

Social War On Stolen Native Land



Anarchist Contributions

Introduction

I was at a Black Lives Matter protest in Vancouver recently with a friend who I grew up with. We were standing there listening to speaker after speaker, followed by sing alongs of “we shall overcome”, both with a sense that we were witnessing a sort of performance cliché. Both with the hope that something would go further. For my friend, who is black and becoming newly acquainted with privilege politics and intersectionality, his reaction to this was that the struggle for black liberation did not exist in Vancouver, given its smaller black population to that of Toronto or most American cities, and that instead black folks should focus more attention to indigenous solidarity, as he felt that the struggle for humanization under this rotten system was more legitimate here from their experience. I responded in the moment that I thought “people should be able to articulate their own struggles.”

This got me thinking later about so many other experiences I have had, most often with young white radicals, where people were so willing to renounce their own struggles and perspectives on struggle, to that of a more oppressed and idealized group. And how this has the effect of limiting the scope of struggle. In the first instance he was totally wrong, of course black people have every right to express their disdain towards the dominant social relations in Vancouver as anywhere else. But in another sense he was definitely right. First, that a struggle from whatever perspective should go further than shouting at a crowd of one hundred people at a place where protests happen all the time in Vancouver. And second, that the articulation of one's struggle carries consequences for the struggles of all others.

It appears to me, that as a response to the careerism of the institutional left, the ideological manipulation of marxist-leninists, and of course patriarchy and white-supremacy; that newer generations of leftists are quick to reject any notion that one's own struggle matters in relation to the struggles of others. This opens the door to much of the same problematic behaviour from new social actors on the left such as the Non-Profit Industrial Complex (1).

The texts and action communiques compiled in this zine outline a very controversial perspective on struggle these days. That it is we ourselves that are always at the center of a struggle if we are genuine enough to reject all that the system does to tie our interests to it. This outlines a specifically anarchist perspective on the topic. This isn't at all to say that only anarchists can do this, but that anarchists have been doing this, and it is high time the more anarchists do this, and more people do this in general. Reading through this zine one will notice there is a heavy emphasis on anarchist efforts as they relate to indigenous solidarity, this is not to suggest that this is the only place that anarchists have been articulating their own struggle, nor at all to suggest that indigenous people are not carrying out their own struggle, often in even more inspiring ways. This

zine has been put together to counter the notion so popular today, a notion that feeds so much into reformism, passivity, and apathy; the notion that there is anything redeemable in this awful society, and that all we must do is acknowledge its failings and privileges, and be of better service to the “needy”.

The counter position here is one in favour of social war: a multiplicity of rebels, engaging a society in conflict. Independent of, and in solidarity with one another. This zine shows examples of some anarchist contributions towards a social war in the confines of the area controlled by the Canadian State.

Any liberal can acknowledge oppression so as to see things run more smoothly, only a rebel can break out into revolt against the world built on oppression, and build relationships that truly challenge, or even put a stop to that oppression.

Llud, May 2016

(1) For further reading on these awful institutions and their devastating effect on struggle check out *Accomplices Not Allies: An Indigenous Perspective* by Indigenous Action Media, *Who Is Oakland*, by *Escalating Identity*, *Lines in Sand*, by Peter Gelderloos, and *Taking Sides*, edited by Cindy Milstein.



Social War

By Sabotage Media, written on a poster pasted around Montreal in 2012

A war is already being waged against us daily by the state and capital, by the miserable roles of submission imposed on us, by the police and their prisons. A rotten social peace is enforced to conceal that people fight back against exploitation and domination. Social war means making this war two-sided.

Social war means us against the state. The existence of this war is the best-kept secret of our civilization. Naming it is the first act of rebellion, the first step towards claiming control over our own lives.

We thought it was a one-sided war – waged by Authority, against us. We thought we had no hope but to ignore it, to make this misery a little more tolerable. We hoped it would pass us by. But it's only encircling us, tighter and tighter, watching our every move while offering us a million more ways to buy into the system, to participate in our own domination. And most do participate, first of all by shying away from admitting that the war exists. They'll talk about change, about politics, about reform, about corruption, but they will never talk about war unless they mean something happening far away. Because to admit the existence of the war waged against us is to admit that there is a line that divides acting for freedom or collaborating with the system and that the two cannot be reconciled. If we see that we are not fighting back, then we would have to admit that we have surrendered. That we have already been defeated. But just because we're not free does not mean we are powerless. In fact, the rampant surveillance sends an obvious message: the state is afraid of our ability to realize it as an enemy, and to act on our desires to put an end to it. Because we will never be powerless. We have the power, the responsibility, to fight back.

The war waged against all of us can become a social war as we join together to fight against those who have stolen our lives, broken up our communities, poisoned our world. By declaring war, humankind can rise from its grave. Because for too long, we have been fleeing the catastrophe of our original defeat, through the wreckage of generations piling high enough to block out the sun – exiled into a future grown nightmarish with the lack of possibility. The state of affairs that pretends to be something complete – a perfected civilization which we can only sit back and accept – actually demands that we make a choice: fight against it, or surrender to it.

Many people are already fighting, all over the world. We are fighting in whatever ways are available to us. Destroying the system bit by bit, whether by burning a bank or sabotaging an oil pipeline. Overcoming the alienation that constitutes our invisible prison bars, by taking to the streets to riot together or talking with our fellow workers and organizing a collective force against the power of the bosses. Deserting and disobeying all the rules written against us, by squatting and stealing for our survival, refusing military service, rejecting the roles we're assigned, as good worker, good student, good citizen. Rewriting the usual endings; by supporting prisoners rather than letting them disappear in isolation, by beating

up rapists and homophobes rather than suffering their violence, by creating forms of love that only strengthen us rather than containing and limiting us. Taking control over our surroundings by painting graffiti on the walls or occupying space and planting gardens. By arming ourselves with the ability to create a new world and destroy the one that has been imposed on us.

We don't expect you'll pick up this fight, not right away, because to be honest about your place in the world and take action means to declare war against your life support system, to attack the chains that confine you but also keep you safe, dangling above the abyss that the system has dug out of our lives. To choose your own side in the social war is to jump into that abyss. But unless we want an existence based on subservience, it is our only choice; there is, after all, a difference between life and survival. And as soon as you take the plunge, you might find there are others who have your back, others who will fight alongside you. You might know what it means to break the alienation that defines this society, to finally have some control over your life.

Until then, keep your eyes open. Don't believe the lies they tell about us. You may think that by fighting back, we are being irresponsible but we know very well the consequences of our actions. Each of us face down the possibility of repression from the state; of a prison cell or, in time, a concentration camp awaiting us. We continue to fight, because we are in love with all the possible worlds that are not allowed to bloom. You may think we are the ideological, cold-blooded monsters they say we are, but hear how loudly the blood rushes through our hearts. Calculating people would not enter this fight, because we have such a seemingly small chance of winning. The cold, calculating ones are those who become politicians. If there is a choice between cynicism and hopelessness or a determined and focused attack on the present systems of domination, as anarchists, we choose the latter...

We continue fighting, because we hate all authority, and love freedom, which cannot be given, but must be taken.



Agency Against Pipelines

By Llund, Published in Wreck Edition 2, September 2015

The twin institutions of capitalism and the state are two of the most insanely destructive projects that human beings have ever devised. At present, climate change is becoming more and more obvious to the average person and the misery of capitalism is ever deepening. Resources that the capitalist system uses to stay afloat are drying up, and it is now forced to go into the shale rock and sand for these energy resources. In so called “BC”, we are seeing pipelines and refinery plants being pushed forward as a last ditch effort to keep the system running at it’s smooth pace in spite of economic and environmental catastrophe.

The resistance to these pipelines has been multi-form but also quite limited considering the vastness of the problem that must be tackled. We have seen non-violent civil disobedience play out on Burnaby Mountain in response to the Kinder Morgan pipeline expansion, which served as little more than a media spectacle. We have seen Secwepemc rebels take a more disruptive approach at the gatherings of CEO’s and others with business interests related to pipeline infrastructure. Up north, we have seen traditional indigenous clan structures distance themselves from government band council structures, as a way to encourage their people to reclaim their culture and lands. All these among many others.

The Unist’ot’en clan of the Wet’suwet’en people have a camp that is blocking multiple pipelines. At present the camp is in a public discourse dispute with pipeline construction contractors and the RCMP. The pigs and corporations appear to be setting up the case for an injunction of the land defense camp with the argument that they are disrupting the work that surveyors need to do. The camp is responding with the legal argument that they are enacting their traditional jurisdiction on their lands which they have never ceded to colonial and capitalist control. It is also significant that the camp is at a strategic pinch point of a bridge that crosses a river (Wedzin Kwah).

The legacy of the 1990 Oka rebellion looms large in the minds of many as what can happen when indigenous people refuse to allow the state to walk over them. In recent history we have the inspiring resistance of the Mik’maq people and their warriors who defended their territories against fracking throughout 2013. Both these examples used violent self defense, disruption of the economy, local community involvement and the Mik’maq struggle used some sabotage. The most important difference of all between these struggles and the Unist’ot’en camp is the lack of a larger involvement of their own people from nearby communities. The camp has instead preferred a strategy of parachuting activists in from other places. This is not to put down our comrades but to point out to all who do not seem to recognize it, that different strategies will have different outcomes, just as different indigenous peoples have different social dynamics at play.

Modern day resistance movements have a tendency to romanticize struggles that they see as the most legitimate. In so called “Canada” this usually takes the form of support or “indigenous solidarity” to the initiatives of indigenous people.

