

Fall 2001

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## ARSENAL

a magazine of anarchist strategy and culture  
 Issue Four, Fall 2001

### Editorial Collective

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We welcome debate from the broad spectrum of anarchist activists. Please write to us. Of course we also welcome donations and financial contributions.

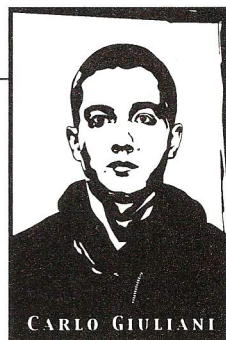
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Capitalism Kills  
 every day—every year  
 Carlo Giuliani  
 murdered July 20, 2001  
 Genoa, Italy  
 See page 42



...we have been taught either to ignore our differences, or to view them as causes for separation and suspicion rather than as forces for change. Without community there is no liberation, only the most vulnerable and temporary armistice between an individual and her oppression. But community must not mean a shedding of our differences, nor the pathetic pretense that these differences do not exist.

—Audre Lorde

*The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House*

In 1979, Audre Lorde addressed a feminist movement full of differences. Today, a recharged anarchist movement shares parallel differences: political, cultural, class, and racial. These differences are real and matter. There are solid reasons for them. Unsubstantiated claims that “we’re all on the same page,” or “we’re really saying the same thing, just differently,” will not move any of us forward.

*Arsenal* points to some of these differences, especially those with a bearing on anarchist strategy and culture. We want and need to draw out our disagreements as a community or a would-be movement, rather than paper over them in a pep-talk about how great we all are. This sort of examination will make us more capable of understanding and explaining our positions in the world and on various topics of importance. It is the basis for making decisions that will necessarily take us one way and not another. It is an essential component of transforming the world we live in, of making revolution.

In our first editorial, after offering some opinions on the post-Seattle status of North American anarchism, we concluded with, “If we don’t have the answers we can still ask the questions.” In this issue of *Arsenal*, we intend to ask several questions, most of which

in one form or another, have been bounced back and forth by lots of anarchists over the last few years. Our objective is to crystallize some of the key points of difference inside anarchism, in order to move forward on discussions that too often seem stagnant or circular or more easily avoided. Here we can move from knee-jerk reactions and seat-of-the-pants responses forward to perspective, analysis and planning that will challenge the whole of the state and the whole of capitalism rather than the bits and pieces that offend today.

### on debate

Matches & Mayhem offered three days of cultural activities in the form of film, bookfair, debates, performance, art and soccer. *Arsenal* magazine, one of the event sponsors, produced a series of debates. The topics for these debates, (anti-)nationalism, (anti-)fascism, and (anti-)organization, are important in current anarchist activism and organizing. We often stop short of recognizing the significance of our differences on these subjects. We talk about, work on, and make choices that steer future work in one direction. That can mean that we specifically don’t work in another. Different ideas mean different directions and consequences.

*Arsenal* has published contentious examinations of all three debate



topics and has received critical responses on each of them. The debates were well-attended and generally well-received. [It is worth noting that the (anti-)fascism debate was replaced with an organizing workshop sponsored by Chicago Anti-Racist Action for the then up-coming anti-police brutality protests in Cincinnati.]

Nationalism in some ways appears to be the most well-defined of the topics. We can ask, are we for it or against it? Most of us can answer this question, whether or not we are prepared to defend it publicly. For decades, anti-fascist and class-struggle politics inside anarchism ensured that anti-nationalism was taken for granted. The fact that this has become an open question signals the possibility of a shift in anarchist politics and work in recent (and future?) years. Negotiating a tactical alliance that gives room for and even requires a critical working relationship between anarchists and nationalists corresponds with the negotiation between anarcho-purists and anarcho-pragmatists.

The debate on this topic was lively if not earth-shattering. The two debaters, from the Anarchist Black Cross Federation (ABCF) and Anti-Racist Action (ARA), agreed on many things, including the importance of anti-imperialism to anarchist politics, limitations of revolutionary nationalism exposed by a critique of patriarchy, and the need to

avoid both an uncritical solidarity and the more traditional anarchist position on nationalism represented by the quote chosen for the debate.

Disagreements emerged around the issue of anarchist interaction with nationalism: does anti-imperialism trump critical solidarity when the vast majority of a colonized population has embraced a national liberation movement with whose politics we disagree? While all parties recognized the importance of context and particular examples, the ABCF member argued that generally it does, while the ARA member and a majority of speakers from the audience disagreed.

By contrast, the debate over (anti)organization offered significantly more well-defined positions. The participants (both debaters and audience) fell into two camps, one of which rejected technology and organization, both as elements of strategy and as prospective components of a free society, the other of which did not. The debate team in support of the quote, editors from *Anarchy*, *Practical Anarchy* and *Alternative Press Review*, argued for temporary organizations that come into existence only when there is sufficient demand while the opposing team (associates of the Institute for Anarchist Studies and the Institute for Social Ecology) presented a case for evaluating whether

## (anti)nationalism

*Anarcho-Syndicalist Review's* recent editorial is a solid and articulate explanation of traditional anarchist anti-nationalism. It touches on the key issues of self-determination and the opportunism of local elites. The issue at hand is: are the problems with nationalism so big that anarchists should not work in solidarity with nationalists, beyond brief tactical collaboration?

"The right of a people to self-determination is a long-standing anarchist principle. Nationalism, however, is a fraud whereby would-be rulers "self-determine" to impose their vision of nationhood on an entire community. Nationalism is an ideology of separation, of hatred for the "other." It is a creed of violence and war and oppression. And it has absolutely nothing to offer to the world's oppressed."  
*Anarcho-Syndicalist Review*

## (anti)organization

In a psuedo-interview, "John Connor" connects the rejection of technology with the rejection of organization. As edited below, it offers a sharp criticism of both tech and organization, and connects their rejection to a class-struggle argument that asks the fundamental question: Is traditional (pro-org, etc.) anarchism a half-measure?

"Bob Black once said that the anarchist critique of voting was just a special case of the anarchist critique of organization. The same is true of technology. That's just a special case of the critique of organization too. ... By accepting technology as organization, they [pro-tech types] have to accept a horizontal division of labor that means alienation will never be ended in techno-industrial society however it is administered. Much more upsetting for them is that to administer, regulate and coordinate this horizontal division of labor, there has to be a vertical one between managers and managed, a class division. These types often accuse Green Anarchist of having no class analysis, precisely because our class analysis poses a more fundamental challenge to the existing social order than theirs does."

John Connor, interview in *Anarchy*, 1999.

an organization is good or bad, whether that organization brings a free society into being. Both sides emphasized decision making, power and division of labor as critical for determining the relative merits of the organization.

## on difference

The debate series at Matches & Mayhem was contrived to bring differences into focus. In our work and groups, we move from discussion to decision to a course of action. We need to take as much time as we can to gather complete and accurate information and explore thoroughly our options and their outcomes. What can we do? What are we willing to do? And why? Hopefully, the debate series was only one more start, one more example, one more try at taking seriously our political differences and the means they imply.

Of course, political differences are only one kind of difference that makes anarchism a varied body of people and ideas. Even if they could be resolved through long discussion and collaboration, other differences are not so easy, and some are not even meant to be resolved. An obvious example is identity, all the differences that criss-cross anarchism along lines of gender, race, sexuality, and so on. Writing anything more than token declarations is beyond the scope of this editorial. But maybe we can begin to approach such

differences by considering how anarchists construct community, taking Matches and Mayhem as a concrete example.

## on matches & mayhem

The Matches & Mayhem debate topics were selected based on discussions and debates that were and are taking place on anarchist listservs, in publications and among Arsenal collective members. However, over the course of Matches & Mayhem weekend, other issues proved contentious: Censorship and Standards.

Censorship requires power. The State will censor material that challenges the status quo. When anarchist organizers forcibly indicate that someone or some group or some message is not welcome at an anarchist event, this is not the equivalent of State censorship. Organizers have a prerogative to take a stand and make decisions. These decisions are predicated on the work the organizers to create the event. They are based on planning, discussion, agreements and at times, best guesses. Sometimes mistakes will happen. Anarchism has room (and recourse) for the occasional mistake.

Lines can be drawn for good reasons. We promote anarchism. We celebrate it. We connect with other anarchists. We attract the curious. We get smarter and

we grow. And we do that by declaring a territory, setting parameters, honoring a lineage, and transforming ourselves and the world. Whether by exclusions, limits, or bars, we set the outlines of our politics and culture. The lines can be made obvious, contingent, and subject to corrections, or they can be drawn in invisible ink, without responsibility, without means of erasing.

Anarchism does not mean "No Rules." Anyone demanding "No Rules" has set the first rule in flat contradiction to their neat slogan. Is tolerance of every opinion mandatory? Is it even anarchist? Or can we evict, demolish, disrupt or otherwise remove advocates of an authoritarian state (even if it is not a capitalist state), patriarchy, homophobia and racism when they walk in the room and get up on stage?

Anarchism is social. Events like conferences and convergences and bookfairs and shows are fulfilling and fabulous. But there is too often a discouraging element that seems determined to be anti-social, even among (those we thought were) comrades. Spaces, secured by considerable effort and resources, are damaged, and sharing the work and responsibility for the events is avoided and even ridiculed. It is appropriate to have some basic standards for participation, and if you participate, you should be accountable to those

standards.

A gripe: At Matches & Mayhem, around 30 people (among several hundred) refused to help with the work or costs. In total, 20¢ was collected from these 30 people. At an event and after the weekend, a couple of people "helped themselves" to beer being sold and a comrade's cigarettes. One of them said, "We're the real anarchists. We're living it." To which we could only respond that we too live our anarchism, but we live it by being cooperative rather than being parasitic. These folks were not the only ones who could not or did not pay. But this group were the only ones who didn't contribute anything and treated the events like a playground they could exploit and trash because, well, they could. Fine. No One Turned Away for lack of funds. But behave like anti-social suburban frat boys (wearing anarchist and punk gear) and you *will* be turned away.

## business

The content of Arsenal is carefully chosen and in the works months before publication. We work hard to make a quality magazine and space for articles and artwork is dear. We do not publish letters in the magazine because we want to present careful, articulate, developed writings. When we get letters about the content of the magazine they are read, responded to, and, if the content is

## (anti)fascism

For anti-fascism, the question seems to be: where to orient ourselves, toward the "left" (anti-globalization, etc.), or toward "the class?" This quote best expresses the options, taking the side of "the class."

"While the author [Marie Falcone] believes anti-fascists should orientate towards the Left's latest project, "the developing anti-capitalist, direct action movement", AFA and Red Action would argue that the orientation must be directly towards working class communities. This is where the Far Right are to be found. ...It is in fact in the political strategies being worked out by militant anti-fascists that a successful antidote to the rise of fascism will be found, not in the travelling circus performing at Seattle, Prague, Nice or wherever."

AFA response to Fighting Words, Arsenal #2.

engaging or critical, they are posted on our web site. All of them. When we get letters that seem like the beginning of a great argument or essay, we want it to be fleshed out fully into an article. We will contact the writer and try to produce the article.

The *Arsenal* Collective has contributed to and will distribute a 9/11 response produced by the Anarchist Publishers Union. Contact us by mail or the web to get a copy.

The Third Annual Midwest Anarchist Bookfair & Variety Show (with Anarchist Film Festival, Propaganda Gallery and more) will take place in Chicago May 10-12, 2002. Send in film, flag and poster contributions, *and mark your calender!*

*Arsenal* is available at \$4 an issue, or \$14 for a subscription of four issues directly from the editorial collective. Institutions pay \$28 for a subscription in the U.S. Contact us for wholesale or overseas prices. *Arsenal* magazine is available in Chicago at Earwax, Reckless Records, New World Resource Center, Quimbys, and the Autonomous Zone. Tree of Knowledge Press, AK Press, Lumberjack Distro, Left Bank and others distribute *Arsenal* wholesale and/or retail.

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**ARSENAL**

A Magazine of Anarchist Strategy and Culture



# ASK A FALLEN COMRADE

Dear Voltairine,

I'm writing because I have a sexual problem. Okay, that's the worst part, just writing it down. Okay. You see a few years ago I got married to this wonderful man. Well it was about ten years ago. Let's call him John. Yes, John.

