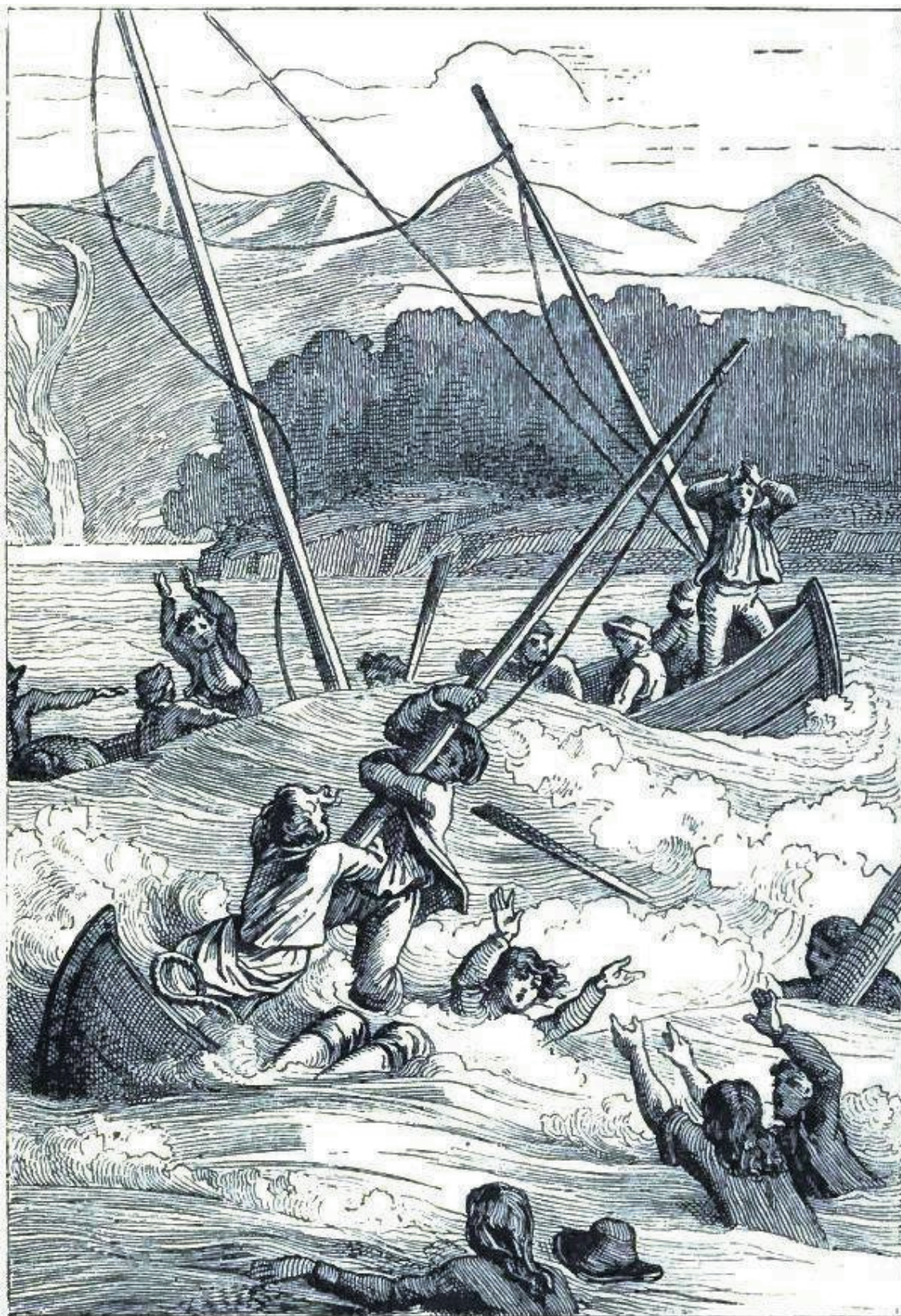


WRECK

An Anarchist Publication

VANCOUVER, B.C. - SPRING 2015

EDITION 1



Acknowledgements

This publication is put together on the traditional lands of the x̣ṃəθḳẉəỵəm, Tseil-Waututh and Skwxwú7mesh peoples. Going further out into the region today referred to as the “Lower Mainland”, are the lands of the Katzie, Stó:lô, and many others. These are all distinct peoples who are part of a language group spoken of as “Coast Salish”.

In July 2014, the City of Vancouver formally admitted that it exists on unceded native lands. Their declaration said this realization came from “the year of reconciliation”, and that the city now plans to work with representatives from native communities to determine appropriate protocols for conducting business. This was a logical conclusion of the persistence of activists, indigenous and otherwise, reformist to revolutionary, in acknowledging this fact in their organizing, which often includes similar declarations at the beginning of public events.

As anarchists we do not intend to acknowledge land theft to carry on with business as usual. We speak these words with an intention to tear down the system that needs colonialism and domination in the first place. We hope that we can all carry forward in a manner that shows intentions to our declarations, rather than continued colonial lip service.

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At some point, we heard the word 'Anarchist' and knew that must be us.

Along came an initial invigoration as we began to grasp the meaning of words like *autonomy*, *desire*, and *life*. But we soon realized there are no easy answers, no easy choices, and found ourselves constantly flooded by the complexities of being anarchists in a non-anarchist world. We want our thoughts, our ideas, our very beings to be expressed through life, through activity, not locked in our minds or scribbled on pieces of paper. Yet we seem stuck, floating between small affinity groups where we can create only brief instances of a world we wish to live in. Trapped day after day in the Vancouver rain...

**...IT IS DIFFICULT NOT TO BELIEVE THAT WE LIVE IN A CITY WHERE
ANARCHY IS NOTHING MORE THAN A GHOST.**

Here, any opposition to capitalism, to authority, to “democracy”, is often disregarded. As the dominant media continues to spew rhetoric which defends the current system – one which has always been devastatingly oppressive towards the people it claims to serve – we know we must always find our own ways to communicate with each other and our communities.

So we began this publication as an experiment and an exercise; as a means through which to share our experience, to voice our frustrations and, perhaps most importantly, to find each other.

Although we have come together as a collective, we do not hold any desire to embrace a particular ideology or impose a singular perspective. We are a wreck, a mess of thoughts that clash and collide, but in our differences hope to create bonds, expand relationships, and maybe learn a thing or two along the way.

It is our hope that by keeping ourselves open to all submissions sharing an affinity with the concept of anarchism, our content will come from many perspectives, including those of First Nations, queer, differently-abled people, and anyone else who has found their voice to be continually overlooked by a fiercely unequal social order.

That does not mean we wish to romanticise any voices or blindly accept their analysis. Neither do we want to force people to write on isolated issues to the point that they become “spokespeople”. Everyone is multi-layered, and as people share their unique perspectives, we hope the words come across as the voices of real people in real situations, rather than as representative or definitive statements of a particular struggle. Critiques and suggestions on how best to accomplish this, of course, are always welcome.

Although this is an anarchist publication, its contents aren’t necessarily directed at anarchists, as they touch on struggles that affect us all. We aim to create something that can spill out beyond anarchist spaces, foster face-to-face conversations, and build relationships between us and our wider communities.

**WE HAVE DRIED OFF THE WINTER RAINS THAT HAVE KEPT US
ISOLATED. WE'RE HERE, AND WE'RE NOT GOING ANYWHERE.**

WRECK

BECAUSE CAPITAL CONSUMES OUR LIVES AND LEAVE US IN THE RUINS WHEN THE DAMAGE IS SO COMPLETE WE HAVE NO PROFIT LEFT TO GIVE. BECAUSE THIS WORLD GNAWS AT OUR SPIRIT AND SHATTERS OUR BEING. BECAUSE THIS SYSTEM HAS NOTHING WE ARE INTERESTED IN TAKING AND NOTHING WE ARE INTERESTED IN SAVING. BECAUSE WE SEE A DAY WHEN THIS COLONIAL SHIP, ITS PROJECT, AND LEGACY THAT SURROUNDS US, IS ONLY WRECKAGE ON THE BEACH. BECAUSE THAT IS THE ONLY THING LEFT FOR US TO DO – REDUCE THE WORLD TO SHAMBLES TO OPEN UP POSSIBILITIES OF SOMETHING NEW.



Why care about anti-capitalist May Day?

Call out for the festivities at Grandview Park

{ By ANONYMOUS

Once dominated by political reformists and union bureaucrats, such as the BC Federation of Labour (BC FED), May Day in Vancouver is now a day not only for anarchists, but a time to highlight all struggles that matter to us as human beings. Whether it is pipelines, gentrification, political repression, or queer struggle, the anti-capitalist May Day has brought to light many struggles that have been continually swept under the rug by reformists, paid activists, and politicians. After all, these struggles are intertwined with colonialism and capitalism, which many people are afraid to challenge.

May Day is a day to show solidarity with other struggles and to remember our fallen comrades. In the past, this was often forgotten in Vancouver. The BC FED and its head "Slippery Jim" Sinclair have repeatedly condemned the protests and tactics of others. As a recent example, in December 2011, when people reacted to mass evictions of Occupy camps across North America by blockading a port in solidarity with workers in Washington, Sinclair denounced the action.

Over the last decade we have witnessed Sinclair betray thousands of workers. To anarchists and revolutionaries, organizations like the BC FED are just as despicable as the capitalist exploiters. The role of the Union Bureaucrats and their close counterparts, the NDP, is to ensure peace between the exploited and our exploiters. They are enemies to anyone who wishes to intensify true worker rebellion against our exploitation and the struggle to reclaim our dignity.

