about the direct action groups, individuals and illegal activities. S/he will suggest targets and volunteer to do reconnaissance as well as take part in the action.

An example of infiltration tactics can be found in an incident that occurred a few years ago when U.S. Surgical hired a security firm to infiltrate Friends of Animals in Connecticut. Their operative convinced an activist to put a pipe bomb in the car of the president of U.S. Surgical. Needless to say, the police were waiting for her and she ended up being charged with attempted murder.

State and industry infiltrators have been identified in operation in British Columbia over the past few years - attempting to incite illegal activity, sowing disruption in action camps, and gathering information on the who, what and when of our movement's activities

Everyone who asks a lot of questions about the direct action isn't necessarily an infiltrator, but they ARE the ones to watch (at the very least, we should be educating them about security culture). Explain to new activists that direct action tactics can be risky (though some risks are worth taking!) and that it is dangerous to ask a lot of questions about it. If the person persists in asking questions, **STAY AWAY FROM THEM!**

Any activist who can't understand the need for security is someone that should be held at arm's length from the movement.

Placing infiltrators into social justice movements isn't anything new. It was done to the Black Panthers and the peace movement in a big way. Unless you are only working with people you've known for years and who have earned your trust, you should assume there is an informant in your midst and act accordingly.

This doesn't mean that no one else should ever be allowed into the "inner circle." On the contrary, if our movement is to continue to grow, we must always be recruiting new members; we just need to keep security uppermost in our minds and exercise caution at all times.

Possibly an even greater threat is the activist-turned-informer, either unwittingly or through coercion.

The unwitting informer is the activist who can't keep his/her mouth shut. If someone brags to you about what s/he's done, make sure this person never has any knowledge that can incriminate you, because sooner or later, the wrong person will hear of it. These activists don't mean to do harm, but the results of their bragging can be serious. It is your responsibility to instruct these people on security culture and the importance of it.

The other type of activist-informer is person who cracks under pressure and starts talking to save his/her own skin. Many activists get drawn into situations they are not able to handle, and some are so caught up in the "excitement" that they either don't realize what the consequences can be or they just don't think they'll ever have to face them.

We have to know the possible consequences of every action we take and be prepared to deal with them. Someone who is easily influenced by his/her parents or dependent on them for support is not a good candidate for actions as they can be persuaded too easily to cooperate with the authorities. There is no shame in not being able to do an action because of responsibilities that make it impossible to do jail time. If others are depending on you for support or you aren't willing to lose your job or drop out of school, **DON'T DO THE ACTION.**

Make certain that others in your affinity group are not in situations which may cause them to cooperate with the police or abandon their friends. Some things to look out for in people you choose to do illegal direct action with are lengthy criminal records and drug addictions which can often be used by the police to pressure activists into giving them information. Two activists were recently put in jail in Canada because a third party panicked -mainly about not being able to get his drugs in jail - and talked to free himself. (This is not to condemn those who have drug habits or criminal records -but are certainly things to keep in mind).

Don't be afraid to talk about this. Ask hard questions, and if you aren't convinced that someone will be able to stay strong if the worst happens, then designate that person to do support. Make sure that those who go into battle with you are willing and able to take whatever comes, even if it means giving up their freedom for your goals. Remember - there is no excuse for turning in action comrades to the police - and those activists that do effectively excommunicate themselves from our movements. We must offer no legal or jail support to those activists who turn-in others for their impact on our movement is far reaching and can have devastating effects.

## NOTES SINCE 2000 EDITION

Since August of 2000, when this second edition was updated, there have been a number of significant events and trends that have emerged, which are necessary to address here without discounting other suggestions.

First, the past seven years have seen an increase in militant actions and a related increase in the repressive power of the state and corporations. Newer, less experienced activists have entered the fray, unaware of the risks they put themselves in by disregarding proper security culture.

Second, a complacency can often set in even among experienced activists who believe "the government knows everything anyway, so why should we bother to practice proper security culture?" Being lax on security culture means we are giving the state the ammo it so desperately needs to bring us down. If the state knew everything, they would not need informants, infiltrators and provocateurs.

-- Activists should stick to tight, close knit affinity groups for any direct action. This is not the "cell" model. Affinity groups are not just ad-hoc or purely action-oriented conglomerations, but rather groups of dedicated comrades who socialize with one another and know each other deeply and well, preferably for years. Just because you met someone who seems cool at a protest or two does not mean they are trustworthy. If you know nothing other than what they profess to believe, then you cannot vouch for them. For instance, "Anna" was an FBI informant who befriended several younger activists after meeting them at a Biodev protest. Despite having only know her from a couple public protests, they agreed to go to her house, paid for and wired by the FBI, where discussion took place regarding illegal acts, with such discussion often at "Anna's" initiation. The activists now face years in jail.

-- Grand juries are being used once more to hunt down political dissenters. Remember, if no one talks, the most anyone will spend in jail is a few months, but once a few people start talking AT ALL, it can destroy a movement and send our best activists to jail for decades based solely on the testimony of a few snitches. Snitches get stitches!

# guide to radical self-defense: secure electronic information and communication (secure/comm) culture

Did you hear the one about the person who was arrested after writing about an action on their LiveJournal or MySpace blog? So have I.

Besides understanding and using robust information and communication security measures, use other security culture tips:

- \* Never talk about actions over the phone unless such info is already publicly disseminated. We are all tapped.
- \* Only talk about/plan actions face to face, not on email, not on Facebook/MySpace, not on a conference call.
- \* Don't be afraid to publicize an action, but do so with discretion as to your identity. Anonymous postings on Internet sites via proxy servers come in handy here.

## How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love PGP

PGP stands for Pretty Good Privacy, an email encryption protocol that enables secure communication between two parties using it. PGP, or GPG (Gnu Privacy Guard, an open-source version), works by using a public encryption key and a private decryption key.

Here's how it works, courtesy of wikipedia:  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pretty\\_Good\\_Privacy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pretty_Good_Privacy)

“PGP message encryption uses asymmetric key encryption algorithms that use the public portion of a recipient's linked key pair, a public key, and a private key. The sender uses the recipient's public key to encrypt a shared key (aka a secret key or conventional key) for a symmetric cipher algorithm. That key is used, finally, to encrypt the plaintext of a message. Many PGP users' public keys are available to all from the many PGP key servers around the world which act as mirror sites for each other.”

“The recipient of a PGP encrypted email message decrypts it using the session key for a symmetric algorithm. That session key is included in the message in encrypted form and was itself decrypted using the recipient's private key. Use of two ciphers in this way is sensible because of the very considerable difference in operating speed between asymmetric key and symmetric key ciphers (the differences are often 1000+ times). This operation is completely automated in current PGP desktop client products.”

“A similar strategy is used to detect whether a message has been altered since it was completed, and whether it was actually sent by the person/entity claimed to be the sender. It is used by default in conjunction with

encryption, but can be applied to plaintext as well. The sender uses PGP encryption to create a digital signature for the message with either the RSA or DSA signature algorithms. To do so, PGP products compute a hash (also called a message digest) from the plaintext, and then creates the digital signature from that hash using the sender's private key.”

“The message recipient uses the sender's public key and the digital signature to recover the original message digest. He compares this message digest with the message digest he computed himself from the (recovered) plaintext. If the signature matches the received plaintext's message digest, it must be presumed (to a very high degree of confidence) that the message received has not been tampered with, either deliberately or accidentally, since it was properly signed.”

“To the best of publicly available information, there is no known method for any entity to break PGP encryption by cryptographic, computational means regardless of the version being employed. In 1996, cryptographer Bruce Schneier characterized an early version as being "the closest you're likely to get to military-grade encryption" (Applied Cryptography, 2nd ed., p587). In contrast to security systems/protocols like SSL which only protect data in transit over a network, PGP encryption can also be used to protect data in long-term data storage such as disk files.”

## Other Applications

Gnu AOL Instant Messaging (GAIM) with Off-The-Record messaging (OTR) encryption is a secure way to communicate using IM. For Windows or Linux systems, you would download GAIM from Sourceforge.net and then get the encryption plug-in for GAIM, OTR. For Mac, you would download Adium, which includes OTR in its package. To encrypt, simply use the Private button while connecting to another user with OTR.

