



Youth Liberation:

Burn the Schools and Destroy the Media!

This is Personal and Political

In order for civilized villagers in Southeast Asia to tame a wild elephant and use it for agricultural labor, they must first break its spirit. This is accomplished by luring an adolescent animal away from others of its species, and then chaining each of its legs securely to the ground. The elephant cannot move, cannot seek assistance from family and friends, cannot independently take care of itself. The poor creature is totally dependent, imprisoned and surrounded by strange thin-haired apes who laugh or applaud at its pain and misery. After this goes on for days, the elephant's wild spirit is broken, and it becomes a docile plough animal.

School serves a similar purpose for civilizing and breaking the spirits of young humans. At the tender age of 4 to 6 a child has just begun to articulate clearly in complicated symbolic language, as well as starting to master complex physical and mechanical tasks. It is at this point, that vulnerable, fragile young humans are forcibly taken away from their family home, human neighborhood and eco-system. With the threat of police violence and imprisonment or at the least kidnapping of their child, waved at parents to ensure compliance, countless children are loaded on mass transport carriers and carted away. For the next 13 years they spend as many as eight hours a day with hundreds of other displaced youth in massive, sterile, unfriendly institutional buildings. At these institutions they are trained, under constant threat of various cruel and unusual psychological punishments, to sit still, follow orders unquestioningly, and most importantly to fear what might happen if they ever stray outdoors, beyond the walls or yard of their little prison and the watchful eyes of their overseers.

At the same time as young children are being schooled, another powerful force begins to fully eclipse and dominate their perception of the world. For many children in the first world, the flickering of the cathode ray behind TV sets and computer monitors, and the recorded sound vibrations of radio, record, tape and CDs, may become essential to their perception at the earliest developmental stage possible — when their hearing and vision become clear and senses distinct. In other cases, the child's parents attempt to defer this experience until their kids reach the age of 3 or 5 or even 14 — but beyond that point it becomes virtually impossible to save any human from the brainwashing experience of the commercial corporate media.

Sometimes these sounds and images offer children a rebellious voice, which seems to counter and subvert their schooling by extolling the pursuit of maximum "cool" social status via product consumption. At other times the media simply parrots the same messages of obedience, fear and conformity first learned in the educational system. At all times TV, radio, stereos, computers and other electronic media are defining and delimiting a young human's existence, from the level of the physiological to that of the mythical.

FIGHT the REAL ENEMY

Certain contributors to this publication have suggested that those who wish to physically fight civilization should prioritize attacks on biotechnology and nanotechnology. These developments, which are not currently accepted as essential and inevitable by a majority of civilized people, make imminent the possibility of total ecological collapse at a basic molecular and genetic level — as well as the more frightening possibility of total human control over the basic building blocks of life, a "post-ecology world" as the proponents of nanotech admit they are working towards. All these reasons put biotech and nanotech high on the list of important targets for calculated outbursts of rage against the machine.

Yet at the same time, in giving material manifestation to one's love of life and hatred of the gears of death, informed people should not forget that a few main institutions are primarily responsible for molding human beings into citizens, consumers and capitalists — namely: mass corporate media, the nuclear family, and the compulsory education system. Finding ways to attack and transcend these evil influences is essential to moving beyond civilization. Of the three, only the mass media and the schools have clearly identifiable centralized offices of operation. And just as the people most essentially responsible for killing the earth have names and addresses, so the buildings and equipment which are most important for indoctrinating youth and maintaining control of the minds of adults are quite obvious in any town or city — they are usually clearly listed in telephone books, and in many cases (unlike prisons, government centers, or resource extraction corporation offices) they have little security to speak of.

I spent 13 years being educated in the public schools, I have watched loved ones waste decades working at them, and I have even spent several years as a wage slave in the school system myself. Based on this experience, I have decided that from an anarchist point of view, and especially a green anarchist viewpoint, there is almost nothing redeeming about the experience of schooling and the public school system. Any helpful ideas and emotional support that youth get from a stray iconoclastic teacher, tutor, or counselor are completely outweighed by the nature of the educational system as a whole: a mass bureaucratic machine of increasingly militaristic and inherently prison-like institutions, whose admitted purpose is to mold humans from their natural wild state into the roles of good citizens and docile workers. For anyone who claims to oppose government, authoritarianism, or hierarchy (let alone civilization) to apologize for or support the public school system is sheer hypocrisy and back-stepping. Though my personal economic survival is still partially dependent on wage slavery in the public schools, I would be overjoyed to see every school burned to the ground.



the death culture begins its manipulating, controlling, and wounding from birth

If you doubt that the youth of today are turned into docile consumer drones by the double whammy of school and the media, I suggest that you spend some time around masses of young people. Listen to the way small children parrot the lines of movies and TV shows, and structure their entire identities and daily routines around them. Observe the vacuous, worn out, dragged down lack of curiosity in many high school students — that is, beyond interest in product consumption, and media icon worship.

MAKING SOME SPACE TO THINK IN

Most American public schools are severely understaffed and underfunded. They can ill afford to hire increased security or to rebuild following serious sabotage or attacks. If a campaign of such actions took place on a national level, where would this leave the youth of America? Well, not locked up in schools for starters. And, in a world where consumption and production reign divine, idle hands can be the tools of the devil.

Of course in such a scenario a lot of youth autonomy would be recouped by real prisons and private schools — and certainly by television. (Unless of course, the equipment and buildings needed to broadcast and receive this pacifying influence were also under constant attack, at both a local and international level, by diverse small autonomous groups.) The same strategy could also be used against the Internet, or any other electronic corporate media tools of social control.

If first world youth can't go to school, watch television or surf the web on a regular basis, and their parents can't reliably entertain, supervise and pacify them with these innovations, what the hell happens then? I don't know — but it sounds like a scenario that's a lot more encouraging of spontaneous revolt than our current situation.

PROVIDING ALTERNATIVES

When and if thousands of bored kids start roaming the streets in hordes, it behooves anarchists to offer them access to radical ideas and tools for helping them deal with and understand their world. To this end, anarchists should start right now building up publicly accessible libraries, free school seminars and personal repertoires of socio-political theory, historical knowledge, and more important by far, real hands-on skills of all kinds: from creating art and music to building and fixing your own cars, bombs and bicycles; from permaculture to wild food gathering and hunting; from marksmanship to conflict resolution. I mean, don't we want to learn how to really live and share that with the next generation?

WE ARE ALL IN PRISON

I don't want to denigrate the uniquely awful experience of those actually incarcerated in real penal institutions, but most individual humans on the planet right now live day to day existences which are basically not so different from prisoners. Even for most of us living in first world luxury, from cradle to grave, school to work, with the gaps filled in by TV, our minds and bodies are not free.

I wish I had never spent the hours of my youth locked up in school or numbing the pain of that experience with more hours spent staring at a television screen and a computer monitor. In some ways it's too late for me now, my spirit has been broken — but just like a tamed elephant that one day snaps and tramples its overseers, I too can lash out and fight back against the voices that bent my soul, and in doing so maybe I can help to save the next generation from having their spirits broken.

Are you with Me?



I don't wanna grow up

When I'm lyin' in my bed at night
I don't wanna grow up
Nothin' ever seems to turn out right
I don't wanna grow up.
How do you move in a world of fog
That's always changing things
Makes me wish that I could be a dog
When I see the price that you pay
I don't wanna grow up
I don't ever wanna be that way
I don't wanna grow up.