On the west coast a great deal of energy has been put into support for the Unist'ot'en camp. The best way that many have been able to respond to the tense situation up north is fundraising for legal defense and infrastructure at the camp, as well as trying to get "bodies" up there for "arrestability" in case of an attempted removal by police. These attempts, while understandable, will not stop the pipelines. The struggle must be diffuse, but instead we have all thrown our eggs in one basket with the unrealistic expectation that someone will stop the pipelines for us. We have done a disservice to our indigenous comrades by placing the brunt of action against pipelines on their shoulders. Anarchists are also guilty of this, but we are not alone in exhibiting this problematic dynamic. Often the justification for such a position is that of "taking leadership". A tragic lack of clarity as to what exactly "leadership" means has left many hands tied, and the "safest" way to continue is seen as renouncing one's agency.

Those of us that acknowledge that the current context of capitalist exploitation will deepen the misery of most of us, must find more creative ways to relate to struggle. Queers, POC's, anarchists, trans people, students, all the many others, and all of our wider networks that do not easily fit into only one or even any of these categories must struggle on our own terms.

There are an infinite variety of ways in which we can begin to do this, here are a few possible examples:

Expand the terrain of struggle- When something like the Burnaby Mountain camp, or a large demonstration, or potentially even a new project of exploitation presents itself, we can get together with people that we know and trust and discuss ways to respond. From these groups we can engage in a critical manner with others in the struggle while building our capacity to act in our own groups (potentially in coordination with others). We can bring the energy of groups rather than passive spectators to anything that may be happening. Sometimes the best support that one can give is creating new fronts for the enemy to defend, and participants for them to be weary of.

Practice autonomy- It is all well and good not to want to overstep one's boundaries when it may be limiting to others. Contrary to what many believe though, the best way to limit others can actually be to follow along passively. Again, with small or large groups of trusted comrades, various actions can be taken which will build our experience, and analysis through that experience will do a great deal more than just "shutting up". It can be a great learning experience or it can be a complete waste of time to listen to others in a social movement. A practice of autonomy as groups or individuals means setting our own standards and thereby strengthening another's as long as we have a common trajectory.

Build and challenge your relationships- Many of us exist within social scenes and many of us have diffuse networks of people with some kind of common interest. There are many relationships such as within families where it can be far more difficult and in fact impossible for some to turn in a subversive direction. However there are a variety of relationships that many of us allow to stagnate, often due to social insecurity, which have infinite potential to threaten the powers that threaten us all. We must be in search of deeper affinities with those around us. This

can come from supporting each other emotionally, but all too often this is separated from challenging internal power dynamics, social mores and ideologies which prevent us from being strong together. Being hip, cool, popular, self-righteous, intentionally nerdy, or wallowing in your insecurity will only get you so far, and will do little to build relationships of trust. Challenge your friends to fight and to keep on fighting, support them in their fights, and remind them if they are leaving a city or wherever a struggle is happening that they can try to find other ways to keep up the fight.

Get outside your comfort zone (calling you on your cop-out)- We all have our comfort zones, and these zones are ever changing. Those of us who have been around for even a short period of time know what to expect from a workshop or panel discussion. Try forming your own ideas and reading revolutionary writings from a lot of perspectives. Beyond that, try applying the lessons you learn from books or through word of mouth to things happening on the ground and try finding others in a similar place with the intention of turning ideas into action - self-organized action. Don't wait for others to rally you to some cause, waiting is as addictive as crack, break the habit. Also, I feel there is a disgusting level of infantilization, victimization and self-righteous posturing swirling around social movements and scenes these days. We all have our boogeymen as well as legitimate grievances with others. But all too often we use these as an easy-out for disengagement with the principles and tensions we claim to hold dear. There is also a vast difference between being unsafe and uncomfortable. Life is full of both discomfort and danger. The western political morality of guaranteed rights and free speech that seems to have seeped into everyone's brains has meant that "decolonization" has become associated only with "speaking out", and rebellion against a social order that was founded upon genocide is somehow expected to be "safe". This does not mean that I expect us all to be robotic, emotionless martyrs but that we might want to practice a little bit more courage than we've been showing.

"Anti-oppression, civil rights, and decolonization struggles clearly reveal that if resistance is even slightly effective, the people who struggle are in danger. The choice is not between danger and safety, but between the uncertain dangers of revolt and the certainty of continued violence, deprivation, and death." -Escalating Identity, "Who Is Oakland"

Anarchists and Social Struggles in Vancouver After the Olympics

By Oshipeya. Published March 15th 2010 to vancarchive.wordpress.com

“It don’t take a professor to see the oppressor got the whole treasure.”

– One Be Lo, from the song “Axis” from the album “S.O.N.O.G.R.A.M.”

I recently attended two public events in Vancouver that got me thinking more about anarchists and their role in social struggles in the wake of the anti-olympic convergence.

The first was a talk by anarchist writers Mark Leier and Robert Graham at the Vancouver Public Library on March 11, 2010. A small room was almost full with an audience of about 50 people of different ages.

Leier, director of Labour Studies at Simon Fraser University and former union organizer, deconstructed recent anarchist thought influenced by post-modernist and post-structuralist philosophy by presenting Bakunin’s arguments against idealism in the mid-1800s. Leier’s presentation was not so academic as one might think. He plainly presented in a humorous and engaging manner the relevance of Bakunin to today, that being an insistence on the truth and reality of exploitation, the basic unchanged nature of capitalism and the division of society into opposing social classes, in contrast to the extreme relativism of post-modern philosophy.

Bakunin said that although our understanding of truth and reality is always partial it is still possible to know or understand, at least partially, some essential things, such as the fact of class exploitation.

This concept of the continued relevance of anarchist anti-capitalist analysis dovetailed nicely with part of Robert Graham’s presentation, in which he described the anarchist idea that a free society is possible at any time in history, regardless of the level of technological development.

Graham’s talk focused on the aftermath of Spanish Civil War and social revolution of 1936-1939, the site of the largest anarchist movement in history and the biggest defeat of the international anarchist movement. The federal structure of the anarchist union the CNT was discussed as well as the difficulties anarchists had in securing weapons in contrast to the Nazi-supplied Spanish fascists and the Stalin-backed Spanish communists.

Graham discussed the evolution of some anarchists’ thoughts on war, organization and sexual repression after the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War, in particular referencing Wilhelm Reich, Paul Goodman and the recently deceased Colin Ward.

A question from the audience about the anarchist position on armies brought up a discussion of the difference between the Spanish anarchist militias, their guerrilla warfare tactics and their anarchist form of organization and the structure of a traditional army. The anarchist Nestor Mahkno’s more traditional military formation in the Ukraine after the Russian Revolution of 1917 was also briefly addressed.

Leier was asked about diversity of tactics and the Heart Attack demonstration of February 13, likely because of his previous supportive response to it in the Georgia Straight newspaper, but didn't get much into it in this particular venue other than to say that it's difficult to know the impact of such events until 10 years later. This reminded myself and others of our previous idea that the success, support of and solidarity with the black bloc and the Heart Attack demo was partly the result of the Seattle World Trade Organization (WTO) riots 10 years ago and the efforts of anarchists and black bloc participants since then to build understanding around the tactic and work in harmony with others in social struggles.

The talk was framed around Leier's last published book, "Bakunin", and Graham's volume two of "Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas".

The second event I attended was called "In Solidarity with Resistance: Challenging Police Brutality", which took place at the Rhizome Café on March 13. A Native presenter talked about her experience during the Oka Crisis/Uprising of 1990 and read a statement from another Native person about the low-intensity brutality of fishing regulation and enforcement against Natives on the Fraser River.

Native women from the Power of Women group spoke on police brutality against Natives and other poor people in the Downtown Eastside (DTES), as well as the anti-olympic tent city.

A member of No One Is Illegal spoke on the role of the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) and their place within the repressive framework of policing in Canada and during the Olympics.

A poet spoke of the riot police response to the Heart Attack demonstration and read out a few of her poems about the Heart Attack demonstration and the tent city.

A student activist spoke on the police reaction after the Heart Attack demo when they arrested and illegally tried to deport him to the United States for observing police harassment in the DTES and riding his bike on the sidewalk.

This event was also packed and support for the black bloc and Heart Attack demo was apparent there too, if not explicit.

These two events further confirmed for me that the black bloc, Heart Attack demo and anarchists in Vancouver in general are not so marginal or "controversial" as a very small number of socialists, social democrat activists and even other anarchists in Vancouver and Toronto have tried to portray them as on the internet or at two previous public events (at the VIVO and W2 art spaces).

The majority of the audience at the previous events vocally and through applause showed support for the black bloc anyway, demolishing attempts by a few socialist and social democrat speakers to present their own negative views on it as being more popular, reasonable or even intelligent.

The fussing of a tiny number of socialists and social democrats over the violent and confrontational tactics used in conjunction with the black bloc tactic and the public's supposedly mostly horrified reaction, or the exaggeration of a humorous picing as a significantly "violent" attack, instead show just how out of touch these particular activists are with the "public" they talk about, as well as the majority of the activist community of Vancouver.

Canadian popular culture loves violence, from hockey to television to movies to the internet to video games to music, in far more gratuitous and random forms than was displayed at the Heart Attack demo. During the Stanley Cup riot of 1994 in Vancouver, windows at the Hudson's Bay Company were also broken, that time by hockey fans.

