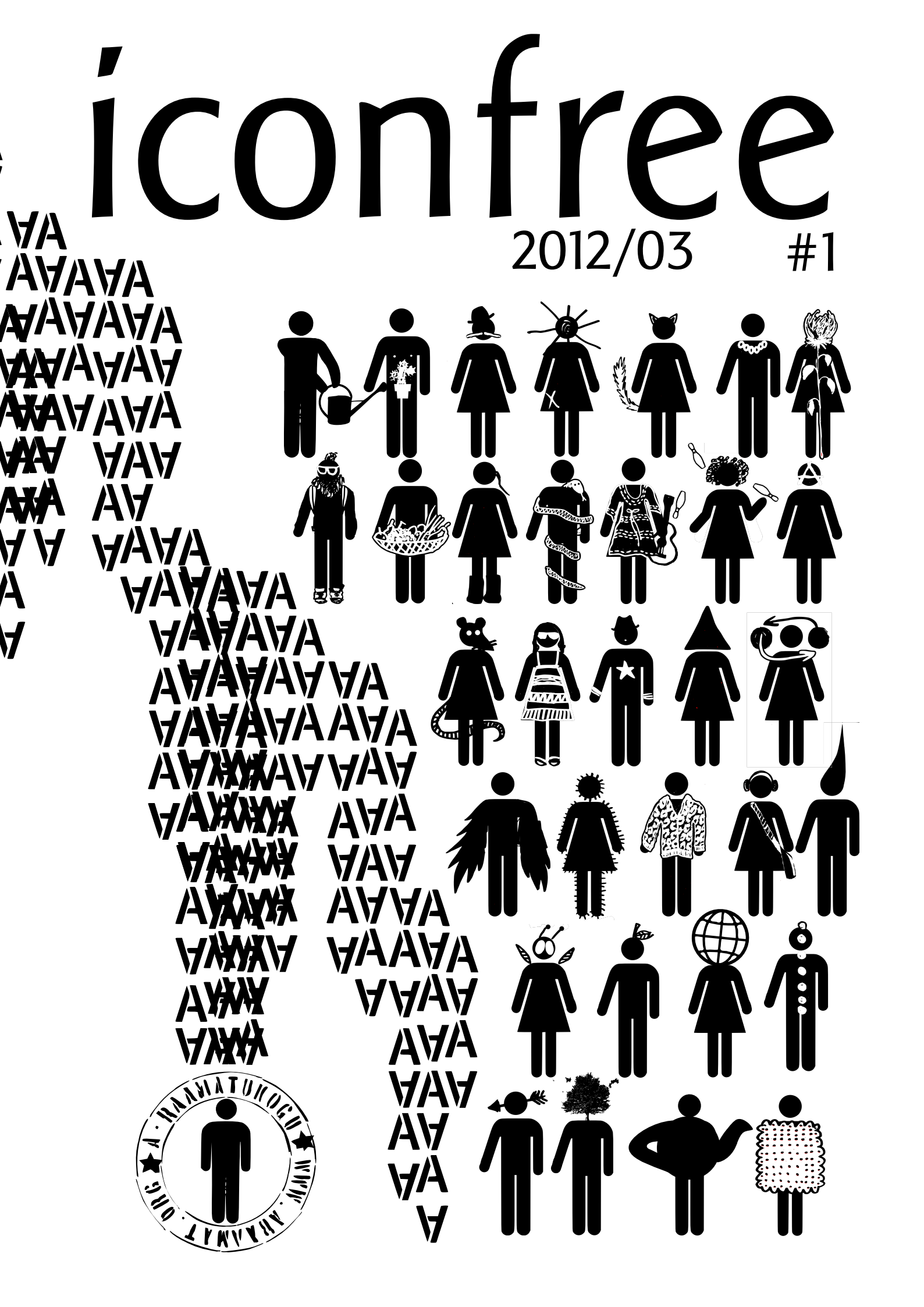
# iconfree

2012/03 #1



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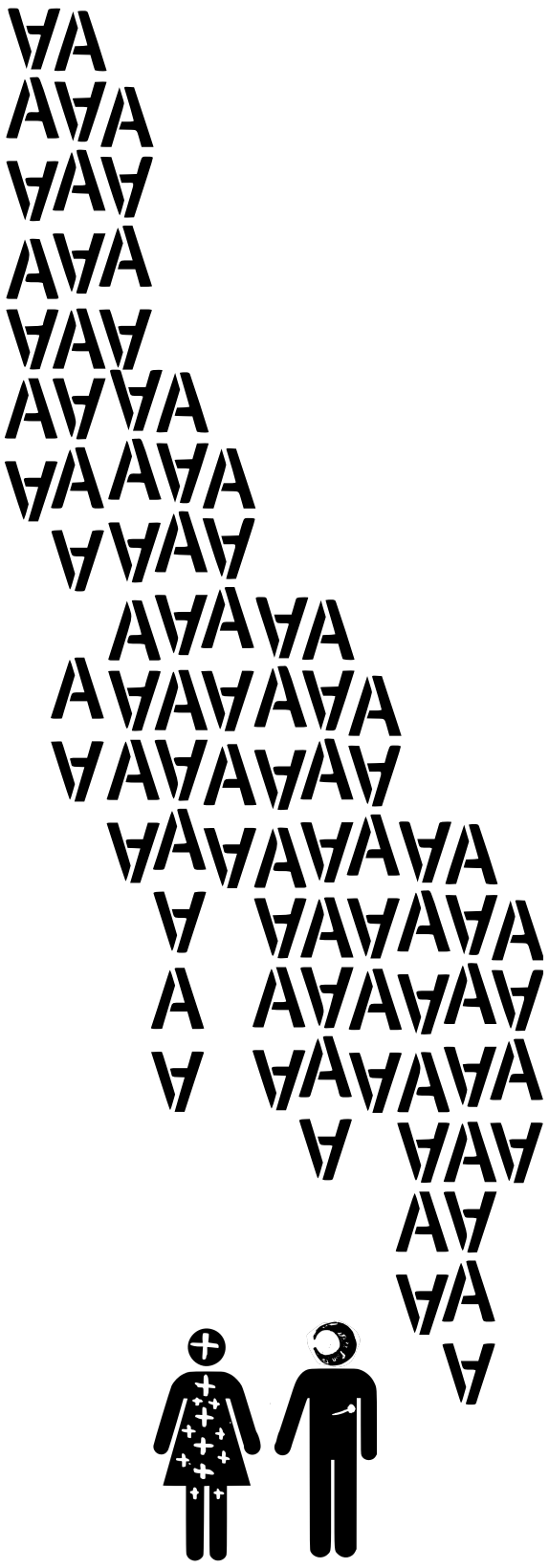


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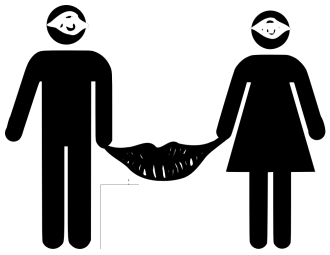
# Introduction

Greetings! Your hands are holding the very first issue of our DIY (Do It Yourself) zine, Iconfree, which is published in two languages simultaneously. Iconfree ("Ikoonivaba" in estonian) consists of texts written by local activists about current social issues. We also want to advance the independent publishing culture in Estonia.

The first Iconfree starts with Kertu's general remarks about A-library's principles, Indrek analyzes A-library's activities thus far and theorizes about anarchist ethics, Mar-iLiis reports about a recently published book on eco-communities, and anonymous introduces the history of crypto-anarchism. We also published text and one of the posters from Marcel's first prize winning work from the art exhibition "Family". The zine ends with comics gathered from A-library's contest, topics of which were "(Il)legal theft", "Woman as home appliance", and "Who owns people?".

A-library is an independent and alternative library in Tartu. We focus on materials about anti-capitalism and anarchism, animal rights and veganism, sexual minorities and gender identity, environmentalism, living green and so forth. We also organize different events, most consistent of which is A-circle - a voluntary gathering for sharing ideas about A-librarys technical side, but also about political-philosophical topics. At the moment, A-library is open on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, 16:00 - 19:00. You can keep up with our doings through our website www.araamat.org

Enjoy!