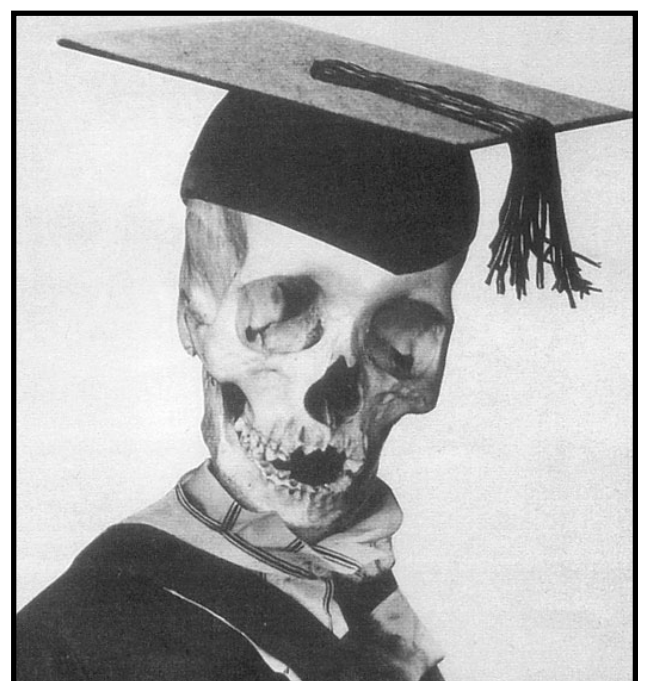
Seems like folks turn into things
That they'd never want
The only thing to live for
Is today...
I'm gonna put a hole in my T.V. set
I don't wanna grow up
Open up the medicine chest
And I don't wanna grow up
I don't wanna have to shout it out
I don't want my hair to fall out
I don't wanna be filled with doubt
I don't wanna be a good boy scout
I don't wanna have to learn to count
I don't wanna have the biggest amount
I don't wanna grow up.

Well when I see my parents fight
I don't wanna grow up
They all go out and drinking all night
And I don't wanna grow up
I'd rather stay here in my room
Nothin' out there but sad and gloom
I don't wanna live in a big tomb
On Grand Street

When I see the 5 o'clock news
I don't wanna grow up
Comb their hair and shine their shoes
I don't wanna grow up
Stay around in my old hometown
I don't wanna put no money down
I don't wanna get me a big old loan
Work them fingers to the bone
I don't wanna float a broom
Fall in love and get married then boom
How the hell did it get here so soon
I don't wanna grow up!

- Tom Waits and Kathleen Brennan

Welcome to Green Anarchy #13
Our "Drop-Out and Fight-Back" Summer Special



From **Still Life With Woodpecker**

A writer published an open letter to Bernard in a leading liberal periodical. He requested an interview. Utmost secrecy was sworn. It was on the level. The writer was a man of proven courage and integrity. The writer wanted amnesty for dissidents such as Bernard. He said that Bernard had suffered enough. He wrote that living underground was no less punishing than prison. "A person underground exists in a state of controlled schizophrenia," he wrote. "Terror never slackens." The journalist considered Bernard a victim of the Vietnam War. The fact that he had acted against the government's interests instead of in them was immaterial, the writer said. The sociopolitical realities that drove Bernard to risk his life bombing induction centers were essentially the same as those that led other young men to risk their trading shots in rice paddies. As a fugitive, on the run, living in disguise and fear, Bernard was no less a casualty than those poor veterans who had left prime cuts from their physiques to decay in Da Nang and Hue.

Ha ha.
That's how Bernard's infamous response began.
"Ha ha."
"Victim? The difference between a criminal and an outlaw is that while criminals frequently are victims, outlaws never are. Indeed, the first step toward becoming a true outlaw is the refusal to be victimized."

"All people who live subject to other people's laws are victims. People who break laws out of greed, frustration, or vengeance are victims. People who overturn laws in order to replace them with their own laws are victims. (I am speaking here of revolutionaries.) We outlaws, however, live beyond the law. We don't merely live beyond the letter of the law — many businessmen, most politicians, and all cops do that — we live beyond the spirit of the law. In a sense, then, we live beyond society. Have we a common goal, that goal is to turn the tables on the nature of society. When we succeed, we raise the exhilaration content of the universe. We even raise it a little bit when we fail."

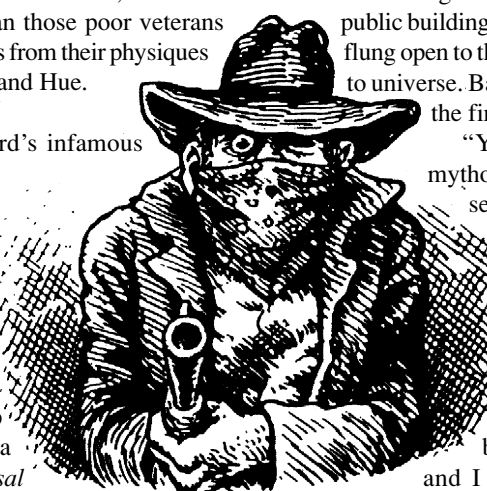
"Victim? I deplored the ugliness of the Vietnam War. But what I deplored, others have deplored before me. When war turns whole populations into sleepwalkers, outlaws don't join forces with alarm clocks. Outlaws, like poets, rearrange the nightmare. It is elating work. The years of the war were the most glorious of my life. I wasn't risking my skin to protest a war. I risked my skin for fun. For beauty!"

"I love the magic of TNT. How eloquently it speaks! Its resounding rumble, its clap, its quack is scarcely less deep than the passionate moan of the Earth herself. A well-timed series of detonations is like a choir of quakes. For all of its fluent resonance, a bomb says only one word — 'Surprise!' — and then applauds itself. I love the hot hands of explosion. I love a breeze perfumed with the devil smell of powder (so close in its effect to the angel smell of sex). I love the way that architecture, under the impetus of dynamite, dissolves almost in slow motion, crumbling delicately, shedding bricks like feathers, corners melting, grim facades breaking into grins, supports shrugging and calling it a day, tons of totalitarian dreck washing away in the wake of a circular tsunami of air. I love that precious portion of a second when window glass becomes elastic and bulges out like bubble gum before popping. I love the public buildings made public at last, doors flung open to the citizens, to the creatures, to universe. Baby, come on it! And I love the final snuff of smoke."

"Yes, and I love the trite mythos of the outlaw. I love the self-conscious romanticism of the outlaw. I love the black wardrobe of the outlaw. I love the fey smile of the outlaw. I love the tequila of the outlaw and the beans of the outlaw... The outlaw boat sails against the flow, and I love it. All outlaws are photogenic, and I love that. 'When freedom is outlawed, only outlaws will be free' — that's a graffiti seen in Anacortes, and I love that. There are outlaw maps that lead to outlaw treasures, and I love those maps especially. Unwilling to wait for mankind to improve, the outlaw lives as if that day were here, and I love that most of all."

"Victim? Your letter reminded the Woodpecker that he is a Woodpecker blessed. Your sympathies for my loneliness, tension, and disturbing fluctuations in identity have some basis in fact and are humbly appreciated. But do not be misled. I am the happiest man in America. In my bartender's pockets I still carry, out of habit, wooden matches. As long as there are matches, there will be fuses. As long as there are fuses, no walls are safe. As long as every wall is threatened, the world can happen. Outlaws are can openers in the supermarket of life."

by Tom Robbins



Summer Offensive

The anti-war protests of the early spring were at times encouraging but remained, overall, limited and single-issue. "Anti-globalization" activism in recent years has mainly focused on the excesses of the totalizing Machine of Technology and capital and not on its basic nature, its unrelenting logic.

As the impact of 9/11/01 wanes, we will see whether we can connect the dots, renew and deepen our understanding and resolve. The road to the September World Trade Organization summit in Cancun passes through, for many, the late June WTO biotech conference in Sacramento. Along other paths and at a great variety of sites as well will the depth of our desire for liberation be manifest.

In all directions and at an accelerating rate, the degradation deepens and the toll mounts. Some seem committed to the dull, slow death of reform approaches, content to hope to slightly re-arrange the modern artifacts of estrangement. These concerned souls contest really nothing, threatened as they are by the intoxicating element, the realm of permanent surprises.

Protest/activism as usual is worse than a bad joke. It is surrender to the forces of death. It is the chorus of moderates who continue, for example, to lie about the courageous militants of Genoa (anti-G8, July 2001), calling those who caused tens of millions in damage the accomplices of cops and fascists. Such is the slander by Chomsky, the World Social Forum and all others horrified by a real assault on the system of destruction and domination.

Some 200 years ago in Egypt, Napoleon, soon to be emperor and tyrant, sought to inspire his army. "Soldiers," he said, pointing to the pyramids, "Forty centuries are watching you." Napoleon sought to tip the scales of the world but only, of course, in terms of glory for a nation-state.