For your Internet browser, use Mozilla Firefox. Download FoxyProxy for Firefox, then go to [tor.eff.org](http://tor.eff.org) and download Tor (The Onion Router...) and Privoxy bundle for use as an anonymous proxy server router. Using Tor and Privoxy enables you to route your Internet connection through a series of proxy servers, which has the effect of giving you a different IP address (like, from Japan or the Netherlands), other than the one you are physically connected to, enabling semi-anonymous web browsing. Websites you connect to will log your proxy IP rather than your physical IP. This will not work with certain firewalls.

# guide to radical self-defense: how to make padding and armor for street actions

Here are some simple ways to make dependable, DIY armor and padding from readily available components. As armorer for the now-defunct NYC Ya Basta! Collective 2000-2002, I can say these designs were tested and found to work best on the streets.

## LIGHT WEIGHT, POLICE BATON

### PROOF FOREARM GUARDS

- 1) Go to a sporting goods store or second-hand store that has/sells soccer protective equipment.
- 2) Secure 1 pair of hard plastic shin guard sock inserts and 1 pair of hard or soft stirrup style shin guards.
- 3) Superglue or epoxy the hard inserts onto the front shin pads of the stirrup shin guards, adding protection.
- 4) Let dry.
- 5) For use, wear as forearm pads with the hard plastic guards positioned on the exterior of the forearm and the stirrup loop placed between the thumb and index finger. These fit well under hoodie sleeves and may be worn with gloves for added protection/clandestinity.

\*\*\*\*\* FIVE LITTLE BLACK STARS \*\*\*\*\*

Very light weight, very concealable, very sturdy and can definitely withstand a full force baton whack.

### ALTERNATE FOREARM PROTECTION

- 1) Find hard, thick (at least ½ inch) shipping cardboard tubing. Saw into piece approx. 1 foot in length or the length of your forearm. Saw down the middle to create two half pipes.
- 2) Find sheets of small bubble wrap or carpet padding. Line the inside curve of cardboard half-pipe with bubble wrap/carpet padding. Duct tape together.
- 3) For use, duct tape the whole thing onto your forearm.

\*\*\* THREE LITTLE BLACK STARS \*\*\*

If you are in serious need, these are OK, but are very bulky and not concealable. Good if you travel safely in large groups.

### DIY SHOULDER PADS

- 1) This is the classic European Ya Basta/Tute Bianchi style shoulder padding... first, find a large sheet or sheets of cardboard, styrofoam, carpet padding and duct tape.
- 2) Cut cardboard in a pattern that fits over your head and shoulders in slices. Lay down carpet padding as a lining on inside of pattern, like a sandwich. Put squares of styrofoam into the sandwich over shoulder areas. Sandwich together. Duct tape.

\* ONE LITTLE BLACK STAR \*

I don't know what Luca Casarini was fucking thinking... This was so bulky and cumbersome, most people ditched it in favor of other padding. It often fell apart... when police whacked at it.

### 2 LITER SODA BOTTLE CHEST PLATE

- 1) Get three empty 2 liter soda bottles. Make sure caps are tight and air is trapped inside nicely. Get cardboard and carpet padding.
- 2) Make a 2 liter soda bottle sandwich with padding and c-board.
- 3) Duct tape together!
- 4) For use, duct tape it to yourself!

\*\*\* THREE LITTLE BLACK STARS \*\*\*

Amazing, near perfect protection, but over a very limited area of the body and incredibly cumbersome. Did I mention it is free???

## LACROSSE PAD STOMACH / CHEST PLATE

- 1) Find pair of lacrosse kidney/side torso pads.
- 2) Position one above the other so that the bottom edge of the top pad overlaps the top edge of the bottom pad slightly.
- 3) Sew the straps together so that they form one piece that fits vertically the front of your torso.
- 4) Sew additional straps onto the sides of both lacrosse pad, and additional ones at the top edge of the top pad, so that the whole double pad can be strapped onto your body. Can be worn under clothes.

\*\*\*\* FOUR LITTLE BLACK STARS \*\*\*\*

These are good if you can find them. Even then, they are only slightly concealable and often slip out of position if the straps are not tight enough to hold in place, but stand up very well to repeated police baton lunges.

### TOILET SEAT BREAST PLATE

- 1) I shit you not, get an old (or new) toilet seat.
- 2) Duct tape it shut.
- 3) Add carpet padding to the bottom of the seat until it can be comfortably strapped to your stomach/chest.
- 4) For use, duct tape it to yourself or hang it around your neck (duct tape is suggested with or without neck strap).
- 5) Can be worn under clothes.

\*\*\* THREE LITTLE BLACK STARS \*\*\*

This held up surprisingly well, was very lightweight and the hard plastic shell was very defensive. A bit odd to have a toilet seat strapped around you, there were some problems with keeping it in place and uncomfortable to move in. All around positive.

### TRAFFIC BARREL TOWER SHIELDS

- 1) Find orange traffic barrels. (Garbage cans/lids have been used, but are not suggested – too flimsy.)
- 2) Saw traffic barrel down the middle to create two half-pipes.
- 3) Get two handles of some sort, like trowel handles, but other stuff will do, and screw them into place in the curve of the shield where it is most comfortable to hold them.
- 4) Spray paint them however and you are ready.
- 5) For another tactic, drill holes in the right and left side of each shield. Loop metal carabiners through holes. For a shield wall tactic, hook carabiners from one shield to those of the one right next to it; the shields are now connected and provide a sturdier line of defence. (Requires lots of team work though.)

\*\*\*\* FOUR LITTLE BLACK STARS \*\*\*\*

These work really well, but only when used by an entire affinity group who knows what they are doing. Can be adapted in other ways to be used as street propaganda as well, by depicting images on front of shields. Easy to acquire, easy to make, hard to conceal. This tactic has never been successfully used in NYC, but has in DC.

### HELMETS

The use of makeshift or DIY helmets is extremely discouraged... those would only give you a false sense of noggin protection. Use only, in order from best to worst: full or open face motorcycle or police riot/swat helmets with or without visors, off-road bicycle helmets, other bicycle helmets, construction hard hats.

# know your enemy: guide to intel and social engineering

*Know your enemy as you know yourself, and you will not lose, not in a hundred battles.*

*-- Chinese general and thinker Sun Tzu*

The key to success in any struggle is the gathering and application of actionable intelligence, that is, knowing your enemy, knowing their plans and knowing the disposition of their forces.

Among revolutionaries, intelligence has proved invaluable in countless struggles: gaining access to the internal documents of corporations or police, placing infiltrators within the ranks of white supremacists, having scouts who can relay information back to others during an action, or building relationships with community members who can act as your eyes and ears.

## **#1: Read a variety of up to date news sources.**

A great deal of intelligence can be gained just by reading the papers or websites of your foes. A police spokesperson may have revealed information to a reporter during an interview with a local paper or anti-immigrant groups may be discussing plans for their organizing on an internet forum. Read between the lines and create initial assessments by comparing sources and validating the information as actionable (authentic and able to be acted upon, as opposed to something irrelevant like, "the Mayor just got a haircut and likes pastries.")

## **#2: Keep your eyes and ears open.**

On the first day of the RNC in NYC in 2004, a protester overheard two police officers at a Starbucks talking about the "color of the day," a color coded wrist bracelet, which identified undercovers to other police, that changed every day. The officers said the color that day was yellow and sure enough, every undercover wore a yellow bracelet that day. Protesters eventually cracked the code and many were able to spot undercovers within their ranks; even police remarked on internet discussion boards the need for more discretion among themselves after word got out.

## **#3: Use informants and infiltrators.**

Yes, we should use them too. Anti-fascists are particularly adept at this. Infiltration can be done electronically, by signing up to an opponent's listserv or web forum, or in person, by physically infiltrating an opponent's meetings. The latter carries a greater risk but is often more productive and must be done by someone who is calm, confident and knows and looks the part. Informants can be gained by getting a disgruntled member of the opponent's group to either talk or to actually switch sides. Informants can often be persuaded through a moral or self-interest based argument, through blackmail or through the use of social engineering.