The resurgence of an anarchist May Day in Vancouver started in 2012, when over 100 people took the streets. Some of the black bloc participants carried torches and banners reading "GENERAL STRIKE" and "SMASH EXPLOITATION AND PATRIARCHY". The march ended in front of Grandview Park with a fire in the streets. This was the first anarchist participation in a Vancouver May Day event in a long time, but this resurgence was not seen only in Vancouver. Across the world, anarchists owned the headlines and the radical elements within the Occupy movement helped revive an anti-capitalist May Day tradition across North America.

The following year, May Day, 2013, over 150 people took over Victory Square for an anti-capitalist/anti-colonial march. This May Day was focused on gentrification in Vancouver, the prime suspect of "renovictions", in which landlords evict tenants under the guise of renovation to raise rents. Torches again were lit and handed out to people in the crowd, and a banner that said "RICH SCUM BEWARE, CLASS WAR" was unfolded. Marchers went through the gentrified Gastown neighborhood, forcing rich gentrifiers to cower in their condos. This demonstration garnered global news headlines, including a segment on Al Jazeera.

On May Day, 2014, over 150 people took the streets for a Beat the Pipelines celebration. The VPD were intent on spoiling the event and sparked a confrontation not two blocks from the starting point. People in the crowd held their ground. Unfortunately, four comrades were

arrested, but many more would have faced arrest if it weren't for some people in the black block who were quick to perform de-arrests. Others videotaped the violent response of the police, and over 50,000 people watched a video of a person on a bike being slammed down and kneed several times in the back by an officer.

A fourth anti-capitalist May Day is being planned for 2015. These events over the past three years have been unlike any past May Day in the city and protest in Vancouver in general, which is always predictable: a planned route, a liaison with the police, and way too many speakers.

May Day is for all the people society dismisses. It is a day not to demand something from those in power but to act, for ourselves and our desires. This day is not only about history but coming together to collectively remember all the workers that have died for our struggle so we can fight today. It is our day, and like the streets, it belongs to us.

There may be a lot more police at an anarchist May Day, but I never allow this to deter me from going.

So let's continue to make May Day ours and not leave it in the control of the union bureaucrats. See you in the streets!

MAY 1ST INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY



**FREE BBQ/
FOLK SHOW**

7PM

**DANCE PARTY/
TAKE THE STREETS!**

9PM

**CELEBRATE THE CITY'S RESISTANCE AGAINST
CAPITALISM, GENTRIFICATION, & PIPELINES.
IN SOLIDARITY WITH BURNABY MOUNTAIN
CARETAKERS, INDIGENOUS LAND DEFENDERS,
& EVERYONE STRUGGLING FOR FREEDOM &
SELF-DETERMINATION. STRIKE, RECLAIM
SPACE. TAKE BACK THE STREETS!**



**MAY 1, 2015
GRANDVIEW PARK
(COMMERCIAL DR. & CHARLES ST.)**

"That's why rebels sing"

In memoriam: Todd Serious

{ BY ANONYMOUS

Todd Serious aka Todd Jenkins was a close friend to many, the singer of the legendary punk band The Rebel Spell and a wonderful community organizer. He left us on March 7th doing what he loved best: rock climbing with his brother. He died in an accident in the Black Velvet Canyon area west of Las Vegas. This has been a crushing loss to Todds community, friends, and family. One can only hope to be as loved and celebrated as Todd will be by his amazing community. His band mates, close friends and family are irreplaceable and he was truly a lucky man to have had them.

More recently Todd split his time between East Vancouver (Coast Salish Territory) and Lillooet (St'at'imc Territory) in so called British Columbia. While he left the city (or as he called it, 'the shitty') behind, he remained an icon in the punk scene and continued to visit often. Todd's music was directly inspired by his politics. He sang about assassinations of heads of state, Indigenous uprisings near and far, militant resistance in the streets, and playing important roles in our communities for future generations. I want to remember him not only for his music, but for who he was at his core: the rebel, the agitator, and the rabble-rouser.

While I don't know that Todd definitively identified as an anarchist, as he pretty genuinely despised scenes and labels, I can say he was absolutely a determined revolutionary with deep desires to dismantle the colonial state. He always fought for an autonomous life free from the domination of anthropocentric capitalist society and he did a pretty damn good job.

Todd fought in defence of all living animals and our environment and stood in solidarity with Indigenous communities in an effort to achieve total liberation for all. Through often complex and sometimes conflicting struggles, his well rounded analysis of intersecting issues and a relentless passion for direct action and militancy made him an asset to the struggles he engaged in.

I met Todd through his music and later through animal liberation work. From behind the Indigenous blockade, to the frontlines of anti-olympic street demonstrations, to store fronts of animal exploiters on megaphones, his voice may have shaken but he still screamed. He was always accountable and inclusive in his organizing and his community, regardless of gender, race, ability or any other barrier. This was exceptional in such a rough and gritty scene. He was so humble. You would have never known thousands of punks, anarchists, and radicals adored him and his band.

Most musicians' politics end with their lyrics, which can be a powerful conduit for resistance. Todd's however, only began there. He was always pushing the limits: sneaking the band behind enemy lines to play unsanctioned shows at the G20 in Toronto (Anishnabe territory) standing tall to disrupt torch relays during the dreaded 2010 Olympics in Vancouver (Coast Salish Territory) and living at the Occupy Vancouver encampment, where he spent a lot of his days working with Food Not Bombs to prepare food for hundreds of people. His actions always spoke louder than his words.

I once told him about a man who was adopting horses and then selling them to be slaughtered for dog food. He glanced around the room to see if my cell phone was in close proximity and then looked me in the eyes and said "burn his house to the ground." He did not fuck around with his politics. He had no apologies for those that did not treat everyone with the respect and love they deserved—human or not. His love for all and convictions for a just and equal world made him the solid person he was.

Nobody can ever really understand how much Todd did to bind his community together. One minute he was in your life for a few days, the next he was touring with the band, climbing wild jagged mountains or simply living off the beaten path. But whatever journey he was on, he always made time to see and connect with the people he loved.

Since learning of Todd's passing, I've been reflecting on the ways I want to remember and honour his unyielding spirit. What I can do to honour Todd, what we can all do, is take up his steadfast commitment to fighting for the total liberation of all life on earth.

Todd was often finding dogs chained outside for months or abandoned near a highway. He would always find them a home through his networks of like-minded folks. I honestly have no idea how many animals owe their lives to Todd and his community—human or not. There's no reason we can't also take real and concrete action to help or free non-human animals from their abusive captors.

Todd wrote songs about and was working to save wolves from disgusting state sanctioned culls. Let's end this horrific madness before there aren't any wolves left.

Todd strongly supported Indigenous People's struggle for self-determination, and acted as a collaborator wherever possible. If you are not indigenous, you can do the same. We must resist this illegitimate state together.

His contempt and disgust for authority was almost strong as his love for his friends and family. He supported those that needed a hand up, and we can too. Let's torch the cars of those that keep them and us from freedom.

Take Todd's beautiful words and scrawl them across empty concrete walls. Empty the cages of captive fox, minks and rabbits on horrific fur farms. Swim deep in the lakes and rivers, climb high in the hills and mountains, and live as free from the state as possible. And always, as Todd would, hold your loved ones close.

With Love & Rage,

Your friend, accomplice and comrade- I love you Todd

To contribute to the family for memorial and other large expenses associated with losing Todd contact the The Rebel Spell through Facebook or contribute to the families gofundme page by searching "Todd Jenkins Family Assistance Fund" or here at: www.gofundme.com/oe44ts

Check out The Rebel Spell's legendary music at their bandcamp page. <http://therebelspell.bandcamp.com/>

UNCONTROLLABLE

LYRICS BY TODD SERIOUS

You thought you had it all sewn up
there was no sentiment you couldn't keep in check
Overwhelming military strength
and the tightest grip on propaganda
Why would anyone do anything? I'll tell you all why
A cornered animal never lies down to die
Revolt is still possible without any hope.
There's an element you can't forget

Uncontrollable, Uncontrollable, Uncontrollable
Not me not today
Uncontrollable, Uncontrollable
No reason required
Uncontrollable

Population too poor and hungry to rise
but a militia in the hills still runs wild
What's broken in their heads?
Don't they know they can't win?
Leave your spirit out there and come on in.
With only two things to lose
the last thing that they get to do is choose
Arrogance has cost you before.
We are defiant nothing more

Uncontrollable, Uncontrollable, Uncontrollable
Not me not today
Uncontrollable, Uncontrollable
No reason required
Uncontrollable

Ask murdered Tsars, dead prison guards,
cops torn apart or burnt in their cars
mining corps who only dug their own graves
the overconfident made to pay
Always there beneath your skin
you'll never dig us all out our entire manifesto is

Uncontrollable, Uncontrollable, Uncontrollable
Not me not today
Uncontrollable, Uncontrollable
No reason required
Uncontrollable

Beat the Raid!

Statement by the accused in "no pipelines" graffiti investigation

{ BY BEATTHE RAID@RISEUP.NET

Beat the Raid is a blog dedicated to news and information concerning the June 3rd armed house raid in East Vancouver, BC, for alleged "no pipelines" graffiti. The case has led to a DNA blood sample being forced upon one of our comrades and the detention of items from all 4 housemates including black flags, political zines, computers, phones and banners. As of March 8th there has still been no charges laid and there is an open investigation on 20 alleged crimes totalling over \$500,000 in damages.

Below is the statement issued by the accused, in full.