We may say that 100 centuries look down on us, because the crisis of today was born with domestication itself. Civilization has brought us to this point in time, containing in its awful trajectory the victims of all history. We must do our part to honor this realization.

In this homeless world the Machine plays its cards for all to see. Naked force everywhere, everything at stake for the resistance to that force. The challenge could not be issued with greater clarity.

CONSEQUENCES

(What Always Returns)

BY SUSAN GRIFFIN

from "Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her"

To have risked so much in our efforts to mold nature to our satisfaction and yet to have failed in achieving our goal would indeed be the final irony. Yet this, it seems, is our situation.

Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*

We say you cannot divert the river from the riverbed. We say that everything is moving, and we are a part of this motion. That the soil is moving. That the water is moving. We say that the earth draws water to her from the clouds. We say the rainfall parts on each side of the mountain, like the parting of our hair, and that the shape of the mountain tells where the water has passed. We say this water washes the soil from the hillsides, that the rivers carry sediment, that rain when it splashes carries small particles, that the soil itself flows with water in streams underground. We say that water is taken up into roots of plants, into stems, that it washes down hills into rivers, that these rivers flow to the sea, that from the sea, in the sunlight, this water rises to the sky, that this water is carried in clouds, and comes back as rain, comes back as fog, back as dew, as wetness in the air.

We say everything comes back. And you cannot divert the river from the riverbed. We say every act has its consequences. That this place has been shaped by the river, and that the shape of this place tells the river where to go.

We say he should have known his action would have consequences. We say our judgement was that when she raised that rifle, looking through the sight at him, and fired, she was acting out of what had gone on before. We say every act comes back on itself. There are consequences. You cannot cut the trees from the mountainside without a flood. We say there is no way to see his dying as separate from her living, or what he had done to her, or what part of her he had used. We say if you change the course of this river you change the shape of the whole place. And we say that what she did then could not be separated from what she held sacred in herself, what she had felt when he did that to her, what we hold sacred to ourselves, what we feel we could not go on without, and we say if this river leaves this place, nothing will grow and the mountain will crumble away, and we say what he did to her could not be separated from the way that he looked at her, and what he felt was right to do to her, and what they do to us, we say, shapes how they see us. That once the trees are cut down, the water will wash the mountain away and the river be heavy with mud, and there will be a flood. And we say that what he did to her he did to all of us. And that one act cannot be separated from another. And had he seen more clearly, we say, he might have predicted his own death. How if the trees grew on that hillside there would be no flood. And you cannot divert this river. We say look how the water flows from this place and returns as rainfall, everything returns, we say, and one thing follows another, there are limits, we say, on what can be done and everything moves. We are all a part of this motion, we say, and the way of the river is sacred, and this grove of trees is sacred, and we ourselves, we tell you, are sacred.

their box

i am inside a box
six white walls
and time ticks out
click, click
i "connect" with other boxes
using smaller boxes
00110010101001011
click, click
abc, nbc, cbs
click, click

this is their world
imposed upon me
i want to leave this box
click, click
we need to go outside the box
click, click
we need to destroy their box
click, click
outside the box,
time stands still
- (H2O)³



THE RISING OF THE BARBARIANS:

A NON-PRIMITIVIST REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION

If we examine much of the current debate in anarchist circles surrounding civilization, technology, progress, green anarchy versus red anarchy and so on, we are left with the impression that criticism of civilization has only recently arisen within anarchist and revolutionary thinking. But this impression is false, and harmful for those of us with a revolutionary anti-civilization perspective.

In fact, a revolutionary questioning of civilization, of technology and of progress can be found throughout the history of modern revolutionary thinking. Charles Fourier posed his utopian socialist "Harmony" against the disharmony of "Civilization". A number of the most radical of the Romantics (Blake, Byron and Shelly among others) were distinctly distrustful of industrialism and its utilitarian reason.

But we can bring things closer to home by looking at anarchists of the 19th century. Certainly Bakunin had no problem with industrial technology. Though he didn't share Marx's almost mystical faith in the capacity of industrial development to create the technical basis for global communism, he also did not see anything inherently dominating in the structure of industrial systems. In fact, his concept of workers taking over the organization of society through their own economic and industrial development was to eventually become the basis of anarcho-syndicalism (This development, however, is based on a misunderstanding, since Bakunin quite clearly stated that this organization was not something that could be developed on an ideological basis outside of the direct struggle of the workers, but rather that it was something that the workers would

develop for themselves in the course of their struggles. He therefore did not suggest any specific form for it). Nonetheless, Bakunin's appeals to the "unleashing of the wicked passions" of the oppressed and exploited were seen by many of the more reasonable revolutionaries of the time as a barbaric call for the destruction of civilization. And Bakunin himself did call for "the annihilation of bourgeois civilization" along with "the destruction of all States" and the "free and spontaneous organization from below upward, by means of free associations". But Bakunin's French contemporary, Ernest Coeurderoy, was less conditional in his rejection of civilization. He says simply: "In civilization, I vegetate; I am neither happy, nor free; why then should I desire this homicidal order to be conserved? There is no longer anything to conserve of that which the earth suffers." And he, along with Dejacque and other anarchist revolutionaries of that time, appeals to the barbaric spirit of destruction to bring an end to the civilization of domination.

Of course, the majority of anarchists at that time, as in our own, did not question civilization, technology or progress. Kropotkin's vision of communized "Factories, Fields and Workshops" or Josiah Warren's "True Civilization" inevitably have more appeal to those who are not prepared to face the unknown than the anarchist critiques of industrialism and civilization that often offer no clear vision of what will be after the revolutionary destruction of the civilization that they hate.

The early 20th century, and particularly the great massacre known as World War I, brought a major overturning of values. Faith in the bourgeois ideal of progress was thoroughly eroded and the questioning of civilization itself was a significant aspect of a number of radical movements including dadaism, Russian anarcho-futurism and early surrealism. If most of the better known anarchists (such as Malatesta, Emma Goldman, Mahkno and so on) continued to see the possibility of a liberated industrial civilization, other lesser known anarchists saw a different vision. Thus, around 1919, Bruno Filippi wrote:

"I envy the savages. And I will cry to them in a loud voice: 'Save yourselves, civilization is coming.'

"Of course: our dear civilization of which we are so proud. We have abandoned the free and happy life of the forest for this horrendous moral and material slavery. And we are maniacs, neurasthenics, suicides.

"Why should I care that civilization has given humanity wings to fly so that it can bomb cities, why should I care if I know every star in the sky or every river on earth?"

[...]

"Today, the starry vault is a leaden veil that we vainly endeavor to pass through; today it is no longer unknown, it is distrusted.

"[...] I don't give a damn for their progress; I want to live and enjoy."

Now, I want to be clear. I am not bringing all of this up in order to prove that the present-day anti-civilization current has a legitimate anarchist heritage. If its critique of the reality we face is accurate, why should we care whether it fits into some framework of anarchist orthodoxy? But Bakunin and Coeurderoy, Malatesta and Filippi, all of the anarchists of the past who lived in struggle against domination, as they understood it, were not trying to create any ideological orthodoxy. They were participating in the process of creating a revolutionary anarchist theory and practice that would be an ongoing process. This process has included critiques of civilization, critiques of progress and critiques of technology (and often in the past these critiques were not connected, so that, for example, Bakunin could call for "the annihilation of bourgeois civilization" and still embrace its technological outgrowth, industrialism, and Marcus Graham could call for the destruction of "the machine" in favor of an unmechanized civilization). We are living in different times. The words of Bakunin or Coeurderoy, of Malatesta or Renzo Novatore, or of any of the anarchist writers of the past, cannot be taken as a

program or a doctrine to be followed. Rather they form an arsenal to be looted. And among the weapons in that arsenal are barbaric battering rams that can be used against the walls of civilization, of the myth of progress, of the long-since disproven myth that technology can save us from our woes.