As Mark Leier pointed out in the Georgia Straight article and his three books on Vancouver's labour history, the debate around diversity of tactics in social struggles is nothing new in Vancouver. In the early 1900s it was the working class based anarcho-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the biggest union in British Columbia at the time, pushing the envelope in terms of tactics, much to the chagrin of the middle class dominated socialists.

In the 30s and the depression, ironically it was the communists like Steve Brodie pushing for more confrontational tactics in the occupation of the post office and other buildings, and the unemployed ended up breaking far more windows, at the Woodward's building for instance, in rioting after the police evicted them than were broken at the Heart Attack demo decades later.

All that being said, I believe that anarchists in Vancouver could have and could still better communicate their views to the wider public, particularly off the internet and on the streets and in other public places, using a variety of methods, especially now given the greater public attention generated by the media in reaction to the Heart Attack demonstration.



An Anarchist Concept of Value

By Insurrectionary Anarchists of the Coast Salish Territories. Published July 2003.
Taken from vanarchive.wordpress.com

The insurrectionary anarchist struggle puts forward certain positive values. The freedom of the individual and the equality of the oppressed class could be described as the most basic of these, along with solidarity and mutual aid, which form the connecting link between individual freedom and class equality and make revolutionary struggle possible. Anarchists also value self-organization, creativity, joy and autonomous action, but none of these positive elements can be artificially isolated from the completely negative orientation anarchists have towards the class of exploiters and their system of domination. The interrelation of elements should be obvious, as should be the positive contribution to our struggle that the various assaults on the property of the exploiters and their guards have in terms of opening up social space in which we can act more freely.

We are not scientists of revolution incapable of seeing the subjective value of struggles that do not necessarily lead to victory for our entire class. We do not accept that there is a guaranteed formula, a political program that can carry us through the struggle from beginning to end without error, without adapting to changing circumstances.

Anarchists are simply individuals who desire freedom and equality and are consequently propelled to fight alongside the exploited masses, as accomplices rather than guides.

We are in favour of immediate, destructive attacks on the structures of the capitalist State, because we see these as indispensable elements of an insurrectionary social movement. It is very easy for an individual or group to initiate actions against the many visible institutions of the class enemy. The simpler the means used the more the potential exists for the practice of sabotage to spread across a social territory, as every small act becomes a point of reference that can be put to use by anyone.

Anarchists place value in the will to rebel against oppression and the autonomous initiative of individuals who are not content to sit and wait for the revolution to come like a gift from the sky. We do not agree with those who say that sabotage is useless or detracts from our struggle. We are not priests of the Protestant work ethic who maintain that everything must be “productive”, that capitalism is part of a progressive historical evolution.

No, it is necessary to begin to destroy all the means of exploitation controlled by the enemy, and the decision to move in this direction cannot come from anyone but ourselves. We can find comrades with whom we share a personal affinity in relation to revolutionary action, and we can even contribute to larger informal organizations used to coordinate the efforts of various autonomous groups, but ultimately, the will to resist must come from within each one of us.

As insurrectionary anarchists, we can't agree with those who think that it is possible to oppose capitalism with productive projects alone, that we can merely

replace our enemies institutions with our own, all without attracting the attention of their police forces, the forces of political repression.

Our idea of anarchist communism contains within it many beautiful and positive values, but we want to fight for them, and not limit ourselves to simply advocating our views. In autonomous struggle opposed to the capitalist State we see not only a positive value, but also a material necessity.



Social Struggle, Social War

By Insurrectionary Anarchists of the Coast Salish Territories. Published October 2003. Taken from vanrchive.wordpress.com

The struggle that insurrectionary anarchists engage in is social, rather than political or economic. Insurrectionary anarchists attack institutions of the political State and the capitalist economy as part of a project to completely demolish all forms of exploitation and control. We attempt to make a total and up-to-date critique of society, and this means that we reject limited viewpoints that privilege one form of oppression over another or one sector of the excluded class over another.

The ranks of today's excluded are immigrants, the indigenous, the employed and unemployed, and there is no reason why any one of these sectors should be considered the advanced guard of the struggle.

The capitalist economy depends not only on production, but also distribution and consumption of commodities. So the old Marxist analysis that says only the workers in the manufacturing sector can be revolutionary does not make sense. Agricultural workers, indigenous peasants and the unemployed can attack capitalism at the point of distribution by blocking roads, and at the point of consumption through theft and looting. Sabotage is a flexible tool that can be put to use by any excluded or exploited individual. For those employed in the capitalist marketplace there are various techniques of self-organized direct action possible at the individual, group and mass levels. Absenteeism, destruction of machinery, theft and information tampering occur regularly in all workplaces.

Politics is alien to the exploited. There is mass abstention from the electoral process. Unionization is declining, and extra-union activity on the part of union members is growing through the use of sabotage and flying squad self-organization – with varying degrees of real autonomy.

A purely economic view of the class struggle is useless. Capitalism does not just control the world of work, but also the home and the entire social territory in which the exploited live. The enemy class uses to its advantage systems of oppression such as patriarchy and racism that predate capitalism and industry, and which divide the excluded amongst themselves.

There are many social problems inherent to the class struggle that the action of anarchists can be useful in confronting. The moral value system passed down by the exploiters to the exploited. The democratic ideals of tolerance and dialogue. The religious tendency of the workers and unemployed to look for a guide to bring them vengeance. The bigotry and irrationality that cause the exploited to battle each other, leaving the class enemy unscathed. These are the subjective elements of class society that can't be ignored by those who really want to destroy this rotten system.

Refusing the role of the vanguard, the elitist group that is supposed to educate and guide the masses, anarchists above all act for themselves, in their own interests, not claiming to represent their entire class. But for the anarchist struggle to become revolutionary it must become social, expanding through solidarity in action. Our relationship with the mass must be informal and direct. We must recognize the

mass as individuals, avoiding the danger of falling into generic perspectives and ideology.

To limit ourselves to spreading counter-information and declaring our convictions to the masses would not make sense, and would be just another form of elitism. We must always re-evaluate our analysis and attempt to advance through discussion and the gathering of information, but we must also act.

Our organizational forms should be fluid and adaptable, capable of destructuring when necessary, based on simple principles that can be used by anyone; self-organization, direct action and permanent struggle. We must reject the political party and activist organizational model of the power centre that is supposed to manage and control everything. We should proceed to action immediately, not waiting for orders or signals from anywhere.

We should fight in intermediate struggles alongside the excluded, for housing, food, shelter, wages, against police repression, against social control. But always trying to push these struggle further, helping them expand into the unknown of insurrection.

In the social war for freedom the participation of anarchists can be of great importance.



Some Actions

Guelph: Solidarity Blockade with Six Nations

Posted September 9th, 2008 to anarchistnews.org

During the Morning rush hour on September 2nd, a group of anarchists blocked the southbound lanes of the Hanlon (Highway 6) at Paisley using flaming tires and branches. A banner was dropped from the trainbridge over the highway reading: "Repression in Six Nations, Repression at home, Solidarity." As we left, a copper wire and burning tires were set on the train tracks.

We acted in solidarity with the three native comrades from Six Nations arrested on Monday morning, September 1st at the occupation of Kingspan development site in Brantford.

We chose to place the blockades during morning rush hour to achieve maximum economic disruption. We targeted the shipment of goods and the flow of commuters to cause damage to local industry, such as Linamar Corp, the largest employer in Guelph. The CEO of Linamar sits on the advisory board of the (North American) Security and Prosperity Partnership which is creating intensified and harmonized border security, police control and surveillance; increasing the flow of goods; and is crucial for the implementation of the most devastating resource extraction projects such as the tar sands and uranium mining. These projects, like all capitalist projects, are further diminishing the possibility of autonomous and free lives for anyone. "At least we get to burn tires, right?"

The police repression at Six Nations cannot be separated from the repression in Guelph, Tyendinaga, and everywhere. Our streets are filled with cops who beat and arrest people everyday. They use profiling, surveillance and criminalization to further their control and neutralize social movements. We engage in daily conflict with this system of wage slavery and rent, a system that excludes all but the rich. Our struggle for a life outside this prison-world is intrinsically linked with the indigenous struggle for autonomy.

As long as our comrades are being burdened with prison and courts, as long as land is being stolen for capitalist projects, our struggle ferociously continues onwards!

Protect the Land!

Protect the Land Defenders!

Free all Prisoners!

-A Band of Ninjas



Direct Action & Vandalism/Sabotage Campaign, 2006-2010

Taken from "From Protest to Resistance: A Report on the Campaign Against the 2010 Winter Olympics", by Zig-Zag

Direct action, including sabotage and vandalism, played an important role in the anti-Olympic campaign. These actions occurred in Vancouver and other major cities across the country, including internationally. From 2006, when the first direct action occurred (the blockade at Eagleridge Bluffs), to Feb. 28, 2010 (the end of the Games), there were over 90 direct actions carried out. The majority of these were clandestine acts of vandalism and sabotage (approx. 62), with the remainder being public direct actions (such as squats, disruption of events, blockades, etc.).

Of the two, the public direct actions had a higher profile, involved larger numbers of people (as many as 400 in Victoria to disrupt the start of the torch relay on October 30, 2010), and generated more media coverage. These disruptions became a regular part of the anti-Olympic campaign and were most closely associated with the militant anti-colonial & anti-capitalist resistance (i.e., protests organized by the Olympic Resistance Network).

The clandestine actions were carried out largely by autonomous anarchist or anti-Olympic groups. Some exceptions included the March 6, 2007, flag theft by the Native Warrior Society and some actions conducted by members of APC.