Repression is part and parcel in democracy. In a democracy, the rulers require complete control over the people. Revolts are countered with political repression in the form of arrests, armed raids and physical and emotional harassment by the police. Police agencies and non-government organizations (NGOs), such as Forest Ethics and Greenpeace, work side by side to isolate, coerce and denounce radical elements of political movements. We saw this when Ben West from Forest Ethics stated there is a better way to get your message across. That was used in various news articles to denounce and attempt to further isolate the comrades whose house was raided that day. These groups wish to reform colonialism instead of eliminating it. Much like Enbridge and BP, they rely upon capitalism and cooperation with the state to exist. These mainstream environmental organizations frack the rebellion out of people in the form of referendums, voting and waving signs. Meanwhile, they use our radical words to dilute, co-opt and contribute to polluted deals undermining real grassroots movements and then try to convince us that their democracy is still drinkable. In the past and in our future, they will continue to isolate and turn their backs on people risking their lives and freedom to save what's left of this planet.

I was recently a target of this very police repression. I woke up to yelling at my front door. Once I was somewhat alert, I looked out my window only to see a plain-clothed cop pointing a gun at me. From my room I listened to Bert Rainey then tell my roommates one by one to exit the house. The detective, Rainey, shaking, pointed a loaded gun at my comrades. Once I made my way to the living room, I had a second gun pointed at me. I was arrested on 8 counts of mischief under \$5000 for alleged graffiti. Yet to be charged.

On June 12, 2014, Detective Rainey returned to take a DNA blood sample from me. These cops took my blood, but the rebellion in my veins was never given up and still flows relentlessly.

In November my lawyer obtained affidavits widening the investigations to attacks on banks, 61 graffiti tags, vandalism of community policing centres, and arson to a bank and a housing complex, totaling over \$500,000 in damages. Another affidavit alleged the "no pipelines" tagger to also be the prolific "Anoy" tagger.

On November 6, 2014, there was a hearing for the prolonged detention of the items seized. The judge extended detention for 7 more months. Ironically, the lawyer representing the VPD has the last name Toy, which



No Pipelines graffiti on a mailbox

is a slang term for a new graffiti tagger.

Most of the evidence of these crimes are under a sealing order. As of right now it seems the only thing I am guilty of is being an anarchist and political organizer in occupied Coast Salish Territory (Vancouver).

I always knew that one day I would be arrested or raided. I am an anarchist. I actively engage in the struggle for freedom, equality and anarchy. As stated by Detective Rainey, I am virulently against the police. I believe in and fight for a world where mutual aid, autonomy and community is celebrated and promoted instead of ongoing genocide, exploitation and destruction of indigenous lands in the name of capital.

It was the states intention to isolate and intimidate me, my comrades and others engaged in the anti-pipelines fight. They have failed and will continue to do so. I have not ended my organizing. The solidarity I have felt though my comrades, strangers and friends has been heart-warming and brings new embers of love and rage into my heart. I have only grown closer to the anarchist struggle. Our life is the struggle. I will not back down. We will not back down.

Better news for the 5E3

In solidarity with Carlos, Fallon, and Amelie

{ By LLUD

Update: Happy news! As this publication was getting ready for print, it was learned that the three have been released! Carlos is back among friends, Amelie and Fallon are in the process of being deported. We greet these comrades with the warmth they have expressed in words and action! The following article was written when the situation was more unsure.

On January 5th, 2014, three anarchist comrades were arrested in Mexico City. That evening an attack had taken place on the offices of Mexico's Secretariat of Communications and Transportation, and a Nissan dealership at the same location. Rocks and molotov cocktails were used in the attacks, and guards at the government building fired live ammunition at the unknown assailants who were not injured. The three comrades: Carlos Lopez from Mexico, Fallon Poisson and Amelie Pillierst from Montreal have together become known as the 5E3 (5th of January 3).

On March 1st, 2015, we learned that Amelie, Carlos and Fallon were absolved of their federal charges for "arson to a public building with people inside". The three had already been sentenced to seven and a half years prison time for that charge. Thanks to appeals by their lawyers and contradictory evidence given by the police, they are now dealing with only the two years and seven months sentence on local charges of "damage to private property" and "breach of the peace". According to the laws in Mexico, all first time offenders with sentences of less than 5 years are entitled to certain benefits, although it is unclear exactly what this will mean in their case. There is a possibility that they could pay a fine of 43,000 pesos each and be released immediately, or a minimum of 10,000 each and be forced to sign in every month to the court for the two years and seven months. The latter is less of a probability for Amelie and Fallon as it is likely that the Mexican state would prefer to deport them back to Canada after their release from prison.

Throughout their incarceration, the three comrades have expressed themselves beautifully as anarchists, and they have never denounced or distanced themselves from other anarchists or revolutionary violence generally.

During the process the three comrades, and especially Fallon, made sure not to paint themselves as helpless victims in the situation, preferring to use their incarceration as a means to get away from the fetishization of prisoners. Amelie and Fallon even went so far as to critique an event held in solidarity with "political prisoners" which included their names, saying that they felt no affinity with the organizers of the event, who were contributing to the idealization and victimization of "political" prisoners and making the struggle against prison a partial one of assistance to "political" prisoners and prison reformism. They implied instead that they felt affinities with all kind of people, some of which believe in God and don't care for "politics", wanting to build relationships that subvert domination wherever they find themselves. Fallon also sent caution at one point to those who were taking actions and making attacks in solidarity with the 5E3, stating that they hoped the



actions continue in relation to a larger struggle, and not be confined to the aid of prisoners.

There is of course a much larger struggle in Mexico as everywhere. Here is something that Carlos had to say at the end of last year about the context there:

"This is a time of great tension in various parts of the country, the discontent of individuals and groups against the State-Capital is spreading, creating a suitable environment for the continuation of our struggle for total liberation. We live in so-called "democracy", whose representatives are doubling their efforts to consolidate a non-existent "social peace", which in practice is nothing other than more control and power over our lives. But it is precisely this control that is generating hatred and resentment, which sooner or later will explode into riots.

We can see that we are facing a government that feels vulnerable and hurts to see itself momentarily overcome by the actions of men and women fighting against oppression and is terrified that the conflict will generalize and give way to social insurrection.

Dozens of murders and injustices are taking place all over the country, isolated cases that do not have the support of the media or the social force to provoke the indignation that raises the level of conflict, and this makes us think that we prefer the spectacular and quantitative. The latest conflict in this sense is the case of Ayotzinapa, which has acted as detonator for a series of riots that occurred in different parts of the country following the disappearance of the 43 school students, a decision taken by the spheres of governmental power demonstrating that the dirty war is not a thing of the past but continues to be a practice that prevails, as demonstrated in Chiapas, Atenco, Oaxaca."

Let's hope these comrades keep well and that all our hatred for authority and desire to live freely can flourish wherever we may find ourselves. More info on the case of the 5E3 can be found at fuegoalascarceles.wordpress.com, and more recent updates on their case can be found on actforfree.nostate.net.

In the words of Amelie: "For total freedom, I wish for links to be forged in the struggle. In solidarity with Carlos "Chivo" and Fallon. With love, down with all the prison walls."

Lessons We Keep Learning

Reflections on the Burnaby Mountain Pipeline opposition

{ BY MEGAN CRAIG

For many weeks local residents occupied a small piece of unceded Coast Salish Territory (the Burnaby Mountain Conservation Area) in hopes of preventing the building of another oil pipeline that would connect the Alberta tar sands with tankers in Vancouver's harbor and triple the amount of bitumen already transported. So far, there has been a broad range of people acting to oppose this project. Municipal government, left leaning academics, liberals, Indigenous warriors and elders, migrant organizers, grassroots activists, and anarchists, have all taken a stand against the pipeline.

When the arrests began, calls for support and participation literally read, "We need bodies!" Coverage of the events unfolding depicted what has amounted to over 100 people arrested so far, as of December 2014, the majority of whom were released without charges. Prior to this repression, activists organized "training days" to prepare the many new and unfamiliar participants with tips from the activist tool kit. Anarchists also organized a public discussion on anarchist perspectives and modes of resistance. As someone who has experience organizing in and around activist communities, I didn't go to the training days and can't speak to the lessons covered. I did participate in the anarchist discussion and found it to be relatively well attended. The conversation eventually focused on strategy and tactics relating to illegality and the merit of symbolic arrests. Here, a foreshadowing of later events occurred, as anarchists debated long winded claims that group hugs are impenetrable to police violence, or that the moral high ground allegedly achieved by sacrificial lambs in metal cuffs would contribute to a public outcry somehow capable of stopping construction. There is nothing new or surprising about the debates, action, and inaction on the mountain, and that is precisely what is interesting about it.

Role Play

The theatrics we organize and participate in today as rebels and activists are a living history: on Burnaby Mountain we are practicing traditions easily recognized as activism. This form of resistance to oppression is a spectrum full of many avenues for political engagement, often ritualized and pre-formulated. Today, under the farce of democracy in North America, our organized "uprisings" have been woven into democratic praxis. Now, the goal of most "mass mobilization" protests is to gain a favourable public reception. Success of a demonstration in immediate terms is often determined by media coverage or the number of people in attendance. Frequently, "positive arrests" are thought to increase media exposure and are therefore regarded as an important contribution to a protest. By "positive arrests" I mean the kind that don't result in serious criminal charges, jail time, severe physical injury, or deportation. These arrests are often participatory, where people submit willfully to handcuffs or make the choice to enter into a known "arrestable" situation. From what I've witnessed, most often these participants are without a history of abuse by police or have not experienced

incarceration, and know that the long term consequences of their arrest are likely insignificant. The tradition of dissent through organized protest has become so imprinted in activist communities that its strategic usefulness, its effectiveness as a vehicle for influence or change, is left largely unexamined.

"Legitimate protest" is a term used by corporate media, government officials, police, and benign aspects of "the left" itself. Since our official political elections are viewed by most as a constant failure, it seems suspicious, or at least convenient, that "the right to protest" is entirely normalized and folded into democratic conventions. To manage unrest, the democratic state automatically develops approved modes of dissent through a dichotomy between "legitimate protestors" and "hooligans" or "criminals".