We are living in a world in which technology has certainly gone out of control. As catastrophe follows catastrophe, so-called "human" landscapes become increasingly controlled and mechanized, and human beings increasingly conformed to their roles as cogs in the social machine. Historically the thread that has gone through all that is best in the anarchist movement has not been a faith in civilization or technology

or progress, but rather the desire for every individual to be free to create her or his life as he or she sees fit in free association with others. In other words, the desire for the individual and collective reappropriation of life. This desire is still what motivates anarchist struggle. At this point it is clear to me that the technological system is an integral part of the network of the rulers of this world. One of the primary purposes of large-scale technological systems is the maintenance and expansion of social control, and this requires a technological system that is largely self-maintaining, needing only minimal human intervention. Thus, a juggernaut is created. The recognition that progress had no inherent connection to human liberation was already recognized by many revolutionaries by the end of World War I. Certainly the history of the 20th century should have reinforced this understanding. We look out now on a physically, socially and psychologically devastated world, the result of all that has been called progress. The exploited and dispossessed of this world can no longer seriously desire to get a piece of this putrefying pie, nor to take it over and "self-manage" it. The reappropriation of life must have a different meaning in the present world. In light of the social transformations of the past few decades, it seems to me that any serious revolutionary anarchist movement would have to call industrialism and civilization itself into question precisely because anything less may not provide us with the necessary tools for taking back our lives as our own.



But my anti-civilization perspective is not a primitivist perspective. While it may indeed be inspiring to look at the apparently anarchic and communistic aspects of some "primitive" cultures, I do not base my critique on a comparison between these cultures and the current reality, but rather on the way in which all of the various institutions that comprise civilization act together to take my life from me and turn it into a tool for social reproduction, and how they transform social life into a productive process serving only to maintain the rulers and their social order. Thus, it is essentially a revolutionary perspective, and this is why I will always make use of anything in that arsenal which is the history of revolutionary theory and practice that can enhance my struggle. "Primitive" people have often lived in anarchic and communistic ways, but they do not have a history of revolutionary struggle from which we can loot weapons for our current struggle. Having said this, however, I do recognize those anarcho-primitivists who continue to recognize the necessity of revolution and class struggle as my comrades and potential accomplices.

Revolutionary struggle against the civilization of control and profit that surrounds us will not be the reasonable attempt to take over the means of production. The dispossessed of this world seem to understand that this is no longer an option for liberation (if it ever was). If most are not clear about precisely who or what is the enemy, most do understand that they have nothing to say to those in power, because they no longer share a common language. We who have been dispossessed by this world now know that we can expect nothing from it. If we dream of another world, we cannot express that dream, because this world does not provide the words for it. And most likely, many no longer dream; they just feel rage at the continuing degradation of their existence. So this revolution will, indeed, be the release of the "wicked passions" of which Bakunin spoke; the destructive passions that are the only door to a free existence. It will be the coming of the barbarians predicted by Dejacque and Coeurderoy. But it is precisely when people know that they no longer have anything to say to their rulers, that they may learn how to talk with each other. It is precisely when people know that the possibilities of this world can offer them nothing that they may learn how to dream the impossible. This network of institutions that dominate our life, this civilization, has turned our world into a toxic prison. There is so much to be destroyed so that a free existence may be created. The time of the barbarians is at hand.

"[...] May the barbarians break loose. May they sharpen their swords, may they brandish their battleaxes, may they strike their enemies without pity. May hatred take the place of tolerance, may fury take the place of resignation, may outrage take the place of respect. May the barbarian hordes go to the assault, autonomously, in the way that they determine. And may no parliament, no credit institution, no supermarket, no barracks, no factory ever grow again after their passage. In the face of the concrete that rises to strike the sky and the pollution that fouls it, one can well say with Dejacque that 'It is not the darkness that the Barbarians will bring to the world this time, it is the light.'" — Criso/Odoteo

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Between Analysis and Vision Moving Beyond the Theory- Practice Dichotomy

By A. Morefus

"I am cruising currently, right now. I am cruising because I have dedicated myself to all that is creative and destructive in my life, right now. And I am equally in love with every aspect of my life, and all the ingredients that have caused me turmoil and all the ingredients that have caused me glory. I am the living whispered warning in the Roman general's ear "glory is fleeting", and in that verb, that active verb, "fleeting", there I live; there I reside in this moment. I have dedicated my life to the idiom, "I don't know", and I am in love with the frantic chaos of this limitless universe."

- Timothy "Speed" Levitch,
The Cruise

"Pointed threats,
they bluff with scorn
Suicide remarks are torn,
from the fool's gold mouth-piece,
the hollow horn,
plays wasted words,
proves to worn,
that he not busy being born, is
busy dying"

- Bob Dylan, It's Alright, Ma (I'm
Only Bleeding)

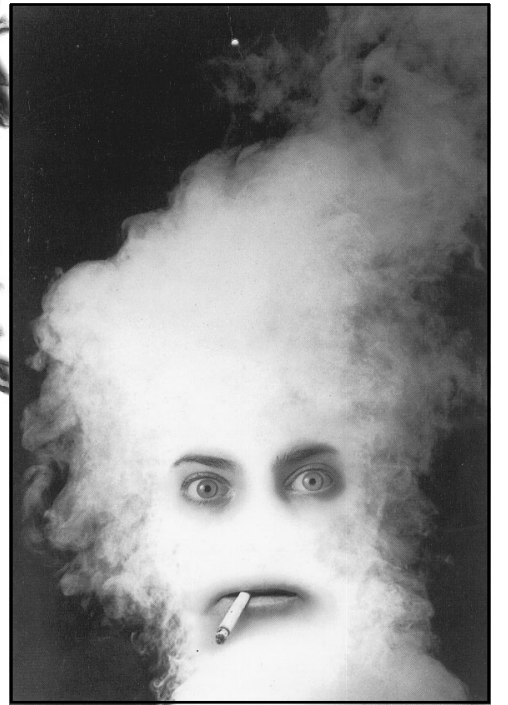
As anarchists desiring to be relevant outside of the mostly insular academic journals or often sectarian theoretical discussion groups, it is important to openly explore the space between **analysis** - the critical look at the entanglement of systems, institutions, and circumstances which have brought us to this point (i.e. civilization), and our own personal and communal liberatory **visions** - the world we are trying to create (i.e. a return to wildness). This is an acknowledgement of the complex and multi-faceted nature of any political or social movement, the space it inhabits, as well as the interpersonal relationships which develop within and outside of it. Some level of reconciliation with the conflict between our own unrestrained aspirations and the world we live in must occur before we can proceed in changing ourselves or the condition in which we dwell. This is not a support of compromise as a method of action, or a "let's wait till later to fight" attitude, but instead a mediation of the infinite directions and obstacles we must navigate around and through. I am not speaking of what has been described as "anarcho-realism", for that implies a denial of subjectivity and also usually entails "playing their games" or "selling-out" as a model of social change, thus putting it into direct conflict with anarchy. In order to be effective and in tune with the process of change, however, it is important to prioritize fluidity and flexibility over rigidity and purity, and to understand complexity as something which contains contradiction.

For a qualitatively different world, it is helpful to synthesize the positive aspects of previous attempts at creating liberated societies or circumstances, to learn from past mistakes, and most importantly, to go beyond, or apart from, prior methods. Moving along ideological lines has proven to be only good at superficially unifying mass populations, and is ultimately limited by its homogenizing process and disconnection from individual realities, as well as its lack of relevance to the larger political context. We must step outside

of the two segregated, linear, and illusory models of social change: 1) *The development of a perfect critique along with the deconstruction our own social programming and conception of "flawless" interpersonal relationships in order to sometime down the road "fight the revolution" or 2) "Fighting the revolution now" and then later dealing with the damaged survivors' bodies, hearts, and minds (the "we'll figure it out later" approach).* Both are limited and dangerous models to work from. Limited, in the sense that one cannot happen without the other; they must be organically intertwined along with many other priorities. Dangerous, because we will never get to the stage of physically dismantling the apparatus of control and its institutions if we are exclusively inwardly focused; and equally dangerous, because as damaged and pathologically socialized beings, we will reproduce unhealthy and dominating patterns, ultimately recreating an unqualitatively different society.

