



Tides of Flame

a Seattle anarchist paper

joy ~ freedom ~ rebellion



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*Who will revive the
violent whirlpools
of flame
if not us and those
that we consider
brothers?*

Come!

*New friends: this will
please you.*

*We will never work,
oh tides of flame!*

**This world
will explode.**

A. Rimbaud



On the evening of September 7th, 2011, a group of International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) workers blocked the first train to ever enter the new EGT grain terminal at the Port of Longview. EGT, a multinational corporation, has refused to employ any ILWU longshoremen in the grain terminal, choosing instead to contract the work out to a smaller, less militant union from Oregon. The ILWU blocked the mile long train for over four hours before riot police arrived. The group threw rocks at the police, sprayed them with mace, and carried bats and ax handles for defense. Despite these deterrents, the police were able to arrest 19 of the longshoremen and allow the train to pass into the port. In response to this, the ILWU decided to attack the grain terminal.

The next morning, at 4:30 AM, over 400 longshoremen stormed the EGT terminal. When a random police cruiser noticed a mob of people heading towards the port, one ILWU member yelled at the cop, **"Today's the day law enforcement gets theirs!"** They proceeded to pull an EGT security guard out of his car, drive that same car into a ditch, and smash the windows of a security guard station. Amidst the sound of shattering glass, several terrified guards decided to stay inside the station, convinced they were going to be killed. Indeed, the ILWU members were a wild bunch, carrying bats, spitting curses, and confidently proceeding towards the train they had tried to block earlier. Some people cut the brake lines of the mile long train while others dumped all of the grain from the train

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ments. By the time the police arrived, the longshoremen had vanished.

After hearing about what had happened to their comrades down south, the ILWU locals in Tacoma, Seattle, and Everett went on a wildcat strike (a spontaneous strike not approved by union leadership). And so, on September 8th, 2011, the ILWU shut down the major ports of the Puget Sound, costing various corporations millions of dollars. While the spark of this fire began with a specific labor dispute, the reason for the three wildcat strikes was simple solidarity with distant comrades.

The ILWU has long been a militant organization, being one of the few unions to fight and prevail against the communist witch-hunts that took place from the 1920's to the 1950's. While other unions restructured and pacified themselves to comply with the government, the ILWU remained unrepentant for its communist influences. Recent examples of the ILWU's continued strength include the shutdown of all west coast ports in 2008 in protest against the Iraq war and the shutdown of San Francisco Bay Area ports in response to the murder of Oscar Grant, an unarmed man who was shot in the back by a cop when he was lying on his stomach, handcuffed. Now, however, the ILWU is under attack by the forces of world capitalism, and it is responding to this attack in a serious manner that will only intensify.

EGT, the multinational corporation that is refusing to hire ILWU workers, has taken over the grain terminal at the Port of Longview in order to ship grain grown in the Midwest to China. World capitalism and its acolytes do not like

any sort of restriction on their earth-destroying activities, especially not a radical union that demands high wages, full benefits, and will strike whenever it damn well pleases. EGT, in its efforts to export grain across the planet, is just one of many capitalist entities that alter and destroy the planet by alienating everyone from the land around them. In their system, we eat food from all over the world, with workers in China trading their lives for money in order to buy grain from Minnesota, and vice versa. EGT is trying to break ILWU control over the ports, and this attack on the part of EGT represents the first shots in a battle to crush the ILWU and expel it from every port.

Currently, there are 100 ILWU workers who are accused of participation in the siege of the EGT terminal and will be tried in batches of fifteen at the Cowlitz County Courthouse. Additionally, two ILWU members have been arrested and charged with a variety of felony and misdemeanor charges stemming from the siege. Local authorities have announced through the press that others will be arrested in the coming days. This crackdown will undoubtedly be met with a response from the union, but what form this response will take is dependent on what the organization decides.