A police line has been drawn on Burnaby Mountain. On one side, legitimate protest occurs as spectators "bear witness" with chants, banners, and signs, and watch the test drills eat into the mountain they have sworn to protect. As people cross the line and step foot into the designated illegal area, they are exercising civil disobedience and many are arrested for this violation. Still a third area is maintained by these dissenters: the drill itself and the workers using it are left uninterrupted, and so as arrests accumulate, one way or another most activists are released without criminal charges because of their loyalty to the status quo.

During periods of rebellion, the state and the dominant culture responds by broadening the base of "legitimate protest" to include tactics that were previously excluded. Forms of civil disobedience (such as strikes or occupations) that were once unacceptable due to disruption and illegality are gradually co-opted and are deemed benign when tactics arise that do not adhere to a pacifist ideology, that include property destruction, or are simply more aggressive. Public rebellion that includes aggressive elements (for example: irate rioters—especially when they are people of colour—or Indigenous warriors defending their territory with arms or the destruction of property, or a black bloc smashing through a financial district) motivate the capitalist hegemony to champion non-threatening alternatives for social expression. However, through a narrative of dissent and democratic legitimacy, any protest tactic is at risk of co-optation, even a riot.

In the case of Burnaby Mountain, the potential threat to Kinder Morgan is a direct action that would physically prevent or stop the drilling, a move that would require protestors to fend off police attacks. Instead, protesters "express their rage" through a complying "non-compliance" where they aren't prepared to actually stop the drilling but are prepared to "get arrested" and contribute to the spectacle of opposition. These participants who "don't go too far" are bought by corporate media coverage that doesn't vilify their efforts and by an interaction with police that does not result in serious, or any, criminal charges. The criminalizing comparisons between forms of resistance (that inevitably



Mi'kmaq Warrior Society

arise in any social movement) surround “the right to protest” and are a manifestation of this adapting dichotomy more so than any issue of morality: legitimizing specific forms of protest always means criminalizing others and is an exercise in social control. Spectators and activists aid in this criminalization by emphasizing their support of conduct they deem morally superior (pacifism) as a reflex in self preservation.

Choosing Sides

Inside of our mobilizations exists the tired tension between advocates of non-violence and more militant elements. In examining the protest form, this tactical debate waged by seemingly opposing strategies, is ironically, often a matter of optics. Kristian Williams speaks to this tension in his compilation of articles titled “Confrontation,” (Tarantula Publishing, 2007).

“The respectable left restricts itself to intentionally symbolic protest—peaceful, legal, and largely irrelevant—while the militants only manage a symbolic break from that pattern, in the form of ritualized confrontations with police or minor property damage. So much of this dynamic is just posturing-- militant posturing on the one side, moralistic posturing on the other.”

If a protest or political action is confined to the realm of symbolism, then the messaging conveyed becomes of paramount importance, and so we have our common ground on which to exercise this debate. On the mountain and elsewhere, debates on the spectrum of activism and rebellion continuously foreground a divide between not only violence and nonviolence, or legal and illegal protest, but also between legitimate and illegitimate protest.

Given that these descriptors are generated by our opponents with strategic purpose, I propose that on our own terms we might more accurately and usefully characterize a divide between dissent & revolt.

To dissent is to hold or express opinions that are at variance with those commonly or officially held. A protest then, is a tactic developed to exercise dissent, or so it seems now.

“Protests can take many different forms; from individual statements to mass demonstrations. Protesters may organize a protest as a way of publicly making their opinions heard in an attempt to influence public opinion or government policy...” St. John Barned-Smith, “How We Rage: This Is Not Your Parents’ Protest,” *Current* (Winter 2007).

To revolt on the other hand, is to oppose or refuse to accept something. In the best of cases: to attempt to overthrow the authority of the state, to rebel.

Even when and if resistance tactics venture into illegality or property destruction or planned self defence, the logic of a given tactic does not necessarily step outside of the informal avenues of a democratic framework, i.e. “making a statement”.

Popular insurrections like riots are not planned or easily managed by activists, it's here that activists and the state are tasked with transforming revolts into an exercise in dissent. This is unlike the activity we have seen on Burnaby Mountain, which is already firmly rooted in democratic activist culture. Broadly speaking, within activist culture in North America the resistance component of “class war” (a term I use to include not only housing and labor struggles, but racialized, migrant, gendered, and Indigenous sovereignty battles as the whole of a globally subordinated class) is equipped with easily replicated tactics to emphasize dissent, such as; rallies, marches, forums, civil disobedience, propaganda and art related subversion. Battlegrounds are material when oppression is systemically inflicted (through police violence, criminalization of race and poverty, incarceration; access to housing, employment, or healthcare; detention, deportation, and white supremacist migrant work programs; the pollution of water supply or destruction of hunting and medicine gathering territory; the theft of children by social services, restrictions on earned income by welfare policies, the criminalization of drug use; etc), while fighting back is largely ideological, as our tactics and strategies are most often a product of the democratic outlet we call activism. In this way we are active in reinforcing the paternal dominance of the same system that oppresses us. Through dissent we undermine our ability to organize ourselves for ourselves and demand that the state improve its apparatus of control (ie. social services and regulations).

The System is Not Broken

The obvious exception to the trend of democratic activism as resistance in Canada is the direct action carried out by Indigenous peoples to physically prevent the further destruction of their territories. Projects such as ski resorts, pipelines, logging, fracking, and mining projects encroach and threaten Aboriginal culture and territory. The difference between this type of Indigenous resistance and democratic activism is a product of Indigenous people's exclusion from the promises of democratic capitalism and their rejection of the authority imposed by this colonial settler state.

Colonization of any land is for the purpose of exploiting and profiting from resources and labour. In the "New World", Indigenous communities have been relentless in resisting colonial forces since their first contact with the invading Europeans who never left. The ongoing genocide of native peoples resisting the destruction and theft of their land has resulted in a decrease in population of up to 90% in most areas, especially the Atlantic coast. Globally and historically, colonized and enslaved peoples have fought to take back their traditional lands from imposing empires. The current battles over territory in North America fit within this global pattern of colonized peoples revolts, with the exception that settlers make up the majority of the population and still rely on imported colonized labour, such as migrant domestic or agricultural workers, among many others. Indigenous warriors within Canada continue to be an obstacle to the colonial project. As such, native peoples are forced to choose between assimilation or annihilation. This reality of ongoing genocide is made obvious through a massively disproportionate native population in prison, frequent deaths at the hands of police, ignored disappearances of thousands of native people (especially women), the daily theft of children by Child Protection Services, and the forced poverty caused by the destruction of culture and self-sufficiency through the ongoing theft and pollution of traditionally used lands.

The colonial governments of the Americas were not founded as utopias of liberty and are not now corrupted by corporate and capitalist interests. Exploitation of the land for the benefit of the rich is the central function of the colonial project. Placating the settler population through white supremacist patriotic loyalty and imaginations of democratic freedom has been successful in destroying decolonization sympathies and potential. Many settlers identify electoral politics as an illusion created by a state whose only loyalties are with the expansion of capital, and therefore apathetically ignore elections and political activity; others find informal avenues to participate, like activism. Activists and organizers navigate the theatre of grassroots democratic dialogue by managing voices and representation, facilitating a struggle for inclusion in place of revolution. As these organizers fight over notions of unity, warriors remind us that revolt lays in a rejection of the dialogue itself.

Our Future in Flames

A somewhat unique element in the case of Burnaby Mountain is that the opposition to the pipeline expansion includes the local municipal governments of Burnaby and Vancouver. Typically, dissenters would be rallying against local government for not siding with them, as if municipal government support would be enough to stop

the oil company. We've learned from the Burnaby Mountain example what we were fools to forget: all levels of government were founded and function to aid in development and resource extraction, and if any level refuses to engage in its inherent purpose, it will be overruled. Any town or municipality in Canada that hinders development projects, or simply does not "grow" as fast as its neighbouring cities, may on request have its land annexed to be managed by another municipality that favours development (Not all regions regularly practice this, though the procedure is gaining popularity. Southern Ontario especially, has many examples of this: www.mah.gov.on.ca/Page247.aspx). Capitalism is based on theft, and this logic is pervasive in capitalist culture and governance: "if you don't exploit X, someone else will." It is crucial to decolonization efforts that we all stop interpreting this practice in government as evidence of corruption; instead, we must understand that this is the purpose of the settler state.

So, where do these lessons lead us? We are far from Anishinabe lands here on the west coast, but the Anishinabe Seven Fires Prophecy holds wisdom worth sharing.

"In the time of the Seventh Fire New People will emerge. They will retrace their steps to find what was left by the trail. Their steps will take them to the Elders who they will ask to guide them on their journey. But many of the Elders will have fallen asleep. They will awaken to this new time with nothing to offer. Some of the Elders will be silent because no one will ask anything of them. The New People will have to be careful in how they approach the Elders. The task of the New People will not be easy. If the New People will remain strong in their quest the Water Drum of the Midewiwin Lodge will again sound its voice. There will be a rebirth of the Anishinabe Nation and a rekindling of old flames. The Sacred Fire will again be lit.

It is this time that the light skinned race will be given a choice between two roads. If they choose the right road, then the Seventh Fire will light the Eighth and final Fire, an eternal fire of peace, love brotherhood and sisterhood. If the light skinned race makes the wrong choice of the roads, then the destruction which they brought with them in coming to this country will come back at them and cause much suffering and death to all the Earth's people."