So John and I have been married ten years. He's a wonderful man. To be honest, I thought of writing to Carol Queen or Dan Savage or one of those but they get so raunchy. The last thing I want in response to my problem is some detailed anatomy lesson about every crevice of one's nether parts or a recommended "therapy" involving something like cat o'nine tails beating across my bare bottom. I'm a professor of rhetoric here at, oh, let's call it North Midwest State University and I teach your work to my upper division students (who think you are, as they tend to put it, "awesome") and I'd like your thoughts.

So here goes. Whenever John and I have, well I'll just say it, relations, I can't stop thinking about chocolate. Specifically, about eating chocolate. Specifically, about Three Musketeers bars. Specifically, about the case of these bars that I keep in my nightstand drawer alongside my treasured copies of Aristotle and, of course, your very own *Direct Action*.

I have to confess, sometimes when he's down there, you know the where I mean, I mean when his head's down there, I reach over and quietly open my nightstand drawer and eat one or more of these Three Musketeers bars.

I can't help myself! I've tried to refrain but the chocolate pulls me like a magnet. Sometimes I go through three or four of the bars before he's through. I hide the wrappers of course, but it's just a matter of time before he finds out.

Can you help me break this mysterious and odd compulsion?

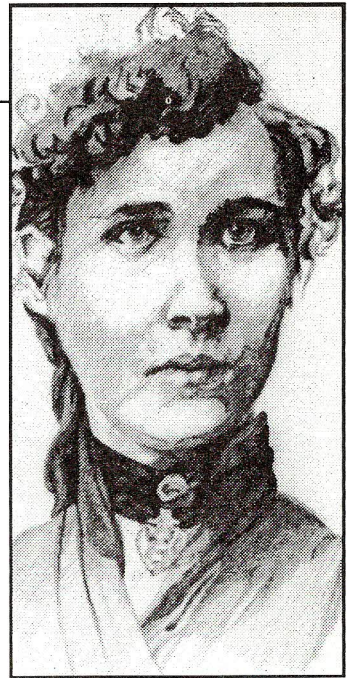
Nutty Professor

Dear Nutty,

Though you've written to me seeking advice and have thus enrolled me in the ranks of authority, I remind you that I advocate self-responsibility, not leader worship. No one hates advice from authority more than I, and no one has less faith in it than I.

You failed to mention if your "marriage" is a true marriage or a state-sealed marriage. Nevermind, I know the answer. A marriage without desire can only be blessed by the State, in partnership with the Church to grant patent rights to parents for the privilege of reproducing themselves. And why shouldn't you lack desire, when you're a lawfully married woman: a bonded slave, who takes her master's name, her master's bread, her master's commands, and serves her master's passion in the cell of the marriage bed?

I don't know about you, but I go for the chocolate when I'm bored. But since you suffer from the tyranny of a state-sealed marriage, according to which you are compelled to welcome into your bed, for the sake of "keeping him virtuous", your master, boredom is the least of your problems. As your body is



Voltairine de Cleyre

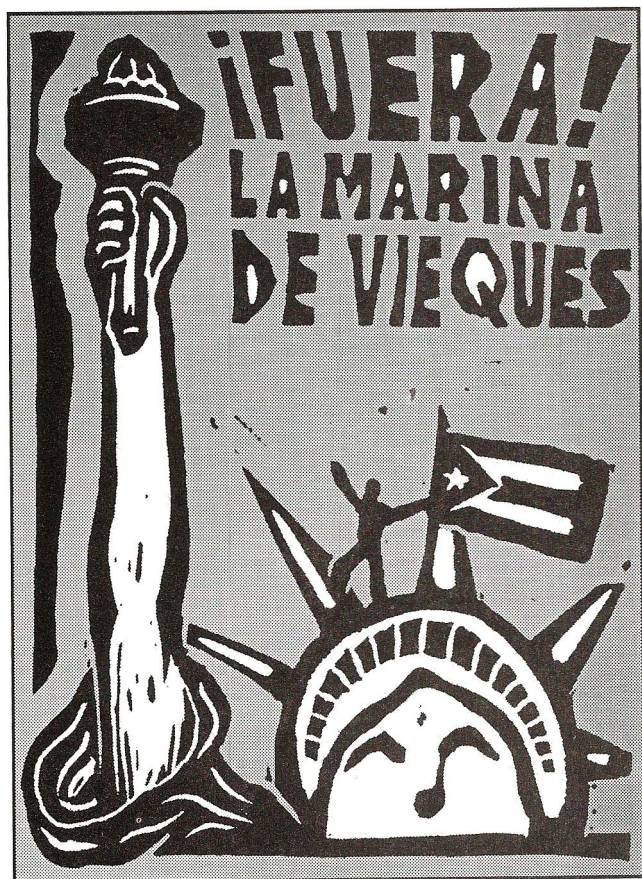
entrapped by pantalets, chemise, corset, corset cover, petticoats and finally, your prison dress, so is it equally entrapped by the domination of your sexuality by your "John."

If the State has seen fit to allow you to earn a living, though it demands 35% toll for granting you the right, you're not so tightly bound to the authority of your John. Tally your earnings. Reconsider your role as a sex slave. Liberty is your remedy. You cannot cure serfhood by any other substitution.

Serfhood or liberty. Choose!

Voltairine de Cleyre

# VIEQUES



by Dave Bee

On April 19, 1999, two 500 pound bombs fell on top of an observation post on the US Navy firing range on the island of Vieques Puerto Rico injuring several and immediately killing civilian guard David Sanes. From that moment on—Vieques would never be the same, and the US Navy is now fated to leave with its tail between its legs.

For the previous 60 years the US Navy had used Vieques as a bombing range, storage facility for bombs, waste dump and playground for its marines. Two-thirds of the small island that is home to 9,000 was appropriated in 1941 for \$25 an acre for landowners.

The construction of a Naval base held the promise of jobs and economic development. However within only a few years the jobs all dried up and Vieques' economy was left destroyed. A diaspora of its population ensued with people leaving for the Virgin Islands, the main island of Puerto Rico, and the United States.

Resistance to the occupation has always existed but only recently in public. Regular bombings and rapes committed by military personnel could not be spoken of publicly for fear and partly for shame. Viequeses would meet secretly at night and lay ambush to Marines straggling home from the bars. But during the day nothing could be said of the rock and bottle throwing. During the 50's and 60's the Populares, a liberal pro-commonwealth party, controlled the PR government. The Populares controlled the economic and political life of Vieques and were pro-Navy, so public opposition could lose you your job or business.

Major public demonstrations of resistance were first organized in the late 70's when fishermen sailed their boats into the middle of war games. Small 16-foot boats faced off with US Navy warships shutting down maneuvers and more importantly breaking the silence in Vieques and in Puerto Rico at large. A group of twelve protesters entered the restricted zone by boat and were arrested for trespassing. This was partially inspired by the successful campaign in the nearby Puerto Rican island of Culebra, which kicked out the US Navy in the early 70's. The group was sentenced to six



months in prison. One activist, Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, was hung in his Federal Prison cell in Florida.

But the protests remained isolated. In Vieques few people would openly support the protestors. The Navy had organized a pro-Navy group among the Viequenses which acted as a low level terrorist organization, making death threats against activists, showing up to counter demonstrate, and planting bombs. The anti-Navy activists were tagged with the label of "socialists" etc. and public support never reached critical mass.

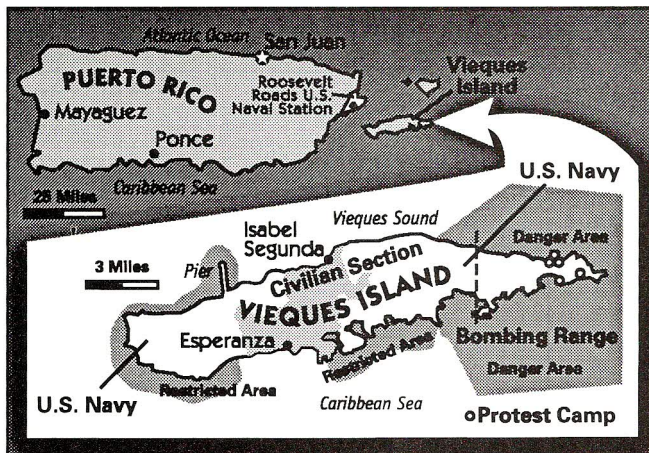
Mimita Nieves is a Viequense who has participated in the struggle against the Navy for decades. The day after the death of David Sanes, as she walked the street, strangers would come up to her and hug her, telling her that they were sorry. People who had called her a communist and troublemaker, begged her forgiveness. Overnight, what was once only expressed publicly by a few hundred was being said by every sector of society in near unison. Churches, unions, school teachers and school children, athletes, artists, beauty queens, all three political parties would all demand an immediate end to the bombing and a return of all lands to Vieques. Just a week earlier, even the hardcore activists would not have demanded such a complete end to the Navy presence.

Within a week, this new consensus was put into practice. Entering by boat, encampments were set up on the beaches within the Navy territory. Unwilling to make arrests in the face of such overwhelming public support, the US Navy

allowed them to stay. By the end of the year 16 different encampments were built on the beaches and hills within the Navy zone. Supplies were shuttled in by boat including wood to build houses, a church and a "hotel." Abandoned Navy vehicles were fixed up and hotwired to provide transport.

Meanwhile outside the gate, another encampment was set up. There every Saturday a vigil was held. These vigils provided the Viequenses a chance not only to publicly demonstrate their opposition to the Navy, something unthinkable to most of them for years, but even more profoundly, it provided a chance to talk freely. Entire families would arrive with lawn chairs. The kids running around. The grandparents sitting and talking. Teenagers showing off. And everyone meeting informally, talking strategy, sharing news, relating family stories, gossiping. The vigil itself consisted of a couple short speeches, some picketing (which more resembled a dance), musical or theatrical guests, and of course hot chocolate at midnight. But what was created was a community in common struggle not only to kick out the Navy but also remake their lives and their island in a healthy, just manner.

During that year, the people of Vieques tasted peace for the first time in 60 years. No helicopters flying overhead. No bombs falling 190 days and nights a year. No clouds of toxic smoke blowing in. No restrictions on fishermen or where they could fish. No Navy vehicles driving the small roads in the civilian area. And it was accomplished by two things: a strategy of civil disobedience that favored direct action and an



overwhelming consensus in Vieques and Puerto Rico at large.

May 4th, 2000, the encampments were torn down and protestors were arrested. Since then, the US Navy has resumed practices, now with “dummy” bombs. However, not a single scheduled maneuver has been able to be completed without delays and cancellations. Since May 4th there have been over 1,000 arrests for trespassing by sea or under the fence. And the consensus has remained as well. Although the Statehood Party not surprisingly has done what it can to sabotage the consensus, it can't manage to actually say it favors the Navy staying in Vieques. The maintaining of the consensus is a tricky dance with the devil (and with god at times), its “unquestionableness” has been able to fend off every offer of cooptation by the Federal government. The consensus remains—Stop Bombing, Clean Up and Go! Anything less than that is immediately rejected.

We anarchists should develop a consensus of an overwhelming majority for our positions and use that to back up our actions.

So what can anarchists and other activists from the States learn from this powerful little movement?

Here are some thoughts:

- 1) The movement's goal can be summed up in three words —Not One More. As Einstein said, make it simple, but not too simple. It is direct and can be understood by all.
- 2) The issue is of direct importance to those involved. The issue of the Navy in Vieques affects their livelihoods, their food and water, their health, their children.
- 3) The movement has developed and maintained an overwhelming consensus from every sector of society supporting their side.
- 4) Popular resistance can take a long time to build.

We anarchists should develop a consensus of an overwhelming majority for our position and use that to back up our actions. Sounds funny doesn't it? I have to admit it is strange to be a part of the “majority.” As an anarchist I expect to be the lonely romantic outcast revolutionary. Yet here in Puerto Rico, the opinion polls put me in regards to Vieques amongst a vast majority. I find myself at marches with socialists, nationalists, Christians, and liberals.