The editors, authors, and designers of *Tides of Flame* would like to express our support and solidarity with the longshoremen and offer our meager resources to help them in their struggle. While a world free from capitalism would undoubtedly put all longshoremen out of work, we hope that as we struggle together, anarchists and unionists can tackle the hard problems of our precarious existences in the capitalist world. 🐦

THE REAL WAR ON CARS

SEATTLE - The number of bicyclists killed by cars keeps increasing, tailpipes continue to spew fumes into the air, and freeway accidents kill thousands of people each year. There is much buzz about the war on cars, but it seems like the only people who are actually waging this war are not our beloved Mayor or the mourning friends of the dead bicyclists. The true partisans of this war are degenerate arsonists and bored suburbanites.

On September 8th, two young men (driving a car, yes) cruised around the streets of SeaTac smashing out the windows of other people's cars. In total, they vandalized 20 vehicles. One witness who saw the two young men hysterically laughing as they smashed a window had only this to say about them: "**They are crazy.**"

Taking it to another level, an arsonist burnt three cars in Beacon Hill during the first hours of September 11th. The brightest jewel in this fiery crown is a completely destroyed Prius, the ultimate symbol of green-washed car culture. If there is to be a war on cars, we don't think this arsonist will be sipping cocktails with the Mayor. Hopefully, they'll be burning more cars. 🐦



Burnt Toyota Prius on Beacon Hill, September 11th

Open & Burnt

for all to see.

"It's a creepy reminder of that poor man that committed suicide there. They just leave it open and burnt for everyone to see. I am sure there are squatters in the building. It needs to go."

comment//
capitolhillseattle.com

At the corner of Bellevue and Pine, breasting the border of Downtown Seattle and Capitol Hill, the Marion Building squats over bars and boutiques, busy coffeeshops, and the outbreak of condo developments. In the early hours of October 27, 2008, the last resident in the building fired one round of his gun, and his apartment went up in flames.

The only remaining evidence of this history are the black scorch-marks on the northwest face of the building. Investigators determined that the fire had been intentionally set in the apartment of Ed Jackson, the 89-year-old apartment manager, only twelve hours before he was to be evicted. But it was neither the gunshot to the head nor the fire that killed Jackson. It was money. What is truly unsettling about his death is the banality of it: the slow crush of capital gutting the hill.

Developers had purchased the Marion Building two years prior, serving the residents with notices to vacate by September, 2008. Jackson, who had lived in the building for 42 years, ignored these notices. Eventually, the developers filed an eviction order, and the King County Sheriff's Office contacted Jackson to have him removed by the end of October. Rather than pack his things, Jackson chose to destroy the structure he had tended over for almost half of his life.



10/27/08 - The Marion Building burns.

Nearly three years later, it still stands empty, touched only by the graffiti that spreads like a fungus across its walls. Some see this open wound in the cityscape as "a magnet for some of the less savory elements of city living including vandalism and crime." Complaints received by the city have led to police attempts to root out any infection, removing squatters and struggling to control the graffiti.

Like Christopher Monfort's attacks on police in the fall of 2009, Ed Jackson's last move is seen as a small and isolated rupture. But the fires that raged that night still burn in many of us. Still, in only a few months any trace will be bulldozed over. Let us not forget Ed Jackson, and the thousands of others displaced and killed in the process of gentrification. Let us instead find each other, all of us on the brink of self-immolation. Our project is not one of martyrdom, but of choosing to live, of picking at the scabs of the city, of setting the fires, to open it all. 🐦

The Marion today. ▶

One way there are more people fighting lonesomeness, and the other way there is one less person fighting the world.

- Jesse Bernstein



FORGOTTEN HISTORY

The 1916 Everett Massacre

In 1916, the first world war ravaged the lands of Europe, killing millions of poor, working class people who were conscripted into fighting a war between kings. In every country involved in this slaughter, dissidents and anarchists were imprisoned for agitating and speaking out against the war. Those who deserted the trenches were executed and all rebellion was effectively crushed on the suicidal continent. 1916 was a dark year for Europe, holding no promise and no future. The anarchists and rebels of the United States did not escape this darkness.