On Burnaby Mountain there are people who have spent many weeks out of their daily lives to defend the land, and many others who have given what they had the capacity to share. I don't doubt that these people and others sincerely want to protect the land, even if our ideas on how and why to do that are very different. However, my intervention here is motivated by my own organizing experience and the repeated failures of the thousands of activists that have faded away before our memories. I ask that we not fall into the traps neatly laid out for us, that we be skeptical of what we are given permission to do and who we have been trained to obey or condemn, and that we not be fooled into siding with an obvious enemy. There are no easy answers for moving forward, but it will be necessary to explore the patterns of managed dissent in order to generate an effective strategy against the pipelines and capitalism in all its forms.



Property Destruction Ain't So Bad

An Analysis of Riots from Stonewall to Ferguson

{ BY OKAPI

January 1st, 2009. A young black man is shot in the back by a white police officer, left dying in a pool of his own blood on a transit station platform. In a city like Oakland, where a dozen people lose their lives at the hands of police every year, killings like these largely go unnoticed. This one, however, is filmed and uploaded to the internet, garnering millions of the views within just a few days. Anger and condemnation is heard across the country; everyone from civil rights activists to TV show pundits demand justice for Oscar Grant and for the indictment of Johannes Mehserle.

For a week after the shooting, an anxious air looms over Oakland. People are sure that in a city with such a long history of revolt, something is bound to give. Frustration finally erupts on the evening of January 7th, as hundreds gather on the intersection of 12th St. and Broadway. That night, several police patrol cars are set ablaze. Trash can fires line the street, fragments of glass litter the sidewalk, and goods are swiftly expropriated from retail stores, marking the beginning of one of the most significant anti-police rebellions since the Rodney King riots of 1992.

In the subsequent media storm, a false narrative emerges. The press is quick to label this brief moment of catharsis as violent and misguided, its perpetrators given labels like hooligans, provocateurs, and instigators. City officials claim they are simply "delinquents out to cause trouble."

Rioters are frequently painted under a single veil, but in fact come from a wide range of backgrounds and political leanings. What unites them is a fervent disdain for the current system and a deprivation of other meaningful ways through which to voice their dissent. Riots occur when all other "more legitimate" systems have been exhausted; when, regardless of the countless protest marches and petitions, widespread inequality and oppression go unhindered. The real criminals remain in power: the police officers who take a human life every 28 hours; the corrupt justice system that continually acquits killer cops; and the ruling class, which creates the social conditions that cause people to riot in the first place.

It is important to remember that people who participate in riots aren't anomalies but a representation of the most disenfranchised among us. These people do not have the luxury of waiting for change to come at the pace of reform. In fact, they don't even know if through reform their voices will be heard at all. They are the ones who suffer the most from the state, and often times, standing up to injustice is a priority that simply cannot wait for the ballot box. Rioters may very well be people like you and me: mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers, frustrated at the lack of change, yearning for any means through which to voice their indignation with a system that continually proves to be imbalanced, corrupt, and harmful.

Even Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the most fervent advocates for non-violent civil disobedience, understood this. "It is not enough for me to stand before you tonight and condemn riots," he once said. "It would

be morally irresponsible for me to do that without, at the same time, condemning the contingent, intolerable conditions that exist in our society. These conditions are the things that cause individuals to feel that they have no other alternative than to engage in violent rebellions to get attention. And I must say tonight that a riot is the language of the unheard."

We too must acknowledge the political and historical context behind instances of civil unrest. Riots are too eagerly seen as ephemeral occurrences, disintegrating into tomorrow's headlines as soon as the first brick is thrown. The truth is, every act of social upheaval, no matter how seemingly inconsequential, is part of a smoldering fuse kept burning by centuries-old systems of oppression. To suggest that the 2009 rebellion in Oakland was solely due to the murder of Oscar Grant at the hands of Johannes Mehserle, or that the uprising in Ferguson in August of last year was just a response to the shooting death of Mike Brown, would be to disregard hundreds of years of white supremacy, slavery, and racist laws which have led black Americans to higher poverty and incarceration rates than any other racial group in the US.

When someone is depressed, we try to understand the reasons behind their depression. We look at the circumstances that may have led them to feel that way, like a break-up with a partner or the death of a family member. However, when an entire population suffers from depression, we must approach the issue differently, examining instead the societal conditions that may have caused such unhappiness in a large number of people. Similarly, when a riot takes place, we mustn't only examine the individuals who participate but also the circumstances which may have driven a group to act out in such a way. Behaviors can often be connected to wider issues, and it would be no surprise that, when examined objectively, a riot can be linked back to a variety of social implications.

People will commonly suggest that in order for a marginalized population to appeal to the general public, they must only engage in what is called non-violent civil disobedience. What is meant by non-violent is debated, but is usually meant to exclude property destruction or defense against the police. Arguments that violent acts simply succeed at alienating people from a common cause have time and time again proven to be factually inaccurate, as history has seen numerous examples of stepping past the boundaries of non-violence to achieve significant social and political victories.

In 1773, the Sons of Liberty led one of the most revered instances of property destruction in modern times: The Boston Tea Party. To protest taxation put in place by the British Empire's Tea Act, the Sons of Liberty dumped hundreds of boxes of British East India Co. tea into the Atlantic Ocean. In response, Great Britain put in place the Coercive Acts, taking away the right to self-governance afforded to the Massachusetts colony. The Tea Party was greeted with ardent criticism, and many considered the rebels to be "rabble-rousers" who "increased difficulties for the common man". However, the act also inspired

others to carry out similar acts which helped galvanize the already disgruntled population. The Tea Party and the subsequent clampdown by the British government transformed the colonists' dissatisfaction into revolutionary fervor, and today, a simple act of vandalism is considered to be one of the most important events leading to the American Revolution.

Similarly, the Stonewall riots, a series of demonstrations carried out by the gay community of Greenwich Village on June 28, 1969, are today thought to have laid the foundation for the modern LGBTQ movement. For four days straight, riots of varying intensity occurred throughout New York City, leaving trash cans aflame and police cars overturned. For the first time in history, the struggle of LGBTQ people entered the mainstream, and several long-lasting gay rights advocacy groups were formed. Today, Pride Parades are held in June throughout hundreds of different cities to commemorate Stonewall. Even President Barack Obama honored the riots during his inauguration ceremony, proclaiming on the White House steps: "We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths – that all of us are created equal – is the star that guides us still; just as it guided our forebears through Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall."

We can also examine a more recent event: the uprising in Ferguson, Missouri, in response to the police murder of 18-year-old Mike Brown and the failure to indict his killer, Darren Wilson. The relentless demonstrations that occurred in Ferguson can be seen as having achieved two distinct goals.

First of all, the protests surrounding Brown's death and the succeeding Black Lives Matter movement became impossible to be ignored. For months, media outlets discussed the cases of Brown, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, and the many other unarmed black men brutally executed by police. Without anything more than the passive, unremarkable marches that Americans are so used to, these stories may very well have been just blips on the news radar. It is because of the unyielding wave of protests and riots that national discourse became so focused on the issue of police brutality. Trust in police is currently at an all-time low, especially among black and Latino populations, and more and more pressure is being put on the persecution of killer cops. Even outlets like Al-Jazeera, Rolling Stone, and TIME published several anti-police, pro-riot articles last year, with titles like: "Think Rioting Has Never Changed America?," "Ferguson: In Defense of Rioting," and "6 Ideas for a Cop-Free World."

Secondly and perhaps most importantly, these riots gave poor black communities a chance to re-appropriate the fruits of their labor. The entire American economy was built on the backs of Africans who have faced systemized persecution since the country's inception. Just half a century ago, blacks in the United States were denied the education, healthcare, and social services that their white peers had access to, due to blatant racism left over from slavery and the Jim Crow era. If it wasn't for the Trans-Atlantic slave trade -- which shaped the US into an economic powerhouse, paving the way for the success of capitalism and investment in the region -- the companies that rioters expropriate goods from wouldn't be even a fraction of what they are today. It is no surprise that black communities suffer a high level of crime and poverty, since the systems put in place by the people who founded this country weren't meant to lead to their



Rioter in Ferguson

success but rather alienate and subjugate them.

Shit's fucked up and bullshit, and broken windows can act as a temperature gauge for discontent. For many disenfranchised populations, rioting is sometimes the last form of expression when all other methods of communication have failed. The uprising after four police officers beat Rodney King on the streets of LA largely culminated from the failure of the public to listen to the concerns of the black community, which had attempted to peacefully address the issue of police repression for decades. At the time, rioting was the last means necessary to bring about the attention of the masses, one free of the co-optation and whitewashing too often perpetrated by outsider groups.

We will not be able to understand the societal significance of any event while it is still occurrence. To say that any act of civil unrest is foolish or flawed in any way would be an injustice to history, which has been shaped by seemingly trivial events. In a world in which everything has been commodified, the riot is one of the last true forms of expression. It is a microcosm of our collective aggravation, the purification of emotions, of anger, joy, hope, despair, and everything in between. A riot is a means of reclaiming space and healing collectively. It is the manifestation of our discontent with the hate and inequality harbored by capitalism. It is liberation.



Femme Insurrection

Cautiously away from safety. Slowly toward self-defence.

{ By ANONYMOUS

TW: sexualized violence, misogyny, self-harm

If insurrectionary anarchism is about taking everything while demanding nothing, then insurrectionary feminism is about acting out our desires without apologizing. Insurrection, because I'm tired of waiting and explaining, and I don't only want to improve the conditions imposed on me; I wish to regain the power I have to change these circumstances for myself. Femme, because femininity is not a barrier to my freedom. It is the force that I can exert on the world, and only through exertions of my own force can I be free. This is written by a queer femme woman for other women, queers, and femmes. It's about striving to actualize our desires in the face of misogyny and machismo, acknowledging the patriarchal violence that has shaped us and refusing to permit it to continue to control us even as we attack other systems of domination.