Maintaining this type of consensus is of course difficult if not near impossible. When protestors cut off the Navy's lock from the camp's front gate replacing it with their own, the religious coalition threatened to pull its support if the new lock wasn't removed. The action of cutting off the lock had been hugely popular—a succinct symbol of taking back the control of Vieques. Its eventual removal to appease the religious coalition caused much friction and resentment. Yet, the religious coalition

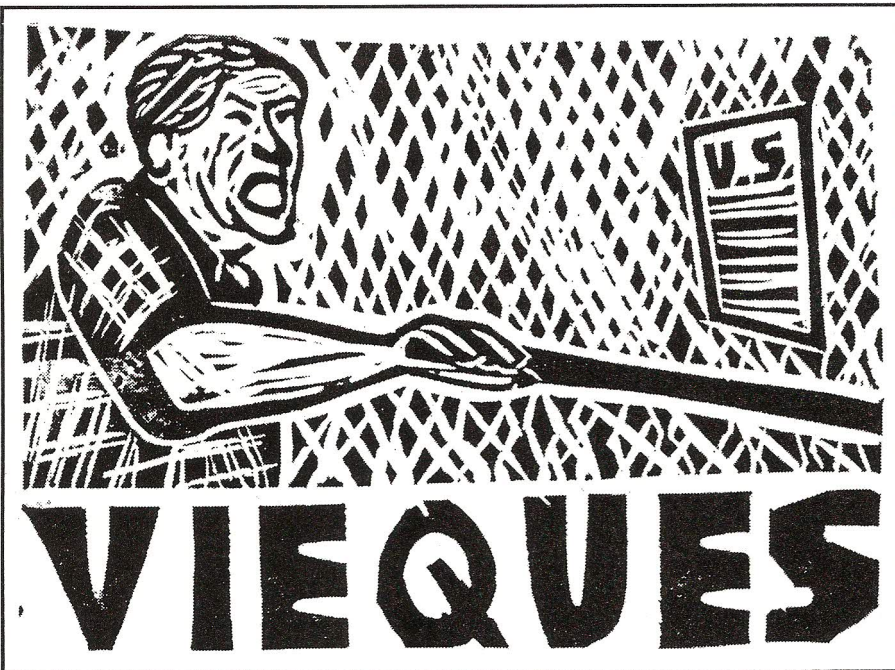
has gone on to be a solid block against the Navy and organized a march of 150,000 people. That march became key in demonstrating that nothing less than the end of bombing would be acceptable. Without their support, that march would have drawn much less people.

By being in a coalition with groups that we are not in agreement with, do we lend them credibility? Yes and no. In the case of Vieques, the clarity of the goal (Not One More) has been a shield to throwing in other issues. If the Archbishop says on Monday that abortion is a sin, I have no compulsion to agree with him just because he also says that the Navy should leave Vieques. And if the Governor says she is suing to stop the Navy's exercises, I can support that action without supporting her as a politician.

But what about the struggle to end imperialism?! The short answer is that Vieques is not about imperialism, it's about

Vieques. Just as Okinawa is about Okinawa. And the Philippines are about the Philippines. The people of Vieques are not spending time in jail and working their asses off to end imperialism. They are working to make their lives better. At protests and vigils, one rarely hears the word imperialism. The movement has avoided much of the jargon of the left. Partly because the coalition includes veterans and people who want to be a US state.

Would it be better to not have those people part of the coalition and maintain a "truer" ideological perspective? The truth is that when the people of Vieques win, it will be a great day for anti-imperialism. People and movements all over the world will be inspired to think that they can accomplish the seemingly impossible task—kick out the US Navy. And it will be a great day for Vieques.



# MAY DAY—LONDON UK

## A REFLECTION ON ORGANIZING



by Tony Wood

### where did m2k come from?

May Day 2000 came from an idea a few of us had around June/July 1999. We knew there were people from different strands of, what I suppose can loosely be defined as, the libertarian left<sup>1</sup> who were putting on diverse types of events. These ranged from the Anarchist Bookfair, to the Earth First! Gatherings, and included the Reclaim the Streets (RTS) street parties, leftie football competitions, the Bradford 1998 conference<sup>2</sup>, J18 and lots more.

In London at least, our "movement" was not very united. Groups often didn't know what each other are doing—let alone talking to each other and working together. Again there were/are exceptions like London Underground meetings, The Agitator and the

Bradford 1998 conference. We wanted to try to get groups and individuals working together and talking to each other. And we wanted an event that was neither just a conference nor a demo. Eventually the idea was that groups and individuals, working together put on as many different events as possible over four days of the May Day weekend under a loose title of "A Festival of Anarchist Ideas and Actions"—later renamed "A Festival of Anti Capitalist Ideas and Actions."<sup>3</sup>

### so, did it work?

Did we all come together in some lovely harmonious group or did we nearly kill each other? Did the four days of events achieve anything? Did it all fall apart? Did we bring down the state or did we collapse under the work load? What follows is just my view. Others may well see things differently.

May Day 2000, a four day festival of anti-capitalist ideas & actions, *did* happen and worked bloody well. Events happened on all four days: Critical Mass bike ride and the East End political walk on Friday, the conference and football tournament on Saturday, the conference on Sunday and Guerrilla Gardening on Monday, as well as other events and loads of gigs. Some things that were planned did not materialise—the Haymarket Martyrs play and the four days of films. We produced and distributed 200,000 leaflets and 100,000 stickers. Loads of us worked with each other to pull off an amazing weekend of events—people who had never and may never have bothered working together without May Day 2000, did just that.

And how did we work together? Any conference on anarchism and anti-capitalism can reach for

and maybe even achieve a process/method that is anarchist and anti-capitalist: dynamic, smart, vital. Maybe. Generally we managed to put our differences aside. A room full of people from Class War, Anarchist Federation, Solidarity Federation, RTS, Earth First!, Haringey Solidarity Group, West London Anarchists & Radicals, London Animal Action, and all the others could have been the recipe for a blood bath. We discussed, argued and then always found a way to move forward. With over fifty people from different anarchist/libertarian views it was difficult and stressful and there were time constraints which had to be brought into the equation. At times people within the same group argued about meetings and tactics—so when I say differences were put aside, the differences were many and varied—very varied.

### but there were problems!

From where I was, there were problems. This could be because the activists have other priorities, or because they don't agree with the line of an event, or just bloody mindedness—who knows. One of these problems was broadly between the organisers of the Monday action and the rest of us. Most events of May Day 2000 were organised by sub-groups who reported back to the monthly open

organising meetings which had the final say. It seemed that the Monday action was mainly planned and controlled by the weekly RTS meetings. This group was not a sub-group of the monthly organising meeting. They took decisions and the rest of us were informed, unlike all other sub-groups where the main meetings could veto proposals. This led to confrontations which could have been avoided. It seemed a number of groups and individuals were working together to organise most of the events while RTS decided they would organise the Monday action alone. Perhaps this was all of our faults; perhaps this is inevitable with illegal mass actions; perhaps I am wrong. However, this needs to be thought about when we organise such events in the future.

In my view the openness problem also extended to the *Maybe* newspaper that was produced. This was a spoof of the *Today* newspaper in the UK and was produced by a group of friends. Although a great idea, again this did not seem to be produced in a very open and accessible way. People could not get involved with it like they could with other events during the four days. This made it something that was produced by a small group of “activists” then consumed by the rest of us. This went against the “inclusive” nature we were trying to promote. Then again maybe

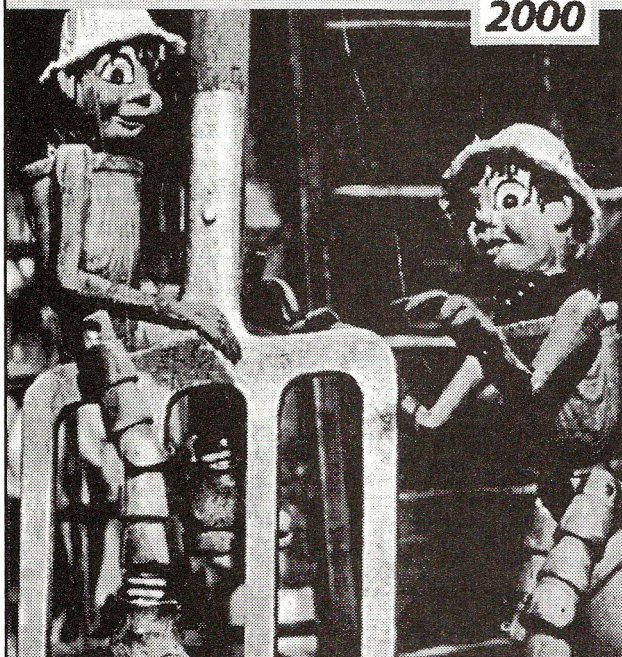
I am wrong—let's open up the discussion!

May Day 2000 was, for the twenty or so of us who initiated the event, always intended to be an event promoting class struggle politics and organised along non-hierarchical lines by people who believed in non-hierarchical organisation. This was agreed at a number of the initial meetings. Perhaps we were not clear enough about this. The politics got watered down. How did this happen? With any event, where meetings and organising are open to anybody who wants to participate, ideas will change. For May Day 2000 many new people got involved (which was excellent) and some of the original people dropped out (which happens). However, I don't think we focused/chatted enough about what we meant by “class struggle politics” as more people got involved.<sup>4</sup>

Further, I felt the email discussion list was partly to blame. The initial idea of the list was for people to constructively discuss and organise the May Day 2000 events as openly as possible. However, a good number of people on this list could most politely be described as lacking confidence in non-hierarchical forms of organisation. Others obviously did not support “class struggle” politics. As many of the organisers were snowed under putting on the events, we did not get the time, or have the inclination

# MAYDAY

2000



***This is not a protest...***

to answer loads of emails from people as diverse as members of the SWP, RCG, the Green Party, Labour Party and others. The sheer volume of emails meant a number of the organisers came off the list as the arguments/discussions repeated themselves time and time again and loads had nothing to do with anti-capitalism, let alone May Day 2000. People seemed to think they could send messages about every

...they will attack us with all the means they have. Look back at any state that saw their power threatened. They keep all their options open—so should we.

subject or issue under the sun. It may have been far more useful to have a more “controlled” list where there was a say as to who got on the list and what was sent round. However, how, and who,

decides this is a difficult question. I also felt the whole discussion of violence/non-violence was skewed by the email discussion list but I will mention that later.

## police intimidation

One other aspect of May Day 2000 which struck me was the amount of low level, but very open, police intimidation. A number of groups have had this for years—but in a slightly different way. Also, as our aim is to bring down capitalism then we should expect interest from those who benefit from capitalism (the cops, the media, big business, etc).

The difference with May Day, I feel, and this follows on from J18 and to a lesser extent similar actions before, was how open the police were in their surveillance and intimidation. There were at least two “legal” May Day benefit gigs which the police made the owners of the venues cancel.

Police turned up at most of the fund raising events that were organised. Intimidation ranged from a few cops hanging about outside the venue, to plain cloths cops in unmarked cars video'ing everybody entering the venue, to cops entering the venues to make sure everything was OK, although what they describe as OK is anybody's guess. Anyone going to *any* event around May Day 2000 was a threat and therefore it was acceptable for the police to take any action they saw relevant. Anti-capitalists are now fair game for the police!

But it did not stop there. Obviously the email discussion group was being monitored by the police, as were any websites. It's likely some of the organisers had their phones/emails tapped

—we would expect nothing less. However, when five people went out leafletting for the conference a few days before the event, they were slightly amused to find they had an escort of a police van, an unmarked police car, four cops (at least) and one copper video'ing them for a good half an hour while they delivered leaflets through people's doors. This event was organised over the telephone—need we say more!

This surveillance was surpassed by what happened at the football (soccer) competition and picnic organised on Saturday. Obviously the police thought the idea was to start an armed revolution in the park, although the football boots, food, kids etc. should have given them a clue we *actually* were going to play footie and socialise. They turned up with ten cop vans and photographed *everybody* at the picnic and then took video of *every* match that was played. Perhaps we can get the video and evaluate the matches.

The conference had loads of police around it for the whole two days, and they were filming everybody they could get their cameras on, including some who weren't even at the conference. The police were not too happy though when they were told they could *not* come into the conference to have a look around—fucking cheeky bastards! To cap it all we had to deal with the minor affront

of a small unobtrusive state presence on the Monday—some 5,000 police on duty, helicopters, horses, riot vans, and who knows what else! The harassment and surveillance existed in part because they know they can get away with it. After all “violent anarchists” hell-bent on bringing down society don't have any rights do they?—they just want *anarchy*. We can't have that. “Give the cops more resources and bigger guns.” You could nearly write the newspaper editorials or the police's press statements now.