# On the principles on A-Library // Kertu Mets

In a few collective meetings in A-Library we reached an understanding on some principles that motivate our activities. The following is just a few points – it is a short overview and in need of specifications and improvements. It ought to be kept in mind that A-Library does not have a fixed list of members – the membership is without requirements and free. In the following I will try to explain the principles using a few examples.

## 1. Against concentration of power

The purpose of political power is to take care of the society's well-being and functioning. This presumes changeability of political institutions in every situation. Therefore, political power should be depending on the decisions of the citizens. As power becomes more concentrated this possibility decreases. In that case the power structures are already formed by political parties and their inner politics. For example: those who form the parliament are decided by the parties not the people, which means that the parliament can be put together from politicians, who the voter did not choose. Those who hold the power are motivated not by improving the society but by keeping that power.

For example: the unions in Estonia. The unions' activity so far has not changed anything and the widespread dissatisfaction has led to strikes on many fields of labor. The power is already concentrated and unreachable even for organized majority. Workers are not able to change there own situation because the decisions that affect them are made by the government without any negotiation.

Another example is the process of approving ACTA. Individuals and mostly unorganized groups (exception form the organization Eesti Interneti Kogukond) of citizens have tried to affect the decisions of those in power but so far without significant results and the process of accepting ACTA is still on-going.

A-Library's activists favor smaller communities where the decision-making is dependent on each member of the community. We think that every person should participate in the decision-making that concerns them and their community. We practice consensus. We are convinced that in a society with concentrated power it is not possible for a person to make decisions for themselves (or effect the decision making process).

## 2. Reducing of suffering

Why are we against different types of discrimination.

Homophobia. In Estonian society and legislation there is no place for same sex couples – they don't have the same rights or freedoms as male-female couples. Mostly because of blind following of tradition there is now a situation when one part of the society is suffering. The suffering comes from the demonization of homosexuals and can lead to mental and physical violence.

Sexism. Our society is dominated by traditional two-gender thinking and the imposition

of gender roles. Gender does not determine person's abilities and is not juridically important. In this case suffering can be caused by direct (e.g. wage-difference) and indirect discrimination (e.g. behavior on the basis of stronger/weaker gender stereotype).

Racism. (Radical) Nationalism is common and with it comes ignorance and unjustified superiority behavior towards other cultures and nationalities. This leads to discrimination on different levels and in time the gap between groups can get wider and may bring an overall partition of society and stop it from functioning. Also with radical nationalism comes physical violence.

Speciesism. Species-specific norms of ethics are not justified (this notion requires longer explanation that we will deal with in other following texts). For example: a norm of ethics can be the prohibition of torture, in other words – the prohibition of causing needless suffering. All agree that the torture of a person is wrong but this comprehension does not apply to animals. We have laws against the torture of animals, but we believe they are too faint and thus speciesism is very common. We can see this in meat and fur industries where other species are abused (tortured and killed for profit and vanity). In the present moment animals have no rights and are treated like means of production.

## General principles.

We believe that a person should have so much rights/freedom, until it doesn't interfere with other peoples rights/freedoms. We also understand that this principle is not flawless (for example: how do we measure psychological suffering), but it is still useful in most cases. One goal of A-Library is to help reduce suffering by promoting equal rights, anti-fascism and vegan lifestyle. Suffering is caused mostly by people acting according to tradition (on which the laws of the government are based upon). Therefore, trying to reduce suffering we may act against tradition and against the laws of the government (if the tradition or the given laws causes sufferings). We are willing to ignore and fight against certain discriminating laws.

# Critique of A-Library and the Concept of Anarchsit Ethics // Indrek Lõbus

## Introduction

The goal of this paper is to draw attention to some of the weak points of A-Library and other similar socially and politically active movements, mainly to the inconsistencies in their theoretical claims about institutions. In the other half of the paper I will show, that the situation still isn't hopeless, and that even though their theoretical claims in the present form must be cast aside, their practice doesn't carry any big problems. On the basis of such practice I will then put together a descriptive theory, that would give us a consistent picture of what A-Library is doing, and also show how to mould this descriptive theory into a normative one (which I will call 'anarchist ethics' throughout this paper), that A-library can knowingly follow and introduce, and that has the needed theoretical background for it.

## 1. Pre-comments

Before I can get to the point, some pre-comments are needed. First, since there'll be much talk of theories, I will bring out the criteria every theory must meet, and what one must keep in mind in the case of a normative theory as a special kind of theory (I will do this in chapter 1.1.). In chapter 1.2. I will bring out two distinctions that we later need in analyzing A-library's activities: first a distinction between practice and advocacy and then between clear and ambiguous advocacy.

### 1.1. Criteria every theory must meet

First, quickly on meaningful and meaningless expressions: an expression is meaningful if (1) correct and incorrect uses of it are possible and (2) in the case of every single use it is possible to determine from a neutral point of view whether it is a case of correct or incorrect use. An expression is meaningless, if it doesn't satisfy these conditions.

Words that express emotions, hand gestures and exclamations are among many meaningless expressions. They too have their place in communication, but you can not create or defend a theory with hand-gestures (leaving out sign-language). For the same reason you can't create or defend a theory using meaningless, emotion-expressing words.

From these conditions it follows in turn that every theory must be open to criticism and be potentially refutable[1]. In the case of normative theories (like anarchist theories) it is necessary also to bring out the value judgements it rests upon. This is needed since value judgements themselves are neither open to criticism nor refutable. If a theory is no longer tangled with value judgments it becomes analysable.

[1] In other words if the defender of a theory is asked, what circumstances must become evident in order for you to abandon this theory, then she must have at least one answer. If she doesn't, then what she's defending, is not a real theory. [For more on the subject see Karl R. Popper *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (1934).]

What conditions must a normative theory meet in order to be an anarchist theory? Just as the word 'screwdriver' must be at least some way related to screws and driving them, so must 'anarchism' be related to some authority or power (*archos*) and some form of denying it (*an-*).[2] Which authority it is and how exactly one sets about to denying it depends on circumstances.

1.2. Some distinctions that should be kept in mind

(1) Distinction between practice and advocacy: if one advocates a theory, then this theory is her answer to the question: what do I think others ought to do? On the other hand, when practicing a theory, it is her answer to the question: *what do I think I ought to do?* Since in both cases the theory works as a set of guidelines, one can meaningfully talk of advocacy and practice only in the case of normative theories, which will be meant by 'theory' in the following.

This distinction gives us a number of things to do with a theory. We can a) advocate it without practicing ourselves (hypocrisy); b) practice it without advocating; c) we can do both simultaneously; d) advocate through practice (set ourselves as an example); e) practice through advocacy (e.g. „Shout like I am shouting now!" – silly but possible nevertheless); f) keep it to ourselves and do nothing.

I will draw attention to two of these possibilities: practicing without advocacy (b) and advocacy through practice (d). They are seemingly indistinguishable – no one can deny me of hoping that others will follow my lead, and others might also follow my lead even if I never planned it to happen. For this reason advocacy through practice has a degree of immunity with respect to the following distinction.

(2) Distinction between clear and ambiguous advocacy: one can have a well constructed theory or a poorly constructed theory, depending on whether it meets the criteria given above, – both can be advocated. Advocating a well constructed theory (theory that meets the criteria given above) I call clear advocacy, advocating a poorly constructed theory I call ambiguous advocacy.

In addition to advocating a theory that meets the demands of a normative theory, clear advocacy must 1) include explanations, why these advocated guidelines ought to give the promised results, 2) these explanations must be clearly expressed (so they too would be open to criticism and be potentially refutable) and 3) if these explanations fall under criticism, the mark of clear advocacy is rethinking the theory not producing new explanations.

Ambiguous advocacy, respectively, either 1) doesn't include such explanations, 2) explanations given are ambivalent (can be understood in different ways) or 3) when falling under criticism new explanations are given. (E.g. if explanations on *why* capitalism is undesirable are rendered questionable, then new explanations are given, but the fact that capitalism *is* undesirable, remains beyond any doubt.)

[2] As a rule anarchist theories tend to be against political authority but there are other forms of anarchism, e.g. Paul K. Feyerabend's anarchism in sciences, according to which scientists should not let themselves be restrained by any fixed methodology [see *Against Method* (1975)].