Note on language/I am a cis white lady

This piece often uses binary gendered language. The multifaceted influence of patriarchy affects many people other than women and the violence can be committed by those other than men. I am writing as a lady about my experiences with patriarchy imposed by men. Although my experiences with oppression are unique, I think some of the lessons I've learned can be translated to other individual's struggles. So I am presenting them here, not as a how-to-guide for dealing with patriarchy in its many manifestation (many of which I do not experience directly), but instead as an attempt to put forward my thoughts and feelings on my own struggle and to give inspiration to others who have dealt with similar things.

Femme Insurrection

I never wanted to be a feminist.

I don't want to talk about gender. I don't want to have to convince partners that really good consent is important to me. I loath conversations about slurs and gendered language. I don't want to have to tack the word "woman-" onto the beginning of all my roles, or the word "feminist" onto all my projects. But I do it anyway and some people think I do this shit for fun.

I care about environmental collapse, poverty, social war, anti-colonial struggles, revolution. I have projects I would love to work on, but before I begin to work with other people, I'd like for them to respect my desires and treat me like a real person. This can take a lot of work, and before I can even begin to contend with others, I have to work at overcoming the challenges I deal with every day, such as overcoming internalized misogyny, confronting sexism in everyday life and working through past traumas. Convincing people that my ideas are worthy and that my concerns are valid is work that I'm tired of. Not wanting to banish myself to queer utopian anti-o scenes and wanting to have a hand in the world around me, I am creating for myself a feminism based on getting results in my own life.

The anarchist (supposedly) believes that the desires, bodies, thoughts and feelings of every individual are equally valid and real, and the aim of liberatory projects is to enable ourselves or others to live unhindered by oppression and exploitation. We strive toward our own goals and our shared goals, and not toward the goals of anyone else, be it the state, the boss, the vanguard, or some fucking dood. In order to do so we must be unhindered by socialized feelings of inferiority or supremacy. I'm not an anarchist if I am working for someone else's Anarchist Project.

How they get away with it

People have power over you when they can hold shit over you. When you need something and they have it, or the means to produce it, they can extort, exploit and coerce you. When you're in a relationship of dependence you lose sight of your own agency and forget what your desires really are. The original force or threat of force they used to take away your land and your freedom is replaced by the myth of their power and supremacy.

It is through making us feel inferior - less than human - that our oppressors get away with their violence. The rhetoric of centuries of misogynists has built such a huge framework of mythology that much violence against women still goes unquestioned, even the violence directed toward ourselves. We may endure emotional and sexualized violence, perform unrecognized feminized labour, or talk less and pick our battles. We do all this because we are made to feel that our real desires are not normal, healthy, valid, or radical enough. We get told some of our ideas are contrary to the revolutionary project, and are expected to agree and shrink away from our expressed desires (and away from anarchy) to distance ourselves from the stigma of their apparent femininity. As an anarchist feminist, I've been sent a message by some other anarchists that my opinions are anarchist ones tainted with a feminist sensibility, which is fine for punk music, edgy art, and bullshit anti-oppression policies, but when it comes to taking care of business, I must prove that I'm as good at being a disciplined revolutionary as men by burying my identities and desires for the sake of the Cause.

Fuck. That. Shit.

What's the direction?

Rad ladies often reach a point when our internalized misogyny has less of a hold on us and we begin recognizing what we really want and start working toward it. Some feminists have thought of their personal goals as only attainable after mass social change and have taken it as their mission to educate all the men around them. Some feminists have recognized that the structures of power that exist benefit men more than women, and have demanded from these powers (governments, bosses, personal relationship dynamics, or activist collectives) a bigger slice. But, informed by insurrectionary anarchism, I don't think it is realistic or desirable to sit around waiting for everyone to become an



Building that shit back up/Learning to defend ourselves

-Self-organization for self-determination: Craft situations where women, queers, and femmes are organizing with the shared acknowledgement that we would be inevitably organized by men (or other oppressive patriarchal forces) if we organize outside these circles, within the context of heteropatriarchy. These situations are subversions of the norm which allow us to remember how fucked up the norm really is. In these situations, there is room for us to take up space and assert ourselves. Here, we learn that we have agency and ability; we are not inferior to men

anarchist before engaging in struggle with exploitative forces. Similarly, I think it's absurd to convince everyone to become a feminist before engaging in struggle with the forces that hold women down.

This struggle means recognizing when I can take what is mine without the repression that follows being more than I can handle. It means letting bridges burn and building for myself and my comrades whatever it was we thought we needed from those bridges. It means arming myself emotionally, intellectually, and physically to combat the violence that'll get thrown at me should I choose to stand tall.

Liberal/leftist/popular/whatever feminism has so often been about appealing to our oppressors and convincing them of our worth through their own criteria. The point of my feminism is to bring myself into a state where I am aware of my own desires and can act accordingly. I won't get there by asking my oppressors for help.

I will bring myself to that point even though it isn't fair. The dispossessed might wish to ask the world to give back what it took. Or sometimes just fucking drink and self-harm and cry about it. But even if I prove to my oppressors that their actions are violent, men aren't going to suddenly give me the space or respect I deserve, and being healed by those who've hurt me is not desirable. I am a victim, and being able to identify as such has given me validation, but now I'd like to be more than that. Recognizing the violence in our lives precedes the next step of figuring out how to stop it.

They took agency away from me and will continue to be violent toward me. If I want to be free, I have to build my confidence and my agency back up and learn to defend myself and my comrades.

Right now I'm slowly dragging the pieces of my confidence back together. From this rickety foundation I have, it's hard to imagine being a force in the world. But I've come a long way and I'd like to share some thoughts and strategies that have helped me feel a lot stronger, with the hope that they might make you feel stronger too.

because, even without any men present, we get shit done that has value to ourselves. Aside from these spaces allowing us to blossom into confident femme flowers, they also can allow us to achieve our collective and personal goals more easily, as some of the power dynamics that often get in the way of cooperation can be less intense. The false safety of these spaces is not an end goal, but they do serve to remind us to not put up with bullshit in the other situations in our lives.

-You can do shit: Don't invite people into your group that you think might try to control things (unless you feel like a challenge). Everyone is capable of doing a lot of rad shit and finding a crew that respects and has affinity with each other is more important than getting some dude involved that has buckets of experience. You're a fucking anarchist; you don't need to be hazed before you start organizing and you don't need to do it through anyone else's channels. Be creative - your work doesn't have to look like theirs.

-Don't allow patriarchal conventions/sensitivities to enter your work without a valid reason: Since writing, organizing, activism, etc. are arenas that have been dominated by men historically, the conventions and expectations of these fields are dictated by male frameworks. Don't allow yourself to judge your work through these criteria. Don't second guess a piece of writing because it follows an intuitive framework and not a rational, argumentative one. Don't subscribe to aesthetics in your propaganda that appeal to rebellious teenage boys but wouldn't have appealed to the baby-anarchist- or femme-you.

-Being a bad bitch in male dominated spaces will often result in what feels like social ostracism: It's important to balance the shit that gets flung at you with the secret praise you get from your lady or femme comrades.

-Make room for others: Struggling with internalized feelings of inferiority is becoming less important to me as I'm learning to give less fucks while simultaneously gaining cred in the local anarchist milieu. I'd like to use my newfound brash-bold-ness to allow room for others who maybe don't feel so entitled to space in these circles. After trying hard to get myself into certain social



situations, it feels liberating to break down the eliteness of these situations, in my own mind and others', by making them more accessible to other people.

-Learn some self-defense: Women and queers are way more likely to be victimized (sexually and otherwise) than men are, so knowing how to fight back or get out of those situations is important. This can range from breaking holds, to having a phone on you, to using deescalating language, to kicking the fucker's ass, to having shoes you can run in. There's a lot of bullshit mythology around about how powerless we are. Knowing that you're not in fact powerless in sketchy situations allows us to not be constrained so much by the fear of shitty things happening to us (though, if you are viewed as powerless, be prepared to be targeted).

-Withdraw your services: Most people are capable of cooking food, handling their own emotions, fucking themselves, taking care of their friends and their relationships, cleaning, nurturing, supporting. If they don't get those services from you, they will either learn how to do them themselves or survive anyway. It's not your responsibility to provide those services any more than it is your responsibility to bathe them if they forget to. It can be lovely putting energy into our relationships that we care about, but do it consensually and with intention. If organizing with men means they'll get all bent out of shape if you don't take care of them, then choose to not give a fuck or don't organize with them.

-Gossip: If interpersonal shit feels weird and you're not sure why, talk to people about it. Unfortunately, one shitty dude can sometimes make a room full of people feel like they must be neurotic and hysterical and hypersensitive and cold and blahblahblah. Chances are, if you feel like shit, someone is treating you like shit, and if you don't believe yourself, you might listen to someone who has probably been there, and can see it from a different perspective.

-Extend solidarity without compromising: Explained in the next section

Solidarity with a diversity of assholes

Some folks might say that focusing so much on identity is divisive. I say, if women feel like their ability to act and organize is curbed in male-dominated circles, these women could act far more effectively while organizing on their own terms with other women. (Not that productivity is the point, but I'm just letting you know your argument is stupid.) Anarchist organizing is all about small affinity groups that interact and work together but don't define or dominate each other.

Recently, I was involved in a land defense struggle that was pacifist and liberal as fuck. The plentiful (and crucial) radical elements of this struggle were being publicly shamed by the loud as fuck liberals every time they became visible. This lack of solidarity was demonstrated by the public condemnation of specific direct action tactics being used (for the sake of the other protestors' image), hostility and distrust toward people wearing masks, the silencing of anti-police messages, and the selective upholding of nonviolent indigenous voices while erasing indigenous voices advocating for a diversity of tactics.