Presentation style can be problematic when exploring methods of social or personal transformation. Even though some seemingly static or factual information may be relatively fixed, it is important to be clear that all analysis is obtained through various social filters and particular biases. For our personal or communal visions to remain non-ideological, they must be presented in an organic and subjective way. It is always good to avoid painting ourselves into boxes, yet at the same time, not be too ambivalent. For instance, there are times and places to use "short-hand" or "lingo", such as the numerous prefixes anarchists tend use in order to give a general priority in terms of their analysis or vision (i.e. green, red, pink, insurrectionary, etc.), but ultimately these are restraining and often make things less apparent, rather than actually helping to illustrate complicated perspectives. Therefore, it is good to be limber in how we explain ourselves, depending on those we are in contact with, having a situational description. This is not to say we should "dumb things down". Aside from that being an elitist attitude, it is usually not good at doing anything but alienating people. Nor should we be chameleon-like, and try to be what flows or fits within a specific group or clique. It is more honest and effective to relate to others' lives and specific circumstances, or give examples of how you integrate your perspective into your everyday life. It is also much more favorable and less dictatorial to raise questions rather than to give answers. Of course, direct communication is preferred over mediated and impersonal modes of expression/connection like Internet posts. Finally, when discussing or presenting ideas or concerns with others whom you respect or wish to work with on any level, it is always important to be able to separate criticisms and internal discussions from denunciations and self-righteous posturing, unless your only goal is to be *right or pure*.

When we actually get down to the discussions of what is to be done, within the context of our small de-centralized groups, and the larger political and civilized realm, two limiting factors must be taken into account: our *physical needs* and our *psychological state*. Both are direct factors on the pace and scope from which we can bring about change, and both deserve considerable and honest thought before, or at least in the discussion of, developing projects or immediate objectives. We all need to eat. We all need shelter. Within the capitalist system (and we can pretend that we are not, or make it our primary focus to not be dependent on it) we need a small amount of money, both for personal and communal survival, but also to sustain most anarchist projects. We should be cautious when criticizing this aspect of other anarchists' lives. Pulling away from the system is an essential part of an anarchist trajectory, yet we are all somehow dependent on it, and to dwell too much on the hypocrisy of this will get us nowhere. It is good to be conscious of this, and try to lessen our dependency through re-appropriation, self-sufficiency, and simple living, but until the capitalist system is thoroughly destroyed, we are all somewhat reliant on it. This is a major factor in their control mechanisms. Also, we need to keep in mind, that we have all been severely damaged by the domesticating processes of the dominant culture. We have all been socialized with fucked-up roles, keeping us in a perpetual state of misery and subservience to, and for the benefit of, the system, keeping us at odds with each other. Many are not psychologically or emotionally



developing strategies or projects - our privileges or societal status as individuals or groups, in relation to others. Yet, this should not be seen as a limiting aspect, but more of a factor to be examined and carefully thought about in our interactions with those around us. Too often, all of these factors provide redundant restrictions on our actions and our dreams, rather than being places from which our rage and momentum can develop.

Often, people's response to the limitations placed on the development of liberated communities is to carve out "autonomous" spaces on the fringe of society. While there is an important element to this, as a relatively "free" space to create healthier dynamics, to move outside many of capitalism's restrictions, or as a stronger position to fight the system from, it often becomes a "vacation-land" and escapist dreamscape. Escapism is not a preferable route to take for many reasons. It neglects to account for the inevitable co-optation and engulfing process by the apparatus of the system, or the limitations placed on "escapist" projects which may not be as apparent at their inception. These projects may be helpful in providing isolated experiments in dealing with specific problems or in practicing

certain skills, but are ultimately lacking in their connection to the larger context of reality, which makes them inherently artificial, possibly useful, but contextually vacuous. Without also being connected to projects aimed at undermining, dismantling, or destroying the system, they often cash in on certain privileges, rather than using them to combat the system. They make revolution only half way, and often not at all. (... *And to regress, or be just a little reactionary, for just second... I get pretty fuckin' tired of those "who are no longer political" or "just living their lives" judging or even commenting on people or projects still continuing on in resistance. It is understandable why some would lose hope in the prospects of the tremendous project of all the dismantling that is needed, but you cannot be outside and inside whenever it meets your convenience or safety. Anarchy is not a past time, intellectual game, or a social club!*)

Everything we do is, in some way, a compromise of our unalienated desires or liberated goals, and all is muddied with the unhealthy and confining context we live in. Nothing is pure. Inactivity and taintlessness may be a sanitary response, but what does it actually get us but self-righteous satisfaction, nothing we can actually touch or feel. This does not even take into account the fact that we are all, on varying levels, complicit in the systems of domination, and therefore, purity of ideas is virtually meaningless. For us to move towards a revolutionary situation and a more healthy social condition, we need to come to grips with this fact. Meanwhile we should openly critique or understand the reformist or symptomatic projects we, or others, are involved with;



capable of participating on certain levels. How can we learn to accept limitations, and also work to decrease or compensate for them? The healing process is always ongoing. It is a significant element of the revolutionary process, not a before or after project. Compassion is an important component often lacking from radical scenes and this absence stifles healing and growth. We must figure out how to reconcile that we are all at once victims and victimizers, colonized and colonizers, healers and perpetrators. We can in no way be condoning of abusive or dominating behaviors, which must be dealt with firmly in accordance to a group's processes, but they also need to be acknowledged as symptoms of a larger colonizing and domesticating system. This pattern must be broken. Privilege is yet another factor to take into account when

in fact, this is a necessary process in any evolving group or movement, but not along absolutist or ideologically pure lines. There are many important anarchist projects which are not insurrectionary in nature, that are not directly attacking the apparatus of the system. These are important, however, in the creation of insurrectionary situations or revolutionary conditions. They should be seen for their value and also their limitations. There are numerous examples of what could be termed “reformism from a revolutionary perspective” (outreach, education, conferences, info-shops, publications, prisoner support, community spaces, mutual aid networks, gardens, etc.). However, there are some important and honest questions to ask ourselves or others when developing these types of projects: *What are the goals? What do they offer an anarchist community or movement? How are they organized? Are they flexible? Are they meant to be permanent? Do the inherent compromises outweigh the positive effects? Are they supporting, running parallel to, or moving away from the system? Can they support or compliment, or are they in conflict with or limiting, the possibility of insurrectionary moments? Is their creation needed to move towards a revolutionary situation? Are they restricting the movement towards a revolutionary situation?* For example, we need to obtain our physical nourishment from somewhere. Some anarcho-primitivists take a more absolutist approach in stating that the only appropriate skills to be learning in this regard center around hunting and gathering. While many primitivists and green anarchists agree that this form of subsistence is ideal, preferable, and least dominating, the fact is, this is almost impossible at this time for most people. The reconciliation for many is to learn methods of growing food such as some forms of permaculture, which are outside of the traditional methods of agriculture and in tune with natural processes. This is often done alongside learning primitive skills and with the understanding that there is a certain level of domestication involved in growing food (but certainly far less than eating tofu at vegetarian restaurants). For many, this is one of numerous possibilities in a temporary transition, which can occur during a natural and human encouraged re-wilding process.