## **#4: Use scouts.**

At an action, this is more than just a simple lookout who alerts people when trouble shows up. Rather, good scouts should be able to spot trouble before it shows up and update others as to the position, size and preparedness of any security, or on the conditions of the area (is there a gap in the security fence? is it raining? are police setting up a crowd control trap? etc.) Mobile bicycle scouts in urban environments are particularly useful for this.

## **#5: Map and chart social networks.**

This includes searching for personal information about your foes, their associates and associated groups. Map out how individuals within an organization view each other, how they interact, where power and decision making within the group is centered and then look for weaknesses. Perhaps a certain politician or political party has ties to violent neo-nazis or authoritarian wingnuts; perhaps that despicable institute is funded by a grant from a corporation vulnerable to focused pressure from grassroots activists – maybe your boss is cheating on his/her spouse or partner.

## **#6: Maintain a reliable network of communication.**

If intelligence cannot be disseminated to the people who need it, what good is it? Most of the time this simply means sharing information with other activists, friends and allies. Other times, it can mean using information to disrupt and/or discredit your opponents, such as "outing" neo-nazis as such to their employers, neighbors and to the surrounding community. During actions or protests, communication is a more immediate concern. Cell phones, text messages, two-way radio comms and face to face conversations are the most reliable; at the Miami FTAA summit in 2003, attempts were made to relay messages using flag signals, but such attempts fell apart in the chaos caused by police repression. Keep it simple.

## **#7: Use social engineering.**

[[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social\\_engineering\\_%28security%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_engineering_%28security%29)]

Social engineering is the ability to approach a wary and oppositional first party or a disinterested third party and coax or trick them into revealing information they shouldn't have told you. It is often easier to get a third party who has information about a person to divulge it.

-- You want them to think you are something other than what you are: conceal your motives and political demeanor as well as your identity. Often, you want them to believe you are a friendly or sympathetic party.

-- You want to gain specific information in an off-handed or circumstantial way. To get the information you want, it needs to seem irrelevant and inconsequential.

-- Keep it believable, keep it simple.

-- How they act or sound can sometimes confirm or dispel suspicions even if social engineering fails to pry specific information or details from them.

# know your enemy: how to identify a neo-nazi bonehead

## HOW TO IDENTIFY A NEO NAZI BONEHEAD (from a pamphlet by Anti-Racist Action Toronto)

It can be quite confusing to identify a racist bonehead. Being a bald white person with boots and a bomber jacket isn't exactly condemning proof. To make matters worse, some of them choose to grow their hair and hide in suits. Some are simply white men and women who dress smart. Most outwardly white-power boneheads used to wear red or white laces in their boots [white laces stand for white power, red laces for national socialism]. Red suspenders are also a hint, but this alone is not enough to peg them, as most kids wear whatever laces they have on hand. So don't write the person in question off yet. Skinheads are proud of their country and tend to wear national flags, too.

The most effective method of spotting an organized fascist bonehead is by the patches he/she sports on bomber jackets or t-shirts. Patches that advertise white power bands like Skrewdriver, No Remorse, Blue Eyed Devils or Toronto's own White Riot provide a drop dead giveaway. While the images shown here are not a comprehensive list of images, they should provide a guide for action!



This logo for the Aryan Nations has also come to represent Christian Identity ideologies.



This is the Church of the Creator logo, also in white, red and black. It stands for "Racial Loyalty."



This is the logo of the Heritage Front. Vaguely reminiscent of the swastika, this white, red and black symbol appears on t-shirts, patches, buttons and baseball hats of members and supporters of the HF.

The confederate flag, used by the Ku Klux Klan and nazi formations to represent slavery days.



Hitler-worshippers like the American Nazi Party and National Socialist Movement use the swastika, but it is also used by nearly all white supremacist movements in the world.

This symbol of the Third Reich in Germany is also used by Hitler-lovers around the world.

(The Maltese Cross itself has also been used by bikers and a skateboard company though.)



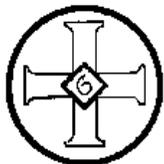
This Celtic symbol or Wagon Wheel was first sported by the National Front in England but is now a common Nazi symbol. For them it means white power.



This is the logo of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, South African white supremacists. White supremacists elsewhere use this emblem to glorify the former apartheid system there.



The various Hammerskin chapters throughout the world use different designs with the crossed white hammers being the common symbol. Many Hammerskins use crossed hammers in conjunction with the flag of their country, or symbol of their state in the U.S., of residence.



These two symbols are used by various Ku Klux Klan groups in the United States and variations of them are common. The shield at left contains a "blood drop" in the center of the cross, representing their belief that Jesus died to save the white race.



American Front logo. Bonehead group with chapters across the United States.

We Must Secure the Existence of Our People and a Future for White Children.

"14 words." These have become a secret identifier for white power boneheads. Often used with the number "88" which stands for "HH" or Heil Hitler, as in "14 / 88," or used in email addresses, screen names or user names online.

Combat 18



Symbol of the white power Combat 18 in the UK. This particular style of skull and crossed bones is the "Totenkampf," or Nazi death's head popular among boneheads across the globe.

# guide to militant tactics 1: black bloc

Black Bloc tactics at times seem virtually undefinable beyond certain basic commonalities: a militant, mass contingent of anarchists and anti-authoritarians who collectively dress in black and with black masks at actions and protests in a highly visible public political forum. It is at this point the purpose, tactics and velocity of each bloc's activity diverges significantly, especially when one considers continental variations.

This specific guide will deal with Black Bloc's in a way that is simple and applicable to a variety of situations.

## Stage One: Planning

Black Blocs are action specific, meaning, there is no standing organization between actions. The Black Bloc tactic as well has nearly always been used in conjunction with a larger, established action, both to prevent police from singling out anarchists for full attack or to move the rest of the protest in a more radical direction.

Typically, a *call to action* begins the process of forming the bloc. A collective, affinity group, cluster or organization writes a call with a plan of action that would include 1- general analysis, or why a black bloc, 2- general purpose of action, or statement of intent, 3- a contact email for the maker of the call, 4- a mechanism to promote and include further debate, discussion and democratic participation by others, 5- a list of endorsers of the call, to demonstrate support and legitimacy in the movement. The call to action should be circulated well in advance, hopefully months before, an action.

Next, affinity groups/orgs endorse the call and contacts are made with the understanding that further discussion, at least in the form of a spokescouncil, will follow. This ensures better understanding, support and democratic means of organization within the Bloc.

Before the action (at sometime relatively near the date, like one or two days prior), various spokes from affinity groups should assemble and discuss the plan. Ideally, a double vouch system (two people have to vouch for each spoke) should be in place to limit infiltration, but this is not always possible. The fore-knowledge of such Black Bloc spokescouncils can involve as much or as little security as necessary or desired (more is preferred than less, but is not always the determining factor).

At such a spokescouncil, affinity groups and spokes should be prepared to discuss action specifics such as report backs from scouts, report backs from other working groups at the mass action (legal, medical, etc), and then take up specific proposals for the action. Keep in mind that nothing ever goes according to plan and spontaneity should be embraced in the streets. A general objective is better than a micro-managed plan.

Finally, it useful both to discuss convergence points as well as secondary convergence points as possibilities to maintain active focus while on the streets.

## Stage Two: Implementation

On the streets, the situation changes. The consensus arrived at at the spokescouncil should be adhered to unless situations dramatically dictate otherwise. Affinity group roles become key at this point:

\* Street medic: each AG should have a street medic. Medics within the Bloc should coordinate and remain in touch with each other to ensure the safety of all participants. They should be familiar with their counterparts in other AGs as well.

\* Comms: each AG should have a communications person ready to relay messages between AGs or between different sections of the Bloc. Wireless communication cannot always be relied on nor is it always most efficient. Comms people should also act as runners between various sections of the Bloc to ensure everyone knows why the front is stalled, what is going on at the back, etc. and therefore the Bloc is less likely to be caught unaware.