That year in the Seattle area, thousands of people were beginning to organize together to fight the ruling class of business owners. After the recession of 1893, the Seattle area had found itself with a large underclass. Prior to 1893, the city had been growing quickly. But when rampant speculation on railroad construction led to financial collapse, many people were put out of work and left vulnerable to exploitation. The rush for gold in Alaska a few years later created more opportunities to make quick money, but it served to only increase class tension and enrich the already-wealthy. By 1916, there was no more growth in Seattle and the war boom was not to start until 1918.

Within this context, a group of shingle workers began a strike in Everett against their employers that was to last for months. Supporting this isolated group of shingle workers was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), an international union that had become extremely powerful in the United States. Rather than organize various trades into separate unions with their own organizations, the IWW organized all trades into what was referred to at the time as “one big union.” In the preamble to the IWW constitution, the authors state:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want

are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the Earth.

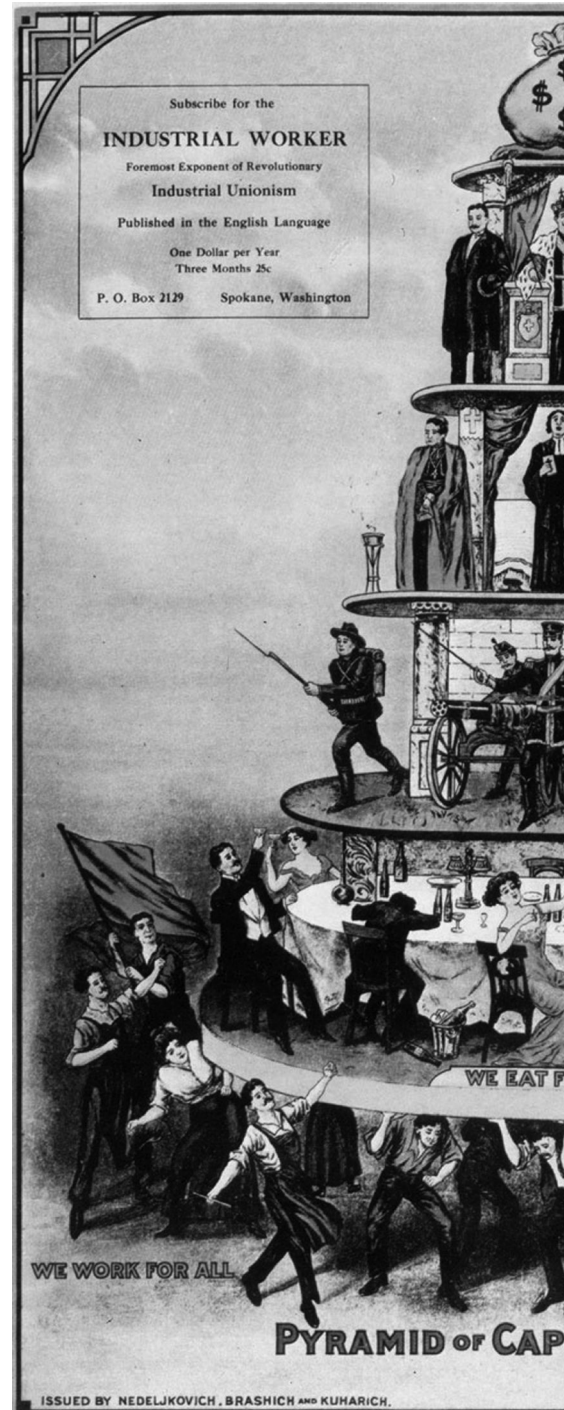
These sentiments could not help but resonate in the minds of the shingle weavers of Everett. It was common to see these workers with missing fingers and dying from a form of asthma caused by inhaling the cedar dust of the mills. Working hours were long, and the pay was vastly out of proportion to the hazards. With the help of IWW organizers, the strikers began to stage rallies on the corner of Hewitt and Wetmore. The idea of the strikers assembling so terrified the wealthy business owners of Everett that they instructed the police to brutally attack them whenever they appeared in public. As the months of the strike wore on, attacks by the police became common, but with each new rally, the number of supporters grew. In response to this repression, a group of 300 IWW members from Seattle decided to get on two steam boats and go support their comrades to the North.