Many communiques for clandestine direct actions, however, were never sent to corporate media, although they were available on No2010.com and other sites. Consequently, there was little public debate about clandestine actions except that which was reported by corporate media (overwhelmingly negative, although it

did raise the profile of such attacks). Because No2010.com posted most of these communiqués & reports, the website itself was singled out by media as well as the RCMP as evidence of the 'terrorist' or 'violent protester' image they sought to portray.

Targets for clandestine actions included corporate sponsors, real estate companies, banks, political party's, the BC Premier's office, the Olympic 'Countdown Clock' in Vancouver (as well as another version in Ottawa), construction companies, military vehicles, and railway lines. Methods of attack included smashing windows, spray-painting, glueing door locks and ATM machines, slashing tires, blocking sewage pipes, damaging machinery, as well as arson.

The first anti-Olympic public direct action was the Eagleridge Bluffs blockade from April 17- May 25, 2006. Twenty-four persons were arrested, including Harriet Nahanee and Betty Krawczyk. The blockade halted destruction work by Kiewit & Sons for over a month.

The first clandestine act of sabotage occurred June 15, 2006, when five heavy equipment vehicles were damaged, including some that were tipped over, on a road under construction leading to the Callaghan Valley (near Whistler). The total cost of damages was over \$50,000.

The first public direct action that disrupted an Olympic/VANOC event was the Feb. 12, 2007, 'Countdown Clock' protest at the Vancouver Art Gallery.

Following these and other protests, a sabotage/vandalism campaign began against corporate sponsors. One of the first of these was on August 19, 2007, in Ottawa, when anarchists smashed the windows of a Bell Canada building. Bell is one of the main sponsors for the 2010 Olympics and owns CTV as well as other telecommunications companies.

Just over a month later, on September 29, 2007, one of the first of many attacks on the Royal Bank of Canada occurred when an RBC location had its windows smashed, in Vancouver. RBC would become one of the most common targets for clandestine anti-Olympic resistance over the next three years (approximately 21 attacks, mostly smashed windows but also sabotage of ATMs). These attacks occurred in Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary, & Ottawa. RBC was a main sponsor for the 2010 Olympics and the torch relay, as well as being the largest financier for the Tar Sands in northern Alberta.

Other corporate sponsors attacked included McDonalds, General Motors, and CP Rail.

On December 12, 2007, one of the first arson attacks occurred in Guelph, Ontario, when two Bell Canada vans were set on fire. On June 24, 2008, simultaneous arson attacks occurred in Vancouver and Toronto. In Vancouver, Molotov cocktails were thrown into a Canadian Forces parking lot, damaging several vehicles. In Toronto, a General Motors dealership had 13 vehicles destroyed or damaged by incendiary devices.

On May 7, 2008, a Kiewit company vehicle was set on fire in East Vancouver. On July 22, 2008, another Kiewit vehicle was set on fire in East Vancouver. On October 13, 2008, a CP Rail depot in Toronto was sabotaged when

militants cut down two telephone poles and set fire to an electrical box.

Vandal attacks continued up to and including the Olympics themselves, with attacks on corporate sponsors (including the HBC, RBC, and McDonalds) and damage to a \$150,000 flag draped over a building in downtown Vancouver. Damages from the 2010 Heart Attack action are estimated at \$22,000.

Coast Salish Territories: Informal Anarchist Front (FAI) Solidarity Against Pipelines

Posted November 9th, 2013 to vancouver.mediacoop.ca

Early morning, on Wednesday November 6th a Royal Bank Of Canada had all 2 of their ATMs smashed and 4 of their windows. This was an easy target as it was far on East Hastings in Burnaby. The RBC was attacked because they help fund the most destructive project on earth, the Alberta Tar Sands.

The next early morning, a Chevron on 1st and Nanaimo had 9 of its 12 pumps smashed, effectively shutting it the fuck down. This has no doubt cost Chevron tens of thousands of dollars due to damages and lost revenue. It was easily done with a hammer and took about 1-3 swings each pump. Chevron was attacked because it is a majority shareholder of the Pacific Trail Pipeline. The Pacific Trail Pipeline (PTP) is an already approved Natural Gas pipeline but the Unist'ot'en have built a blockade right on the path of this pipeline. As anarchists we have nothing but solidarity for the Unist'oten and will do everything we can to assist them in their struggle against all corporations who wish to destroy their land and the colonial governments who wish to assist the corporations as it runs parallel with the anarchist struggle.

To other activists and environmental groups, this anti-pipelines movement will either be anti-capitalist or nothing. It will either be a mix of violent tactics and peaceful ones or it will be ineffective. It will either be against this colonial government or unsuccessful. We understand the misery and despair of this society and capitalism can be very uninspiring and depressing but there is nothing more liberating, while this society exists, than to smash, burn, loot and bomb something that is smashing your life everyday. We hope these actions inspires you to take some risks. Find your comfort zone and then challenge it.

We understand that it can be scary to commit illegal acts so its best to start small and gain your confidence and skills. Try posturing around your city and move on to paint bombing to targeted graffiti. So on and so forth. The best way to break a window is on the corner where there is less flex. An ATM takes one or two strikes with a hard object. Be careful with ATMs through they usual have high definition cameras so cover your whole face. Glasses or snow goggles would work great. Dress is loose black clothing bearing no logs. If you use other clothing ditch it right after. Black shoes work great. You can also wear different colour shoes and wear socks over them and ditch the socks after you caused some havoc.

FUCK PACIFIC TRAIL PIPELINE! FUCK THE NORTHERN GATEWAY PROJECT!

DESTROY WHAT DESTROYS YOU!
NO PIPELINES ON STOLEN NATIVE LAND!
FAI - Informal Anarchist Front
LONG LIVE ANARCHY!
SOLIDARITY FROM OCCUPIED COAST SALISH
TERRITORY TO COMRADES WORLDWIDE

Vancouver Mayday 2014 Confronts Pipelines and Pigs

Posted May 9th, 2014 to beatthepipelines.wordpress.com

For the 3rd year in a row anarchists held a Mayday rally in Vancouver, occupied Coast Salish territories. This time highlighting the urgency of the anti-pipelines struggle while celebratate the Unistoten resistance camp actively blockading 2 major LNG (Fracked Gas) pipeline projects (Kitimat (Chevron/Apache, fed by Pacific Trails Pipeline LNG Canada and the Enbridge pipeline).

The rally assembled at Victory Square, along with a large deployment of Public Safety Unit cops from the Vancouver police. As part of this deployment, the PSU also had two video surveillance operators filming and documenting the crowd. This strongly contrasted with the “official” organized labour Mayday celebration that occurred earlier in the day in East Vancouver, which saw a small police presence primarily focused on traffic control.

Dan Wallace, a Lekwektaich and Haida warrior, gave an inspiring speech on the need for boots on the ground , direct action and how he will and others will not be intimidated by the ones in “clown suits” (Cops). An anarchist mother gave the history of Mayday and highlighted effective ways of organizing such as informally and decentralized. The demonstration as a whole stressed the need for an anarchist critique of work, while mainstream environmentalists and the state and oil companies dialogue back and forth with a jobs vs environmental destruction dichotomy.

The march of about a 125 or so started heading downtown along Hastings street as a flare was lit while anti-systemic tunes were blasted on the sound system. It immediately took all 5 lanes of traffic which seemed to anger the cops. A few blocks in, the police attempted to push the march onto one side of the street. The marchers stood their ground and a scuffle ensued. Multiple de-arrests were made but unfortunately 3 comrades were arrested. Meanwhile the police grabbed a teenager off his bike, tackled him and proceed to knee him twice in the ribs while placing him in a wrist-lock. (Video Below) From then on the pigs backed off and we continued to take up the whole street.

After the scuffle, the march continued down West Hastings turning onto Granville street. The crowd shrank and swelled to as much as 200 during its duration as people (notably a large number of shoppers on Granville st) used whatever they could find to mask up. Chants like “No Pipelines On Stolen Native Land” and “Cops and Bosses We Don’t Need Em. All We Want Is Total Freedom.”

were chanted throughout the demo with applause and honks from passerby. It dispersed at the Art Gallery with no further arrests. All comrades have been released. This is only the first of many marches that will happen in hopes of building a culture of resistance and disruption of normality in the city. See you next time!



Confronting Canada Day March and Rally in Vancouver

By Zig Zag. Published July 2nd, 2014 to warriorpublications.wordpress.com

Approximately 100 people attended a “Confront Canada Day” rally and march in Vancouver, BC, on July 1, 2014. The rally began at Clark Park in East Vancouver with Natives drumming, singing and speaking against the colonial history of Canada. There was also a contingent of anarchists dressed in Black Bloc and carrying black flags. The group then marched down Commercial Drive behind a large black banner that proclaimed “Decolonize Means Attack”, chanting slogans such as “No pipelines on stolen Native land” and “Fuck Canada” with fireworks and flares being lit periodically.

The event was organized by Beat the Pipelines, the same group that also organized the May Day rally this year, which saw several police assaults and arrests. Unlike that rally, the Confront Canada Day march saw far less police officers deployed, presumably because police resources were focused on crowd control in the downtown area, where tens of thousands of people gathered for Canada Day fireworks. As a result, the Confront Canada Day event had only a handful of cops who stayed back and did not attempt to interfere.