The police had obviously decided that anybody attending any May Day event was a potential enemy of the state. They had no moral, legal or physical problem filming anybody they wanted to—including kids at the picnic. And it will happen more and more, because we are letting it happen every time. We need to spend time and work out tactics to change this. State harassment will get heavier as our ideas spread wider. Anybody who thinks different, is to my mind, living in cloud cuckoo land.

But, being serious, we need to think about this repression. All right, we can take the piss out of the cops as they video us handing out leaflets or at a demo. But we need to remember that they easily found out where we were leafletting. We need to remember that they will take an active interest in *any*

*thing* we do, no matter how “legal” or “peaceful” and ultimately they will use any means to attack us and our ideas. Now it is filming and surveillance. Next it might be kicking in our doors or arrests to stop/ harass/hinder us. Then what? We shouldn't let this stop us, but at the same time we need to be careful. Less idle chat over the web/ emails/phone; being careful what you say in open meetings and who are you telling what to in the pub afterwards.

As our ideas take hold they will start by cracking down on “illegal” events, but soon after will come the attacks on “legal” or open events. We only need to look back a few years to see the police (backed up by the army) breaking up strikes and meetings. But it's a sign our ideas are getting through (if only slightly). It should make us more active not less. We need to keep up activities, but be careful. We need to stay open and accessible, but at the same time stay wary. We need to see what the cops are doing, study and discuss it. How much is orchestrated and how much is out of their hands? As our tactics change, so will theirs, and vice versa. We need to talk with loads of different people about the different situations and various countries. We need to see the patterns. Basically, we need a huge mass movement—but until then we should watch our (and our friends) backs.



## violence

This leads me onto the last thing I wanted to mention. Violence -v- Non Violence.

Early on, a huge amount of emails were about violence -v- non violence. Most were in favour of non violence. One email concluded that obviously we all disagreed with any use of violence and realised non violence was the *only* way. If all the emails were being monitored by

the police and are easy to trace, I am not surprised a number of participants did not want to give their views on this subject. Also a number of us are fed up

**The police were not too happy though when they were told they could not come into the conference to have a look around—fucking cheeky bastards!**

banging our heads against a brick wall time after time.

I heard a number of people

leading up to May Day 2000 and especially after the “violence” on the Monday coming out with comments like “if only it had been peaceful on Monday it would have been a great success” or “if there hadn’t been violence on Monday the press would have given us great coverage.” Let’s get things straight. The media are there to sell papers, not to support us. They will print what they want and when they want it. They report on violent confrontations (and remember some see blocking a street as a violent confrontation) because it sells newspapers. Likewise they don’t report on the thousands of peaceful protests held daily, or the information we put out by the ton, because they think it won’t sell newspapers. Or more likely because our ideas repulse them and scare them. They put up with us, at times, because they can make a profit out of us—no more! Likewise the state and the police tolerate us at the moment. However, if we become a real threat (as I believe our ideas will), whether we are using non violent means or at times supporting it by more physical means, they will attack us with all that they have. Look back at any state

that saw their power threatened. They keep all their options open—so should we.



Some protesters may have been prepared to “alter” certain buildings, defend themselves physically, or even to initiate confrontation with the agents of the state. Good. Lets not see only one way forward. “Violence” is a very catch-all term. Some of us differentiate between violence handed out by an armour-wearing, baton-wielding cop, and the use of force to defend ourselves, and so-called violence against property of the rich and powerful.

At some point during a revolution the state will not give up power peacefully and we might have to use force to relieve them of it or to defend ourselves. This reality does not mean we want to kill or destroy every symbol of authority at every opportunity—although some might.

### as the song goes —“which side are you on boys”

We also need to question why some elements of any demonstration feel they need to side with the forces of the state against fellow protesters. Yes, we may disagree on tactics, but at the end of the day we need to see what side we’re on. Let’s not try and sort this out when the cops are attacking us. If at the end of the day you feel you need to side with the state, that’s your decision—but be open about it. Large numbers of us are not prepared to accept minor reforms handed down from “above” as a satisfactory compromise to freedom. We



want real change and yes that might involve....well, who knows!

### ok i'll finish

May Day 2000 (and a number of other events, actions, and ideas) was one way to try and move a step closer to a more ideal society. It may have helped. Or maybe not. All I would say is we need to keep trying and looking for ways to change society for the better—by combatting

what is in our way and bringing the “libertarian left” together. May Day 2000 had its critics and problems. Overall I feel it brought together a huge, diverse group of people who managed to work together to make it a success. The whole weekend brought together thousands of people from the UK and much further afield, who met up and discussed and shared ideas. We should remember these past

events and use them to help us in future work, but without following a set script.

I ain't got the answers—only the questions. At the moment I'm involved in forming a residents' group in my area, trying to get as many people involved in small things like taking control of their street by getting rid of rubbish and dumped cars. Not because I see that as the most important issue, but because other people around me do. I want to start getting neighbours talking to each other and trusting and working with each other. It's a small step, but needs doing. It could go wrong though. Some neighbours might be racists, or cops. What do we do then? Some people already want to work with the local politicians and the police. Dealing with this is difficult, but I think it's worth a try. I am still involved in the anarchist bookfair in London. We want to expand it so a lot more people who ain't ever come to it, or who don't really know what anarchism is, come along. But is this changing society? At times I'm not even sure what I mean by that goal. As we get older things don't seem so clear cut any more.

The Bookfair used to be organised by about three people within the "movement". Over the last few years a lot more people have helped out. It doesn't need too many of us because it is an on-going thing and a lot of stuff falls into place quite easily. More people are now happy to help, be it leafletting, organising meetings, helping on the day, etc. I think this is because a few of us who have got involved have built up a decent amount of contacts over the years to call on for support, but also (and perhaps more

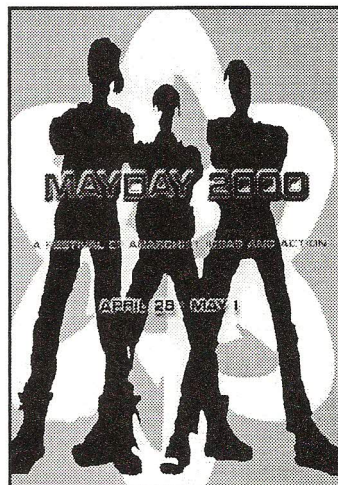
relevant) because there does seem a greater amount of trust and support between anarchist groups & individuals in London. Not all anarcho's in London are joining in as readily, be it the bookfair or May Day or other events. This could be because they have other priorities, or because they don't agree with the politics of an event, or just more bloody mindedness—who knows. Without giving the state too much information, let's say there is quite a lot of co-operation between individuals (and a few groups) on a number of different events now happening in London. London finally seems to be following the lead of other, smaller places and different anarchists and projects and people are working together. I don't want to give the impression that we are all one big happy family—because we obviously are not. But it's a lot better than it used to be. There are still a political differences, but that's not necessarily a bad thing.

#### Footnotes

- 1 I use this term very loosely as a way of describing us all. I am sorry if it offends some people, or insults others who would like a tighter definition.
- 2 In May 1998 a number of us from around the country organised a conference in Bradford, UK. The aim of this conference was to start to bring together as many elements of (what again, can loosely be called) the libertarian left, in one place to discuss our differences and views on a number of issues. The conference was over three days, and the idea was that people break into groups

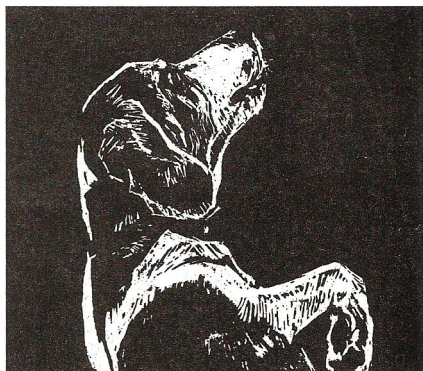
of about 20 and discuss a number of issues set out in advance of the conference. Groups could discuss other things as well, or totally ignore the issues we had thought of. These topics were a starting point for discussion. We purposely tried to mix the groups up, so that all groups had people from different strands of the UK libertarian/anarchist groups. Overall, most people who attended (about 250) thought it a useful conference. Some barriers came down, and hopefully groups had a bit more of an idea what others felt and why. For a fuller report you can get a copy of Conference Report and Personal Accounts of May Day 1998 from: Tony, c/o Haringey Solidarity Group, P.O. Box 2474, London, N8, UK for £2, plus post.

- 3 The initial people who came up with the idea of a three day festival of resistance, were mainly from a class struggle background. As more people got involved, this line was watered down. After a few months, a number of people within the organising group felt unhappy with calling it "A Festival of Anarchist Ideas and Actions." Not everybody involved described themselves anarchists, and some people thought it would be more appealing to a wider audience if the title was changed to "A Festival of Anti-Capitalist Ideas & Actions." After a great deal of discussion, it was agreed to change the name.
- 4 By this I don't mean only working class thugs can be involved — far from it.