The common term used by the police to describe IWW members was “anarchists.” The Russian revolution did not happen until 1917, and there was no red communist menace to invoke. While the IWW never called itself anarchist, it was in practice an anarcho-syndicalist organization, believing the workers could seize all means of industrial and agricultural production and abolish money. When the business owners discovered that 300 IWW members were coming to Everett, they stoked fear in people’s minds by saying that anarchists were coming to burn down the city.

As the two boats approached Everett, a group of hired mercenaries and Snohomish County Sheriffs waited with guns at the docks. When the first boat

tied itself to the dock, the county sheriff asked the men on the boat, “Who’s your leader?” The IWW members began to laugh and responded, “We’re all leaders.” As they took their first step onto the docks, the sheriff pulled his gun and said that none of them could come ashore. After this, gunfire erupted from

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Liberals Beg the Government to Follow its Own Surveillance Laws

On August 31st in Seattle, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals was discussing whether to preserve lawsuits challenging the government's mass surveillance of millions of people. Back in 2005, the New York Times and a former AT&T technician

revealed the National Security Agency's (NSA) the bulk interception of Americans' phone calls and emails. This "warrantless wire-tapping" is partially accomplished through back-door access to telecommunications networks and their records databases. The Electronic Frontier Foundation (EFF), an international non-profit digital rights advocacy and legal organization based in the US, is calling this activity illegal and has since 2005 filed lawsuits against both the NSA and various telecom companies. The case has basically come down to whether or not the court can even issue a judgment on the legality and constitutionality of the surveillance.

However, as this example and many others show, the government almost never polices itself. Things like this usually slip by no matter how much liberals like those at the EFF whine about the "separation of powers", "checks and balances", and an assault on the 4th Amendment.

In 2008, to protect the executive branch and businesses (in this case the NSA and telecom companies) from the EFF lawsuits, the legislative branch (Congress) passed immunity laws for the telecom companies and granted the government the authority to monitor telecommunications without warrants when someone suspected of terrorism was communicating internationally. The judicial branch kept up its part of the bargain when a judge named Walker dismissed the cases against the telecom companies on the grounds that Congress had spoken. The executive further defended itself by using something called the "state secrets privilege", which is a McCarthy-era doctrine that basically allows the government to squash a lawsuit before it starts, whenever the case could damage "national security"