\* Scouts: can also be thought of as long range comms, scouts are usually debloc'ed or khaki-flaged, but not always. Traveling in pairs, they relay info at distances regarding police deployments, vulnerabilities, etc. to comms in Bloc. Often ride bikes for better mobility.

\* Legal: while not a part of the Bloc per se, every AG should have a member not in the Bloc and preferably away from the action who is doing legal support, and have a way to call that person. If there is a legal collective for an action, or a local anarchist legal collective that will agree, people should have that phone number written on their arm or leg in magic marker.

### “Special Tactics” Affinity Groups

Some AGs may also come to town with a very specific purpose in mind as an AG.

\* A Front Line or Defensive AG would consist of participants wearing some form of body protection, including shields, to be used as a shield wall, positioned at the front of the Bloc, or to the perimeter.

\* An Offensive AG should be composed of highly mobile, enthusiastic participants prepared for confrontation. Such preparations would be left to their discretion, but mobility and effectiveness are prime.

\* A Scout AG or Medic AG would fulfill the same roles as the Scout or Medic detailed above.

\* Property-related AGs should keep their focus and intent secret from the rest of the Bloc until opportunities present themselves, involving anything from non-human blockades, appropriation of materials, property destruction or sabotage of state vehicles and equipment.

\* A Noise AG is also incredibly important both to keep the rest of the Bloc going and to demoralize, confuse and intimidate opponents with drums, music, noise, singing, chanting...bagpipes, anything. We should never lose that aspect of our actions, the fun part.

## Structural Composition of the Rank and File

Once at the convergence point, care should be taken as to the physical organization of the Bloc in order to secure effectiveness and minimal confusion for all involved.

There are two primary approaches for Bloc composition:

### 1) The “European Antifa/Autonomie Approach”

This approach relies on tight ranks, solid formations and defensive materials. Banners, preferably reinforced with PVC pipe or even made from rubber bullet resistant hard plastic or linoleum, form the front rank and the front flanks of the Bloc.



Each rank (or line) of the Bloc should comprise of one–two AGs consisting of between 5-10 members each. Ideally, AGs should cluster into groups of 3-4 AGs based on trust, prior experience in the streets, affinities and stated role. Through proper facilitation through comms and tactical spokes, such a Bloc has a lot of potential, as witnessed in the photo above on January 20, 2001 in Washington, DC. It is imperative that each AG within such a Bloc possess a strategic understanding of the objectives of that action.

It is inevitable that newcomers who lack organized affinity groups, as well as “fluffies,” or those who decide to march with the Bloc without any understanding of its purpose, will join in and participate. Such folks should be informed that each rank is an affinity group and be asked either to leave the Bloc or to fill in ranks elsewhere, at the discretion of trust, etc. If a Fox News cameraman or someone wearing brand new Nikes who keeps asking where the direct action is gonna be tries to elbow in, they should be ushered out of the Bloc, one way or another.

The easiest way to ensure physical unity in such a situation is to have each rank or affinity group link arms periodically. This keeps “Black Bloc tourism” to a minimum. “Touristas go home!”

### 2) The “North American Swarm Approach”

This approach has its origins in the fast, highly mobile affinity group level street tactics of North American protests where police often attack at the first sign of any lag in Bloc formation, or as in NYC during the WEF protests in 2002, at the first sign of shields.

The method may or may not include the use of banners, but should include flags or other identifiers at least. Participants should be highly mobile. This approach is linked directly to the tactic of swarming as it has developed and relies on open, fluid ranks where affinity groups congregate rather than march in line, avoiding static barriers or police formations when possible to engage specific targets in direct action or to build barricades and road obstructions from traffic barrels, moved cars or newspaper boxes, etc., or simply to take full advantage of the spontaneous energy of any situation as it appears, keeping cops off guard.

Swarming itself is a tactic where various affinity groups converge simultaneously from different directions, moving through commuter traffic and using that to its full advantage, either to a pre-determined location or by txtmob messages.

Swarming can also take the form of snake marches that wind through city streets, or of disruptive creative actions like the ones that disrupted Republican delegates' enjoyment of Broadway musicals during the 2004 Republican Convention in NYC.

If they can remain unpened in, such Blocs are very effective.

## Stage Three: Security and Post-Action Considerations

Security culture for Black Blocs is modified from the ordinary security we need to keep in mind generally, in that it is action specific.

\* Any and all maps, especially ones noting recon, targets or convergence points and locations, if kept on your person, should be in code. In Philly in 2000, two Black Bloc'ers were arrested carrying unencrypted maps that detailed action plans. It can ruin an action and can land you in jail as the mythical “leader of the Black Bloc” who police have been after for all these years...not to mention fucking over your comrades.

\* Any and all radio frequencies/channels should be pre-planned with action specific codes of a simple nature to describe certain events or police/Black Bloc actions. Yes, they listen.

\* At large mass actions, personal ID such as driver's licenses or passports should not be carried if at all possible and instead left with your affinity group's legal point person. Yes, it will fuck you more later if you are arrested with ID than without. At smaller actions, the situation may change and so often it is a matter of personal discretion.

\* Use action names rather than real, full or personal names. The less the state knows about our activities, the better, especially when facing the potential of grand juries 30 years from now. Despite criticism that action names help undermine accountability in our communities, as with sexual assaulters who simply change names, action names are necessary and sexual assault will not go away just because we abandon the use of them. At times they cut down on confusion; there may be millions whose names are Sarah or Elizabeth, for example, but there is only one Starhawk. Besides. Action names are cool.

The same idea goes for affinity groups. Specific affinity group names also forge bonds of solidarity among the members of those groups and communicate not only identifiers to other anarchists, but also rely on what is called argot, or specific slang, to communicate inclusion in the movement. Proper use of argot comes from experience and inclusion in social networks, and this can also aid how we tell infiltrators from genuine anarchists.

Calling out infiltrators and cops in Bloc is not as hard as it seems; asking uncomfortably repeated questions about action specifics is one hint, another may be a feigned ignorance of any politics whatsoever. Other people to watch are floaters and lurkers. Floaters often seem out of place, with no affinity group and no contacts with anyone else in Bloc. Lurkers do not attempt any contact with other members of the Bloc beyond probing questions and should not be trusted with any info, even if it cannot be determined whether they are a cop or not. Other security principles include masking up effectively, debloc'ing effectively, being aware of your surroundings and the movements of police nearby, being aware of any change in the behavior of police nearby as a clue to possible police action, and also tactics of unarresting.

Unarresting is simple: someone gets grabbed by cops, others grab that person and pull them back into Bloc. In reality, a variety of tactics can be used. Budding up is a method that will often aid quick unarrests, because you always have someone watching your back, ready to grab you and yell for help if needed.

Finally, post-action, it is vital for the growth and success of the anarchist movement to provide a detailed, inclusive and meaningful communicate regarding tactics, decisions, actions and political message present at the action in question. This provides a framework of understanding for future anarchists, a message to the broader populace, and debunks the damaging myths spread about the anarchist movement by the corporate media, the establishment (liberals and conservatives), and also by the authoritarian left and right.

(Some elements adapted from “A Communique On Tactics And Organization To The Black Bloc, From Within The Black Bloc.”

By G-MAC, and People Within The ARA. July, 2001.)

# guide to militant tactics 2: txtmob, airpwn and moukabir sawte

## inverse surveillance

Inverse Surveillance intervenes in the process of surveillance and attempts to undermine or reverse the authoritative power associated with the technology.

### iSee

iSee is a web-based application charting the locations of closed-circuit television (CCTV) surveillance cameras in urban environments. With iSee, users can find routes that avoid these cameras ("paths of least surveillance") allowing them to walk around their cities without fear of being "caught on tape" by unregulated security monitors.

<http://www.appliedautonomy.com/isee.html>

### TXTMob "nw mor thn evr"

TXTMob is a free service that lets you quickly and easily broadcast txt messages to friends, comrades, and total strangers. The system works much like an electronic bulletin board: users subscribe to various lists, and receive messages directly on their phones. You can sign up to send and receive up-to-the-minute messages from groups of people organized around a range of topics.