At first I thought, "Fuck this shit - if they don't want me to be a part of their struggle, then fuck their struggle." But it's not their struggle, and I don't want to fight liberals just

to fight for what I care about. I can do my own shit autonomously or with my comrades, and I can engage in a movement meaningfully without the solidarity or support of others involved in that struggle. We can recognize where we can collaborate with people we'll never agree with without coming close enough to them to have to engage in in-fighting. That's how I feel about organizing with shitty doods. It's not their struggle and I won't let them back me into doormat-hood or apathy.

As I've said, the point of my feminism isn't to convince these people to act like angels; it's to allow me to do my own shit.

In the face of this empire, there are a lot of misogynist fuckheads that I would call my comrades. They won't take me seriously, and they won't treat me with respect, but we hate some of the same things and having solidarity there is important. They're like liberals. I'll sign their petition if it'll really stop a pipeline (ha), but in their vision of freedom I still see chains.

I encourage people to organize with diverse others around basic points of unity, so long as you respect yourself and recognize your ability to act autonomously.

In conclusion

I'm not advocating this way of approaching feminism as tactically the best revolutionary strategy against patriarchy. I only see it as a means of bringing joy through anarchist action and negation of patriarchal rule over the individual. The individual is at the centre of any worthwhile revolution, and it is through strengthening her autonomy that she can effect meaningful change in her life and environment. Let her actualize her desires and attack her oppressors with the confidence that her actions will be met with solidarity from her comrades, not condemnation for being too divisive, too feminist, or too militant.

Having the confidence to strive toward one's dreams like they really matter is a skill that many of us are still working on. Through gaining this confidence and agency we absolve much of the power that men, the state, and capital hold over us. Through practicing exertions of our agency we can learn how to use it to effectively organize, attack, and build the realities that we want.

Up the fierce femmes!



Towards Unsettling Paths

{ BY LLUD

“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 Skwxwú7mesh, xʷməθkʷəy̓əm 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 Skwxwú7mesh 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 Skwxwú7mesh and Tsleil-Waututh. I



A Pictish Warrior

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 (1). 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 (2), 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 is 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. Nazis, 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) 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, WA, 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 surveil-

lance. It is a clever ploy that fascists around the world are latching onto labels like "autonomous-nationalism" and "national-anarchism." 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.



Vince Rinehart

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 (3). 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 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.



(1) By indigenous, I mean those who have an intimate knowledge of the lands that they inhabit, and that get much of their identity as a person from their experiences and relationships on and with these lands. An ancestral connection to the land is common, and very important.

(2) ZAD refers to a social movement that exists in France today. They are land occupations that halt development in a number of places, and in the midst of these occupations attempt to set up anti-capitalist communitarian relationships in the form of autonomous zones. The one described in this article is at Notre-Dame-Des-Landes, and is often referred to as “La Zad.”

(3) The Bricks we Throw at Police Today Will Build the Liberation Schools of Tomorrow, Three Non-Matriculating Proletarians, 2009/ They Can't Shoot us All, Anonymous, 2010/ Lines in Sand, Peter Gelderloos, 2010/ Who is Oakland, Escalating Identity, 2012/ We Are All Oscar Grant (?), Unfinished Acts, 2012/ Ain't no PC Gonna Fix it, Baby: A Critique of Ally Politics, Crimethinc, 2014/ Accomplices Not Allies: an Indigenous Perspective, Indigenous Action Media, 2014

One Guiding Thread

Social control beyond prisons

{ BY ECRYM



In 2011 the government of Canada embarked on a project to expand the prison system at a rate not seen since the 1930s. They poured billions of dollars into making room for an additional 2,700 people by expanding existing institutions and creating new ones, such as the 1,650 capacity Toronto South Detention Centre that opened in 2013.

The opposition to this project revealed that the failure of prisons has been thoroughly accepted by the mainstream. The backlash to the expansion did not come solely from the fringe elements of resistance. Instead, opposition politicians, pundits, academics and liberals all argued that throwing money into building new cells wouldn't reduce crime and that the money should be spent in areas outside of prisons to reduce criminality.

"Police basically are using prisons as repositories for the mentally ill because they have nowhere else to send them," said one Liberal opposition critic at that time.

The abolition of prisons has been a project of many anarchists; for some, such as those with the Anarchist Black Cross, it has been their major focus. This is an important project, as the prison lays bare and embodies the brutality of the state and its will to dominate. Yet there exists other forms of social control, more insidious and complicated, which don't capture as much attention from anarchists. In attacking one form of social control in isolation, or failing to expand our imagination to other forms of social control, especially those that exists outside the obvious, our struggles against domination and control are weakened.

Carlos Lopez, an anarchist prisoner, pointed out in a recent interview that prison is “a project of domestication and alienation aimed at all those individuals who do not accept the rules and regulations of a sick society of remote-controlled and manipulated robots”. All of society is a project of domestication and alienation. People are conditioned to unquestionably accept their place in society as citizens and consumers: to obey, to work, to pay rent, to live in a state of total dependence. The mechanisms that exist to keep us productive and dependent on the state and capital are numerous, adaptive and increasingly more complex. Recently, the

growth of psychology and the social sciences has given the state, the police and the prison-industrial complex more knowledge and tools of social control, many of which don't require overt violence.

In the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver, the police, mental health workers, non-profit shelters, social service agencies and community groups collaborate together to control the street population. The local community court now collaborates with social workers so that those who run afoul of the law don't end in prison but instead provide free labour to local businesses and non-profits. Others end up in shelters run by organizations such as the PHS (Portland Hotel Society), Atira and Raincity to keep them out of prison, where they are watched by state of the art surveillance cameras and doped up with mandatory anti-psychotic meds. Failure to comply with psychiatric treatments can mean forcible removal and internment in psychiatric wards.

This collaboration has been an ongoing project since the Woodward's squat of 2004, in which the abandoned department store was occupied by homeless residents of the Downtown Eastside, social justice activists and some anarchists. The VPD's Public Safety Unit violently evicted the occupiers only for the building to become reoccupied. Internally, the VPD acknowledged that they had failed to end the squat. The Portland Hotel Society, a housing and advocacy society based in the Downtown Eastside, stepped in and became instrumental in ending the Woodward's squat. They persuaded the squatters to end their occupation by promising them housing and paid homeless people to throw the belongings of the squatters into the trash. These acts cemented the collaboration between the police and housing providers in the Downtown Eastside. Under the 2006 Project Lockstep, housing providers share information with the police, who assign officers to specific buildings.

"Improving the lives of people who live in our SROs [single room occupancies] and making sure they have safe, secure housing is the top priority for all the non-profit societies," said Mark Smith, executive director of RainCity Housing and Support Society on their collaboration with the VPD. "We think this particular partnership, with an open relationship between the parties involved, will allow residents to pursue opportunities in a safer environment, free from unwanted influences and pressures."

Alfredo Bonnano wrote in 1997 that the new prisons wouldn't be prisons at all but "happy places" with men in white coats; he was thinking of the prisons of psychiatric hospitals. Today, if you look at Atira and Raincity, they don't wear white coats and aren't professionals, but are naive and socially-concerned hipster activists, anarchists and musicians that are creating prisons outside of prison walls. Some of these people may hate the police, but the reality of their jobs turns them into collaborators.

The expansive collaboration model of social control is not just evident in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver but in the RCMP's Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) program that was unveiled in the fall of 2014. The program is part of the Canadian government's strategy at combating violent extremism. 'Concerned' families or members of the community can report/snitch to the RCMP on anyone they feel has extremist beliefs and may act upon them. Once reported, specially trained RCMP officers will assemble a crisis intervention team of local

mentors, business people, social workers, mental health workers, and religious groups who will work to connect this "extremist" back to community by building connections, finding them a job and moving them away from their extremism.

"We're dealing with individuals at risk, individuals that are going down the pathway of criminal behaviours," said Sgt Renu Dash, RCMP director of public engagement. "So we're always looking to prevent those individuals from walking down that path and reroute them so they're going to become contributing Canadian citizens."

The project was created to target the Muslim community in Canada, but it is not hard to imagine that others, such as indigenous people and perhaps anarchists who run their mouths too much around concerned family members, could fall afoul of this program. That the creator of the CVE program was influenced by her experience collaborating with some indigenous people in the 1990 Oka crisis is indicative of how the state uses their experience of past crises to modulate their methods.

The proponents of these programs say they are effective because they are tackling root causes instead of reacting to the problem, be it mental health in the Downtown Eastside or social alienation in the case of extremism. The rhetoric of the state is starting to creepily resemble that of prison abolitionists who favour community solutions.

These programs are projects of domestication that work better than prisons. They appear more positive and uplifting, but in reality these projects move surveillance and control from institutions into the community and the result is the same: we are all kept in line, alienated from ourselves, others and the land, while industrial society keeps expanding, destroying the biosphere and ourselves along with it.

The struggle for freedom isn't just a fight against prisons but a fight against the prison that is our society. Our fight is strengthened by expanding our understanding of the methods of social control. Prisons, after all, don't exist in a vacuum. They exist to maintain social order. The social order wouldn't be possible without the colonial state, which exists to maintain the flows of capital.

"Everything here is linked by one guiding thread: the need to destroy all prisons along with the rest of the structures of capital. Nothing less will do." - Jean Weir



Bill C-309 Passed

Why you should mask up anyway

{ BY DOMINION STORIES

Foreword: This article is outdated, having originally been posted to the Vancouver Media Co-op on June 19, 2013. However, due to the upcoming May Day celebrations, as well as the increased tension over Bill C-51, this article still has some relevance.