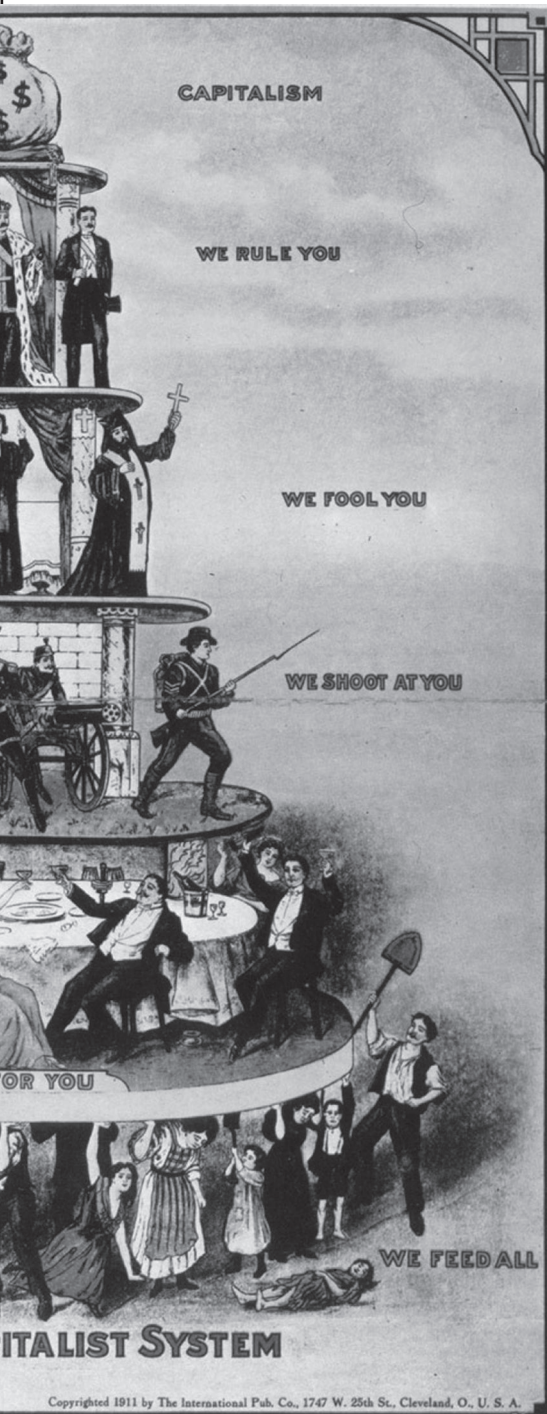
and expose state secrets.

"But what about the 4th Amendment of the Constitution, the part of the Bill of Rights which supposedly guards against unreasonable searches and seizures... that protects us, right?" an annoying pony-tailed liberal might exclaim. You mean that document written and signed by rich, white slave-owners living on stolen native land? Don't

Law is a thing of wax in the hands of the government.

make us laugh! Like every law document the world over, the Constitution has always been a mere thing of wax in the hands of the government which they twist and shape into any form they please. Laws are either used to directly repress everyone in the furtherance of power, control, or big business, or to codify activities that most people know as correct already. Sometimes laws are even used to calm down and trick social movements into believing they've won something from the system--this is called reform. When laws themselves are all that are defended, changed, or created, the effort is useless. Politicians or judges can always change a law or interpret it as they see fit. Nevermind little things like warrantless wire-tapping, government officials and agencies have proven themselves to be entirely capable of getting away with murder.

Instead of trying to convince the government that something it is doing is illegal or unjust, the EFF, being specialists in the internet and technology, might better put all of their admittedly impressive energy and resources into disrupting, hacking, and attacking the state itself, which, after all, is the cause of and not the answer to many of our problems. 🦊





The Mythology of the Middle Class

but the political sphere itself relies on a shared assumption: the basic goodness of capitalist democracy. Politicians may bicker about its internal functioning, but none advocate the abolition of capitalist democracy. The middle class, then, attaches itself to the ideology of capitalist democracy. This ideology is expressed as faith in hard work and upward mobility, with a safety net in case of hard times. It is articulated in the cultural realm as the American Dream. However, unlike many dreams, the American Dream has a basis in reality.

The enduring strength of the American Dream as an ideology is based in large part on the fact that, for a certain time, the dream was true. The rapid development of the modern middle class was initially fueled by veterans returning from World War II. The GI Bill made college education and home ownership a realistic goal, and the economic boom that followed the war provided rising standards of living and stable, well-paying jobs for a large section of white America. In the three decades after the war, mass social movements shook the nation, but eventually deteriorated into reformist and radical tendencies, with the reformists bargaining for increased access to the middle class while the radicals were often met with severe repression.

The expansion of access to upwardly mobile, middle class lifestyles helped solidify the popular narrative of the value of hard work and determination in bringing progress. The reformist logic of social change also found a comfortable home in this narrative, with structural inequality and oppression to be chipped away at rather than smashed. Middle class identity became less of an indicator of socioeconomic status and more of an ideological stance; that is, something to believe in.