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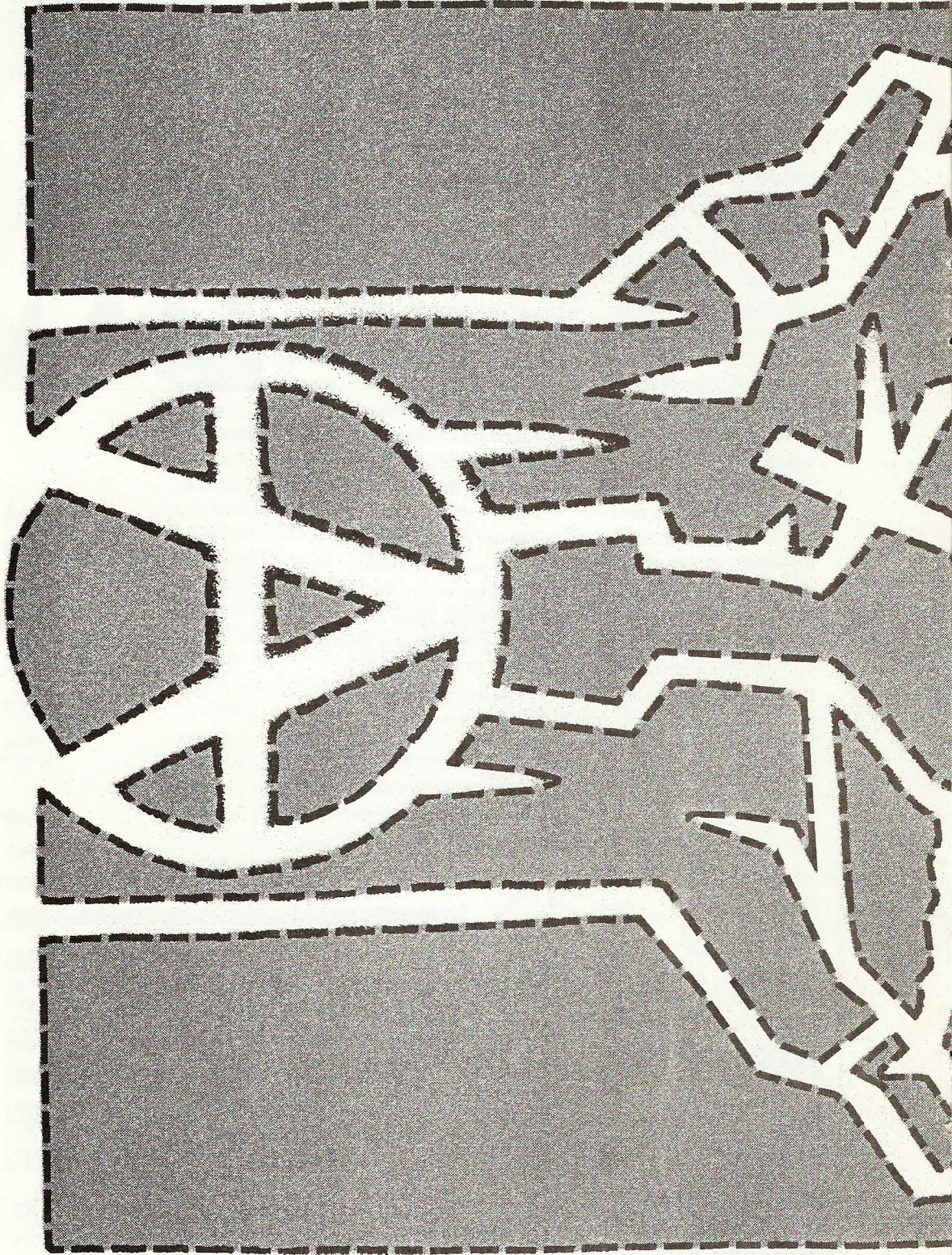
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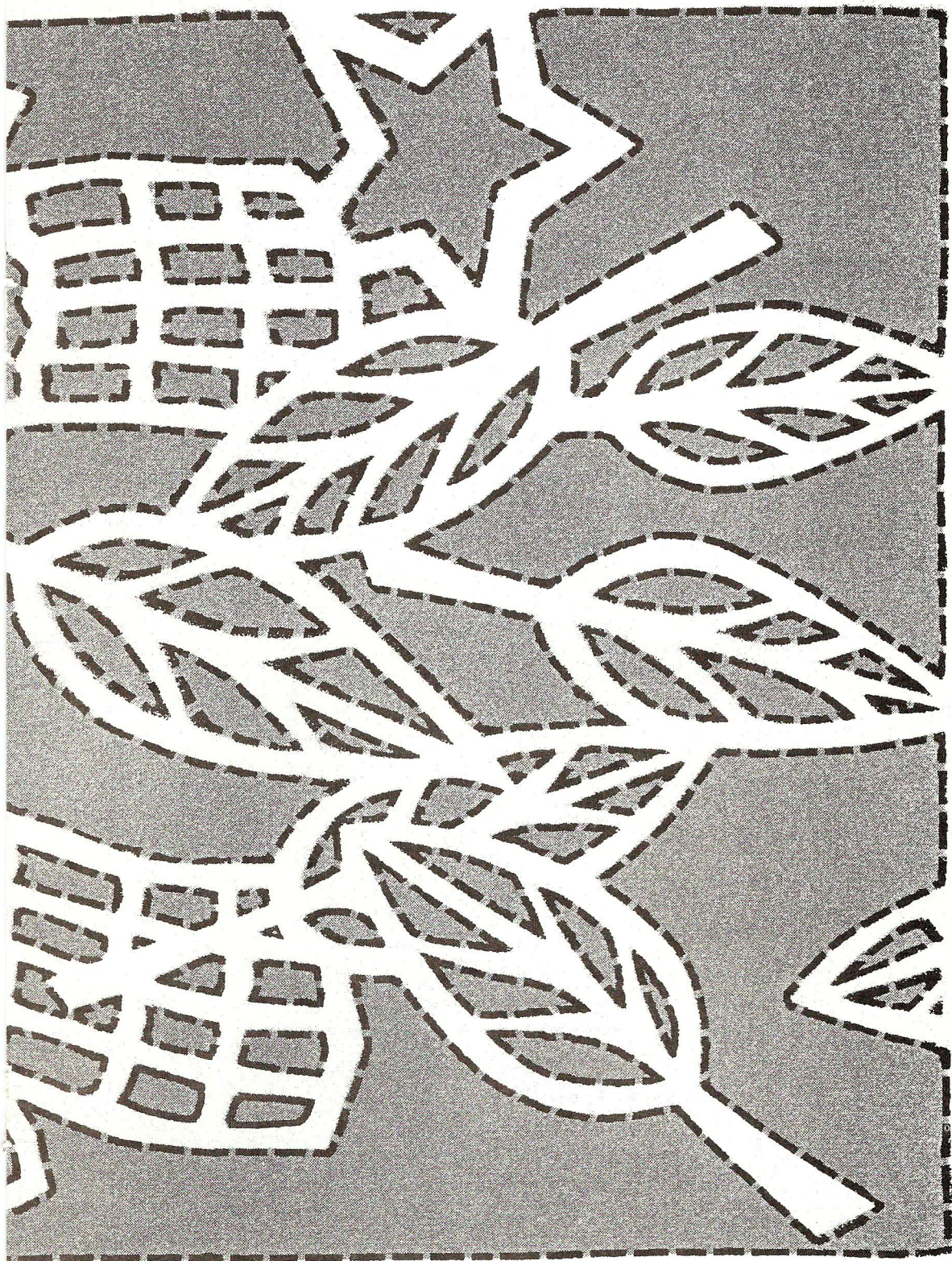
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## LEAVING A MARK

Anarchists for years have used stencils as one of the forms to mark areas we live in or have been. These markings can either make a specific political statement or simply lay claim to a space or area. As advertisers become more bold in their encroachment into our daily lives this basic statement of resistance and reclamation becomes even more important.



## INSTRUCTIONS

1. Photocopy this page.
2. Glue the copy onto a folder, or cardstock.
3. With an exacto knife cut along the lines, removing the grey parts of the image.
4. Use spraypaint to mark anarchist territory everywhere you go.

# A CONVERSATION WITH A PANTHER

By Jena See

"...Beyond nationalism and fully self-determining, embracing our diversity of beliefs, lifestyles and non-exploitative economic arrangements, and reuniting Earth-loving peoples with a loving Earth."

Come, envision....*Anarchist Panther* Issue 1 (October 1999) begins by beckoning the reader to consider the possibilities of a new and free society. The rambling stream of consciousness approach yields a zine that seems much more like a personal conversation with an old friend over a couple of cervezas than the writings of a self-proclaimed anarsaic, post-modernist anarchist. There is much talk in *Anarchist Panther* about love and good feeling without being sappy, while still maintaining strength and brimming with intellectual insight and literary fortitude.

*Anarchist Panther* doesn't try to convince anyone; it's just telling it like it is, which is the most refreshing aspect of this zine. Often anarchist writings about race and liberation tend to be geared towards the white anarchist community, regardless of the race of the writer; *Anarchist Panther* unapologetically speaks to the Black community. While reading this zine I felt like the writer, Ashanti Omowali, was speaking to me as opposed to reading many other anarchist writings involving race and liberation where it feels like the writer is speaking about me, that is, speaking to others (white) about our (of color) liberation.

Issue 2 (spring 2000) includes some updates on political activists, news clippings, and more discussions about the relevance of anarchism to race, nationality, language and culture. In this issue, Ashanti Omowali further develops his ideas about Quilombos, anarsaic dispositions and post mod-

ernist anarchism. The Quilombo, community of resistance, stands as the basis for beginning the development of anarchist struggles. *Anarchist Panther* proposes the Quilombos as "communities of resistance that are willing to confront our own internalized oppressions, the things that make us loyal [to the system] opposition." Many anarchists speak of communities of resistance, but somehow the ideas put forth in *Anarchist Panther* seem more refreshing than many that I have read before. Perhaps it is because Omowali speaks directly to communities of color when he writes. Or maybe it is because there is so much reference to how even though we have been beaten and downtrodden, there still has always been resistance; that is, the Quilombo is nothing new; it is something we have been doing all along, but now is the time to consciously create these communities and encourage others to take part in developing them.

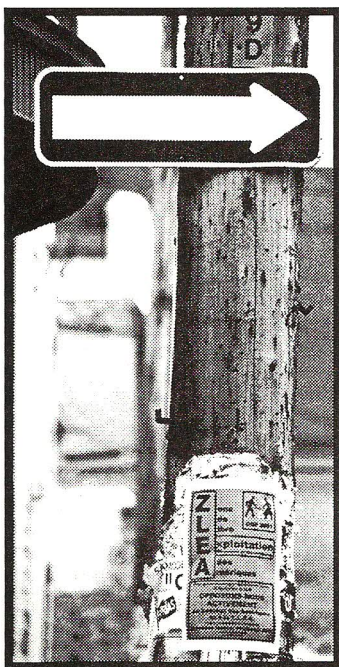
Intricately woven throughout the zine is Anansy, the hero-trickster spider of African folklore. From Anansy, Omowali derives the word "anarsaic", which he sprinkles throughout the zine to refer to the practice of pushing the paradigm just that much more to expose the fears and contradictions within all of us. The anarsaic flow within *Anarchist Panther* is "playful, tricky, angry, willing to assert, submit, fool, tug, push, pull, holler, scream, kiss passionately or hit destructively as needs be" and continuously pops up to remind us of this.

Containing quotes from minds as diverse as philosopher Kahil Gibran and choreo-poet Ntozake Shange, *Anarchist Panther* seeks to build a seemingly difficult continuum across race liberation, art and culture that encompasses the most hard core revolutionary minds with some very serene philosophical thought. This bridge between liberation and culture,



# OUTSIDE THE CIRCLE

## TOWARD AN ANARCHIST POLITICS



by Cindy Milstein

If antiauthoritarians have helped catalyze a new New Left in the United States, and I believe they have, they now have a responsibility: to provide direction. This sits uncomfortably with anarchists and not entirely without justification. Movements aimed at liberating humanity have often ended up forcing people to be "free." But advancing reconstructive notions isn't inherently authoritarian, nor does it have to be coercive. Indeed without visions and strategies, movements have historically left themselves open to co-optation or, worse, been the exclusive project of an enlightened few.

The point is not to shy away from sketching alternatives or keep ideas cloistered in a counterculture; instead, radicals need to patiently work out their

conceptions of social change and hold them up to the light of public scrutiny. If such visions do in fact offer greater freedom, more and more people will come to them of their own choosing. To build a majoritarian movement, then, where social transformation is voluntarily embraced rather than imposed, any political perspective needs to be developed and presented in a way that prefigures "the good society" in the very process of moving toward it. Getting from a comfy subculture to culture at large is tricky. Yet past and present experiments with anarchist federations such as the Youth Greens, Love & Rage, and today's North Eastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists offer a glimpse of a noncoercive politics even as they hint at political institutions that might replace statecraft. These federated organizations all spent months and even years describing themselves in writing, and from this basis of ongoing self-definition, went public with their principles and projects. Stepping back from these specific federations, two factors bear emphasis: Looking Inward. Through the slow process of establishing a federation drafting, discussing, revising, and deciding on principles, bylaws, and even constitutions in a directly democratic manner federation members have to take seriously the question, What ought society look like? For the group is practicing in private would it might be like to someday publicly gather with

everyone in constituting a body politic qualitatively "of, for, and by the people." This necessitates shaping an organization from the ground up: capturing the aspirations, no matter how grandiose, of this voluntary conjoining in a founding document; detailing the internal structures that will ensure substantive and egalitarian participation; and promulgating rights and duties, backed by methods of accountability and conflict resolution. Such structures allow members to always reflect on the organization and its values, and when needed, make modifications. Thus the ethical focus, the "ought," stays front and center. Anarchist federations are probably not directly applicable as institutions of a self-governed society in that their *raison d'être* is the attempt to articulate relatively cohesive political beliefs frequently reflected in the organization's name" and draw in members on that basis. In a future confederal direct democracy, while there would have to be some shared foundation, the primary thrust would likely be the balancing of the greater political differentiation generally found in society with efforts to determine a common good.

### turning outward

Federations have been committed in the best of cases to bringing a political vision out into the public sphere. This almost behooves an organization to carefully craft its values; its ideas have, after all, no power



beyond that of persuasion. It cannot coerce, so it must convince by writing position papers, holding conferences, publishing periodicals, and perhaps most important, making its internal structure/principles an open book. In this way, a federation enters the public sphere with a strong and transparent stance. Such a proactive maneuver sets the terms of a debate by creating one in the first place; through such debates, various radical perspectives may be welcomed or challenged, but at least they get a hearing outside leftist circles. When groups engage in political struggles in their own communities explicitly as federation members, they simultaneously promote utopia and struggle with the reality of approximating it with others who aren't like them. The freer society may look quite different from the portraits offered by federations, but the best hope for persuading people of the worth of antiauthoritarian principles seems to lie in the highly democratic act of putting visions on the table for public deliberation.