## 2. Practice and convictions of A-library

First of all, some examples of practice and convictions of A-library: A-library organizes Really Really Free Market (RRFM), which is motivated by the convictions of members on about consumerism and economy. It is believed that capitalism makes people greedy and inconsiderate about the ecosystem. They believe that fighting against such mentalities they undermine capitalism, which is considered by them essentially a bad institution. A-library's cooperation with Estonian Gay Youth [Eesti Gei Noored (EGN)] is motivated by their demand that there'd be equality between all individuals and that the institution of hierarchy in society ought to be demolished. Standing up for the defense of animals is grounded by the members of A-libary with statements about animal rights. Besides this, it is a widespread view in A-library that the state constrains the freedom of individuals and only by demolishing it and replacing it with strong communal relationships can freedom to individuals be guaranteed.

### 2.1. Weak theoretical background

It is obvious that convictions held in A-Library do not satisfy the necessary conditions to being good theories. Expressions like 'anti-capitalism', 'demolishing the institution of hierarchy in society', 'constraining of freedom', 'animal rights' and also the connections between greed and capitalism or equal rights and the institution of hierarchy in society presume an exhaustive theoretical analysis that has never been taken up in A-library. Convictions of A-Library are rather of the emotional kind, containing meaningless expressions, which means that they are neither open to criticism nor refutable. In other words, they do not satisfy the necessary conditions of being a theory. Advocating such ideas can only be ambiguous advocacy which is the bad kind (as opposed to clear advocacy).

### 2.2. Advocacy through practice

At the same time it must be noted that such weak theoretical background does not disturb the practice of A-library. Not even amongst the members is there a consensus what exactly is anarchism or anti-capitalism or what precisely do they mean when they talk about the state constraining the freedom of individuals. And yet when A-library is carrying out events (like RRFM) these ambiguities don't seem to interfere with that, and it's important to point out that neither do they interfere with the ramifications of these events. One of these ramifications can be motivating others.

Now let us come back to the previously mentioned advocacy through practice (setting oneself as an example or passive advocacy). Even though A-library in its current condition is incapable of carrying out good advocacy in active form, advocating their ideas through practice poses no problems. And as I previously showed, this can be carried out even unbeknown to oneself. I claim that, if at all, then that is the way A-library's advocacy has had an affect on society so far.

## 3. Anarchist theory based on A-library's practice

First I will specify what type of anarchism will be under discussion below, and then I will formulate an anarchist theory on the basis of A-library's practice which could, in the

absence of a better term, be called anarchist ethics (or anarcho-ethics). I will do this by first formulating the anarchist-side of the theory and then the ethics-side.

Since the theory in this essay is just a conclusion of the analysis of A-library's practice, it is a descriptive theory (a theory about A-library's practice). But if such theory and the values mentioned in it are knowingly accepted, it can become a normative theory. I'll explain how this transformation is possible. For example, a theory that explicates some patterns of behavior of people and the ramifications these patterns entail is itself descriptive. But if someone who gets to know the theory, decides that these ramifications are something she herself desires and shapes her own behavior accordingly, then the once descriptive theory becomes normative.

### 3.1. Institution anarchism and problem anarchism

Anarchist ethics, which I will be dealing with below, differs from traditional anarchist theories in one key aspect. To explain it, I will divide anarchism into two: institution anarchism and problem anarchism. Anarchist ethics is anarchism in the sense of problem anarchism and not of institution anarchism. What do these two concepts mean?

Institution anarchism, as the name states, is objecting some institution[3] X. The position I call problem anarchism is objecting some attitude or viewpoint independently of the institution that holds it (or just a person who holds it). Or more precisely, problem anarchism is a critical stand towards authority in certain situations in order to solve problems. Imagine a situation where your neighbor forbids homeless people to use your street and that you don't approve of such ban. As an institution anarchist you would in that situation take your neighbor to be a bad person, as a problem anarchist you would only consider the ban as wrong. Whether the neighbor herself is good or bad doesn't concern you at all. Replace the word 'neighbor' with 'state' (or 'capitalism' or 'tradition') and the banning of homeless people with some manifestation of state's power like some law that disturbs you at the moment, and you'll see what would you be objecting as a problem anarchist.

The reason why problem anarchism is preferable over institution anarchism is that being an institution anarchist requires an exhaustive theoretical background, since to show that an institution is essentially flawed one must first give an unbiased and exhaustive treatment of that institution or more simply put: one must be a professional political theorist. For problem anarchism this is not required. As I said, A-library is not a group of political theorists. Therefore, anarchism in A-library can only be problem anarchism.[4]

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[3] Institution – „a well-established and structured pattern of behavior or of relationships that is accepted as a fundamental part of a culture, as marriage: *the institution of the family*" (Dictionary.com). This is the wider sense of the word. This includes also the narrow sense for which I prefer to use the term 'formal institution' (like the state, school, organization etc).

[4] One might even argue that there can be no argument that would conclude the essential faultiness of an institution. Take school as an example. One can argue that certain practices of a school institution lead to undesired results and these practices must not be allowed. If now the school institution is changed accordingly, then those problems will disappear. It seems we can criticize

### 3.2. Anarchist ethics as anarchism

Anarchist ethics still makes one essentialist assumption: normative claims about society have no truth value independent of value judgments (e.g. 'democracy is the only right form of government'). But value judgments may vary from person to person – even one and the same person can hold different values at different times. That in turn means that there is no infallible authority who could answer questions about society (and therefore polity). For anarchist ethics this means that one must always keep a critical attitude towards authority.[5]

Here 'critical attitude towards authority' means that one questions the actions of a given authority, it doesn't mean that one should criticize the existence of authority. Therefore, anarchist ethics isn't objecting the state or capitalism or some such. Also, since every institution can make mistakes in their practice, then there can be no realistic model of Utopian society. In other words, the belief must be dropped that society can be arranged in such a way that it doesn't have any problems or that no faulty decisions will be made in it. But what distinguishes a follower of anarchist ethics from any other critical thinker?

### 3.3. Anarchist ethics as ethics

Critical stance towards authority in the case of anarchist ethics is supported by a fixed principle, in the light of which the decisions made by authority (or the omission of decisions by authority) are critically analyzed. A simple formula that describes this is this: a principle P holds and if some decision x goes against P, then x is wrong. One can not overstate that such principle must be thoroughly analyzed and decisions that are declared right or wrong on the basis of that must also be right or wrong on the basis of our moral intuition[6]. Such principle can not be social or political (that would, for example, set liberty or progress of civilization as the relevant criterion). It must be a principle of ethics. Only then will all the relevant questions about society be in its sphere of influence. I'll explain. All political, social and ethics questions situate in a hierarchy. All questions about politics are also questions about society (but not vice versa) and all social questions are also questions of ethics (but not vice versa), so all political and social questions are also questions of ethics (but not vice versa, e.g. 'should lying for a good purpose be allowed?', 'what stand to take in the question of adultery?' and 'is suicide morally wrong?' are all questions of ethics but not political, although they might come up in political discourse if morals are discussed). Considering such hierarchy, the principle we are seeking can only be a principle of ethics.

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practices but not institutions themselves. Institutions themselves (like school or the state) seem to be some abstract objects with no relevant ontological status. This however means that any version of institution anarchism is doomed from the beginning.

[5] See Karl R. Popper *The Poverty of Historicism* (1957) or *Knowledge without Authority* [In *Popper: Selections* (1985)]

[6] I will use 'moral intuition' and 'intuition' synonymously in this paper since no other type of intuitions are discussed here and by 'moral intuition' I mean a disposition to consider some actions morally acceptable and others not.

### 3.3.1. Ethics principle on the basis of A-library's practice

I finished the second chapter by stating that A-library's actions (like actions in general) have ramifications independent of the agent's wishes. I mentioned that one of these ramifications can be motivating others. There remains a question: what is it then that A-library motivates people to do, or, what are the rest of these ramifications that come with the events and other doings A-library carries out?

Let's take the three examples I used in the beginning of the second chapter but forget the reasoning of A-library members: RRFM, cooperation with EGN and actions in the name of animals. I claim that the best possible common denominator for the three is relieving suffering. RRFM helps to solve the problems of people in economic difficulties, cooperation with EGN helps to lessen social outcasting of sexual minorities and possibly even violence towards them, acting in the name of animals is nothing but a try to relieve their suffering.