The middle class is universally understood to be the most magical of creatures, complete with its own fairy tale narrative. Under threat and nearing extinction, the middle class promises America salvation if only its leaders can find a way to save the mystical beast. Politicians left and right drone on about protecting the middle class, those hardworking Americans of Main Street, Anytown, USA.

The mystical middle class cannot be easily defined. Its name implies the existence of a lower class and an upper class, but where are the boundaries? Furthermore, the middle class is further divided into upper and lower ends. In reality, people who call themselves middle class have greatly varying incomes. What unifies them, and thus defines the middle class, is their self-identification with the idea of a middle class, with a shared set of values and goals; a shared ideology.

What, then, is middle class ideology? At first glance, the middle class appears to have a tremendous split: the partisan divide expressed by the Republican and Democratic parties. This divide extends to every aspect of the political sphere,

Abstracted from reality, the idea of the middle class was romanticized as a universal truth; a guarantee of a certain standard of living with endless opportunity for improvement. However, the postwar economic boom that provided for the development of what would become the myth of the middle class could not last forever. Indeed, by the early 1970s, real wages began to decline, a pattern which continues to this day. As people's paychecks could not sustain their ever-increasing cost of living, debt became integral to maintaining the appearance of a middle class lifestyle. Taking on debt allowed people to maintain the consumption that a middle class lifestyle dictated. In other words, debt allowed people to keep up appearances even as they were increasingly required to live beyond their means in order to do so.

The fixation on appearances served to conceal the very real economic hardships facing people who identified as middle class. Middle class ideology implied that, given the opportunity for improvement that American society offered, any decline in living standards was a mark of personal failure. To that end, it was important to maintain levels of consumption on par with one's peers, as a notable decline in consumption would let others know of one's problems. Debt offered a temporary solution to this problem, allowing people to maintain consumption in spite of declining purchasing power. This tendency has devolved into a situation where taking on debt has become the price of entry into the middle class lifestyle. From mortgages to student loans to auto loans to credit cards, debt is a central feature of American life.

The middle class dream, then, is a fiction propped up by an increased reliance on fictional money, or more precisely, money that does not yet exist. The economic situation that allowed for the development of the American Dream is simply gone. Returning to political discourse, the obsession with saving the middle class can be read as a euphemism standing in for an idealized era of pros



CENTRAL DISTRICT - Thanks to its rich, whiny neighbors, the Autonomia Social Center at 600 24th Ave S. in the Central District is closing after only 9 months. Evidently this mighty little bastion of freedom was too much for these assholes, who could not abide a bit of street-life on an otherwise empty corner. A little music a few nights per week and a well-tended sidewalk garden? Not for these gentrifying scum-bags.

For the whole of its existence, Autonomia provided a place for anarchists and other anti-authoritarians to meet and to have events like movie-nights, workshops, fundraisers, and meetings. There was a free store full of clothes and toys that anyone was welcome to take. There was free tea and coffee and free computers to use, too. L@s Quixotes Infoshop had a nice little bookstore and lending library with cozy chairs and shelves brimming with exciting, incendiary reading material. An industrial kitchen produced food for delicious open potlucks and Food Not Bombs. The place was generally neat and tidy, with posters on the red and black walls celebrating struggles from around the world. A giant calendar proudly announced the month's events.

In addition to all of this, the collec-

tive had planned to hold regular music fundraisers to help pay the rent. Despite efforts to sound-proof the space and open channels of communication with those living around the social center, certain uptight citizens just could not handle Autonomia and its ragtag crowd. Once, a frightened wife even called the police after her husband had gone to talk with the "anarchists" and hadn't come back home soon enough. Instead of crossing the street to find her husband herself, this Nervous Nellie instead called the cops, probably on speed-dial. Her husband, as it turned out, was perfectly fine.