Images included with this column are from the book

**Le Québec de la honte**

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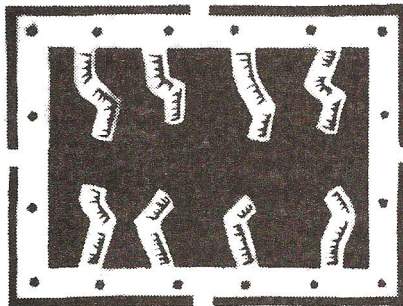
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***Mumia***



# THE BELL HAS RUNG

## GET OUT OF YOUR CORNER

by Matt Hern

There is something undeniably encouraging about how the anti-globalization movement brings together disparate groups, outlooks and strategies. The array of stances represented at any action never fails to impress me, and surely that kind of collaborative mobilization is our greatest strength and hope. Still, the absurdities and contradictions are funny sometimes, and critical to address. Recently, for example, I found myself marching away, surrounded by a small sea of "Protect Public Education: BC (British Columbia) Teacher's Union" placards, and I thought shit, where did I take the wrong turn? Then I sat on the grass and listened to union officials on the stage tell me that pouring money into our state-run, compulsory, education monopoly is vitally necessary for the protection of our way of life. In a certain respect I agreed, but not in the way they meant it, so I stood and boomed loudly, not making many friends nearby.

I have spent much of the past decade using most everything I have to undermine the public school system, and there is no question in my mind that if we are interested in resisting globalization, centralized control and state authority, our school systems are a great place to start.



photo Sam Roddick

State schooling is among the biggest and most hegemonically entrenched institutions standing in the way of genuine democracy: it is a massive social monopoly<sup>1</sup> in more ways than one. State schools eat more and more public money in the name of "Education" and justify it in a regressive spending cycle: the worse they perform, the more resources they demand.

As John Gatto writes, "Schooling is the largest single employer in the United States, and the largest grantor of contracts next to the Defense Department."<sup>2</sup> We need less schooling and fewer schools, not more.

Fundamentally mass schooling requires the undermining of local control and the kind of community power that globalization is so eagerly seeking to extinguish. At the macro levels, schools administrations are classic hierarchies, with money and curriculums directed from afar and spiralling down-

ward through various bureaucracies until at the ground level, both resources and real decision-making are profoundly compromised. At the institutional level, all but the most progressive (and rare) state schools are paragons of command-and-control organization: the structure of schooling is amazingly familiar to us all, cutting across class and race and geography. If kids use much of their early lives learning how to function socially, then surely schools are the groundwork for a barely democratic society.

Centralization of control and the currently vigorous push toward (inter)national standards and testing propel a standardization of knowledges across the globe that is fundamentally at odds with local languages, local cultures and local knowledges. The idea that enigmatic and community-based epistemologies can

survive in a schooled world is pure naiveté, and without them we lose the tools to resist centralized economic and cultural authority.

Contemporary pedagogy has largely developed around the functional necessities of mass schooling, not the other way around. That is: teachers have been forced to develop techniques to cope with what is in front of them, rather than institutions being organized around how kids might best learn. Anyone who has spent any time with children at all can instinctively understand that bunching thirty kids of the same age together for six hours a day for ten months of the year for twelve years in a row is just a terrible idea, on every level. Then add in curriculum imperatives: neither teachers nor students have any real role in determining the content of the curriculum.

Some teachers are given some flexibility, but overwhelmingly the material they need to get through, what their kids are expected to know, and their daily schedules are entirely out of their hands. In virtually every school across the continent teachers are compelled to teach subjects and material that have been chosen for them. Thus schools are full of teachers teaching subjects they may or may not know or care much about, to students who are similarly disinterested and disconnected, and their efforts are constrained and monitored by increasingly prevalent standardized testing and universalized evaluatory expectations.

The overall effect of these conditions is bitterness and a culture of resentment. Teachers

resort to authoritarianism, drugs and technique to get through the day, while kids develop all kinds of crazy psychological, emotional and physical strategies. How is it that we ended up sending our kids off to places that they are expected to hate? Everyone understands that schools cannot, by their very design, be places where kids genuinely thrive but why do we still plod on? Is it only because we haven't figured out what to do with all these kids while everyone goes off to work? From a very young age we are deliberately training our children to respond quickly and easily to manipulative authority, to change activities at the sound of a bell, to mistrust 'learning' and adults, to accept that directing our own days is a fantasy.<sup>3</sup>

It is this culture of schooling that pervades our lives. From the time we are very young we are schooled to accept that learning is synonymous with teaching, and that if we want to learn something we need to be taught. The absurdity is evident to anyone that has watched a one-year old learn to speak an intricately complex language like English without being taught at all. For some reason though, while everyone understands that a very young kid can pick up one of the world's most complex languages of their volition and on their own time, we somehow believe that four years later she cannot learn anything—reading, writing, math, geography—without being taught.<sup>4</sup>

It is a culture of schooling that undermines ideals of self-reliance and self-direction, at individual and collective levels.<sup>5</sup> The imposition of the canon: that there is a body of necessary knowledge that

everyone needs to know to grow up right and good, is a mythology that has carried educator debates for a good two decades now, and it is pernicious. It is the same wall that progressive to conservative educators alike insist on bashing their heads against: the reality is that there is no possibly definable canon, and constantly trying to manufacture one is the intellectual groundwork for a universal curriculum. It is this exact attempt that underlies the cultural thrust to create global consumers.

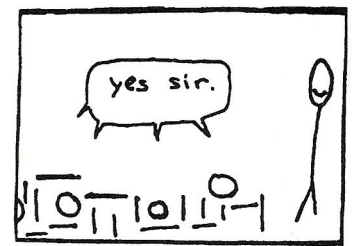
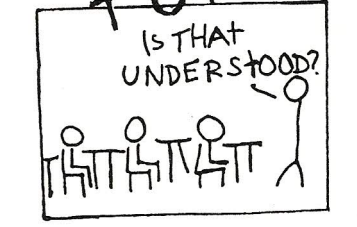
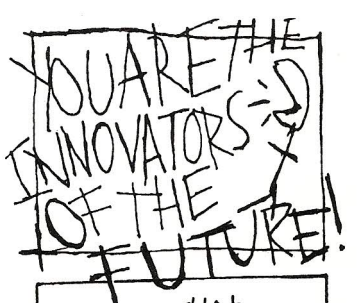
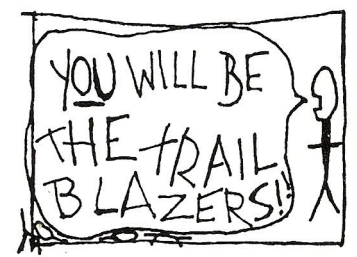
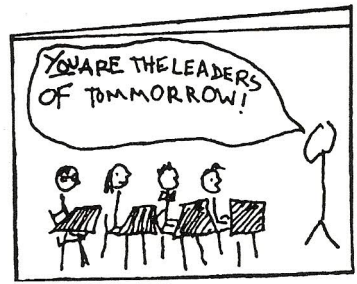
If we are truly to address globalization then we have to attack the universalizing and centralized sources of social control and domination, and our school system is just that, if anything is. I can accept that there might reasons to engage with the system, despite my cynicism about the 'work from within' arguments, and there are plausible reasons to support specific schools. There is no doubt though, that mass compulsory schooling is globalization lived every day and those anarchists who blindly turn away or glibly support public education or state monopoly schooling are doing us as big a disservice as those who buy Monsanto seeds or eat at Mickey D's. There is no time for anarchists to sit back and ignore schools and schooling: they sit right at the root of our problems.

This is in no way to argue that there are not many laudable things going on in schools today. There are

innovative and honorable teachers, administrators and kids all over the continent, but their efforts and good work are in spite of the system that surrounds them, not because of it. There are also plausible, reasonable reasons for people to want to go to school, but as Billy Wimsatt says "Don't think it's an education."<sup>6</sup> Schools might be useful for some things, but overwhelmingly kids should be out of school as much as possible, and with luck, always.

More than that, it is certainly a good thing for the anti-globalization movement to embrace as wide, eclectic and diverse a range of collaborators as possible, and anarchists should certainly find ways to work with all kinds of people who have opinions very different than our own. That said, anarchists should be as clear in our opposition to schools and schooling as we are in resisting hierarchy, domination and state authority.

How we can get out of this mess, what deschooling might look like, is another matter entirely, but there can be no doubt that schools and schooling as we currently understand them should have no place in an anarchist vision. Change is going to come: it will (and should) emerge asystematically, locally and from everyday people, and anarchists have to be willing and able to speak of what can only be called "better ways to grow up".<sup>7</sup>



## Footnotes

- 1 Homeschooling and alternative schooling is legal all across North America, but those who do not go to public schools can only access a fraction of the money theoretically allocated for them, leaving compulsory schools at such an intense fiscal advantage that typically only organizations and families with significant wealth (Catholics etc.) can develop alternatives. That, combined with state regulation and often-complex bureaucratic requirements, makes unschooling very tricky, and public schools, if not legally compulsory, are functionally compulsory everywhere. Certainly there are many exceptions (more than a million homeschooling kids in the US alone, plus alternative schoolers, plus uncoun- ted drop-outs) but the reality of all of our lives is that school is essentially compulsory from age 6–17 and getting around that is a prohibitive amount of work.
- 2 Gatto, J., 'The Public School Nightmare', in Hern, M., *Deschooling Our Lives*, Gabriola Island, BC: New Society, 1996. p. 46.
- 3 "In the end, the secret to learning is simple: forget about it. Think only about what you love. Follow it, do it, dream about it. One day you will glance up at your collection of Japanese literature, or trip over the solar oven you built, and it will hit you: learning was there all the time, happening by itself." Llewellyn, Grace, *The Teenage Liberation Handbook*, Eugene, OR: Lowry House, 1991. p. 44.
- 4 "The pupil is thereby 'schooled' to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence, and fluency with the ability to say something new. His imagination is 'schooled' to accept service in place of value." Illich, Ivan, *Deschooling Society*, New York: Harow, 1972. p. 1.
- 5 "Do not waste your energy trying to reform all these schools. They cannot be reformed... You cannot have human liberty... if you give to some people the right to tell other people what they must learn or know." Holt, J., *Instead of Education*, New York: Delta, 1976. p. 6–9.
- 6 Upski Wimsatt, W., *No More Prisons*, New York: Soft Skull, 1999. P. 77
- 7 To paraphrase Colin Ward, we need a 'a mass of answers, not a mass answer'.

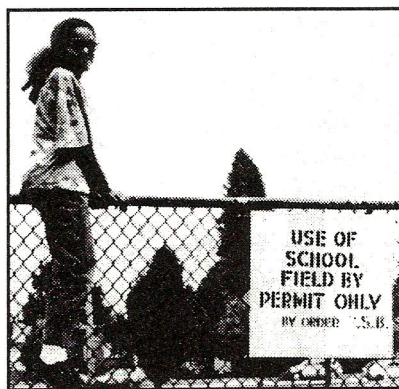


photo Sam Roddick

# DAY STRIPPER

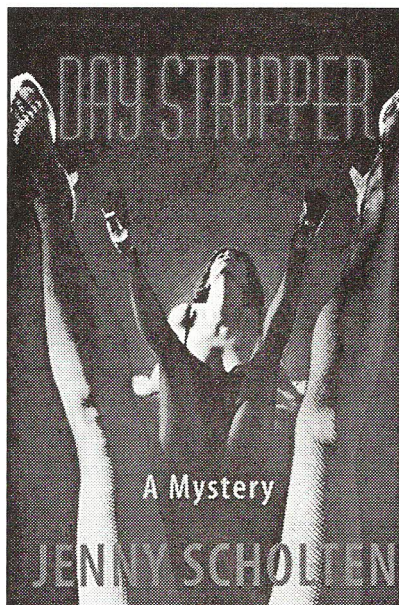
## A MYSTERY BY JENNY SCHOLTEN

by Jane Gremlin

Aubrey Lyle is a stripper in San Francisco—it's not the best job around, but it pays the bills, and she'd like to keep it. So when her best friend at work tells her that one of the new strippers is vice (cops could be trouble for the whole operation) she is coerced into finding "Peaches" to have a chat. Aubrey reaches the girl's apartment, however, only to find her dead. In an effort to clear herself from being a suspect, Aubrey investigates further only to find that Peaches wasn't vice at all, but a union organizer, and someone wanted her stopped. Now Aubrey knows too much, and as she continues to uncover clues, she unknowingly puts herself and her roommates in danger.