If the relieving of suffering is taken as a conscious goal, then it would be an ethics principle – exactly that what we need for our theory. If this principle is given a formulation that goes together with the intuitions of the members of A-library, then we have found the principle that would give us the criterion we need for critically analyzing the decisions and actions of institutions. Although the exact moral intuitions of A-library members are only known to themselves, I will use what I have observed during the time I have spent with them.

The formulation of the ethics maxim is the following: always do that deed which reduces the most suffering. Since the members of A-library are also willing to cause some inconveniences to others, in order to, for example, improve the treatment of animals, then as a first specification to the maxim it should be added that causing lesser suffering is allowed in order to relieve greater suffering, but not vice versa. Another specification is in order because of a counter-example: imagine a situation where everybody in town has some mild stomach virus and it could be said that the whole town is suffering. But at the same time there is one person in that town who is being heavily beaten. To avoid the possibility that treating the stomach virus could be considered more important than helping the beating-victim because more suffering would be reduced, the following should also be added: suffering must be relieved starting from the greatest that is currently known to you that you can relieve or, to use fancier terms: in evaluating suffering, quality has priority over quantity. I will use the term 'ethics principle' to refer to the whole thing: the maxim and the two specifications.

But an objection could arise: in paragraph 3.2. I brought out the fact that such claims as the ethics principle is doing never have absolute validness because the values a person holds change. Why should the ethics principle be immune to this all of a sudden?

It is indeed immune. Here's why. The expression 'suffering' always means something undesirable (and people who say they love to suffer literally speak nonsense). That what we find undesirable depends on our values. If our values change, so will that what we consider suffering. Yet it will remain true that suffering is undesirable to us.

Therefore, even if our values change, the ethics principle can still hold.[7] Other problems might of course arise too. E.g. if we become more egoistic, we might not want to relieve the suffering of others anymore. This however is something out of the reach of this paper. My goal was to give a criterion on how to decide whether political or social decisions are made well, it doesn't deal with the justification of ethics. This is a whole other matter.

### 3.4. Anarchist ethics as a theory

I showed that in the current state A-library does not have a theory for which clear advocacy could be done, since a lot of the concepts the members use do not meet the necessary conditions of meaningfulness and the claims they make about society presume knowledge of political theories which they don't have. I will now show before the conclusion that anarchist ethics that I formulated here meets the requirements of a well-formed theory and that it can also actively be advocated.

It meets 1) the conditions for meaningfulness: it is open to criticism and hence potentially refutable (the ethics principle, the assumption that there is no infallible authority, institution-situation anarchism distinction are all open to criticism); 2) the condition required from normative theories: it's goal is brought out (following the ethics principle) and also the value judgments it presupposes (moral intuitions about suffering). And if advocated, it also meets 3) the conditions for qualifying as clear advocacy: it would have directions on how to reach the given goal (problem anarchism). How clearly or ambiguously the statements are made depends already on the person actually making them but they would surely be criticiseable since the theory itself is criticisable.

## Conclusion

I brought out the necessary conditions a normative anarchist theory must meet. After that I showed that the principles and ideas that are currently followed in A-library do not meet these conditions, but also that their practice does not really suffer because of it. Finally I formulated an anarchist theory on the basis of A-library's practice, but which differs in some respect from traditional anarchism since I defined it as problem anarchism as opposed to institution anarchism and bound it with moral convictions held in A-library.

Lastly I would like to mention that putting together this paper I discovered that in addition to A-library most other similar „political" organizations all over the world are in their convictions actually movements motivated by moral intuitions. But trying to put these moral intuitions in political and economical terms they have, instead of carrying out an informative advocacy of problems and solutions, reached an unintelligible maze of meaningless notions which in turn has brought with it a situation where such organizations have (rightfully) been left out of the real discussions of social problems – from places where they could actually bring the most benefit to everyone.

[7] A similar idea is proposed (although he himself would disagree) by Immanual Kant in his *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals* (For the latest English translation from 2005 see: *www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdf/kantgrou.pdf* )

# Anticipating ACTA: a brief detour into crypto-anarchism // anonymous

An expectation of laws and treaties to restrict freedom of communication over networks? Quite a familiar feeling. I have felt this before.

The current anticipation of new laws to restrict some form of communication or another, did not appear out of nowhere. Much of it stems from prior experience, whether if be with the USSR regulating access to typewriters, or another historic example: US treatment of cryptographic software as "munitions".

Tools for cryptography have suffered from restrictions on possession, production, trade and export in almost every country, ever since cryptography started benefiting from tools, especially since the advent of digital computers. Amateur radio licenses have long prohibited transmission of ciphertext.

This common practice by a wide range of states encountered its first obstacles in the USA, where a critical mass of networked civilian computers was first attained.

A necessary predecessor for a breakthrough were strong symmetric-key block ciphers. Serious cryptography in civilian hands could perhaps be anticipated by the late 1970-ies, when IBM developed the 56-bit symmetric block cipher DES. This algorithm, by now broken and considered unsafe, was then approved for government and commercial use by the NSA in 1977 and subsequently received its three-letter name (Data Encryption Standard) from the Bureau of Standards.

Only a year later, Rivest, Shamir and Adleman published a description of the RSA public-key cryptographic algorithm, based on the difficulty of finding the prime factors of large integers. RSA was arguably the last piece in the puzzle, enabling practical public cryptosystems where each pair of correspondents doesn't require a new key, and keys for bulk transmission of data (using fast symmetric ciphers) can be agreed upon via asymmetric ciphers. As if this wasn't enough, Diffie and Hellmann had in 1976 published an algorithm for anonymous key exchange (establishing a shared secret) which didn't require asymmetric ciphers to create a secure channel.

In the 1980s, further developments occurred towards the eventual legal scuffle over unrestricted private use of cryptography. Personal computers became increasingly feasible to obtain and free software gained a foothold, driven not only by ideas of freedom and economic justice, but likewise autonomy and security - letting every sufficiently experienced user check the source code of the tools they use. By 1991, the scene was set for conflict. Software engineer and longtime anti-nuclear activist Phil Zimmermann published a program called PGP (Pretty Good Privacy) which used strong algorithms and decent key lengths. Through channels such as Usenet and Peacenet (the latter populated mostly by activist folks) the program soon found a global user base.

With this act, Zimmermann brought on himself a criminal investigation by US Customs,

which formalized by 1993 a charge of "munitions export without a license". Zimmermann called their bluff, publishing the entire source code of PGP as a book, asserting his right to freedom of publication.

Hearings in courts and Congress followed, with Zimmermann receiving substantial aid from various civil libertarians and free speech advocates all over the world. It was during the PGP controversy in 1992, when the "cypherpunks" mailing list appeared.

Eventually in 1996, charges against Zimmermann were dropped, and some years later, the US reviewed its export control regulations. (Export of strong cryptography still remains banned, but only to a handful of countries, whose inhabitants ironically might need it most.)

The message however, had been loudly transmitted and by some, clearly received. A new era of state encroachment, this time on digital communications networks, was to be anticipated. The US Secret Service confiscating a harmless role-playing book with some administrative contact information of a telephone company, and claiming it a handbook for computer crime in the GURPS Cyberpunk Raid did help raise awareness too. :)

Either way, places popped up on the Internet where persons with a punk attitude (yet mostly without Mohawks) used to gather, discuss and plan. The cypherpunks mailing list was not the only such place, but perhaps the most notable of them, its denizens having included Satoshi Nakamoto (Bitcoin), Julian Assange (Wikileaks), Adam Back (hash cash), Bram Cohen (BitTorrent), Moxie Marlinspike (Convergence), Bruce Schneier (multiple algorithms), Ian Goldberg (OTR), many others and probably random (I2P) too, though it is uncertain whether it was that random or some other. :P

Some cypherpunks wrote more code, others raised public awareness, a bunch of them proved a most entertaining judicial pain in the butt for authorities (Mike Godwin of EFF)... some tried to formulate themselves politically. Of the latter, some concluded that they were anarchists, even picking a name for their tendency (crypto-anarchism) though never fully agreeing about what it meant.