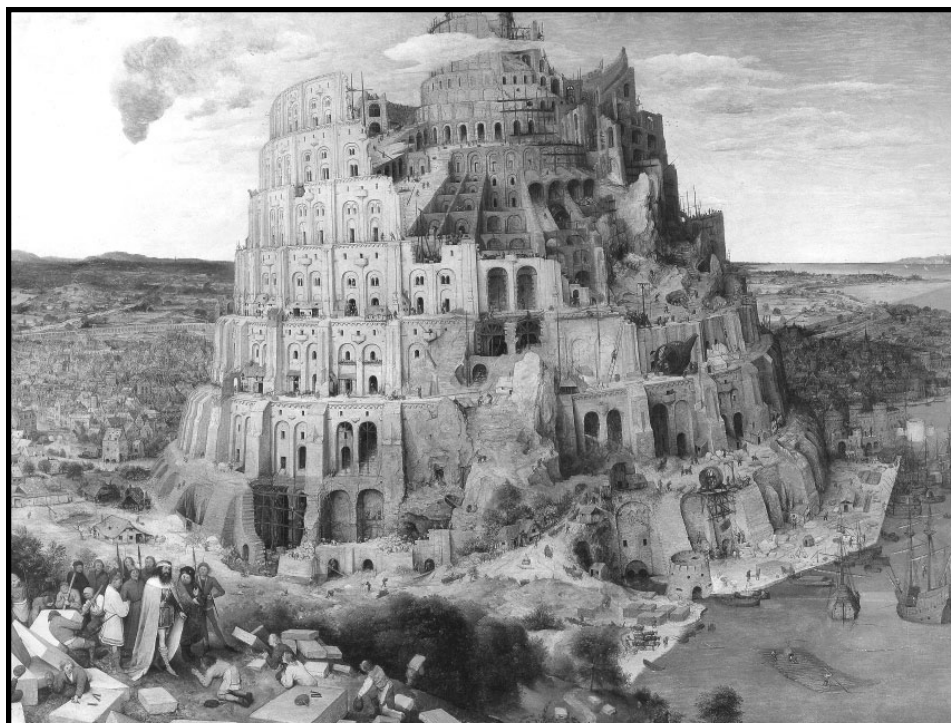
If we remain only in the analysis or visionary realm, never getting our hands dirty or touching the ground, we will go nowhere. We cannot be limited by only looking back or forward, and we must certainly do more than just look (analyze/criticize/theorize). We must be willing to make mistakes and experiment. Anarchy is alive and organic and situation oriented. It is a process, not a historical framework, theoretical game, or utopian endpoint. We must attempt to effect the physical plane and make anarchy now, even if it is not complete or immaculate. It is in the process that we experience anarchy, not in the idea or as a conclusion. The connection

between anarchism and the decentralized forms of feminism can be seen as a positive example of the withering of a seemingly overwhelming gap between analysis and vision, by being rooted in the everyday life. Within anarcho-feminism, there is often a harmonizing of analysis and vision through daily activity and the meeting of the essential needs of individuals and their communities (i.e. community childcare, women’s healthcare, support groups, self-defense) and the overcoming of the obstacles of Patriarchy. D.I.Y. (Do It Yourself) culture is a more general positive example of this dynamic, yet it often lacks the more overt political nature. If the idea of “Revolution” is to retain any meaning, it needs to be situational in orientation, rooted in the personal desires for liberation, and also be relating to the context in which it resides. It is a living and breathing phenomenon and it is never complete. In general, it is good to avoid flattening situations, or standardizing responses. Flexibility is the key to avoiding stagnation of ideas and activities. Whether ideological or physical, it is important to think outside of our (or their) boxes, however radical we think our ideas are; it is the only way we may grow. Yes, there are times to draw lines, to place limitations or borders around things, but these should be temporary and consensual black and white directions and activities in a larger sea of gray. The gray line is what holds us together, and at the same time, respects individuality and the moment.

Create, live, and experience anarchy now!

“The problem that confronts us today, and which the nearest future is to solve, is how to be one’s self and yet in oneness with others, to feel deeply connected with all human beings and still retain one’s own characteristic qualities”
- Emma Goldman, The Tragedy of Woman’s Emancipation

“But I am not finished. I seem to be residing within a borderland that is not a place of trauma and stress – but not yet a place of healing. Some symptoms hang on, and there is a feeling like on a rocky shoreline... The last stretch of the journey is as trying as was the beginning, I have accomplished the bulk of the inner work, and yet I am still grappling to believe. After a lifetime of knowing only the psychic fragmentation that has protected me from the truth, to become true to myself lies within vision – and yet seems beyond reach.”
- Chellis Glendinning, Off the Map



A QUEST AMONG the BEWILDERED

Living does not come cheaply nor easily in Babylon — not here at the pinnacle of post-post-industrial society — in America, the Disneyland of the World. I’m not talking about thriving or prospering, but merely surviving as something more than a seething lump of flesh clinging to a hollow bone shell, guided by an acutely socialized computer we call a brain. I don’t regard that as *living*.

No, these mechanisms do survive and prosper in, and indeed define, the Babylonian world. Babylon rewards them for their ignorance, their arrogance, their ruthless greed and their submission to their own untended fears. The Babylonian machine (call it “the system” if you must, but do not place it entirely outside yourself (ourselves), for that is its greatest trap) pits each being against another in senseless competition: for the “privilege” of schooling and meaningful employment, for recognition and attention, for intellectual and moral superiority, for the most subservient lovers. Here, vanity wields its paralyzing glance against the living like a Medusa.

The Babylonian economic system supports the hostile aggressor, the one who seeks to control others in a master/servant relationship (owner/worker, landlord/tenant — the lines are not as indistinct as social scientists would like us to believe) either by usurping basic human resources (land, shelter, food, water) in order to profit from others’ needs, or by acquiescent service to the dominant ones (This is second-hand control — that which we call the “business” or “management” class, but it is control just the same.). One’s status and value as a human is deduced by the amount of resources one controls.

Babylon in turn rewards its dolts for their dependency on the system (in our society, it is not the squeaky wheel which gets the grease, it is the squeaky wheel which gets removed, replaced and thrown in the junk pile). It whitewashes the life force in the individual by inducing a fear for one’s own survival — compelling the individual to believe that one must conform to the process of the Machine. We are a gullible lot; the lies have us by the throat, and our terror drives us with an insatiable madness to possess, control and consume everything that Babylon breeds.

At this moment, the iron jaws of Babylon wait to consume the last vestiges of life on this planet which remain outside of its control. The demise of true freedom appears inevitable, at least until Babylon’s lust consumes its last victim, then turns back to consume itself with the same ferocious insanity with which it consumed all life. Most cultures, even Babylonian culture, have in their mythology and literature an Armageddon or Doomsday prophecy. I don’t put much faith in prophecies. These are simply observations, made without judgment, about which I am completely willing to be wrong. Just show me otherwise.

But I also recognize that everywhere the system thrives, there are people struggling to survive — between the cogs and wheels and belts and circuits of this machine, living off the dismembered organs of life’s legacy, off the scraps of hope that organic, unfettered life on this planet may outlive the Babylonian machine. These are people striving to live as physically, emotionally and spiritually (I leave that definition up to you) integrated beings, aware of and compatible with their environment. These are people living to free themselves of mental slavery — this idea that life should submit to humans (and a very select few, at that) rather than humans submit to the natural process of life; free of the conception that humans have some “responsibility to” or “purpose in” the scheme of the cosmos; that we are somehow “important” to the survival of the universe. We are not. We could destroy ourselves and take the entire galaxy with us, and the universe wouldn’t even bat an eye. This egocentric self-importance is a childish fallacy (not child-like, by any means) which we must overcome for our own sake and the sake of the planet. (Then again, we can choose not to.)

Perhaps the most difficult needs for fugitives of Babylon to fulfill are the psychic and emotional staples which are so readily, adamantly denied in modern society: support in coming to terms with the limits of our own humanity; in understanding that we are, as sentient beings, basically alone in the universe *and* to feel secure in experiencing that; in exploring one’s own individuality; in living as creatures of need; asking for help and feeling safe in offering help to others; in finding activity based on love rather than on the ego-fulfillment defined by Babylon’s “ladder of success,” and in securing our base, physical needs without the threat of indentured servitude in order to do so.

If you think that I’m referring to Marxism or Socialism or revolution, or to this or that minority group or movement for change, you are wrong. The inherent failure in most demands for social change is that they seek the benefits of Babylon, not its demise. I don’t call this selling out, but rather, giving in to the fear induced by Babylon’s control. I can fault no one for that. Fear is a powerful force which, when not embraced, sublimely manifests itself in the most grotesque of mutations. If change is to come then we must lead by example, creating counter-cultures based on entirely new values. You cannot beat new values into people, but you can show them a different option and give them a choice.

We are all subject to the psychic residue of Babylonian thought — all of us — the radical, the saint, the conformist and the reactionary. What hope there is in outliving the great beast lies in following our instincts to a different way of life — in retracing our emotional needs and our desires back to their source, in giving them priority over public opinion, and in having the courage to stand with them even when it means we stand alone. You are not alone, I assure you, even though physical reality screams otherwise.