Vancouver has seen several anti-Canada Day rallies over the years, one of the first being held in the late 1970s with punk bands such as DOA and the Subhumans. In 1992 and '93, Roots of Resistance, a radical people of colour group, also held anti-Canada Day rallies that marched to Canada Place during official celebrations. The '92 rally saw the first real deployment of riot cops in the city, with brand new uniforms and shields. In 2007, an ad hoc group, the Indigenous Resistance Organizing Committee (IROC), also held an anti-Canada Day rally and march that began in Oppenheimer Park in the Downtown Eastside with a feast and speeches, then marched to Canada Place.



Anti-industrial Sabotage in Southern Quebec in Solidarity with Evicted Algonquin Protesters

Published on earthfirstjournal.org on October 1st, 2014

So the other night on September 21, we've set fire to a railroad telecomm cable linking Brigham to Sherbrooke (Qc) to the US, thinking about the Algonquins people recently evicted from a resistance camp and detained in Gatineau. We took the time to select a railway bridge in the middle of nowhere near Waterloo, so we'd not have to dig to get to the cables or attract too much attention. Some fuel was dropped through an opening in the steel casing of the cables, then set on fire. Nothing fancy. It worked better as we'd guessed, as a few seconds later it already smelled burning rubber a few meters away. The enclosed air in the conduct apparently turned the fire into something like a blow torch. Kind of easy game to be

reproduced elsewhere by others, we told ourselves... so that's a reason to let others know.

Of course it didn't cause the whole techno-industrial system to collapse! Society is still pretty much functional today. But you gotta start attacking it somewhere. Though it did feel as if an important nerve deep below society had been severed. And this felt good getting off our asses in the middle of the night for this.

It is noteworthy that this railway line is the exact same on which the tar sands train used to pass, taking the lives of a hundred people last year. It is again used to transport oil from the West to the US, though at much smaller rate. Soon it will be replaced by the equally parasitic and devastating pipelines, unless a serious opposition to it rises out from the current apathy so widespread in southern Quebec these days. As the sheep put their trust in the bureaucrats and the "experts" with all their "moratoriums", legal challenges and "environmental assessments", the popular beast is tamed and kept in line, the same line that led us to a disaster last year, and keeps destroying the wild life around...

Hence, as bonus, during the following days, panels for rural

residential developments were vandalized, each in the name of prisoners Amélie, Fallon and Carlos imprisoned in Mexico, two of which are from Montreal.

Two panels were spray-painted in Sainte-Etienne-de-Bolton (not very far from that sabotage) where "Ecocide" was written, and a large panel by the highway to that ties Montreal to Sherbrooke.

Those gestures are far from the intensity of the attacks those three persons are accused of, but they target another end of the same social machine that destroys and rapes the living, here as in northern Alberta, Mexico and elsewhere.

We take the opportunity to pass on our shared view on fighting the progress of techno-civilization: This fast-growing type of visual pollution plays a key role in the destruction process paving way to the invasion of techno-industrial society, but also are very worthy alternatives to the classic urban vandalism. There's no geopolitics of vandalism, what matters being just the sensitivity of the target to the



infrastructure behind, and this one is sensitive as fuck. Though as countless graffiti in the City will at least express a critique and give a virtual impression of disorder, at best defame the fascists and the cops and capital; suburban sprawl can be stopped or slowed down in direct result from vandalism against those spectacular outlets of capital (in this case, the gangster construction industry and all its parasites who just wanna pay themselves a yatch with easy money out the sale and destruction of fictionally-owned land, who're pretty much the same fuckers who pay themselves summer residences here with gentrification money in the city. Get the picture?). We have proof of this, by experience... we have seen major real-estate corporations withdrawing from developments, just because of panels being recursively vandalized. We fought this kind of tactic, no matter how low-scale or boring it may look like, deserves to be brought back in the attack menu, at least as appetizers. So, tons of opportunities for subvertive art at the tip of the civilizational spearhead. A good field for spreading anti-civ memes too!

For all the creatures killed or evicted by the death machine of society that keeps spawling,

For the wild!

- King Ludd and his army of Fenians, from the darkness of the forest

Two moments of oil railway sabotage in Montreal

Posted September 9th 2015 to anarchistnews.org

The infrastructures of State and capital continue to spread their tentacles, seeking to accelerate the extraction and transportation of resources to the market. The vast territory that is the Canadian North, often sparsely populated due in large part to the displacement, isolation, and genocide of indigenous peoples, is an immense source of profit; oil, gas, forestry, hydro-dams, uranium mines, etc. Various monstrous infrastructural expansion projects are currently trying to connect the Alberta Tar Sands through pipelines along the St. Lawrence river to the Atlantic. These projects entail expanding and constructing new infrastructure such as ports, rail lines, and highways all along this route on colonized territories.

Over the past three weeks, we temporarily interrupted circulation on the CN rail lines twice in the neighborhood of Pointe-St. Charles. We placed a copper wire connecting both sides of the tracks, thus sending a signal indicating a blockage on the tracks and disrupting circulation until the tracks were checked and cleared. This train line in particular is being worked on in order to facilitate the transport of oil eastward to the port of Belledune in New Brunswick.

To block train lines, one can :

1. Obtain at least 8 feet of uninsulated 3AWG copper ground wire (the kind that is used for wiring main service panels in a house).
2. Wrap the wire around each rail of the track, connecting both sides, and ensure good contact.
3. Cover the wire between the tracks so that it is more difficult to detect.
4. Smile at the possibility of causing thousands of tonnes of train traffic to be

This simple act is easily reproducible, and demonstrates the vulnerability of their infrastructure despite their surveillance technologies and legal apparatus intent on dulling our teeth. The recent strengthening of the Canadian State's capacity for repression through Bill C-51, now law, includes legislation requiring a mandatory minimum sentencing of five years for those convicted of tampering with capitalist infrastructure. For us, this legislation further emphasizes how integral the functioning of 'critical' infrastructure is to projects of ecological devastation (and the society that needs them), and how powerfully the simple act of sabotage can contribute to struggles against them.

We conceive of our struggle as against civilization and the totalizing domestication it entails; we seek nothing less than the destruction of all forms of domination. As a step in this direction, we hope to contribute to the formation of a specific struggle against these projects of industrial expansion. We want to organize to combat these projects in ways that are decentralized and autonomous, including with consistent and widespread railroad blockades. Autonomous self-organizing escapes a mass movement logic (to impose an agenda through 'mobilizing' others while waiting for the 'right' conditions to act) and the political recuperation imposed by reformist environmental activism. Convergences can play a crucial role in initiatives flourishing, but it is equally crucial that the struggle against these projects does not start and end there. Let's up the tension against this world, let's proliferate the attacks.

Enbridge valve and pipeline sabotaged

Posted January 6th, 2016 to mtlcounter-info.org

What better way to start a new year than by shutting down some fucking oil pipelines?

Sometime in the night of January 3rd, 2016 individuals stole into the dark near so-called Cambridge and used a manual pipeline valve to restrict the flow of Enbridge's Line 7. We then applied our own locking devices to delay response time.

Line 7 is another recently-expanded tarsands pipeline operated by Enbridge, running parallel to Line 9 & flowing 180,000 bpd of tarsands crude.

This action was undertaken to show our ever lasting love and support to the brave folks who've taken similar actions in the traditional territories of the Huron-Wendat, Mohawk, and Anishinaabek people.

Further, we take action to counter the new narrative of the state; to swing back at the grossly inflated charges those in Sarnia received, and show that we will not be cowed.

We fight for the land and water; and we fight for our lives.

We will always fight back, whether it's with the sun warming our faces, or the moonlight to guide us.

Join us.

No tarsands, no pipelines.

Enbridge valve site sabotaged – again

Posted January 6th, 2016 to anarchistnews.org

our hearts were bursting with love and cheer after hearing of the many times our friends have courageously shut down pipelines in recent months. so in the early hours of january 25,2016 we found our own courage and took action against enbridge and their line 9.

slipping in to a valve station located on traditional Haudenosaunee Territory (in hamilton, ontario) we successfully operated an electronic valve to shut off the flow of tarsands crude in line 9. a line 7 valve, also an enbridge tarsands pipeline, was also tampered with and closed part way. we then disappeared back into the night.

we took this action to stand in unity with all those who have defended the land before us, and for those who decide to take action after us. we take it to fight against an industry that puts us at risk every day and subjects frontline communities to violence upon their bodies, communities and cultures - for profit.

we believe that's worth fighting against; that those people and communities are worth fighting for. so call us what you will, but we only do what is both necessary and right. our actions hurt none, but a lack of action hurts everyone. may we all find the courage to actively resist & destroy exploitative capitalist industrial projects.

fuck enbridge

fuck the tarsands and fuck all pipelines.

ps. for those curious to follow in our stead - enbridge thinks they're being all smart by putting on large gold security chains (which can't be cut with bolt cutters) and lockboxes on the gates. bypass these by cutting the fence itself. then all you need are some garden shears (to cut the very, very secure zip tie protecting the electrical panel), your wits and an exit plan.

Rest In Power Jean-Pierre Bony

Posted April 9th 2016 to intsgoingdown.org

Last week, the police murdered Jean-Pierre Bony in Montreal-Nord, yet another black person assassinated by the agents of white supremacy. Wednesday night, the day of the birthday of Fredy Villanueva – assassinated by the police in 2008 and avenged by two nights of riots in Montreal-Nord – a demonstration in response to the murder of Jean-Pierre Bony turned into a riot against the police.

As expected, the Media regurgitated the myth of the “outside agitator”, just as they did during the Oscar Grant riots in Oakland, and the recent rebellion in Ferguson, perpetuating the lie of the incapacity of black people to act for themselves.