TXTMob was produced by the Institute for Applied Autonomy (IAA), an art and engineering collective that develops technologies for political dissent. The IAA worked closely with the Black Tea Society, an ad-hoc coalition that organized much of the protest activity during the 2004 DNC in Boston, to design the system. According to a Black Tea member who chose to remain anonymous, "TXTMob was great! When the cops tried to arrest one of our people, we were able to get hundreds of folks to the scene within minutes."

At the 2004 RNC in New York City, TXTMob was used again, although text message service provider T-Mobile briefly blocked access to TXTMob messages in NYC.

<http://www.appliedautonomy.com/txtmob.html>  
<http://www.txtmob.com>

Another combined tactic also appeared at the RNC: one affinity group cluster utilized an out-of-state tech support person who monitored NYC Dept. of Transportation webcams, Indymedia Breaking News reports, emergency bandwidth radio transmissions and live corporate news footage online using anonymous proxy servers. The tech support person then TXTMobbed that info to activists, enabling them to avoid entrapments in the infamous orange netting of the NYPD on several occasions.

## airpwn

<http://sourceforge.net/projects/airpwn>

Airpwn is a platform for injection of application layer data on an 802.11b network. Basically, it is a code that enables the airpwner to control what any user of an unencrypted wi-fi network sees when they open up their Internet browser, effectively hi-jacking the computer's connection to the Internet.

A good example is the story of one airpwner who used it to redirect users at a role-playing convention to a very graphic and disturbing scatological image, called goatse, with predictable results. Other applications are left to the imagination.

from <http://www.evilscheme.org/defcon/>

"How does it work?"

"airpwn requires two 802.11b interfaces, one for listening, and another for injecting. It uses a config file with multiple config sections to respond to specific data packets with arbitrary content. For example, in the HTML goatse example, we look for any TCP data packets starting with "GET" or "POST" and respond with a valid server response including a reference to the canonical goatse image..."

"In each case the poor user of the web browser was left feeling disgusted, afraid and/or confused..."

"Eventually they would mumble something about rogue APs (WRONG!) or ARP poisoning (WRONG!) or DNS poisoning (WRONG!) and do something else..."

"After a few hours, it quickly became apparent that the image replacement mode was the only mode that would be sustainable for long periods of time. The full-screen goatse amounted to a complete DoS of HTTP, which was just plain rude. The javascript injection (with dialog boxes talking about the victim being pwned) was by far the most disruptive. Most people (quite sanely) immediately turned off their laptops or whipped out ethereal in full COUNTERHACK mode. The goatse image mode was disruptive enough to be fully fucking hilarious, yet still left HTTP enough alone to be usable. I guess image-maps were the only things we truly broke with that mode..."

"...If you want to play with airpwn yourself, an early alpha has been posted to sourceforge."

please repost



## MOUKABIR SAWTE

- \* call for sound dispersal
- + noize redistribution

primary targets:

- residential neighborhoods, preferably at dawn
- media headquarters, during broadcast times
- shopping mall parking lots, anytime during open hours
- outside the homes of politicians and other people of influence

The MP3 downloads below can be burned to CD or recorded into your tape player using the sound out jack on the computer with a 1/8 stereo mini cable (cheaply purchased anywhere). We are providing muezzin and air raid sirens. Feel free to curate and broadcast your own sounds that summarize the invasion of Iraq.

Loudspeakers can be snagged from buildings or purchased at RadioShack or boating supply stores. They can be wired directly into your car stereo in lieu of your normal speakers and mounted or held on your roof. Or build a mobile rig with using a car stereo and a small 12v battery. You can also use a bullhorn, tape the microphone directly to the speaker of a small boombox. Broadcast from a moving vehicle, from rooftops, from alleys, from boats, by any means conceivable.



sound downloads at [www.postworldindustries.org](http://www.postworldindustries.org)

## guide to militant tactics 3: submerge and destroy

Once upon a time, a small town in Pennsylvania had an annual pigeon hunt sponsored by a local hunting club with connections to dozens of wealthy, privileged and politically connected old white men who liked to compensate for their own latent sense of withered, sexual inferiority by importing hundreds of live pigeons – which would be tied down to stakes in a large field – and then blowing these pigeons apart with shotgun blasts.

This event continued for years.

Many animal rights groups campaigned long and hard for the hunt to be suspended. They wrote letters to local representatives, contacted the state humane society, held signs in front of the hunting club, contacted the media, and protested until they ran out of breath.

But the hunters didn't care. Each year they came back and waved to their police, holding the protesters at bay, gave the thumbs up to their reporters and patted their mayor on the back as they proceeded with the annual slaughter of the defenseless birds.

The protesters were stymied.

“But we wrote letters to our elected representatives,” the liberals whined.

“And we made all these cute signs and held them up real high,” the progressives sighed.

“Maybe we just didn't put enough money into our clever media relations,” the non-profit organization volunteers suggested hopefully.

“Each year we do the same old things and each year the hunt still happens,” the people who were fed-up with the same old bullshit said. “Next time, we do something different.”

And then next year happened.

The preparations were all set. The corporate board members, the lobbyists, the wealthy financiers and politicians all clucked to themselves that this would be the best year yet. It would be the same ineffectual showing by those tree-huggers and hippies on the outskirts of the hunting grounds in the pre-arranged protest zones. They would get their media coverage as concerned citizens and the hunt would go on as planned, an idyllic vacation for the privileged elite worthy of the Victorian era.

But a week before the hunt was set to start, strange things began to happen in that small town.

On the first night, a telephone pole fell over into the road on the outskirts of town, cutting power to the post office and a few buildings downtown.

On the second night, someone spread caltrops – three nails twisted together to puncture tires – across Main Street, blowing out the tires of a police cruiser.

On the third night, two fires broke out in town near the police station. A transformer blew at a power substation. Cable lines were cut.

On the fourth night, luxury sedans were spray-painted and vandalized at a local bed and breakfast, belonging to several of the visiting hunters.

On the fifth night, a ditch mysteriously appeared in the middle of the road leading to the hunting club, dug out of the asphalt with pickaxes and shovels, making the road impassable.

On the sixth night, the fun really started.

An unoccupied pick-up truck exploded into flames at an intersection on one side of town. Police and firefighters responded. On the other side of town, two rednecks were spotted smashing the windows of a bank and a corporate outlet chain store. Mailboxes were ripped out of the sidewalk and strewn across the road. More fires broke out. Another telephone pole was cut down. The paint was stripped from several SUV's with cans of brake fluid. Cars were overturned in the street and caught fire.

Each time the police responded to the calls, they found that the perpetrators had disappeared only moments before. Witnesses described men wearing John Deer baseball caps, flannels and blue jeans. Each time they responded to something happening on one side of town, something else happened on the other side of town.

A fire. Smashed windows. Downed power lines. Overturned cars. An open fire hydrant flooding the street.

Later, at a small convenience store out on the edge of town, police arrested two men that fit the description they had: two local rednecks who had just come back from the bar. The two were later released after police realized they were really just a couple of rednecks and had nothing to do with what was happening.

The next day, and for the very first time since it started, the pigeon hunt was canceled.

And it has never happened since. The end.

## guide to militant tactics 4: no compromise activism

*“All your money, all your lies,  
We will never compromise!”*

If there is one thing that other activists can learn from the animal rights movement, it is that our greatest strength lies within our own level of determination and the intensity we put into our actions. Both are a function of understanding our cause: that of liberation.

Liberation cannot be compromised. It either is, or it isn't. When applied to traditional forms of activism, this no-compromise mindset transforms what may have been boring and listless complain-a-thons into vibrant resistance.

Among the animal rights movement, few have come close to the Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty, or SHAC campaign, both in terms of effectiveness and notoriety. In the UK and the USA, SHAC nearly bankrupted vivisection firm Huntington Life Sciences (HLS) numerous times – stopped only by the economic and police interventions of the state through corporate subsidies and repression of activists. However, the SHAC campaign was severely hampered by internal organizational contradictions, including a centralized network model, a reliance on hierarchal decision making, and the simultaneous use of above- and below-ground actions, which lead to interlocking culpability under the guise of a single organization: SHAC USA/UK, which in turn lead to the arrest and prosecution of those who ran SHAC USA's main website and organization, otherwise known as the SHAC 6.