Pertaining to ACTA and the current situation we find around us, a rather insightful statement by a member of that crew was offered by John Gilmore (also an accomplished coder) who put it this way "We are literally in a race between our ability to build and deploy technology, and their ability to build and deploy laws and treaties. Neither side is likely to back down or wise up until it has definitively lost the race." In this race, surprisingly as it may come, we may be holding high ground, and may have started on time. Deployment of strong civilian cryptography started well before spy agencies figured out how to respond. Development of anonymity networks (Freenet in 2000, TOR in 2002, I2P in 2003) started well before governments started compelling Internet service providers to monitor and restrict traffic. There already exists a digital cryptographic currency (Bitcoin, 2009) and multiple plans (practiced with various degrees of success within anonymity networks) exist on how to replace DNS, if need should arise. Thanks to the GNU/Linux projects and other similar ones, we have free operating systems to build on, and free compilers to build with.

To our surprise, we have plentiful room to retreat without losing much. Thus, if we fail to repel another legislative assault, we should not admit defeat, but keep encrypting more and more of our traffic and data storage, to remove any hope on the opposing side of getting back to the age of easy wiretapping.

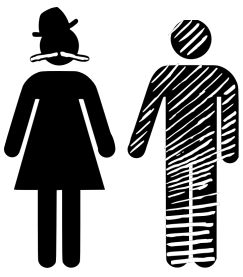
Our gains on the Internet front are not easily reversed. While repelling legislation which threatens freedom is a worthy goal, we should keep in mind that the legislative landscape is forever tilted against us, at best conductive to narrow escapes, Phyrric victories (as was the EU Software Patent Directive) or outright losses (as went the EU Data Retention Directive, or the new UK penalty for failing to decrypt your data).

On the contrary, in the field of engineering, direct action works. Key pieces of Internet infrastructure and widespread yet privacy-hostile services still await friendly replacements. Examples of such would be DNS, Facebook, Google, perhaps also MSN (though the latter vulnerability has good pathways of mitigation, via the use of free clients like Pidgin, free protocols and servers like Jabber/XMPP and cryptographic plugins like OTR).

Beyond the software ecosystem however, lies the hardware landscape, which is currently not favorable to us at all. Out of need for economy, the Internet has become centralized. The infrastructure which carries our messages, is not in our hands - it belongs to a small number of large companies, whose compliance state is well positioned to enforce.

Recent news from scenes of revolt / repression (whether successful or otherwise) should remind us - when policing a network proves unfeasible, shutting it down entirely becomes an attractive choice.

Thus, permit me to finish this article with a call to anyone positioned to act. In my humble opinion, we need a new wave of engineering activists focusing fresh effort on a new aspect of networking: creating autonomous, decentralized physical infrastructure - so that in future, there would be no Barcelona Phone Exchange to fight for and lose, as some comrades needed to in 1937.



# A stateless way of life, using eco-communities as an example // Mar-iLiis Leis

This essay is based on the book 'Eco-communities in Theory and Practice' that was published in 2011 as part of the Lifestyle Studies series. The book is a collection of essays in which nine authors (Airi-Alina Allaste, Kaisa Kaha, Lee Maripuu, Mare Müürsepp, Liis Ojamäe, Marion Pajumets, Mariliis Rannama, Kaidi Tamm, and Peeter Vihma) discuss the eco-communities, concentrating mostly on what is happening in Estonia in this field. The first part (Dreams and Possibilities) describes eco-communities' movement, taxonomy, housing preferences, the creation of closeness, looking after children and the division of household chores, receiving and giving education as well as works and self-fulfillment associated with masculinity. The second part (Experiences) deals with three existing communities: Lilleoru (Flower Valley) and Uue Maailma Seltsimaja (New World Clubhouse) in Estonia and Kesselberg in Germany (the latter being called Wälderplatz by the authors).

The authors began their study with no theoretical starting-points and approached the subject as openly as possible, carrying out interviews and participatory surveys among other things. All nine authors attempt to remain as objective as possible in their writings. This may occasionally turn their language into being too scientific while giving those who are already familiar with the concept of eco-communities the chance to get some additional clarity and information regarding this phenomenon. In addition to this the numerous references and citations of sources help the reader to travel on the paths of interesting thoughts and to later go for their own discovery of subsequent texts.

We live in a low-stability high-risk society that is changing faster than people can adapt to it. While the scientific and economic development, the globalization and the increased possibilities for individual self-fulfillment do have some positive sides, losing touch with traditions has resulted in people losing touch with themselves. The human being as a creature of thoughts and feelings has been pushed to the background, the peaceful co-existence with other living creatures and with the nature to ensure the durability of the Earth, has been forgotten. This is not a new observation at all, but the countries and the official institutions have thus far only shown their inability to find solutions to change the situation. One-off projects such as Teeme Ära! (Let's Do It!) or Toidupank (Food Bank) deal merely with the consequences, not with the problem itself. It sometimes seems that the world perhaps does need a global catastrophe to end the slumber of overconsumption and uncaringness.

In this extreme situation unions emerge that change the way of thinking and the way of life as its consequence, creating community test-tubes where new kinds of social and economical relations occur. Calling these unions 'eco-communities' gives way to certain simplicity and apprehension, even though many eco-communities do not label themselves as such. This is partly because the prefix 'eco', due to its overuse, has acquired a negative connotation. 'The tendency where people try to gain popularity for a

product or a service with an argument of environmental friendliness, without actually changing anything substantial about it, is called 'greenwash'." (Vihma 2011:77)

Peeter Vihma, following Ross Jackson's model which, based on the motive for their appearance, classified eco-communities as social, spiritual and ecological, has categorized the Estonian eco-communities into four groups, using two axes of spirituality-environmentality and individuality-collectivity. These axes show how different communities can be and how different are the needs that they may address. While the 'back-to-the-countryside eco-communities' concentrate on nature friendly householding, in the 'balance-focused eco-communities' the feeling of belonging together and of acting together play an important role in addition to the nature-friendliness. The 'spiritual eco-communities' pay less attention to the environment because the harmonic co-existence with it follows naturally from the collective action. The 'freeing communities' are the most open unions that have their basis in individual freedom. At the same time one should bear in mind that this categorization is exemplatory rather than real. Many Estonian eco-communities are still in the developing phase where the living together is only just being planned.

Mariliis Rannama's article discusses the village of Kesselberg in Germany and adds the opposing to the 'regular society' to the list of motives for appearance. There is a strong anti-state attitude present at Kesselberg, even though the villagers consider themselves no anarchists. Besides being against the state, the everyday life in the village is relatively anarchistic: the community area and the premises are open to all, there is no private property nor written rules, the decision processes are based on consensus and the work and the co-operation of villagers all stem from voluntariness. Kesselberg serves as a prime example of successfully applying the anarchist way of thinking that combines the values of personal freedom and highly accentuated collectivity. Such way of life has but one demand – tolerance. The lack of it would make the co-existence of so many different people and cultures impossible. Besides sharing premises and resources living together also means reckoning with one another. Learning to live together may require some getting-used-to and some seeking for new boundaries between what is public and what is private, but as one considers the finding of an expanded family from the community, the effort is usually worth it. The increased empathy, the considering of the consequences of one's actions, and the pure joy from being together enrich the community life. Additionally, in open communities there are the travelers that add an interesting global dimension bringing stories of what is going on in the world straight to one's home.

As the eco-communities seek for an independence from the state, the contemporary eco-villages also feel that they are islands of well-being that exist as a compromise in the system. Their way of life is not about opposing to the state, but rather about forming a stateless society that renders the state useless. This is one side of changing the world – dealing with oneself. However, one must not remain isolated into this point, it is also important to act outwards. This is where the various levels of the community, tucked into each other like layers of an onion, come into play. The community begins from home, expands to the street, to the village, to the surroundings, and will eventually

embrace the whole planet as a big uniform organism. The Gaia theory, which states that the Earth functions like a uniform wholesome organism that unites everyone and everything that dwells in it with complex systems, is a fairly wide-spread idea among the members of the communities. Having once apprehended the connection between oneself and everything else it becomes increasingly difficult to act irresponsibly or as a burden to the environment.

The community format offers the chance to learn from each other and to gain experiences without unwillingly attending school. The community members' ideas about education, discussed in the article 'In the Golden Hall of Free Nature' by Mare Müürsepp, are much more free and practical. The importance is given to child's interest and development, to the felt knowledge and to the relations between people, not to the curricular or to the memorizing of dry facts by heart. By creating a more carefree style and environment for learning the stress of students and teachers becomes less. That is how, through the implementation of the Gaia theory, the whole world turns into a better place.