Okay, so it's not Anarchist Theory. But it is a refreshing change from the kind of fiction found on the New York Times Bestseller list. And while I didn't find it to be all that mysterious (surprise, the system is corrupt!), I really enjoyed reading in a backdrop I could relate to. Here is a woman living in an apartment with 4 friends and 2 seemingly permanent hippie house guests—we're not sure who's friends they are. The apartment shares a communal crockpot, late night movies, and lively debates over tea in the kitchen (already this scenario is incredibly familiar). Then comes the wide range of characters—from Aubrey's transvestite co-worker at the "Lusty Lady," to Peaches' nervous Yuppie neighbor—we get to read about the types of people we see everyday.

Also impressive is the realistic account of daily life in the sex industry. It's not Hollywood's typical version of the sultry backstage dramas. As Scholten states on the Day Stripper website, "What's written about strippers is rarely written by a stripper." The

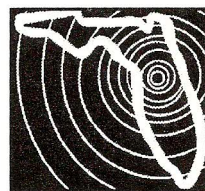


author uses first hand experience to give us a hard look at the incredible diversity in the clientele (yet the sad similarities in behavior), the physical pain involved in dancing, dealing with money grubbing management, and the stereotypes that so many women in the sex industry are forced to deal with. On top of this, Scholten did an admirable job of bringing up many of the criticisms that some feminists have of the sex industry and its perpetuation of the objectification of women. Woven into conversations between Aubrey and one of her roommates, the author brings out points from both sides of this argument, while letting readers decide for themselves.

Overall, the story was tight and enjoyable—a mixture of thought-provoking and fun. I found myself looking forward to picking it up after a long day of work and meetings. I can never have enough smart fiction with strong, fearless heroines—but luckily, Jenny has a sequel, *Slay Me Tender*. Learn more about her and her books at [www.daystripper.freeservers.com](http://www.daystripper.freeservers.com).

Reviewed by  
day  
stripper

# FLORIDA AND ANARCHY IN THE BEAUTIFUL SOUTH



by Dan Berger

## radical activism in florida

The success of mass actions and emphasis on the black bloc and other militant direct action encounter has managed to move a-pace without anarchists developing a well-networked, anti-racist, anti-sexist and directly democratic movement. Groups spring up to tackle the tremendous legal and logistics burden of anti-globalization convergences and the rest of us depend on them. Anarchism and politics run a distant second to adventure and webcasting. Anarchists must decide if we are going to actually develop the movement we want or simply "direct action" ourselves into oblivion. Whether organizations, affinity groups and

*...politics and not tactics must be the mortar for our building blocks...*

collectives emphasize work at home, building cadre or street fighters, or coordinating mass resistance to capitalism and the State, politics and not tactics must be the mortar for our building blocks. Emphasis on black bloc and other so-called militant direct action encounters at the expense of other activism often runs afoul efforts at building a well-networked, anti-racist, anti-sexist and directly democratic movement.

In Florida, both the potential for making real change and the serious problems of modern anarchist organizing have clearly shown themselves. For the past three years, some parts of the anarchist scene has have been networking under the loose framework of the Florida Radical Activist Network. Started in 1998 by a couple of Food Not Bombers to keep in touch with other FNB chapters throughout the state, FRAN has organized some successful statewide actions, especially around MayDay, a couple youth liberation conferences and a controversial 'Gender Liberation Conference,' the effects of

which are still being felt today. Florida anarchists have celebrated MayDay for three years with both a campout in the forest and events in various cities. The Gender Liberation conference was a response to sexist behavior exhibited at the May Day campouts.

Many new contacts and friendships were developed through FRAN. However, as the most visible anarchist organization in the state,

FRAN has often failed to employ anarchist principles of mutual aid, solidarity and democracy. FRAN's membership has consisted primarily of white punk rock youth. Like other organizations faced with this dilemma, FRAN has two choices: act as a white ally to other groups throughout the state or work at building a multiracial radical network.

Up until now, FRAN has failed on both counts, effectively marginalizing itself and limiting the possibility of anarchists to act on a statewide level. By ignoring the two options, FRAN simply perpetuates oppressive group dynamics and fails to develop any sort of anti-racist or anarchist praxis. FRAN has failed to recognize the need to challenge oppression, including internally. Further, the inability and utter unwillingness of members and the organization to take FRAN seriously has led FRAN into the traditional white male pitfall of aimless rebellion wrought with oppressive group dynamics and is little challenge to state power.

There is no shortage of activism and the energy to 'start something' in Florida. While FRAN has served as a unifier for young, white anarchists in recent years, it



was by no means the start of activism in Florida. Several organizations from Food Not Bombs to farm worker groups, from the Anarchist Black Cross Federation to radical feminist organizations were active in the state before FRAN existed and not all are currently affiliated although all are still active.

The Civic Media Center, a volunteer-run library of the non-corporate press and activist resource center, has been operational for nearly eight years and houses thousands of books and hundreds of magazines, audio tapes and video tapes, in addition to hosting regular political events, among other things. The Stone Soup Collective recently opened up an infoshop in Orlando. The Center of Radical Empowerment, an infoshop in St. Petersburg, just opened; and infoshops are in the works in Tampa and elsewhere.

For a few years, the Free Radio Gainesville Collective was operating a pirate low power FM station in Gainesville that was targeted by the FCC several times. Death Metal Militia has been running a successful, rather large literature distribution since the mid-1990s. Further, as mass actions against global capitalism spread around the world, bringing anarchists to international media attention, *Onward*, a new anarchist newspaper, sprang up from Florida. Combining news from around the world with theory, opinion, history and

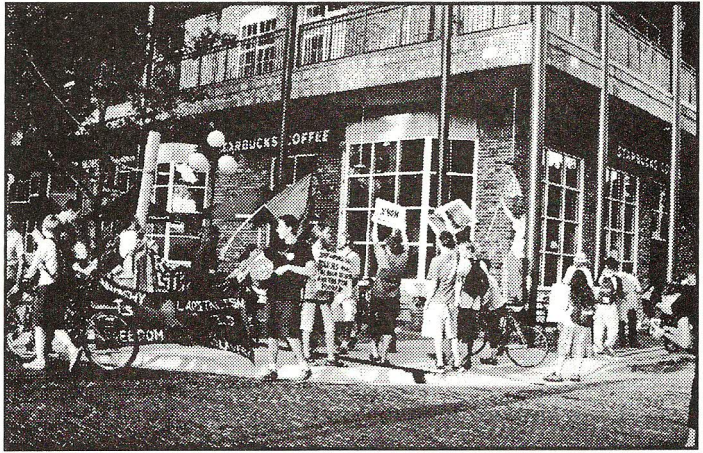


photo FRAN archives

strategy, *Onward* works toward the formation of a structured, well-organized anarchist movement capable of toppling capitalism, racism, the state, sexism and other forms of domination. After a year in print, the paper has been distributed internationally and been very well-received. As a collective, *Onward* has initiated the Anarchist Publisher's Union in an effort to strengthen and connect anarchists from across the continent.

Florida is also the home of one the few midwifery schools in the United States. Several radical women are studying to become midwives, just one of the manifestations of the strong sense of radicalism and tangible activism among many women activists in Florida. Radical Cheerleading sprang into existence in south Florida. To paraphrase and conjoin a couple of statements made by the women at a controversial "Gender Liberation Conference" in December 2000: radical women in Florida interact amazingly

### Contact Florida's Radical Community (Partial List)

**American Indian Movement**  
136 4th Street N., Suite 308  
St. Petersburg, FL 33701 (727)  
826-6960 aimfl@aol.com

**Center Of Radical Empowerment**  
PO Box 10789  
St. Petersburg, FL 33733  
(727) 723-2612  
www.core-info.org  
core@core-info.org

**Civic Media Center**  
1021 W. University Ave.  
Gainesville, FL 32601  
(352) 373-0010  
www.civicmediacenter.org  
civic\_media\_center@hotmail.com

**Coalition of Immokalee Workers**  
PO Box 603  
Immokalee, FL 34143  
(941) 657-1776  
CoalmmWkr@aol.com  
www.ciw-online.org

**Death Metal Militia**  
PO Box 17838  
Clearwater, FL 33762  
dmmdistro@juno.com

well with each other and are often the ones staying in their towns building community while many of the men are off traveling.

Throughout the state, farm workers have for decades been actively organizing in the state for better wages, better working conditions and to be a part of the bargaining process. As it stands right now, the grower and corporation decide how much the workers will get paid. Workers in Immokalee, for instance, make 40–45 cents per bucket of tomatoes, the same wage that was paid thirty years ago. This translates into an annual salary of around \$7,500. But the people in Immokalee, mostly migrant workers from Latin America and well organized through their Wobbly-influenced, bottom-up union, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), have been struggling for years through protests, marches, hunger strikes and general strikes. They are currently in the middle of a national campaign against Taco Bell, one of the largest corporations to use tomatoes grown in Immokalee. Farm workers have toured around the state and beyond, engaging in creative and vibrant protests and teach-ins against Taco Bell. They coordinated fifteen of the protests on May Day. Their organizing has served as inspiration for radicals throughout the state, not just for militant confrontations against Taco Bell, but through democratic structure, radical ideas and clear understanding of solidarity and mutual aid.

### fran

What has FRAN's role been in these struggles? Several FRAN members have been involved in

infoshops, two former FRAN members (who left as a result of FRAN's unstructuredness) are currently very involved with CIW, and *Onward* was started by a couple of people in FRAN (myself included). But there has been no involvement of FRAN as an organization in the struggles of the farm workers, prison issues, indigenous struggles or feminist organizations. While it is certainly true that some members of FRAN have participated in some of these struggles, FRAN as a network has not taken a stand on any of these issues nor tried to expand the network to include these (and other) organizations, some of whom have been active for decades and believe in similar organizing principles. Some anarchists in Florida have been very active in CIW and others have been instrumental in the democratization and successful maintenance of infoshops in the state, these efforts have been done by individual anarchists rather than a unified anarchist voice. Thus, a ceiling is placed over the heads of Florida anarchists allowing them to go only so far before we reach the limits of individual and small group action. Like anarchists involved in the anti-globalization struggles, we need organization.

### the need for structure

After several months of dormancy, a proposal was made to structure FRAN, develop principles, pick issues and commit to working on them. In all its years of existence, FRAN has never committed itself to specific issues and has had little consistency. While most members are involved in projects locally, it is crucial for FRAN, as the only statewide

anarchist organization to be involved and networked.

Several people feared that creating a structured organization would dampen friendships and alienate those people from participating. Animosity toward structure has done nothing but perpetuate undemocratic power dynamics and limit FRAN's effectiveness, making it the promise that just doesn't deliver. As Jo Freeman argues in the *Tyranny of Structurelessness*, there is no such thing as an absence of structure; every organization has a structure. The question is, will the structure be consciously democratic and politically united, or intentionally haphazard and by default undemocratic? The trend toward operating with no structure serves only to maintain and perpetuate undemocratic power dynamics. To operate under a clearly defined structure would enable FRAN to break out of the isolated, unfocused, white-male-punk-dominated network and to engage in serious, hands on, effective, anarchist organizing. A structure would allow FRAN to truly employ anarchist principles, both within and outside the organization.

The Gender Liberation Conference in December 2000 proved the devastating impact of sexism can have in any revolutionary organization. Most of the first day involved man-healing rather than dealing with

issues of sexism in Florida's radical community due in part to the mytho-poetic facilitators with no previous involvement with FRAN.

Women took back the next day of the conference, issuing a series of demands for the men to act upon if they wish to be anti-sexist. (The demands are available at [www.tao.ca/~colours](http://www.tao.ca/~colours).)

Some men felt the women were "too confrontational" and weren't giving men enough credit for what they do right. This reluctance to fully listen to the women in the community speaks to more than just the problems of sexism in FRAN. It also points to larger issues resulting from an "unstructured" organization: namely, unequal power, lack of democracy in the way decisions are made, lack of any accountability or means with which to deal with oppression within the organization. This "lack of structure" has led to many instances of letting patriarchy flourish. It left FRAN with no process for dealing with a man on the FRAN listserv who was spreading misogynistic lies and was believed to be an infiltrator/provocateur.

Around the same time, a woman in FRAN was raped. She sent out an anonymous email expressing her disgust with the lack of support for women within FRAN.