(Or SHAC 7...defendant John McGee was dropped from the case by prosecutors and there is strong suspicion that he was approached by federal agents to turn informant. Whether or not he provided any significant information to the feds is left to speculation and was irrelevant to the case; he was not a part of SHAC USA.)

Among the tactics that SHAC USA/UK became well known for and adept at:

\* *Active gathering and dissemination of actionable information/intelligence.*

The difference between raw information and intelligence is analysis. Using conventional as well as unconventional research techniques, SHAC supporters were able to gather a great deal of information regarding HLS executives, vivisectionists, HLS clients, HLS stockholders, their phone numbers, their home addresses, and of documented activities within the vivisection labs themselves.

This info/intel was then disseminated via the web and through an informal network of supporters and print publications.

\* *Home demonstrations.*

While the practice of home demos, or demonstrations at the homes of executives, shareholders and vivisectionists themselves, earned SHAC a great deal of heat from local, state and federal law enforcement, it also was one of their most effective tactics, making it personal to the vivisectionists in a relative way that vivisection is personal to the beagle, kitten, mouse or macaque who is split end to end while fully conscious. Well, almost.

Home demos are loud, raucous affairs with megaphones and shouting, often conducted at dinnertime or in the evening.

\* *Black faxing, mobius faxing or blaxing.*

This is the practice of faxing a long series of sheets of black paper, taped end to end in a continuous loop, to a target fax machine. The result is both unnerving and uses up the target fax machine's toner ink.

# know your rights: what to do if you are stopped by the police

From the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union)

To fight police abuse effectively you need to know your rights. There are some things you should do, some things you must do and some things you cannot do. If you are in the middle of a police encounter, you need a handy and quick reference to remind you what your rights and obligations are.

Print this page and carry it in your wallet, pocket, or glove compartment to give you quick access to your rights and obligations concerning police encounters.

- \* Think carefully about your words, movement, body language, and emotions.
- \* Don't get into an argument with the police.
- \* Remember, anything you say or do can be used against you.
- \* Keep your hands where the police can see them.
- \* Don't run. Don't touch any police officer.
- \* Don't resist even if you believe you are innocent.
- \* Don't complain on the scene or tell the police they're wrong or that you're going to file a complaint.
- \* Do not make any statements regarding the incident. Ask for a lawyer immediately upon your arrest.
- \* Remember officers' badge and patrol car numbers.
- \* Write down everything you remember ASAP.
- \* Try to find witnesses and their names and phone numbers.
- \* If you are injured, take photographs of the injuries as soon as possible, but make sure you seek medical attention first.
- \* If you feel your rights have been violated, file a written complaint with police department's internal affairs division or civilian complaint board.

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1. What you say to the police is always important. What you say can be used against you, and it can give the police an excuse to arrest you, especially if you bad-mouth a police officer.

2. You must show your driver's license and registration when stopped in a car. Otherwise, you don't have to answer any questions if you are detained or arrested, with one important exception. The police may ask for your name if you have been properly detained, and you can be arrested in some states for refusing to give it. If you reasonably fear that your name is incriminating, you can claim the right to remain silent, which may be a defense in case you are arrested anyway.

3. You don't have to consent to any search of yourself, your car or your house. If you DO consent to a search, it can affect your rights later in court. If the police say they have a search warrant, ASK TO SEE IT.

4. Do not interfere with, or obstruct the police -- you can be arrested for it.

## IF YOU ARE STOPPED FOR QUESTIONING

1. It's not a crime to refuse to answer questions, but refusing to answer can make the police suspicious about you. If you are asked to identify yourself, see paragraph 2 above.
2. Police may "pat-down" your clothing if they suspect a concealed weapon. Don't physically resist, but make it clear that you don't consent to any further search.
3. Ask if you are under arrest. If you are, you have a right to know why.
4. Don't bad-mouth the police officer or run away, even if you believe what is happening is unreasonable. That could lead to your arrest.

## IF YOU'RE STOPPED IN YOUR CAR

1. Upon request, show them your driver's license, registration, and proof of insurance. In certain cases, your car can be searched without a warrant as long as the police have probable cause. To protect yourself later, you should make it clear that you do not consent to a search. It is not lawful for police to arrest you simply for refusing to consent to a search.
2. If you're given a ticket, you should sign it; otherwise you can be arrested. You can always fight the case in court later.
3. If you're suspected of drunk driving (DWI) and refuse to take a blood, urine or breath test, your driver's license may be suspended.

## IF YOU'RE ARRESTED OR TAKEN TO A POLICE STATION

1. You have the right to remain silent and to talk to a lawyer before you talk to the police. Tell the police nothing except your name and address. Don't give any explanations, excuses or stories. You can make your defense later, in court, based on what you and your lawyer decide is best.
2. Ask to see a lawyer immediately. If you can't pay for a lawyer, you have a right to a free one, and should ask the police how the lawyer can be contacted. Don't say anything without a lawyer.
3. Within a reasonable time after your arrest, or booking, you have the right to make a local phone call: to a lawyer, bail bondsman, a relative or any other person. The police may not listen to the call to the lawyer.
4. Sometimes you can be released without bail, or have bail lowered. Have your lawyer ask the judge about this possibility. You must be taken before the judge on the next court day after arrest.
5. Do not make any decisions in your case until you have talked with a lawyer.

## IN YOUR HOME

1. If the police knock and ask to enter your home, you don't have to admit them unless they have a warrant signed by a judge.
2. However, in some emergency situations (like when a person is screaming for help inside, or when the police are chasing someone) officers are allowed to enter and search your home without a warrant.
3. If you are arrested, the police can search you and the area close by. If you are in a building, "close by" usually means just the room you are in.

# fire your boss: guide to worker organizing basics

Adapted from <http://www.iww.org/en/organize>

## Basic Steps for an Organizing Campaign

- \* Building Contacts
- \* Mapping & Charting the Workplace
- \* Building the Organizing Committee
- \* Research
- \* Building Relationships
- \* Going Public

### I. Building contacts:

Start by talking to people you know on the job. Find out who has sway, or influence, among the people at your workplace. You need to make contact with these people or you'll find them at the head of the opposition. Compile as complete a list as possible of the workers in your shop. During this time, keep a low profile. The more organizing you can get done before the boss is on to you, the better.

### II. Mapping & charting:

Sit down with each of your reliable contacts and get her or him to draw a map of the work area, showing where each worker usually sits or stands, where the boss or supervisor is, etc. Then make a chart for every worker in the work area, showing social relationships to one another and social groups they belong to. For each group, identify influential people and personal relationships. Identify who you will next approach, and how you will approach him or her. Don't talk on the clock, don't talk at the job.

### III. Building the committee:

Figure out who you need to get on your committee and then organize to get them. Don't wait for people to come to you. Include influential workers as much as possible, even if they're problematic. As a committee, establish goals and assignments for everyone so they're involved.

### IV. Research:

Find out all you can about the boss (meaning both the company and the people who run the company). Focus on data that will help the drive, like ownership, other shops in the same chain, corporate structure, previous union drives, customers and clients of the business, outside groups who can help put pressure on the boss, etc.

### V. Building relationships:

Set up a meeting with a contact outside of work. These should be kept personal, like one on one or in group of four or less. Make sure the person understands you are not propositioning him/her for a date. Save the specifics for the off-site meeting. Just get a commitment to meet at a specific time and place. When you meet, there are four steps to follow: agitate, educate, inoculate, organize.

### (A) Agitate -

Find out what the worker sees as problems in the workplace – long hours, low pay, lack of respect from management, anything – and then speak to those issues. Every day we submit ourselves to dictatorship at work; even personal problems are probably due to something your boss did or makes you do each day. But remember it's a conversation, not a lecture. The goal is to draw the worker out and get her/him emotionally agitated against the bosses.