We were overjoyed to see the people who live in Montreal-Nord initiate a fierce attack against the police. Media vans and cameras were smashed, and every police car in sight was charged with rocks, crowbars, and smoke bombs. When the police were hiding, people decided to go to the police station. On the way, the windows of several businesses as well as a bank were shattered (with a fire later

started inside) and the joyous destruction of the police station unfolded for twenty minutes.

The post was evacuated preemptively, and we overheard people yelling, “the police are afraid of us now” as every window of the station had rocks thrown through them. When a lone riot cop (didn’t get the memo?) tried to intimidate people from entering the parking lot, he was charged and a hammer was thrown at him as he fled, giving everyone free reign to destroy all the cars as well. When riot-police reluctantly moved in to salvage what was left of their wrecked station, they were welcomed with rocks and fireworks. As people moved back into the residential streets, at least six cars were torched.

As anarchists, we participated in these moments to support these courageous acts of rage and rebellion. What went down Wednesday night continues to return to our minds, warming our hearts and inspiring our fight against policing in our own contexts. The complicity we felt with people we met in the streets of Montreal-Nord calls us to go out of our cliques and surpass the borders formed in our city and our heads by the racist social order.

So tonight, we wrote the name of Jean-Pierre Bony on several giant billboards in the city alongside images of burning police cruisers, because “memory is alive, and ready to strike”.

Never forgive, never forget. The fire continues to burn in us.



A Riot For Every Police Murder

Posted April 13th, 2016 to mtlcounter-info.org

On the night of Monday, April 11, a demonstration in Montreal in response to the second police killing in under two weeks attacked the SPVM. Sandy Tarzan Michel, an Anishinabe man, was murdered by police on the anishnabeg reserve in Lac Simon, Quebec, last Wednesday, April 6. Police shot him several times after running him over with a police cruiser. Sandy's nineteen year-old brother was also assassinated by police in Lac-Simon in 2009.

After Sandy was murdered, other people who live on the reserve confronted local police and tried to block the entry of provincial police (the Sûreté du Québec) who were called to assist the local force, leading to three arrests. When someone is killed by police in Quebec, a different police agency is called in to "investigate", and the SPVM has since received the assignment in Lac Simon.

Around 100 people gathered outside St-Laurent metro station and listened to speeches from Anishinabe organizers. As the demo took the street, participants could be seen donning and distributing masks. The demo turned east on Ste-Catherine as bike cops flanked both sides of the march at the point where the most masked people were located. Over the next forty-five minutes as the demo proceeded relatively calmly, people were clearly expressing their grief, sadness, and anger in different ways, with some marching silently and encouraging others to do the same, and others chanting slogans wishing violence upon the police.

At the intersection of Ste-Catherine and de Lorimier, members of the crowd struck the flanking bike cops on each side with rocks, while setting off smoke grenades on the sidewalks that obscured the cops' visibility. The bike cops quickly fled. With no cops in the immediate vicinity of the demo, a few minutes later, people paint-bombed and smashed the windows of the Ministry of Public Security building on Parthenais. The Ministry of Public Security oversees the provincial prisons in Quebec (which are disproportionately populated by Indigenous people) and the Sûreté du Québec - both institutions that maintain colonial occupation in so-called "Quebec". The riot police charged the demo quickly thereafter, and succeeded in dispersing the demo despite some attempts to fight them off with volleys of rocks. No arrests were made.

As anarchists, we initiated attacks in this space because we're not struggling for less murderous police, but for the destruction of all forms of policing. When the police kill someone, sexually assault someone, imprison someone, we believe in vengeance, but we don't want to stop there. By opening up space and time in the streets through attacking the police, people create the conditions to destroy other components of the material infrastructure of colonial society. We believe this is an important step to nurture the relations of care, trust, and reciprocity that are essential to any rupture with the colonial, capitalist, and patriarchal control of life. In the particular setting of this demo, we acted to open the possibility of complicity with Indigenous people who see the inherently colonial institutions of Canadian policing, in their entirety, as enemies. While aware that some Anishinabe

participants were calling for a peaceful protest, we hope that others recognized us as possible future accomplices.

After Monday night, we've noticed some self-proclaimed settler/white allies reacting harshly to the direct actions that took place against institutions they ostensibly oppose. The way in which they have taken one or two individuals' call for a peaceful march to represent the interests of a whole community speaks to the failure of allyship politics. The idea of being a good ally by following the instructions of an oppressed group inevitably confronts the problem of contradictions amongst people of the identity category in question. In so-called Canada, there is no shortage of combative anti-colonial resistance to take inspiration from; whether it be from the people who confronted police on the anishnabeg reserve last Wednesday, the struggles against ecological devastation in Elsipogtog and Lelu Island, the fight from the barricades over two decades ago during the 'Oka Crisis', or the continual war against colonialism that has been fought on many fronts since settlement began.

There are a multiplicity of ways that people are fighting the systems that harm them and their environment. While some Anishinabe and other Indigenous people want the institutions that dominate them to be violently confronted, others place hopes in the channels that these institutions present to them as means of change, such as symbolic protest. Would-be 'allies' need to reckon with this reality, and find our own paths in fighting domination instead of following a representative out of guilt and moralism.

We want to foster relationships of complicity, rather than allyship, with all those who struggle against systemic violence. Fuck the police, fuck quebec, fuck canada.



Towards Unsettling Paths

By Llud. Published in Wreck Edition 1, April 2015

“If non-indigenous anarchists are to develop ways of interacting with indigenous peoples that are different from those of political organizations they must begin from direct communication, solidarity and trust. Anyone who really wants to act in solidarity with others does not stumble around inside their homes, uninvited, stinking of arrogance and ignorance, and taking up space. It should go without saying that cultural differences and the unique experience of colonization should be understood and respected.

The old racist and inaccurate idea of the “noble savage”, which a few petty anarchist philosophers still hold on to, is in need of a complete demolition. As mentioned earlier, there are substantial variations between indigenous nations and communities in terms of their internal social structure. So a generalized model can't match up with reality.

Real solidarity can be put into practice through direct contact with the indigenous sovereignty movement, and attacks on common enemies — using the principles of direct action, self-organization, and constant struggle.” – Insurgent S, *Colonization, Self-Government and Self-Determination in British Columbia*, 2003

The Path I Know

I have lived nearly my entire life on the traditional lands of the Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh peoples. For this, it is customary to thank the surviving members of these peoples and their ancestors, but I am unsure how I would accept such gratitude in their shoes. Since the beginning of contact with europeans (diverse groups of people from the same sub-continent as my ancestors), the overbearing trend has been the horror of domination and genocide. Thankfulness, in this context, seems like adding insult to injury more than anything.

Still, the land and mountains are beautiful. The water is clean to drink, and I have thought for a long time of how beautiful, and bountiful the earth, forests, creeks and oceans must have been here, when people were not living in a relationship of domination over the earth, before the British and other europeans came and imposed the terror of capitalism, colonialism and the state. I am thankful to be aware of this, and to understand the task of undoing it all.

As a non-indigenous person living under the weight of capitalism, I have wondered since childhood who I am, and what I am to do. Since a young age, I have clashed with authorities, from schools to Christian ideas and police. As a working class child living in a densely populated area of a suburb, I was bound to form relationships with some of the people from the local Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh reserves. This has always been a part of how I understood the world. It was always clear that here, people were categorically oppressed by the system, and that the misery I felt under the weight of society was hardly even close to the experiences of many Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh. I do not, nor have I, nor will I ever identify

with the colonizer, the police, the bosses, the bureaucrats, the rich fucks, any of them, and since this has lasted me to my thirties, I see no reason why this will change before my dying days.

At some point before my mid-twenties I became aware of the anarchist movement and I decided that this best represented my tension with this world. Soon after I moved to a part of town, not far away, where I thought I might be able to find other anarchists and engage with the social movements happening in the area. At this time my understanding of anarchy was something more similar to an anarcho-syndicalist point of view with a heavy emphasis on atheism, which saw the workers taking over the means of production and running the economy in their own interests.

In Vancouver, indigenous people are generally at the forefront of movements that represent some level of class conflict. Many of these urban native people are not from the local reserves or peoples, but are from many different places in the geographic area known as “Canada”, pushed off of the land by colonization and industrialization and forced into the Eastside of Vancouver. I am thankful to say that the experience of being in the streets, and witnessing ceremonies with these people caused me to change my archaic view of the world and how I saw anarchy. It became clear to me that this industrial hell is for no-one, and that bringing forth an industrial utopia, worker self-organized or otherwise, would likely end up in the same result of colonial oppression and domination that was causing the misery I already knew so well.

I recently took a trip across this continent and back to the European sub-continent. In some of the places I visited, I intended to see the lands some of my ancestors came from. Having forged close relationships with indigenous people in struggle here, it seemed necessary to think about my own relationships to land and ancestors, a perplexing subject for someone whose ancestors haven't been indigenous in a very, very long time. These are feelings and facts that I am still grappling with, and may be for a while longer.

Another important aspect of this journey was meeting and having conversations with anarchists from the sub-continent about a variety of struggles and ideas. I spent time in London, one of the centres of the hell of domination that covers most of the earth. I also spent time at a ZAD (zone of defense) occupation in western France, as well as among comrades in Athens, Berlin and a number of other places having many interesting conversations.