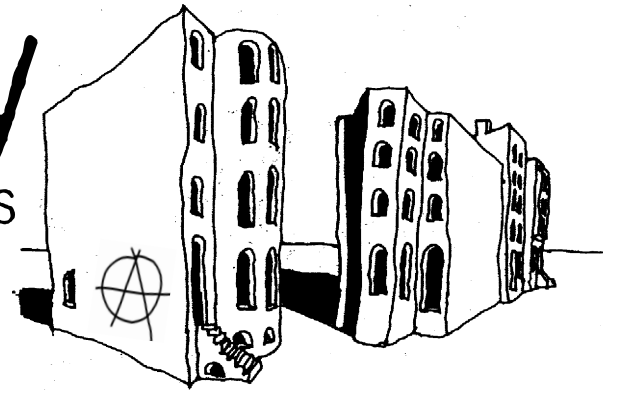
Unfortunately, meeting this challenge comes with no guarantees — not of being “right” or of proving something wrong, not of persuading others to see your point of view, not of anything. That is the nature of life itself; it’s a spin of the wheel and everyone’s got their own lucky number. But perhaps, just perhaps, if enough of us believe and follow our paths, our luck won’t run out.



There is absolutely no inevitability as long as there is a willingness to contemplate what is happening.

Thoughts on the City

Progress never destroys as thoroughly as when it builds



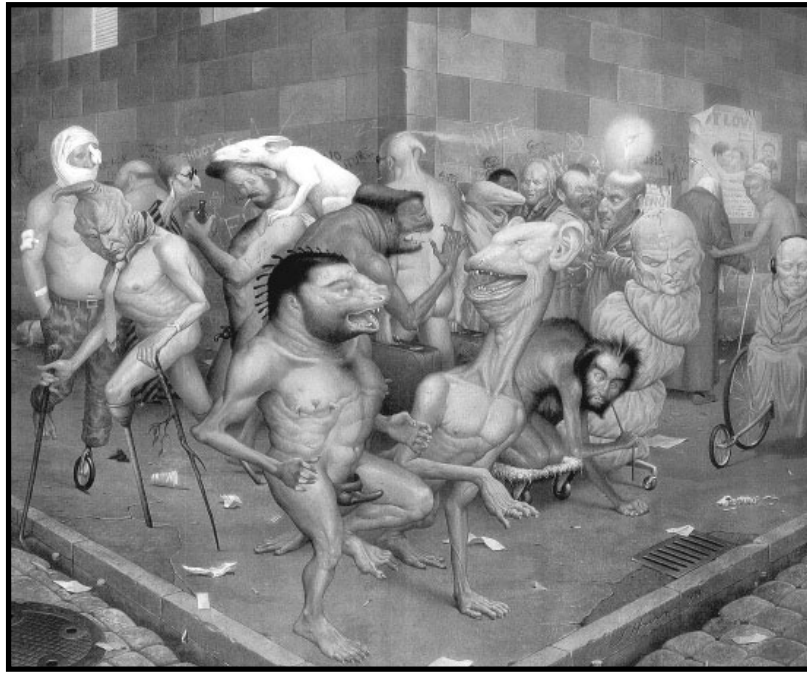
The necessity for space is eminently political. The places in which we live condition the ways in which we live, and inversely, our relationships and activities modify the spaces of our lives. It's a question of daily experience, and yet we seem incapable of drawing the tiniest result from it. One only needs to take a walk through any city to understand the nature of the poverty of our way of life. Almost all urban space responds to two needs: profit and social control. They are places of consumption organized according to the increasingly strict rules of a market in continuous expansion: the security market. The model is that of the commercial center; a collective privatized space, watched by the people and instruments provided by the appropriate agencies. In the commercial centers, an increasingly "personalized" sociality is built around the consumer and his family; now, one can eat, play with children, read, etc. in these neon places. But if one enters without any money, one discovers that it is a terrifying illusion of life.

The same thing happens, more or less, in the metropolises. Where can one meet for discussion, where can one sit without the obligation to consume, where can one drink, where can one sleep, if one has no money? For an immigrant, for a poor person, for a woman, a night in the city can be long. The moderates, comfortable in their houses, don't know the nocturnal world of the street, the dark side of the neon, when the police wake you up on the benches, when everything seems foreign and hostile to you. When the middle classes are enclosed in their bunkers, cities reveal their true faces as inhuman monsters.

Cities increasingly come to resemble fortresses, and houses, security cells. Social war - the war between the rich and the poor, the governors and the governed - is institutionalized in urban space. The poor are deported to the outskirts in order to leave the centers to the offices and banks (or to the tourists). The entrances of the cities and a great many "sensitive" areas are watched by apparatuses that get more sophisticated every day. The lack of access to determined levels of consumption - levels defined and controlled by a fixed computer network in which the data of banking, insurance, medical, scholastic and police systems are woven together - determines, in the negative, the new dangerous classes, who are confined in very precise urban zones. The characteristics of the new world order are reflected in metropolitan control. The borders between countries and continents correspond to the boundaries between neighborhoods or to the magnetic cards for access to specific private buildings or, as in the United States, to certain residential areas. International police operations recall the war against crime or, more recently, the politics of "zero tolerance" through which all forms of deviance are criminalized. While throughout the world the poor are arrested by the millions, the cities assume the form of immense prisons. Don't the yellow lines that consumers have to follow in certain London commercial centers remind you of those on which some French prisoners have to walk? Isn't it possible to catch a glimpse of the checkpoints in the Palestinian territories in the militarization of Genoa during the G8 summit? Proposals for a nightly curfew for adolescents have been approved in cities just two steps away from ours (in France for example). The houses of correction reopen, a kind of penal colony for youth; assembling in the inner courtyards of the popular condominiums (the only space for collective life in many sleeping quarters) is banned. Already, in most European cities, the homeless are forbidden access to the city center and beggars are fined, like in the Middle Ages. One may propose (like the Nazis of yesterday and the mayor of Milan today) the creation of suitable centers for the unemployed and their families, modeled after the lagers for undocumented immigrants. Metallic grids are built between rich (and white) neighborhoods and poor (and... non-white) neighborhoods. Social apartheid is advancing, from the United States to Europe, from the south to the north of the world. When one in three blacks between the ages of 20 and 35 get locked up in cells (as occurs in the United States), the proposal for closing the city centers to immigrants here can pass almost unobserved by us. And many may even applaud the glorious

marine military when it sinks the boats of the undocumented foreigners. In an interweaving of classist exclusion and racial segregation, the society in which we live increasingly looks like a gigantic accumulation of ghettos.

Once again the link between the forms of life and the places of life is close. The increasing precariousness of broad layers of society proceeds at the same pace as the isolation of individuals, with the disappearance of meeting spaces (and therefore of struggle) and at the bottom, the reserves in which most of the poor are left to rot. From this social condition, two typically totalitarian phenomena are born: the war between the exploited, which reproduces without filters the ruthless



competition and social climbing upon which capitalist relationships are built, and the demand for order and security, produced and sponsored by a propaganda that is perpetually hammered home. With the end of the "cold war", the Enemy has been moved, both politically and through the media, into the interior of the "free world" itself. The collapse of the Berlin Wall corresponds to the construction of the barriers between Mexico and the United States or to the development of electronic barriers for the protection of the citadels inhabited by the ruling classes. The criminalization of the poor is openly described as a "war of low intensity", where the enemy, "the exotic terrorist", here becomes the illegal foreigner, the drug addict, the prostitute. The isolated citizen, tossed about between work and consumption through those anonymous spaces that are the ways and means of transport, swallows terrifying images of treacherous young people, slackers, cut-throats - and an imprecise and unconscious feeling of fear takes possession of individual and collective life.

Our apparently peaceful cities increasingly show us the marks of this planetary tendency to government through fear, if we learn how to look for them.