The totalitarian state known as "Canada" passed Bill C-309 implementing a maximum of 10 years for wearing a mask during a riot or an unlawful assembly*. The government hopes to silence all dissent and movements that actually challenge state and capital. The state wants full social control over you. The ability for groups of people to mask up eliminates the state's control over us and opens up possibilities for a strong social revolt, autonomy and ability to anonymously express ourselves and also open the possibility of direct actions without constant repression and imprisonment from the state.

Richards, MP for Wild Rose, Alta., said the bill is meant to give police an added tool to prevent lawful protests from becoming violent riots, and that it will help police identify people who engage in vandalism or other illegal acts. The bill is something that police, municipal authorities and businesses hit hard by riots in Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal...." "We can all rest easier tonight knowing our communities have been made safer with its passage,"

The businesses that sustained most of the damages in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal were banks, chained stores such as London Drugs, Bell, Starbucks, Bank of Montreal, Royal Bank of Canada and the police. This is yet another example of the state showing their true colours by implementing harsh laws and punishments aimed at protecting major corporations and furthering the prison industrial complex. In other words, RBC and other corporations can be part of the largest environmental disasters in the world, the tar sands, and be the reason why the indigenous people can no longer fish and live on their lands, but if someone wears a mask and blocks a doorway or smashes a window of a bank they deserve to be locked in a cage for up to 10 years.

Government and police enjoy protests when the organizers work with them and peacefully walk about the streets and allow the flow of capital to continue and normality to be minimally disrupted. If you have been to a protest, you will see that the police tend to not like it if you stop in major intersection for an extended period of time. An example of this is in Montreal, during the student strike, the government implemented an anti-mask by-law in hopes of stifling the anti-capitalist movement which had developed. So when police and politicians say, "crossing the line" or "illegitimate" protest they mean any protest that causes harm to the capitalist system which can be anything from a crowd not applying for a permit to a newspaper box being thrown into the street and property damage or if the crowd is just too angry.

Public reaction online of Bill C-309 bill has been surprising. The top comment on CBC writes, "Does that also cover police who wear masks without ID badges at these same riots?" and "it's okay for armed security to hide behind shields and helmets with face coverings.... Sounds to me like

the elite have given themselves another advantage in their efforts to put down civil disobedience and protest against their totalitarian methods of citizen subjugation." These commentators have the right idea. The police are above the law and always will be, after all they are just the dogs of the masters.

Everywhere we go our peace is disrupted by industrial expansion, logging, police repression, intimidation and brutality. Our lives are wasted away by working and paying rent and bills. Our health is destroyed by the pollution of the air by refineries and mining. Our water is ruined by fracking and oil spills. The state should get used to the peace being disrupted because the more the state pushes us the harder were going to push back. Wear your mask proudly and you will never walk alone.

Why we mask

{ BY ANONYMOUS

We cover our faces and conceal our appearances for the simple reason that we have no need to be identified. In this world where cameras sit on every other street corner, where the police and CSIS use every chance to profile us and to build up files on our activities, where participation in social struggle or public demonstrations can compromise our freedom and ability to act in the future, we see no reason to make their jobs easier for them. Just as we refuse to cooperate with police interrogations and police investigation, we're also going to make it as hard as we can for the systems of social control to crack down and break us. Developing a practice of (partial) anonymity in situations we choose opens up space for participating in actions for folks who would otherwise be risking too much be it legal status, immigration status, or employment. Not only does it make profiling more difficult, but it also helps to keep people out of police custody. Wearing masks won't get us home safely all the time, but it does disrupt routine repression and social control. It is time we break them instead of letting them break us!"

63. (1) An unlawful assembly is an assembly of three or more persons who, with intent to carry out any common purpose, assemble in such a manner or so conduct themselves when they are assembled as to cause persons in the neighbourhood of the assembly to fear, on reasonable grounds, that they:

- (a) will disturb the peace tumultuously; or
- (b) will by that assembly needlessly and without reasonable cause provoke other persons to disturb the peace tumultuously.

Lawful assembly becoming unlawful:

- (2) Persons who are lawfully assembled may become an unlawful assembly if they conduct themselves with a common purpose in a manner that would have made the assembly unlawful if they had assembled in that manner for that purpose.

Exception:

Persons are not unlawfully assembled by reason only that they are assembled to protect the dwelling-house of any one of them against persons who are threatening to break and enter it for the purpose of committing an indictable offence therein.

64. A riot is an unlawful assembly that has begun to disturb the peace tumultuously.

CROWS

POEM BY ANONYMOUS

When the crows come home to roost,
The sky will turn black.
Sharp feathers fill wings,
Like so many daggers.

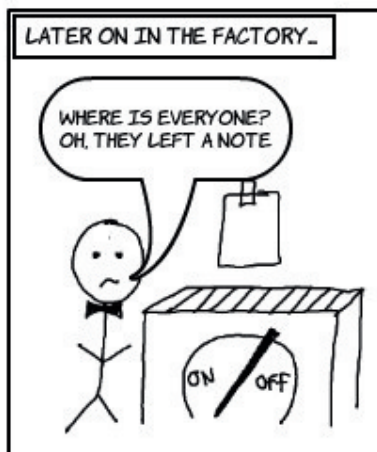
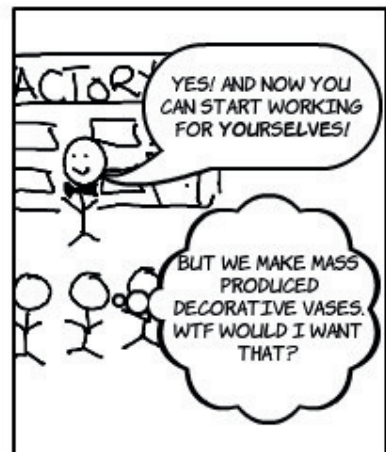
Fill the trees and rusted chainlink fences,
That surround the roads and power lines
Sprawling like decay,
From the capitalist city centres.

When the crows come home to roost,
Flying together,
A black flag in the wind.
There will be a murder.
The rich.





Solidarity Against Political Repression!



Thank you for reading!

WRECK is a print-based anarchist publication from Vancouver, BC (Coast Salish Territories). Our project offers an anarchist analysis to the events and activities that affect everyday life in Vancouver and surrounding regions. We hope that it will facilitate face-to-face conversations and introduce anarchist ideas to those who are less familiar with them. Hopefully this publication can also act as a message in a bottle, allowing those far away to become aware of our projects and predicaments.

We are looking for submissions for our second issue. We are interested in any piece that takes an anti-capitalist and anti-state approach to the matters that affect them and the people around them. Submissions should engage with analyses and methods that go beyond state approaches, such as petitioning governments or voting blocks, as such actions empower and strengthen the state's ability to control our lives. Original artwork, poetry, and other artistic submissions are also welcome. If you would like to submit, or have an idea you would like to pass by the editors, email us at wreck@riseup.net. Or, visit us at wreckpublication.wordpress.com. The deadline for submission is June 30, 2015.

Things we like

Local News and Resources:

warriorpublications.wordpress.com – Promotes warrior culture, fighting spirit, and resistance movements
vancouver.mediacoop.com – Local grassroots news and updates
38bloodalley.wordpress.com – Local anarchist social space
spartacusbooks.net – Local radical bookstore and event space
beattheraid.wordpress.com – Update on No Pipelines Graffiti House Raid
camas.ca – Radical books and infoshop in Victoria
bcblackout.wordpress.com – Social war against industrial expansion

International News and Resources:

crimethinc.com/podcast/ - Awesome anarchist audio podcast
submedia.tv – Anarchist and activist documentaries and video podcast
actforfree.nostate.net – International insurrectionary news and updates
digitalelephant – Classic insurrectionary anarchist archive
theanarchistlibrary.org – Archive of anarchist writings
prole.info – Angry anti-state marxist analysis from the front lines of the workplace
pugetsoundanarchists – Anarchist news and updates from the Puget Sound and surrounding area.
blackseed.anarchyplanet.org – Bi-annual green anarchist print-based publication
325.nostate.net – Raw news from the insurrectionary anarchist web portal
fireworksbayarea.com - Anarchist publication from Oakland, CA
indybay.org - News from the San Francisco Bay Area
anarchistnews.org – Non-sectarian anarchist newsboard
libcom.org - Free access to anarchist zines, publications, literature
reddit.com/r/anarchism - Online forum for anarchist discussion
8chan.org/anarcho – Online image board for anarchist discussion
strikemag.org – Bi-monthly political, philosophical, art, and sedition newspaper
infoshop.org – International news and updates
mtlcounter-info.org – Autonomous communication for the struggle against authority in Montreal

Online Distros:

sproutdistro.com
semodistro.com

WRECK

BECAUSE CAPITAL CONSUMES OUR LIVES AND LEAVE US IN THE RUINS WHEN THE DAMAGE IS SO COMPLETE WE HAVE NO PROFIT LEFT TO GIVE. BECAUSE THIS WORLD GNAWS AT OUR SPIRIT AND SHATTERS OUR BEING. BECAUSE THIS SYSTEM HAS NOTHING WE ARE INTERESTED IN TAKING AND NOTHING WE ARE INTERESTED IN SAVING. BECAUSE WE SEE A DAY WHEN THIS COLONIAL SHIP, ITS PROJECT, AND LEGACY THAT SURROUNDS US, IS ONLY WRECKAGE ON THE BEACH. BECAUSE THAT IS THE ONLY THING LEFT FOR US TO DO – REDUCE THE WORLD TO SHAMBLES TO OPEN UP POSSIBILITIES OF SOMETHING NEW. *AN ANARCHIST PUBLICATION FROM COAST SALISH TERRITORIES, VANCOUVER BC.*

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