The autonomous zone in France was a land occupation to stop an Airport from being built. People had fought off police attacks and were forging a life without police and state intrusions, while trying to mediate between many different participants in the land struggle with vastly different ideas and motivations. An interesting observation that my travelling partner had was how even here, where you had people casting off the shackles of industrial development, there was a massive disconnect from the land and ecosystems. The best idea offered for reclaiming the land was a pastoral activity, with hay farming and keeping agricultural livestock. They had reclaimed the land and put it in common, yes, but there was no proposal as to whether they would allow the forest to reclaim any area and find ways to live with the ecosystems of the earth. This was a common sight along the “European” anarchist



landscape; people there are so far removed from any concept of indigenous life and the wild spaces of the earth, that it is very hard for them to comprehend these possibilities.

In Athens and Berlin, I had some of the conversations that helped motivate me to write this article. The comrades I talked with described to me a general distaste for the idea of stolen or ancestral lands, and were displeased that anarchists would lend their solidarity to concepts and struggles that they saw as inherently authoritarian. The conversations were both extremely frustrating and refreshing. In my own context, for better or for worse, we often do not question such subjects. While it makes sense given our experiences on these lands, it is perhaps not fitting of anarchists, and stops us from pushing further in our goal of the liberation for all people.

Land, Indigenous People, Anarchy

“The idea that the state will inevitably reemerge over time is another of these hopelessly eurocentric fantasies in which Western culture indoctrinates people. Dozens of indigenous societies around the world never developed states, they thrived for thousands of years, they have never surrendered, and when they finally triumph against colonialism they will cast off the impositions of white culture, which includes the state and capitalism, and revitalize their traditional cultures, which they still carry with them. Many indigenous groups have experience going back hundreds or even thousands of years of contact with the state, and at no point have they

voluntarily surrendered to state authority. Western anarchists have much to learn from this persistence, and all people from Western society should take the hint: the state is not an inevitable adaptation, it is an imposition, and once we learn how to defeat it for good, we will not let it come back.” – Peter Gelderloos, *Anarchy Works*

Indigenous groups and individuals are as diverse as one can imagine. Some groups are traditionally hierarchical and had created vast, highly structured civilizations prior to contact. Others are hierarchical and created semi-sedentary, semi-feudal societies. Many others are non-hierarchical, or very limited in top-down structure.

Among all these peoples there is also vast difference in the level of bureaucracy used in maintaining social and religious relations between individuals, clans, tribes, and neighbouring peoples. Some were more individualistic, whereas others have a more collective identity.

There is also some difference in how each particular European empire impacted these groups. For example, what time and technological level these European empires were at when contact began has had an effect on how intact traditional cultural structures are within each people. It also has an effect on the level of recuperation versus naked repression and Christianization that can be seen in relation to modern colonial power structures.

I am making these points not with the intention of building a patronizing anthropological thesis of indigenous peoples, but instead to deconstruct grand sweeping declarations of who people are. To make generalizations for the positive or negative of whole groups of people, has the effect of erasing people and furthering the colonial project.

The conquest of the “Americas”, as well as of the entire globe, and its unique groups and individuals has been a very long process. Zig Zag, an indigenous warrior, who has been involved in the anarchist movement on this continent since the 1980’s, has described colonization as a “war for territory”. Since what colonial power structures need is access to land, resources, and exploitable populations, indigenous peoples are marked for annihilation and assimilation. At the heart of indigenous struggles, and in fact, their very existence, is the land on which indigenous people live.

When the European powers, and civilizations before them, came to occupy land, they had to first kill-off or subjugate the people who lived there. This is the common thread in how this horrible world came to be. As anarchists, we feel a deep hatred for these circumstances. Since the word anarchy came to be, we have thrown ourselves with an admirable recklessness at the nation-state in our desire to destroy it. We have seldom cared (nor should we ever have) whether the state takes the form of capitalism, socialism, democracy, fascism, mercantilism, nor even if it comes out of a compromised national liberation struggle.

Indigenous people are diverse and have many ways in which they relate to a state. Some may choose a more reformist route, choosing to use a capitalist framework with how they relate to their lands. Others do what most working-class and subjugated peoples do: just try to survive and get along. What I have been most inspired by as an anarchist, is those who oppose the intrusions of the state into their own free ways of life. These people often practice the use of warrior societies in

opposing state and capitalist projects on their territories. The people themselves are unique individuals who may have differing views, but one common thread I have noticed is that these people are often heavily linked to the traditional ways of life of their peoples. These people are unfortunately often a minority in their communities, but they have held on to much of what colonial society has tried to rip from them. I have also noticed that what these people usually fight for is not a relationship of domination over vast groups of people in



the form of a nation-state, but to freely recreate with others the forms of freedom and control over their own lives that their ancestors enjoyed.

“...and what I’ve studied about anarchy, is anarchy wishes for social order, but not at everyone else’s expense. Not at anyone else’s expense. No one else should feel degraded because you’re comfortable. Everyone is equal, you organize horizontal... traditional societies are no different. Yes this is a traditional hierarchical system, there is a chief, there is women chiefs, there is children of chiefs. I am born into nobility myself, my mother is a chief, my father is a chief, but that does not mean that I can’t be an anarchist. It means that I am looking at that traditional hierarchical system that is also sick. My father is on a decolonization path himself, and I’m not going tell myself that I’m decolonized. I’ve freed my mind, I’ve kept a free mind, I’m still impacted, I am not decolonized. Now why I say that is because settler society also must get a sense of what decolonization is, and you’re on that path as anarchists. You’ve taken that step to decolonize.

And how does that relate to traditional societies? In traditional societies you ask permission to be on the land. In our territory, in our camp, you went through a protocol, but it wasn’t police standing at the bridge, telling you, you have to ask us for a right to be here, we didn’t say that. We stood there very, very openly and welcoming, but stern. Not cold, not really warm, but just... “I’m not going to get erased, I’m not going to get bulldozed, I’m not going to get railroaded”. But at the same time “I’m thankful you’re here, this is the protocol we’re going to go through first, before you enter the territory”. Not just to say you need permission first, which (traditionally) was actually part of it,

you’re asking the chiefs permission to be on the territory. But what you were asking was not just to be there, like rights, but how can we share responsibility to be

on the land. Sharing responsibilities, sharing the (natural) law, self regulation, to me that totally relates to anarchy.” – Mel Bazil, Gitxsan and Wet’suwet’en,

Transcending Rights

“The movement is in our blood, not in your hierarchy” – Callout for Oglala Lakota Territory Liberation Day 2015

A Proposal for Understanding Place

Imagine a house.

Imagine that house encompasses a vast ecosystem.

Uninvited, you wake up in that house. Unsure of how you got there.

Amnesia makes it hard to remember who you are. You realize that something isn’t quite right with what you’re being told about that house’s history.

You also come to realize that there are people who are at the bottom of a hierarchy that has been set up in the house, these people have a greater knowledge of the house for what it is, it’s ecosystems etc. They also have some hints of a much more communal and egalitarian way of relating to each other in that house. It is clear that in this house, all are forced to rely on structures and resources that maintain that hierarchy in order to survive, while this group of people have a traditional knowledge of how to thrive and live without these structures. This house in undeniably theirs.

The masters of that house threaten you with violence if you don’t keep your head down and work. In this position you are allowed more free-passage through some rooms and hallways in the house, but you remain deeply restricted and in many ways suffocated.

Indigenous and Non-indigenous anarchists must destroy the masters of this house and the structures they have set up, uninvited guests though we often are. We also have much to be thankful for, that we have the examples of our indigenous comrades and hosts of this house, in how we can live freely and respectfully in this house and others.

Destroying the Third-Position

When comrades from the european subcontinent reject the idea of ancestral lands, I don’t believe it is because they are desiring the continuation of colonial oppression of indigenous peoples. One position these comrades seem to be arguing is more of a militant multiculturalism, one that places the freedom of individuals in the highest regard, regardless of their place of origin and circumstances of birth. I do have affinity with this position, but I believe it misses some important points in relation to living on lands stolen from indigenous peoples.

When a person or group is placed at a lower level in a hierarchical system, they are then forced to conform to a dominant culture. As an anarchist, I have a problem with the idea that people would need to compromise their diverse ways of being for the benefit of a dominant whole. In the context of a white-supremacist society that intends, through colonialism, to strip people of their diverse ways of

being, specifically those that show us an alternative to the hell that we know, it isn't surprising that anarchists lend their solidarity to indigenous rebels, with an aim to break from that dominant culture themselves.

There is of course a major problem here, one identified by at least one of the comrades I talked to on the subcontinent who rejected the concept of stolen lands, and one that anarchists and others would be foolish to ignore. Nazi's, various Nazi spinoffs, conservative nationalists, and many others attempt to argue similar positions to that of indigenous struggles; they argue that their lands are being invaded, by bankers, foreign governments, or immigrants, and they argue that there is a dominant culture that is forcing them towards multiculturalism, accepting immigration, unlearning homophobia, allowing birth control, etc.

Third Positionism is a neo-fascist tendency. It advocates for a break from marxism and capitalism alike, and seeks to create alliances across "racial separatist" lines. Out of this tendency has come the absurd idea of "National Anarchism". Secessionism is a common theme in this tendency. Secessionism refers to pulling away and declaring independence, which in the eyes of a fascist would mean racial independence. While indigenous sovereigntists want a separation with colonial culture, it would seem clear, though perhaps easy for some to confuse, that they are not arguing for white-supremacist categorizations of separation such as "all people from Europe are white, white people must stick with white people, all people from Africa are black, black people must stick with black people."