### (E) Educate -

Share how workers in similar situations have dealt collectively with problems of the kind she/he has told you about. This requires preparation in advance on your part, of course. Read labor history. Search the IWW site or other labor sites online. Talk to other Wobblies or rank and file union organizers.

### (I) Inoculate -

Ask yourselves, "What do you think our bosses are going to do when they find out we're organizing a union?" Prepare yourselves for an anti-union campaign.

Bosses generally follow a predictable pattern of harassment and propaganda. The point here is to defuse, not stoke, workers' fears if you let them know you know what's going to happen and are ready to deal with it. Common "bad-cop" boss tactics include firing union activists, captive meetings, one-on-one meetings, anti-union mailings, and red-baiting. There are "good-cop" boss tactics, like raising wages temporarily, firing unpopular supervisors, promoting pro-union people to management, rewarding snitches, etc.

The main thing is to prepare ourselves emotionally for all these things and assure other workers that we know how to deal with them. Solidarity is the key.

### (O) Organize -

Get the worker into the committee. Figure out how to best share tasks and make sure people are doing them and holding their end up. Keep pushing yourselves to take the next step. If you don't push, the commitment doesn't get made and we end up with a tiny core of people doing all the work and a large group of apathetic people who won't take risks... the core people burn out and the drive falls apart. Solidarity depends on people who take risks together and back one another up. It's not necessary to sign people up in the union right away. Their union card should represent a mutual commitment between the worker and the rest of the union.

### (U) Going Public with the Union -

This might be on your timeline, or it might be on the boss' if management finds out people are organizing. Set a "coming-out" action that helps the campaign. Be creative, show strength and keep your goals in mind.

## fire your boss: guide to workplace sabotage

**Sabotage**, derived from the French “sabot” or wooden shoe which workers routinely hurled into the gears of early industrial mill machinery, began as the natural resistance of workers to the exploitative conditions of work itself, or to the actions of bosses. Over the years, a variety of tactics developed that were all focused on the same purpose, to interfere with, degrade, obstruct or deliberately slow the efficiency of production at a workplace in quantity or quality.

Sabotage can be carried out either individually, or on a mass scale. This applies to any of these following tactics, although when widespread and with a clear purpose, they are more effective.

\* Carelessness. Put simply, doing a sloppy, clumsy and destructive job. After losing a very hard fought strike, Scottish dockers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century decided to work exactly how the scabs (who their bosses loved so much) had: they let cargo fall off the side of ships, dropped heavy things onto boxes of fragile things from great heights, and did their work just as clumsily, slowly and destructively as the scabs had. In a few months, the bosses had agreed to every demand that the strike had failed to achieve.

\* Slow down. If you only get paid \$6.50 an hour, then you shouldn't be working as if you were making \$18.50 an hour. This is especially effective when any action is taken against workers, including pay cuts or other punitive or restrictive measures. This is a natural response to the unnatural imposition of wage work.

\* Work to rule. Similar to a slow down, this involves following every single rule to the letter. So, for instance, since employees are required to wash their hands after using the bathroom, drink a lot of tea at work and be sure to scrub every last centimeter of your hands as thoroughly as possible each time you go to the bathroom.

\* Digital resistance. Most businesses today rely on computers and computer networks, servers and routers to either relay or store information vital to the continued operation of that business. Tech departments are often overloaded with complaints from end-users regarding even the most minor problems. Digital infrastructure is the most vulnerable part of the physical operation of a business today. For instance, if the business has internet connections for its workstations, then it has network routers whose ports can go bad or be damaged (a lot), wires/cables that can be switched, unplugged, or looped (output port to output port), etc. Whether such disruption is physical (unplugged cables) or digital (deleted registry files... oops, I'm just an end-user), the effects can be devastating to corporations.

\* Paperwork. Related to digital resistance, many businesses also rely on mountains of paperwork, including invoices, inventories, shipping manifests, accounting material, tax files, etc. Problems can occur both with the production (adding a zero into that \$1,000 billing invoice to client Mr. Suckstobeyou), or with the storage of files (where'd they go?).

\* Shrink. Another word for inventory loss, shrink is major problem for retail, wholesale, general distribution and supply companies. Whole seminars and most security measures (cameras, etc.) in store are geared specifically to limit “shrink.” Shoplifting is a common source, as is general damage. Workers themselves are often seen as both the potential source and solution to these problems by the boss. A “no snitching on shoplifting” rule among workers is a passive way to use this; taking things home in lieu of what you should be getting paid is an active way to use it.

\* Physical damage. Smash things up. “Social justice? It's civil war!” - T'chKung.

## appendix: useful foreign phrases

**Disclaimer:** The words and phrases included on the following pages cover a variety of different situations that you might find yourself in while traveling. They are intended as a brief introduction and not as a definitive guide to each language. Pronunciation is approximated in text, but don't blame this sourcebook if you can't get it right; your best bet would be to get a proper language book, preferably with an audio cassette or CD, or learn from a native speaker. You can also find numerous language resources online. Try Wikitravel's Phrasebooks for a start.

Have fun and good luck!

**Chinese (Zhōngwén):** The Beijing dialect of Mandarin (known as Putonghua in mainland China, Guoyu in Taiwan and Huayu in Malaysia and Singapore) is the official language, but there are 13 other dialects of Chinese, including Wu and Cantonese.

### Tones and tonal pronunciations:

1. first tone ( ā )  
flat, high pitch - more sung instead of spoken
2. second tone ( á )  
low to middle, rising - pronounced like the end of a question phrase (What?)
3. third tone ( ǎ )  
middle to low to high, dipping - if at the end of a sentence or before a pause, it is then followed by a rising pitch
4. fourth tone ( à )  
high to low, falling - Pronounced like a command (Stop!)
5. There is also a fifth tone, the neutral tone, which is used rarely, mostly for phrase particles.

Nǐ hǎo. -- Hello.  
Shì. ("shū") -- Yes.  
Bù. ("boo") -- No.  
Xiè xie. ("shì'e shì'e") -- Thank you.  
Wǒ chī sù de. -- I'm vegetarian.  
Qǐng wèn... -- Excuse me...  
Qǐng gěi wǒ yībēi / liǎngbēi píjiǔ. -- One / two beers please.  
Qǐng zàilái yí lún. -- Another round, please.  
Zhège duōshǎo qián? -- How much is this?  
Cèsuǒ zài nǎlǐ? -- Where is the toilet?  
Búyào pèng wǒ! -- Don't touch me!  
jǐngchá -- police  
Wǒ bèibǔle ma? -- Am I under arrest?  
Wǒ xīwàng gēn lǚshī liánxì. -- I want to talk to a lawyer.  
Wǒ kěyǐ dǎ ge diànhuà ma? -- Can I use your phone?  
Wǒ yào yīnghàn zìdiǎn. -- I need an English-Chinese dictionary.

**Japanese (Nihongo):** Japanese is spoken in Japan and pretty much nowhere else.

Hai. ("hai" or "hāe") -- Yes.  
Iie. ("EE-yeh") -- No.  
Hajimemashita. ("ha-jee-mae-mash'-ta")  
-- Pleased to meet you.  
Genki desu ka? ("gen-kee des'-ka")  
-- How are you? (lit. Are you healthy?)  
Genki desu. ("gen-kee des'") -- I'm good.  
Wakarimasen. ("wa-ka-ree-ma-sen")  
-- I don't understand.  
Yukkuri o kudasai. ("yoo-kkū-ree oh koo-da-sai")  
-- Slowly, please.  
Ippai biiru o kudasai. -- One beer please.  
Kampai! -- Cheers!  
Kuso desu ne... ("k'so des' nay") -- This is shit.  
Museifu shugi banzai! -- Long live anarchy!  
Museifu Kyousan. -- Anarchist Communism.

**German (Deutsch):** While limited in usage, many Eastern Europeans also know or understand German, rather than English, as a second language.