Between the Conference in December and the call for reorganization in March 2001 to formally structure FRAN, little communication among



CIW image

**Florida Radical Activist  
Network Gainesville**  
gvilleFRAN@hotmail.com or  
c/o Civic Media Center

**Florida School of Traditional  
Midwifery (352) 338-0766**

**Jacksonville Anarchist  
Black Cross Federation**  
4204 Herschel St. #20  
Jacksonville, FL 32210  
[www.abcf.net](http://www.abcf.net)

**Onward**  
PO Box 2671  
Gainesville, FL 32602-2671  
theonwardcollective@  
hotmail.com

**Radical Student Union**  
PO Box 8566  
Tampa, FL 33674  
RSUflorida@hotmail.com

**Stone Soup Collective**  
PO Box 720418,  
Orlando, FL 32872  
(407) 719-6639  
[www.stonesoupcollective.org](http://www.stonesoupcollective.org)  
us@stonesoupcollective.org

## FRAN's Principles

1. FRAN is anti-authoritarian.

2. FRAN is consensus-based.

3. **Anti-Oppression:** FRAN believes that oppression is not a figment of imagination but is a real barrier to freedom! We believe and work toward the abolition of sexism and patriarchy, racism and white supremacy, classism and class society, heterosexism, sizism, ageism (and any other type of domination, oppression, and exploitation). FRAN also works towards the abolition of capitalism and statism (and any other forms of hierarchy.) We believe that these barriers to freedom will not fall without us pushing them over.

4. **Pro-Community building** using basic anarchist principles: mutual aid, cooperation, solidarity, ecology, freedom, liberation, joy and fun, counter-institutions, support networks, self-sustainability, direct action, and direct democracy.

FRAN members existed and no FRAN organizing took place. During that three-and-a-half month time period, several opportunities were missed to gain experience, lend our solidarity to ongoing struggles in the state, and make a showing as a statewide, unified anarchist movement.

The problem is the basic divide between those who want FRAN to view itself as a revolutionary organization and commit to acting as such, and those who feel that an informal network of friends who have periodic conferences suffices for a statewide anarchist presence. When 'structure' and 'organization' are dirty words in the anarchist scene, we can accomplish little. As an informal, 'unstructured' network, FRAN has isolated itself as an anarchist formation from the radical community, the day-to-day struggles going on throughout the state and from its members. Most important, the lack of structure has put an obstacle in the way of anarchists seeking to build a society we want rather than simply react to the society we despise.

### toward revolutionary anarchist organizing

Florida anarchists and anarchists in general need to become a part of the communities in which they live. By becoming a part of the communities, anarchists must not only expand the

people they know and interact with, but prioritize local struggles. A recent campaign at the University of Florida saw the custodial workers' union, with help from students and community members acting in solidarity, defeat a push by the University to move the overwhelmingly black and female custodians to night shift. One of the more successful aspects of this campaign was a loose-knit, multiracial coalition that developed to fight the shift change. While this coalition is presently on hiatus, it served as a model of what could be a powerful force for revolutionary change: organizers from a broad coalition of groups (racially and politically) working within their groups and social circles, but also coming together to organize and strategize—all for the same struggle. Imagine the kind of power and strength the radical community could have if such coalitions were formed on local levels throughout the state and then networked together as a whole state! This is where our power lies: building anarchist collectives and radical coalitions on a local level and confederating upward.

This is no easy task, yet it is of the utmost importance. We must move beyond stereotypically white male middle class definitions of what is 'radical' and 'anarchist' and simply put anarchist ideals (mutual aid, directly democratic decision making, solidarity and so on) into practice. FRAN has

broken new ground in attempting to network among anarchists on a statewide level—and what better challenge than to do it in than Florida, one of the most spread out states in America. But while it has succeeded in opening up the door for revolutionary anarchist networking, it has yet to cross through that door due to the same problems that have plagued anarchist organizations for years—a lack of structure, a narrow view of what is anarchist and little willingness to combat oppression within the organization and movement.

In April 2001, FRAN met and adopted principles to serve as the structure for the network. While these principles are a start, only time will tell if FRAN actually follows through on them.

Maintaining consistent communication remains a problem. The fifth principle was written and proposed over email and consented upon through silence rather than active participation. So far only one city, Gainesville, has listed their contact information, and a recent statewide meeting fell-through as a result of poor planning.

FRAN has taken the first step to advancing a geographically sprawling anarchist scene beyond a social club utterly incapable of fulfilling its potential to create real change. Missing are anarchists actively involved in their

communities where they will find other people working on similar goals and build a real network based on anarchist principles. The challenges of destroying sexism, racism, heterosexism and class oppression need to be faced as much inward as outward. Certainly, with the new structure, FRAN has made giant leaps and bounds in the direction of making anarchism a practical, visible and important force for revolutionary social change, but heavy tasks lay ahead in putting these newly adopted principles into practice. A significant number of FRAN members were pleased with the FRAN-as-social-club model. FRAN could easily fade into nothingness. The tasks facing Florida anarchists the tasks and challenges facing many anarchists and radicals and must be dealt with if anarchism is ever to be made a reality. It's time to build.

**5. Revolutionary activism; FRAN believes that we can not achieve our goals of a free society by simply reforming the current system. We believe that revolution from the bottom-up must completely throw off the inter-related forms of oppression we live under today. We believe that real freedom must come in the form of a direct-action society, not simply as our tactic for change, but also for how we envision the free society in the future. We believe in direct participation and cooperation from the people, without representatives, bureaucracy, or professional politicians. We believe that in creating the new society we must all actively engage in its transformation. And in its day-to-day functioning, we must all participate to make the world we all want to see and actualize it together.**

# RESPONSE 911

## anarchists against the expansion of capitalism & the war

by the Arsenal Collective,  
Autonomous Zone,  
Chicago Anarchist Defense Fund  
& other Chicago anarchists

"It could have been any of us...." Through the shock of 9/11 and the realization that several thousand people were suddenly dead and missing, we also considered the millions of lives lost and damaged as a result of U.S. government intervention here and abroad. Patriotism and hysteria are on an upswing, while states and global capital are negotiating, and sometimes competing, for position around the world. Anarchists have a role and an opportunity. The situation demands an analysis that looks at the past and thinks forward.

### access denied

Facts emerge slowly. Some facts will contradict "confirmed" information. We will be lied to. We will be misled. We will be given heroes we so admire that we won't see the F-16 or hear the order to shoot down any aircraft headed for Washington D.C. Attention will be focused on revenge and diverted from what is real. The United States will attack and destroy because the flag is flying. It is the right thing to do.

Anarchists must be clear

about what we want and what we believe—to see what is going on and to specify what we know and intend. We must categorically oppose all United States military and political actions (in times of war and in times of supposed peace). Know the enemy of the U.S. is not terrorism—the U.S. has used terrorism—but any popular movement or mass organization, any threat to the growth or existence of capitalism—*anywhere*.

States are opportunistic. A primary function is repressing localized resistance to global capital. "Security" will be the cover story for a "streamlined" legal process that permits arrests without evidence, imprisonment without charges and severe penalties with little or no recourse. In "exposing and wiping out terrorists" government agents will attempt to both gather information from and infiltrate all dissenting movements. They want to determine the course for a growing, dissenting, revolutionary movement. We will be listened to when we think we have privacy. We will be intercepted when we want our movement to move. Our people will be detained, arrested, discredited. Our competency will be challenged, our mistakes exploited. In

war repression is an acceptable compromise for safety and security.

*Silence and inaction will not protect us from repression*—it guarantees that the repression works. As the Immigration and Naturalization Services, Federal Emergency Management Agency, National Guard and local police are mobilized and possibly militarized to take part in counter-insurgency and "homeland defense" efforts, we must be ready to organize and resist. Opposing the US (right now and always) is absolutely necessary and right. Certainly sorrow for many of those injured and killed by the attacks on 9/11 is understandable. Solidarity with those who suffer every day from US policies and military action, whether in our neighborhoods or around the world, is necessary and right. Organizing a movement, struggling for freedom from domination, building resistance, developing critical analysis, creating trans-national networks to stop the expansion of capitalism will deliver opportunity for a future worth fighting for.

### this is a war zone

This war against the enemy of the moment is the result

of decades worth of policies of domination around the world. Blockades and sanctions, military responses to any interference with U.S. oil markets, support for corrupt regimes, and one-sided and self-interested involvement in the Palestinian crisis have caused the veneer of safety and security in the U.S. to crash and burn.

The Gulf War has continued for more than eleven years. Millions of Iraqis live without clean drinking water and basic medicines. More than 500,000 Iraqi children younger than five years old have died since 1990 due to the sanctions. Israel, backed by U.S. aid (arms, money, global subterfuge), has used the events of 9/11 as a green light to encroach deeper and deeper into the West Bank. The invasion of the town of Jenin on September 12th implies that Israel could be intensifying the apartheid system there.

“Restoring security at home” is a fantasy. Many people are not safe (and haven’t been safe) in their neighborhoods, in their homes, in their schools or workplaces. A war on terrorism and evil won’t make those most at risk of harm and brutality any safer, and the Office of Homeland Security won’t protect those people who live on the margins.

Now the U.S. is blasting Afghanistan. As in Iraq, U.S./coalition bombs and bullets kill the poor, working class and others with

whom anarchists and anti-globalization activists would in different circumstances work and organize. These are people who have been begging for help and struggling against the Taliban ever since that fascist regime came to power. Meanwhile, destruction of infrastructure, raw materials and avenues of trade is at odds with efforts to solidify capitalism. What happens when the expansion of capitalism is at odds with State interests?

*We cannot operate in a way that has no concern for human life*, for the lives of the people we want to share the future with, whether they are janitors in the World Trade Center or subsistence farmers in Afghanistan. Ethics, strategy and goals must distinguish anarchists from all of our enemies, not just the biggest or most prominent enemies. It is important to help build a strong and visible anti-war position in the U.S. as a component of our standing

opposition to capitalism and the state. We must build international solidarity and infrastructure. We must create a better vision for a world without borders, without nations, and without terror.

## blood and flags

Almost immediately the flags came out—on baseball hats, in front of buildings, on taxi cabs and in windows—red, white and blue, stars & stripes were everywhere. Maybe some people, our neighbors and co-workers, family and friends, felt powerless and attaching the symbol of political and military might to their office cubicles and t-shirts restored their sense of identity with a powerful nation. Some of these flag-wavers went out and demanded that someone be punished. Some shouted that this is America and chased people of middle-eastern descent from airplanes. Some broke windows and attacked and killed





CARLO GIULIANI

The murder of Carlo Giuliani—just one of many who have been harmed or killed while resisting institutions of global capital—and the current “war on terrorism” demands that we continue the struggle against global capital and for a free society. This issue of Arsenal is dedicated to anarchists and others who are engaged in the struggle for genuine freedom.

people who looked the way an enemy should—different. Right and wrong, good and bad is all figured out if it is backed by this particular flag.

The U.S. flag is no substitute for authentic connection with our family, friends and neighbors. Donating blood (particularly when it is donated to an organization that sells that donated blood for \$300–\$1000 per pint, and restricts donations to those whose lives are deemed “clean”) cannot replace building a community and resisting oppression and policies of domination—here and around the world. The most appropriate and traditional color of mourning is not red, white, and blue—it is black. Black flags, black armbands—like the dark clouds that swallowed New York—symbolize our mourning, our solidarity, and our resistance.

**against borders  
& racism,  
for solidarity  
& freedom**

We reject state borders and the racism that invariably surrounds them. Government repression and popular paranoia will increase in the coming months. We believe in the free movement of people across the globe, and act in solidarity with all who come under racist attacks. We oppose the inevitable attempts by fascist groups to organize on the basis of the current context. The INS has always been a major compo-

nent of white supremacy in the United States, and it is already cracking down on undocumented immigrants of Middle Eastern descent. We expect that crackdowns on other “unwanted” populations are soon to follow. We must step up our efforts to call people out on their racist comments, organize support rallies in our neighborhoods, and assist in physical defense of individuals and community institutions. We must resist the use of 9/11 as an excuse to roll back the gains of the immigration amnesty movement and the growth and militancy of the anti-global capital movement over the last few years. We must fight and sabotage all efforts at containing and controlling our future.

The world is changing but our course of action is still clear. We will continue to be part of international opposition to global capital. We will intervene and disrupt organizing by reactionaries and fascists. We will develop groups and institutions that promote our vision of a libertarian future. Our resistance will be democratic, decentralized, and maintain the importance and value of human life.