Attackthesystem.com is a neo-fascist website, with the tagline "Pan-anarchism against the state, pan-secessionism against empire." It appears to have very little of a base in actual social movements, but has contributors from around the world. Deceivingly, they have pictures of a number of classical anarchists on the header to their website. Their writers are not only white fascist rejects and "anarcho-capitalist" wingnuts; for example Vince Rinehart (Raven Warrior - Pictured Above) is a Tlingit traditionalist who also contributes to the website. While we are talking about only one known individual, it is not impossible that other indigenous traditionalists hold similar views, and it is possible that if anarchists are not careful with how they interact with indigenous sovereignty movements, they could be creating anything but anarchy.

Although not directly related to indigenous sovereignty, we also know that Nathan Block (aka "exile") and his partner Sadie, both former Earth Liberation Front prisoners, have become third-positionist fascists. They now live in Olympia,

and Nathan himself has posted all kinds of esoteric fascist symbols and quotes on his website. One can read about this by searching through the NYC antifa website. Anarchists and many other revolutionaries are not immune from turning in a completely different direction, even if, and especially when they remain radical.

Fascism will use anything to gain momentum. If socialism is a popular sentiment, they will brand themselves “National Socialists” in order to gain adherents. At present, the ecosystems of the earth are collapsing, and western rational thought derived from Christianity is seen as a fundamental part of the problem, while power and control are decentralizing through social media, and mass surveillance. It is a clever ploy that fascists around the world are latching onto labels like “autonomous-nationalism” and “national-anarchism”, and that adherents to these positions are advocating for a focus on the land and ecosystems. As is standard for fascists they also propose a largely mythical connection to the past and ancestors. Anarchists must be careful that we are always critically minded and not guilted through privilege politics or wooed by hip occultism and environmentalist symbols and scenes, or anything else, into accepting any kind of authoritarianism. A native traditionalist who argues for racial separation and supremacy may not bring us much closer to liberation than a bonehead fascist.

I have been honoured in the last few years with what I have heard from many of my indigenous comrades. Although I can be seen as a person from a population that committed genocide against their people and that continue to occupy their lands, some of them are still willing to see me as a comrade in struggle. They have challenged me to think about anarchy in a way that does not only come from a western worldview. They have challenged me to be more spiritual in how I view my struggle, and have occasionally challenged me to look into my own origins, that I can only vaguely access. I often think it is foolish, and even self-destructive, how much territory anarchists and leftists leave to the fascists when we do not explore these ideas, when we allow pre-christian ceremonies and symbols to become fascist ones, but we have much to be careful of, and much to reject.



My ancient ancestors were not white, or Aryan or any of that nonsense. Whiteness was eventually created as European empires needed to begin exploiting non-European populations, and needed the slaves of their nation to join them in that cause. If we are ever to shake off domination and exploitation, and destroy America, Canada and every nation-state once and for all, I do not intend for white people to

exist any longer. I intend to honour my indigenous comrades in their search for their own traditional lives. I intend to create a community with all others, where we can collectively ensure our free individuality and diverse traditions, for however many generations they last and for new ones to begin to flourish organically. This greatly differs from a purely separatist solution, in that we all have a chance to become something greater than the possibilities that have been allowed to us since the various processes of colonization swallowed up our ancestors and took away their great wealth of traditional knowledge and ability to live in co-existence.

Individual and Collective Self-Interest

One comrade beautifully described to me that they do not see themselves as a “European”, instead as someone who was “born accidentally in a shit-hole of the South Balkans” and that they were unwilling to recognize any ancestors except those who since the dawn of time strived for freedom against all forms of domination, regardless of where they were born. I relate to this, on practical and spiritual levels. I feel strongly for their rejection of a European identity, as it relates to my desire to destroy a concept like whiteness. I too feel that individuals must always have agency. A desire, on individual and collective levels, to break all ties to what is horrible in this world, is of the utmost importance for rebellion. But at the same time I do not expect all oppressed people to simply hear my declaration and accept me as an equal in struggle. I do not expect them to care; I intend to show them, as I move through this life however I can, that I mean it.

On this continent the politics of privilege and the idea of the ally are very popular in social struggles, even among anarchists, and especially around the subject of indigenous solidarity. In the mainstream we see hipster non-profit workers and others, pick up on this disempowering line of thinking. This approach completely rejects the experiences of individuals in emphasizing the experiences of oppressed groups from which individuals are tokenized for legitimacy in struggles. I believe the anarchist relationship to individualism has much to offer in breaking from such a patronizing path.

I do not want to be insensitive towards the people who I believe are the minority within the anti-oppression forum. I know that many of these people are deeply passionate about wanting to end all oppression within public and private spaces, forever. But I cannot in good conscience see my comrades and others go down such a troubled, dead-end road without sending caution to them.

In the last few years a number of texts have circulated that have heavily criticized anti-oppression, allies, privilege politics and the non-profit industrial complex. These critiques have been wonderful to circulate and discuss with comrades younger and older, but they often gloss over the reality that there are a number of people who are from the grassroots, not associated with any non-profit institution, that carry forward the same manner of thinking and sometimes act as their institutional counterparts. The problem here is that these comrades do not fall into the non-profit industrial complex and so they believe the criticisms don't apply to them.



Privilege politics treats people as identifiable categories that can be explained with in a sentence. These categories can then be characterized by one group or individual who visually represent said category. The job of the ally is to take these credible voices and put them on a platform (rightly in a sense) above pompous academics, guilty whiteys, condescending liberals, etc.

The ally is the selfless martyr who is overcoming their privilege and stepping down to help the oppressed. They will deny it, but this is fundamental to their position.

The problem is that no-one acts out of total selflessness. Even our most selfless acts as human beings are often out of a need to be at peace with our conscience, intergenerational self-preservation, or ego. There is nothing wrong with this; the monster, I believe, is created when we deny this fact. If we cannot even be honest with ourselves, then how can we ever be honest with others, especially when we have such a condescending relationship to these “others”?

The consequence in social movements is often a parasitic relationship where one behaves as though they have nothing to gain from their selfless acts and instead is building up an egotistical reputation on the struggles of these others. I believe there is a dire need for everyone to be honest with who and how they are engaging in struggle. If you do not share a common enemy with another, then what actual basis do you have for a relationship of struggle? This can be combated simply by people finding their own individual and collective reasons to struggle against a common enemy, a common enemy that the politics of privilege will not allow someone to acknowledge.

Within the context of a social movement no one would deny that socialization and social hierarchies cloud our vision, leading us towards destructive behavior and complicity with oppression. But there is often (not always) a self-

righteous air about those who engage in anti-oppression politics that I find particularly hard to stomach. The general sentiment of these “allies” is that everyone is stupid and wrong, and they need to educate or force others to believe that they and their ideology are right.

It seems clear to me that people throughout history have rarely needed to be sat down and formally educated on why they must struggle against this world. Did the rioters of the black liberation struggle in the states need to go through a bureaucratic process for how to fight against oppression, to sit with gut-wrenching guilt and sorrow, pondering their privileges first? Can we say the same of the gay and trans revolutionaries of the 70's in New York? The maroons in Brazil, Jamaica, and the Great Dismal Swamp in Virginia? The indigenous societies and their warriors who fought against Babylon, the Celts against the Romans, and those who carry on with this struggle today?

The alienation we experience under capitalism keeps us all too confined for anarchists to not look at our relationships and actions as opportunities for expansion. It would be a bare minimum to provide whatever resources we can to those we have affinity with. Relegating ourselves to the role of supporter or “ally” will do no one any favors when expressing support to indigenous camps or responding to attacks by the state against those who are categorically oppressed. I am only “in the way” if I am disrespectful to those I move forward with, the same as if I am not moving forward myself. The state is already my enemy until death and beyond, when I reach out to those who it attempts to destroy, I am trying to strengthen all our struggles. For us to ever have a chance of unsettling ourselves we must be unrested and unruly, never without initiative.

What has been the largest driving force behind the most powerful, inspiring, and liberatory struggles has been a recognition on individual, and collective levels that we must, ourselves, fight for freedom. We need to be wary of having our struggles compromised and capitalized upon by authoritarians of all kinds, and finding our own reasons and purposes in this struggle will help us towards this goal. To prevent our struggles for liberation from conceding to power and control, before we have a chance of breaking them. To prevent our social war, with its infinite battlefronts, from being told to sit back and introspect.

I do not intend for these observations, gained through years of pain and joy, trial and error, to stay stuck within these pages. I am not writing this from a place of having figured out every detail, but I do see many holes in the way people are engaging with themselves and others. I hope this essay will contribute to a more serious outlook and practice as we move through our struggles and lives which carry heavy consequences for both the positive and negative.

"There are many social problems inherent to the class struggle that the action of anarchists can be useful in confronting. The moral value system passed down by the exploiters to the exploited. The democratic ideals of tolerance and dialogue. The religious tendency of the workers and unemployed to look for a guide to bring them vengeance. The bigotry and irrationality that cause the exploited to battle each other, leaving the class enemy unscathed. These are the subjective elements of class society that can't be ignored by those who really want to destroy this rotten system.

Refusing the role of the vanguard, the elitist group that is supposed to educate and guide the masses, anarchists above all act for themselves, in their own interests, not claiming to represent their entire class. But for the anarchist struggle to become revolutionary it must become social, expanding through solidarity in action. Our relationship with the mass must be informal and direct. We must recognize the mass as individuals, avoiding the danger of falling into generic perspectives and ideology."



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