The seeking of independence and the simulation of new ways of life, practiced by the eco-communities, guarantee its universality. The communities analyze what in their opinion is need of improvement, what they would like to change, and offer solutions that often end up restructuring the whole problem, returning to the starting-point. The forming of the Taevasmaa village in Lilleoru started from the gathering of people who wanted to create a more suitable environment for themselves. This was followed by the experiments with local materials and by the finding of full solutions. This approach seeks to keep the environmental footprint of the construction works and of the subsequent village life as small as possible.

Many people, however, have no possibility or no will to start living in the countryside and to begin from zero. One way of starting communities in cities while also adhering to the environmental way of thinking is to squat. In Estonia squatting has not yet gained wider popularity and to most people such practice reminds of adolescents or bums roaming about in empty houses looking for a place to stay for wintertime. In Tartu, however, squatters have found each other and they are planning to show to the public soon that squatting is possible in Estonia too. The biggest motivation is the creation of a community-house to various non-official unions while also toying with the idea of squatting as a political statement.

There is a lot to learn from the growing movement of eco-communities and not only from the perspective of integrated world view, person-orientated approach, and calm and balanced way of life. The communities show that life without hierarchies does not necessarily mean chaos, while also offering the possibility to try and feel the alternatives to today's societal organization that has a long way from satisfying everyone. But the most important gift from the communities is the belief that better world is possible today.

unetsotiaalsete ja materiaalsete suhet väljendus.

[kas neil on need suhted? neid näib Luna.]

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sisteenidest sõltumatu
vaba ühiskondlikult kasutatav
ruum, mis pannustaks
uue nõudlusvõrra avaguru.

MIDAGI PÕNEV ETTE VÕTTA
VABAS ÕHKKONNAS.

VABATAHT...
AVATUD

What goes around, comes around. ~~[illegible]~~ Maden osake masina-
varyant siis. Nu seidometuumistus kindo minab seda
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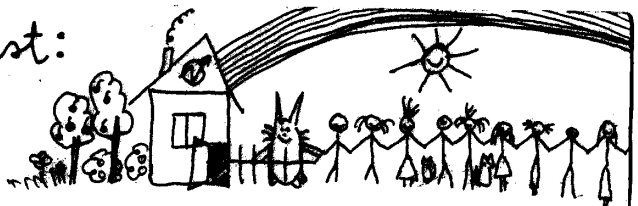
ANNA (B) MULLE ↻ TEISTELE

Nägemus majast:



ANNA
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# Is this a family? // Marcel le Cram

Marcel's art project was made in May 2011 for an art exhibition during the LGBTQ-themed OMA festival. The project consists of eight posters, one of them is on the next page.

*Le 'kleep i sinse i na' de le*

Using the poster as a medium, my contest project claims that only the family itself has the right to define family. I aim to popularize the notion that top-down definitions don't correspond to reality - in the end, everyone should give meaning to the word themselves, whether their close ones form a family or not.

I cannot say what is a family, but I presented the public with an illusion of choice. I created visual options to choose from. Undoubtedly there are real-life versions of all my combinations, who do consider themselves a legitimate family, and justifiably so. These families will continue to be who they are, despite which answer is preferred by the public - "Thank you for choosing! Your answer is irrelevant!" Indeed... I find that the problem isn't about who do or do not form a family. The question rises when the notion of family is used to institute advantages for some and constraints for others. I find it sad that such empty signifiers like "family" are used against LGBTQ people to impose norms that obviously are not universal. The world is not black and white, even with eyes clinched. These issues are discussed more and more and the notion of family becomes quite relevant when thinking about marriage laws. I don't care much if laws forbid me to marry who I wish. All I want is for the state not to interfere with love and happiness, in whatever form it takes.

Posters are glued around the town of Tartu illegally. The photo is taken on the next day.

# Kas see on perekond?

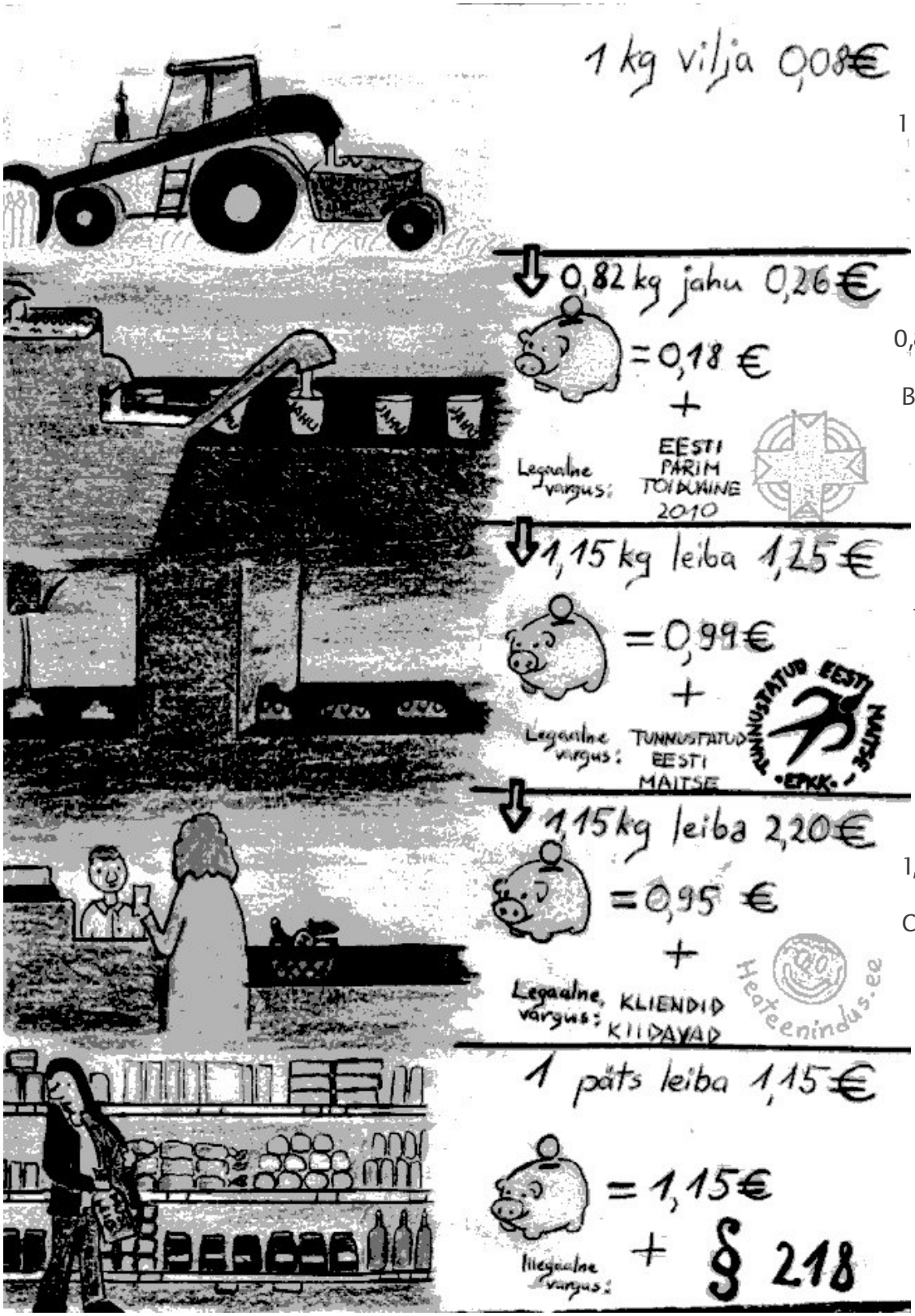
**Vastamiseks REBI sobiv valikuvariant.**