Anyway, thanks to these party-poop-ing shitheads, the Department of Planning and Development put a stop to the music, thus starving Autonomia of potential income. Neighbors like these are the types that regularly attend community meetings with police, slobbering on their handcuffs and offering tips on which neighborhood kids they think possibly maybe could be selling drugs on the corner based on their, you know, manner of dress and slang and stuff. They cringe at graffiti and all other signs of disorder. They use their money and their friendly relationships with cops to sanitize their surroundings. You know,

those kind of people.

Well, they've done it this time. Autonomia has been pushed out of the neighborhood by anal-retentive, control-freak yuppies who are entirely ill-equipped to reside in a densely, diversely populated urban environment that is bound to erupt into riots within the next few years.

But life goes on. It's only a matter of time before a new social center pops up in a disused building near you. 🐦

Tides of Flame would like to thank everyone who made Autonomia possible. We will really miss it.

And to all rich, whiny neighbors: fuck off and die, you boring, khaki-wearing VOTERS!

Massacre

◀ CONTINUED FROM PG. 4

the side of the police, and a battle ensued between the men on the boat and the police on the shore. Everyone on the boat ran to one side, nearly capsizing the vessel.

During the gun battle, several IWW members fell into the water and drowned. Others were killed by gunfire. Luckily, the IWW were able to kill two paid mercenaries. The pilot of the boat was finally able to escape from the docks and return to the waters of Possession Sound. After warning the second boat, the IWW contingent return to Seattle, having lost 12 comrades and carrying 27 wounded others. Back on shore, the local Everett IWW began its rally but were quickly surrounded, beaten, and thrown in jail.

After arriving in Seattle, 75 IWW members were arrested, and all were charged with murder. Shortly following the massacre, the governor of Washington sent several companies of soldiers into Seattle and Everett to prevent any potential reaction to the murders of the IWW. Eventually, the charges against the 75 were dropped.

This event radicalized the working

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Massacre

◀ CONTINUED FROM PG. 7

class of the Seattle area and intensified the conflict between them and the capitalist business owners. IWW members continued to travel the Western United States by hopping freight trains, stopping in different towns, agitating amongst the local workers, and increasing the membership of their union by the thousands. In the Northwest, the majority of IWW members were not only lumberjacks living in the woods, they were also explicitly anarchists.

The press called these people “timber beasts” in an attempt to demonize them, but in reality they were beautiful, kind people. Rather than slave away for the capitalists, these anarchists would infiltrate remote logging camps, launch a strike, and shut down all logging. Dur-

ing these work-stoppages, the forests would be quiet, still, and sometimes filled with laughter. No more trees fell, production stopped, and these “timber beasts” lived freely in the woods for a few months.

Just prior to the Seattle General Strike of 1919, many of these woodsmen mingled and agitated on the streets during that strange moment where the workers almost took over the city. When the repression following the General Strike descended upon the working class, these IWW members drifted away, tramping across the land, their dreams becoming nearly forgotten. But their vision of a world without capitalism continues to this day in the Seattle General Membership Branch of the IWW and the Seattle Solidarity Network, a splinter group of the IWW. 🌀

Middle Class

◀ CONTINUED FROM PG. 6

perity and national strength. But that time has passed, and what remains of the magical middle class is vanishing, despite the desperate efforts of its ideologues. What will remain after it vanishes will be a concentrated ruling class of capitalists and a nihilistic substrate of poor, creditless workers who will be lucky to legally rent an apartment.

Keeping these two forces separated by a middle class buffer has helped keep conflict hidden under the surface. With the American Dream now crumbling into its own grave, we will see conflicts the likes of which we have only so far glimpsed in places like Cairo, Athens, and London. The worst nightmares of the high capitalists are starting to come true. 🌀



Seven million dollar Earth Liberation Front arson of “green” mansions in the Street of Dreams, Snohomish County, March 2008.

*anarchistinternational.org
waronsociety.noblogs.org
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*pugetsoundanarchists.org
autonomiaseattle.org
continualwar.wordpress.com*