Ja. ("yaa") -- Yes.  
Nein. ("nine") -- No.  
Hallo. ("hah-LOW") -- Hello.  
Tschüs. ("tchuus") -- Bye!  
Eine bier bitte. ("ayna beer bitta") -- One beer please.  
Du stinkst nach sheisse, arschloch. ("doo stinkst nachk shyzuh arrschlok") -- You smell like shit, asshole.  
Hast du gerade gefuht? ("hasst doo gehra-da gehfut'")  
-- Did you just fart?  
Auf machen oder wass? ("owf mahken odare vass")  
-- You wanna make something, or what?  
Gegen sexismus und homophobie. ("gaygen sexismuss oond homophobee") -- Against sexism and homophobia.  
Gegen rechts. ("gaygen rechtkts") -- Against the right.  
Verpiss dich macker! ("vaerpiss dichk mahker")  
-- Piss off, bro/frat boy/macho asshole!  
polizei ("poleetzay") -- police.  
Fickt Sie die Polizei! ("fikt see dee poleetzay")  
-- Fuck the police!  
Bin ich verhaftet? (bin ikh fayr-HAHF-tet?)  
-- Am I under arrest?  
Ich will mit einem Anwalt/Arzt sprechen. (ikh vill mit IGH-nem AHN-vahl/ARTST SHPREKH-en)  
-- I want to talk to a lawyer/doctor.  
Müslis/Ökos -- hippies.  
Die Alternativen  
-- proponents of left wing, alternative ideas. Functions as the word "progressives" does in American English.  
Die Anarchos -- anarchists.  
Die Faschos -- fascists, right wingers, also refers to unpleasant bastards.  
Der ewige student -- the eternal student. Often in universities until the age of 35-45.

**French (Français):** French is spoken in France, Belgium and Switzerland in Europe, much of western Africa, Haiti, Martinique, Quebec and on several south Pacific Islands.

Oui. (“wee” or “wæ”) -- *Yes, Yeah.*  
 Non. (“noh.”) -- *No.*  
 Salut. (“sa-lū”) -- *Hi/Hello.*  
 Je veut... (“zshuh vuh”) -- *I want...*  
 mon advocat. (“mon a-vōh-cah.”) -- *my lawyer.*  
 une biere s'il vous-plait. (“oon be-air si-voov plæ.”) -- *a beer, please.*  
 Combien? -- *how much?*  
 Je ne sais pas. (“zshuh nuh sæ pah.”) -- *I don't know.*  
 Je ne comprends pas. (“zshuh nuh com-prawn pah.”) -- *I don't understand.*  
 Repetez en anglais, s'il vous plait. -- *Repeat in English, please.*  
 Les polices sont service des fascistes et des riches! -- *The police are in the service of the fascists and the rich.*  
 Gauche! Gauche! Extreme gauche! -- *Left! Left! Extreme left!*  
 Un anar -- *an anarchist.*  
 Un coco -- *a communist.*  
 Un réac -- *a reactionary.*  
 Un facho -- *a fascist.*  
 Un casseur -- *a breaker, destroyer of property, rioter.*

**Spanish (Español, Castellano):** Spanish is spoken throughout much of the western hemisphere, in Spain, the Philipines and parts of Morocco. Remember that in most dialects of Spanish, two l's are pronounced like a y is in English (castellano is pronounced “cas-tay-yan-o,” but in Argentina, ll's and y's are often pronounced like a “zshuh” or “juh” sound).

Sí. (“see”) -- *Yes.*  
 Non. (“no”) -- *No.*  
 ¿Como estas? (“co-mo eh-stass”) -- *How are you?*  
 Bien. ¿Y tu? (“bee-en. ee too”) -- *Good. And you?*  
 ¿Que tal? (“kæ tal”) -- *What's up?*  
 Nada. Sin novedad. (“na-da. sin no-væ-dād.”) -- *Nothing. Nothing new.*  
 Una cerveza, por favor. -- *One beer please.*  
 ¿Donde esta...? (“don-day estah”) -- *Where is...?*  
 ¿...el baño? (“ell bahnyo”) -- *...the toilet?*  
 ¿...la estacion de la policia? (“la esta-see-own de la po-lee-see-ah”) -- *the police station?*  
 Que se vayans todos, que no quede ni uno solo. (“kæ sæ vah-yen to-dohs, kæ no kæ-dæ nee oo-noh so-lo” or “kæ sæ vah-shzun to-dohs...”) -- *All of them must go, not one can stay.*  
 El pueblo, unido, jamas sera vencido! (“ell pweb-lo, oo nee-doh, ha-mas ser-ra ven-see-doh”) -- *The people, united, will never be defeated.*

**Korean (Hangungmal):** Korean is spoken in Korea and in emigrant communities around the world.

Anyeong. (“annyung”) -- *Hello.*  
 Ye / Ne (“yeh / neh”) -- *Yes.*  
 Anio (“ah-nee-oh”) -- *No.*  
 Eoddeo'ke ji naeshimnikka? (“otto'keh ji nashimnikka”) -- *How are you doing?*  
 Jal jinaemnida. (“jal jinaymnida”) -- *I'm fine, thanks.*  
 Kamsa hamnida. (“k/gamsa hamnida”) -- *Thank you.*  
 Cheon maneyo. (“chun maneyo”) -- *You're welcome.*  
 Makjul hana. (“mahkjooll hana”) -- *One beer.*  
 Makjul dul. (“mahkjooll dull”) -- *Two beers.*  
 Makjul. (“mahkjooll”) -- *Beer.*  
 Soju. (“sohjo”) -- *a vodka-like Korean alcohol.*  
 Insamju. (“insahmjoo”) -- *Korean ginseng wine.*  
 Chotto! (“chot-toe”) -- *fucking! (exclamation)*  
 Gyeong-chal Cheong (“kyung chal chung”) -- *South Korean National Police Agency.*  
 Chotto gyeong-chal... -- *fucking police.*  
 Fuk'n U.S.A.! -- *Fucking U.S.A.! (a music video)*

**Basque (Euskara):** The Basque language is both unique and ancient, being perhaps the descendant language of the original indigenous precursors to the Indo-Europeans in Europe. The Basque Country (Euskal Herria) is split between Spain and France. History suggests that in a thousand years, there may not be a Spain, but if there are people, there will be Basques.

Kaixo (“kai-sho”) -- *Hello.*  
 Agur! (“ah-gur”) -- *Bye!*  
 Bai. (“bye”) -- *Yes.*  
 Ez. (“esz”) -- *No, not.*  
 Nola duzu izena? (“no-la doo-szoo ee-szay-nuh”) -- *What is your name?*  
 Nire izena ... da. (“nee-ray eeszaynuh ... da”) -- *My name is ...*  
 Zu nongoa zara? (“szoo nongoa szara”) -- *Where are you from?*  
 Ni Ameriketakoa naiz. (“nee ameri-keta-koa nai-sz”) -- *I am from America.*  
 Ni amerikarra naiz. (“nee ameri-karra nai-sz”) -- *I am American.*  
 Nekatu nago./Nekatu samar nago. (“nekatoo nahgo./ nekatoo samar nahgo.”) -- *I am tired./I am rather tired.*  
 Ni egarri naiz. (“nee eh-garri nai-sz”) -- *I am thirsty.*  
 Zer dago edateko? (“szer dago ehdatayko”) -- *What is there to drink?*  
 Nik ... edan nahi dut. (“neek ... ehdan nahee doot”) -- *I want ... to drink.*  
 kafe, kafea (“kafay, kafay-a”) -- *coffee, the coffee.*  
 te, tea (“tay, tay-a”) -- *tea, the tea.*  
 ur, ura (“ur, ur-a”) -- *water, the water.*  
 ardo, ardoa (“ardo, ardo-a”) -- *wine, the wine.*  
 garagardo, garagardoa (“gara-gardo, gara-gardo-a”) -- *beer, the beer.*  
 Ni gose naiz. (“nee go-say nai-sz”) -- *I am hungry.*  
 Zer dago jateko? (“szer dahgo yatayko”) -- *What is there to eat?*

## do-it-yourself interactive appendix 2.0



*“I shit on all revolutionary vanguards on the planet.”  
- Sup Marcos to Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA).*

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**IT IS POSSIBLE!**