JAH JAH | JAH | EI | EI | EI | EI

Is this a family?
To answer, tear a suitable option.
Yes / No

# Comics

## Legal and illegal theft // Maarja Roosileht




1 kg of grain 0,08 €

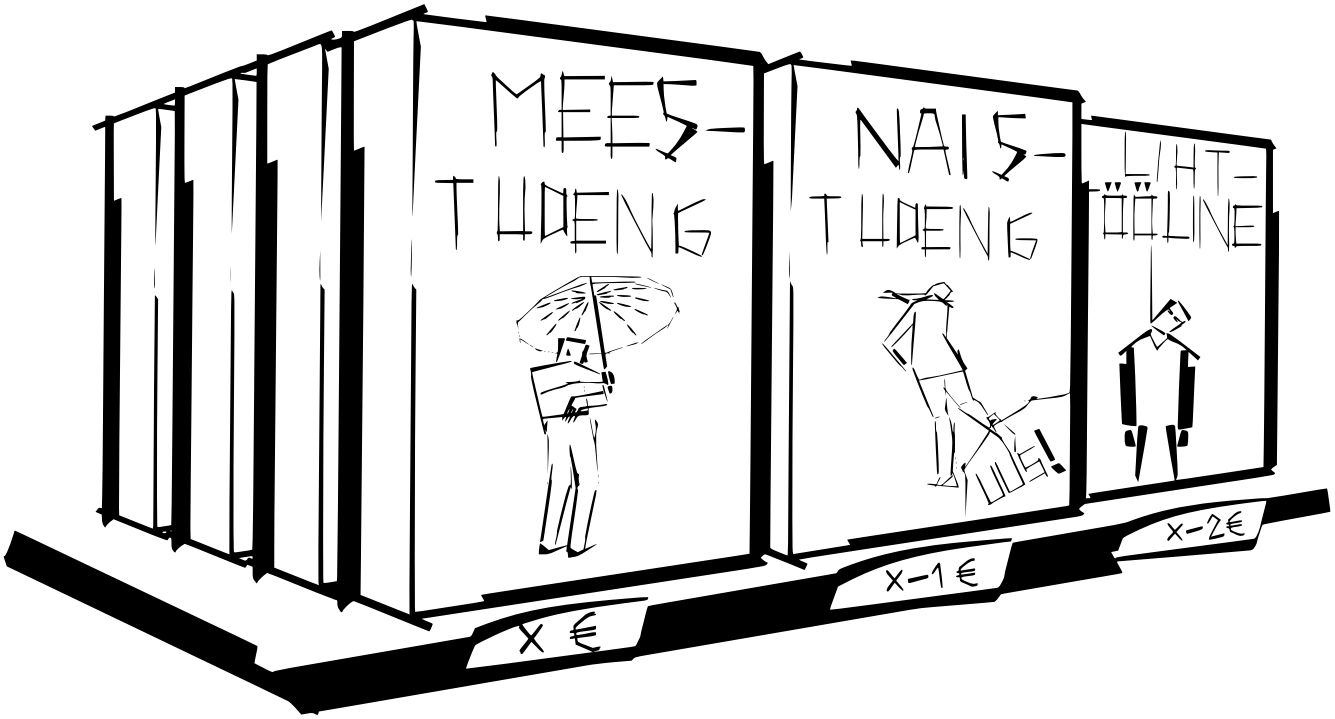
0,82 kg of flour 0,26 €
legal theft
BEST PRODUCT 2010

1,15 kg of bread 1,25 €
legal theft
RECOGNIZED TASTE

1,15 kg of bread 2,20 €
legal theft
CUSTOMERS APPROVE
GOOD SERVICE

1 loaf of bread 1,15 €
illegal theft

## Workforce as commodity // Celer



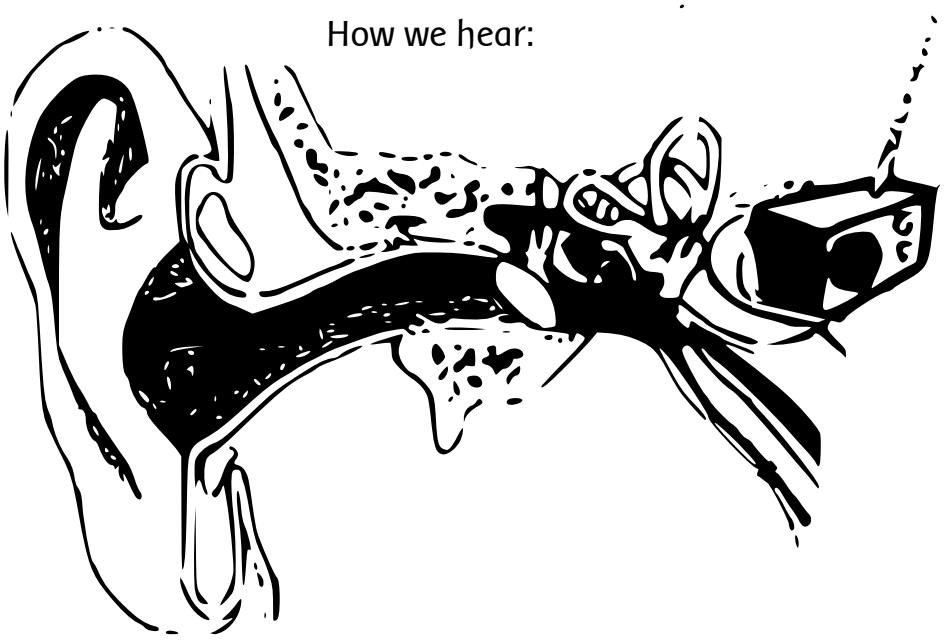

On this picture, the boy and girl from the statue "Suudlevad tudengid" ("Kissing students") are separated and put on a store shelf alongside with a 'worthless' worker. It is a reflection on how the young and educated are prized and the opposite is not.

# Who owns people? // Maarja Roosileht

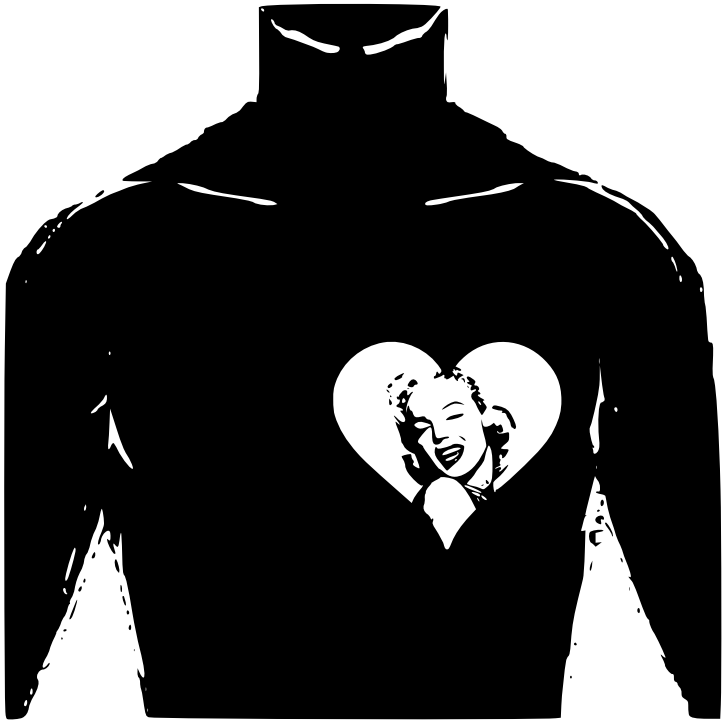
How we see:

How we think:

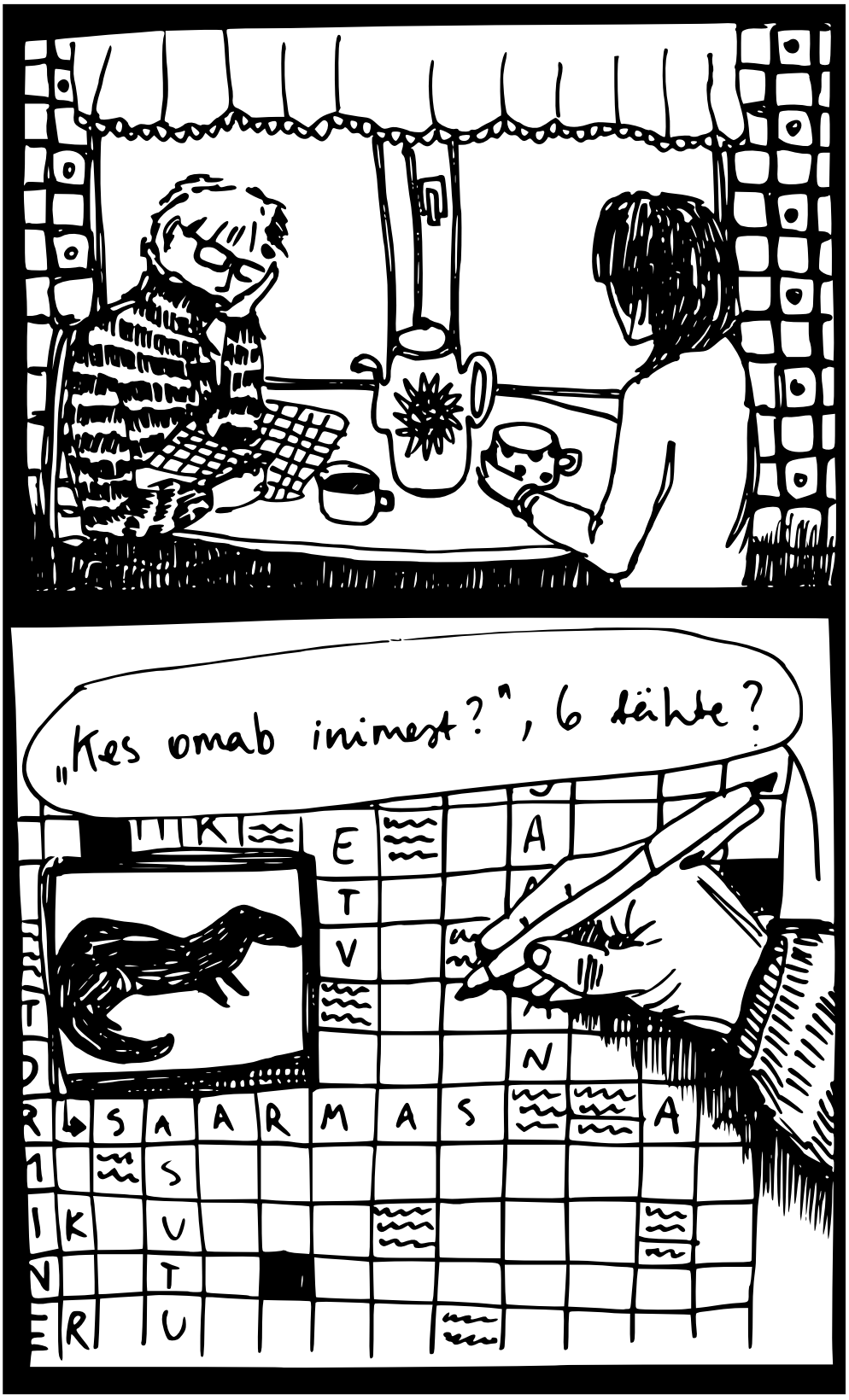
How we hear:



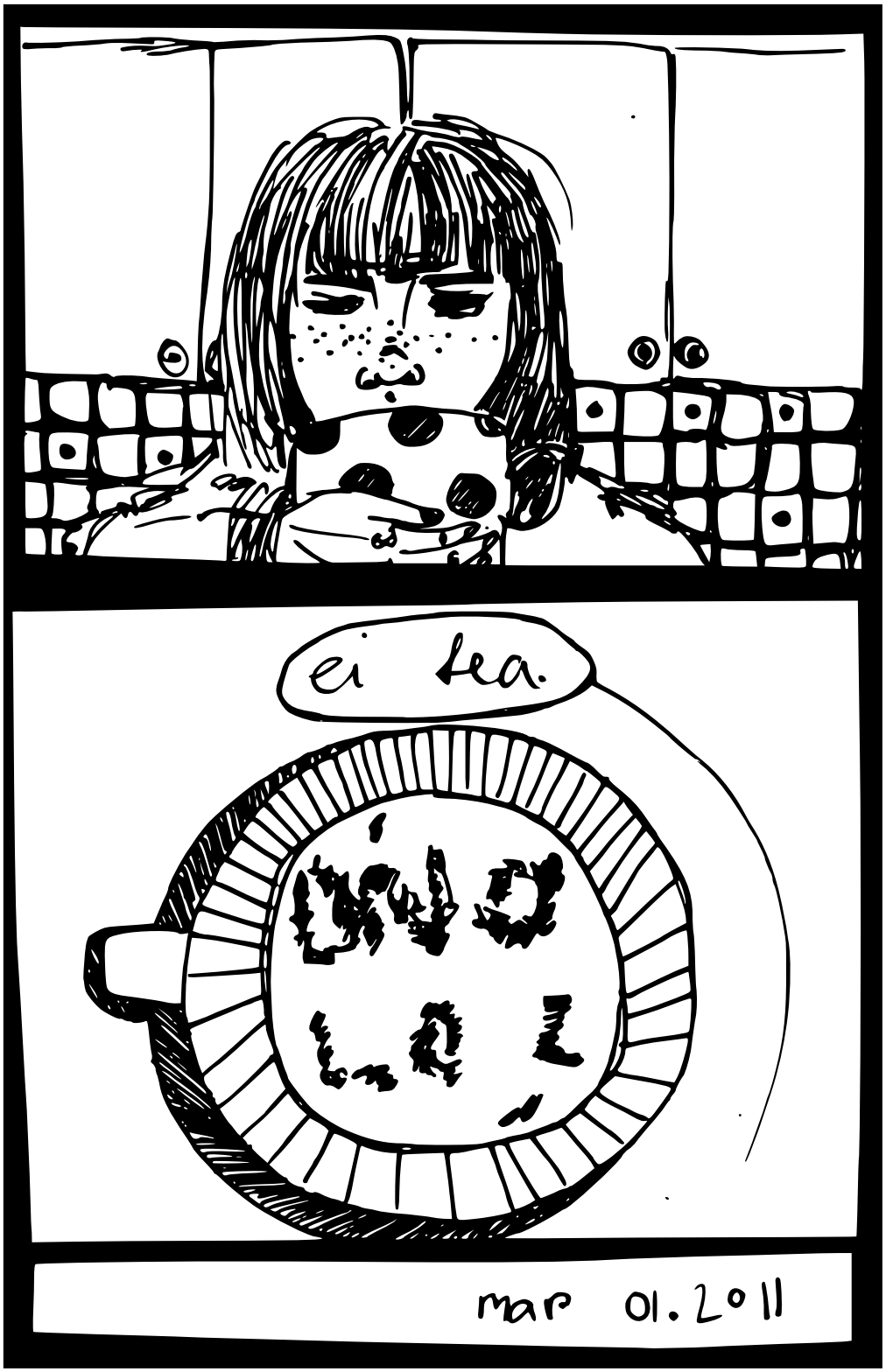
How we love:



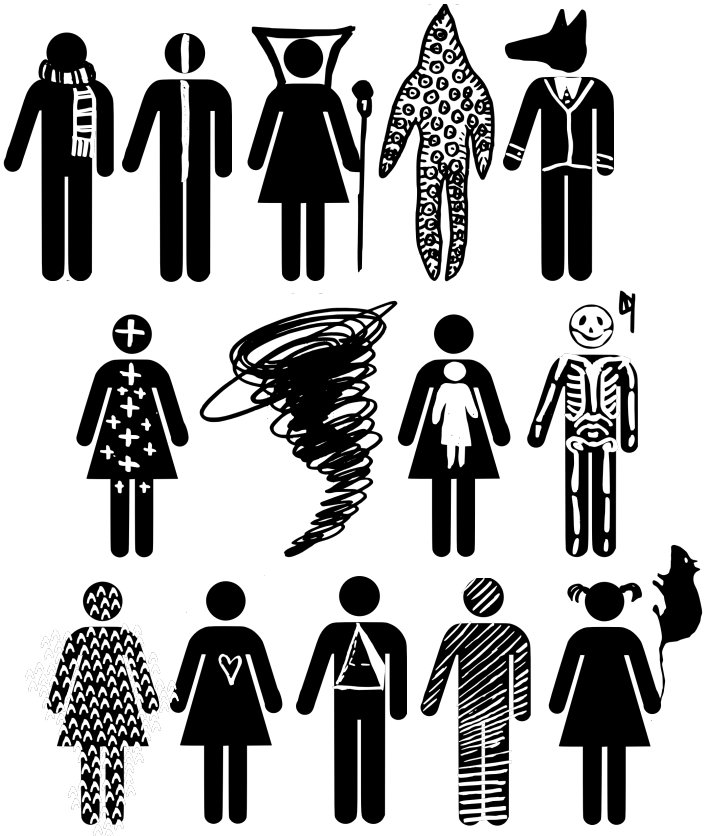
Disbelief // mar




"Who owns people?", 6 letters




Don't know.



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