If politics is defined as the art of command, as a specialized activity that is the monopoly of bureaucrats and functionaries, then the cities in which we live are the political organization of space. If, on the other hand, it is defined as a common sphere for discussion and decisions regarding common problems, then one could say that the urban structure is projected intentionally toward depoliticizing individuals in order to keep them in isolation and lost in the mass at the same time. In the second case, therefore, the political activity par excellence is revolt against urban planning as police science and practice; it is the

uprising that creates new spaces for encounter and communication. In either sense, the question of space is an eminently political question.

A full life is a life that is able to skillfully mix the pleasure of solitude and the pleasure of encounter. A wise intermingling of villages and countryside, of plazas and free expanses could render the art of building and dwelling magnificent. If, with a utopian leap, we project ourselves outside of industrialism and urbanization, in short outside of the long history of removal on which the current technological society is built, we can imagine

small communities based on face-to-face relationships that are linked together, without hierarchies between human beings or domination over nature. The journey would cease to be a standardized transport between weariness and boredom and would become an adventure free of clocks. Fountains and sheltered places would welcome passers-by. Wild nature could once again become a place of discovery and stillness, of tremors and escape from humanity. Villages could be born from forests without violence in order to then return to being countryside and forest. We can't even imagine how animals and plants would change when they no longer feel threatened by human beings. Only an alienated humanity could conceive of accumulation, profit and power as the basis for life on Earth. While the world of commodities is in liquidation, threatened by the implosion of all human contact and by ecological catastrophe, while young people slaughter each other and adults muddle through on psycho-pharmaceuticals, exactly what is at stake becomes clearer: subverting social relationships means creating new spaces for life and vice versa. In this sense, a "vast operation of urgent demolition" awaits us.

Mass industrial society destroys solitude and the pleasure of meeting at the same time. We are increasingly constrained to be together, due to forced displacements, standardized time, and mass-produced desires; yet we are increasingly isolated, unable to communicate, devoured by anxiety and fear, unable, above all, to struggle together. Any real communication, any truly egalitarian dialogue can only take place through the

rupture of normality and habit, only in revolt.

In various parts of the world, the exploited refuse every illusion about the best possible world, turning their feeling of total spoliation against power. Rising up against the exploiters and their guard dogs, against their property and their values, the exploited discover new and old ways of being together, discussing, deciding and making merry.

From the Palestinian territories to the aarch (village assemblies) of the Algerian insurgents, uprisings free spaces for social self-organization. Often the rediscovered assembly forms are like applications of old traditions of face-to-face relationships, hostile to all representation, forged in the pride of other struggles, to the current agenda. If violent rupture is the basis of uprisings, their capacity to experiment with other ways of living, in hope that the exploited elsewhere will stoke their flames, is what renders them lasting, since even the most beautiful utopian practices die in isolation.

The places of power, even those that are not directly repressive, are destroyed in the course of riots not only because of their symbolic weight, but also because, in power's realms, there is no life.

Behind the problem of homes and collective spaces, there stand an entire society. It is because so many work year after year to pay off a loan simply to keep a roof over their head that they aren't able to find either the will or the space to talk with each other about the absurdity of such a life. On the other hand, the more that collective spaces are enclosed, privatized or brought under state control, the more houses themselves become small, grey, uniform and unhealthy fortresses. Without resistance, everything is degraded at a startling speed. Where peasants lived and cultivated the land for the rich as recently as fifty years ago, now the people of rank live. The current residential neighborhoods are the most unlivable of the common houses of thirty years ago. Luxury hotels seem like barracks. The logical consequences of this totalitarianism in urban planning are those sorts of tombs in which Japanese employees reload their batteries. The classes that exploit the poor are, in their turn, mistreated by the system that they have always zealously defended.

Practicing direct action in order to snatch the spaces for life from power and profit, occupying houses and experimenting with subversive relationships, is a very different thing from any sort of more or less fashionable alternative juvenilism. It is a matter that concerns all the exploited, the left-out, the voiceless. It's a question of discussing and organizing without mediators, of placing the self-determination of our relationships and spaces against the constituted order, and of attacking the urban cages. In fact, we do not think that it is possible to cut ourselves out any space within this society that is truly self-organized where we can live our own way. Our desires are far too excessive. We want to create breaches, go out into the streets, speak in the plazas, in search of accomplices for making the assault on the old world. Life in society is to be reinvented. *This is everything.*



On Sabotage as One of the Fine Arts:

A contribution to the topic of the theory of the practice of Sabotage

-1-

*Who will revive the violent whirlpools of flame if not us
and those that we consider brothers?
Come! New friends: this will please you.
We will never work, oh tides of flame!
This world will explode.
It's the true path. Forward, on the march.*
— A. Rimbaud

The spread of sabotage, its increasing practice, on a greater or lesser scale, against the domination of the market, is a given fact. Burning ATM booths, disabling locks at shopping centers, smashing shop windows, setting fire to the offices of temp agencies and employment offices, the sabotage of the infrastructure of capitalism (high-speed railroads, dams, expressways, construction projects) ... are offensive practices against the colonization of our lives by the most advanced form of colonialism — the integrated spectacle.

All this is put into practice by individuals bored with survival as commodities (life reduced to economic imperatives) and disillusioned with false opposition (more false and less oppositional with each day that goes by), parties and unions that want to manage our misery and integrate us into a mode of production that prevents us from any participation in the decisions that relate directly to us and that assist in enslaving us, mutilating every gesture of negation of the existent.

The spectacle writes the scenario and distributes the roles: worker, professional, student, housewife, mother, father, son, daughter, unemployed, police, soldier, artist, humanitarian, intellectual... the majority, individuals who assume different roles in the course of 24 hours, see their existence as still more terrible, assuming this is possible. Everyone with his neurotic-schizoid viewpoint that will react to the stimuli launched by power in the way that was already expected.

All social activity is planned in order to reinforce the spectacle, thus slowing down its unstoppable process of decomposition. Though we don't want to hear the shrieking of militants of whatever organization, clearly we are not against the concept of "organization" as such, but against "organization" conceived as an end in itself, as the crystallization of any ideology, and as a separated organ, representing a class.

We are for the autonomous self-organization of the exploited. History has shown through two clear examples that the traditional form of the party (Russian revolution) and union (Spanish revolution) were nothing more than two attempts to manage capitalism and not to overcome it, and this is something that, consciously or unconsciously, everybody knows. In the seizure of power, it is not destroyed, but exercised: in the first case, the class of bureaucrats replaced the bourgeoisie, and in the other case, the anarcho-sindicalist leaders participated in bourgeois power, calling for the self-management of exploitation and alienation, while the base tried to overcome the relationships of production and social relationships in practice through the direct management of every aspect of their lives and not just work.

To be precise, both forms have the exaltation of work in common (something that they also share with national-socialism and with every political form of capitalism).

Their quantitative vision sought an increase in production, leaving aside the qualitative increase of life. This (practical and theoretical) defeat of the traditional organizations, which claim to represent us, has not been absorbed by the working class (it seems that we only know how to work), and we go along without maintaining any possibility of control over essential aspects of our lives, in a world that is developed, not only without our participation, but against us.

But, comrades, history is not cyclic; it is a cumulative process and already weighs too heavily upon our weary bodies.

-2-

Never did mockers waste more idle breath.
— William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

The contradiction between the possibilities of the means of production (the use of a few of them for the enjoyment of all, since most of them are useless and harmful and would be destroyed) and the relations of production (waged exploitation, commodification, the exclusions of class society) has reached an insurmountable point of rupture. In the spectacle it is easier to falsify the nature of this contradiction than to increase mercantile production with increasing use value. This inertia forces it to display all of its methods for recuperating any real movement of opposition and to turn the spectacular critique of the spectacle to its advantage.

A self-critical hypocrite directed by its own police of decomposed thought (pro-situationists, cadres, non-governmental organizations, recuperators, artists, journalists... the clique of politically correct alternatives).

These toilet brushes of modernity, like good priests, hope that with their patches, the proper development of the system will lead us, hand in hand, into an ideal world planned by their false consciousness and by the putridity of their armored brains; as if they had ever given us anything. Their social function, which has been denounced for decades already, has been worth more to them than any aggressions, beatings or assassinations, and we are sure that these will not be mere anecdotes. They deceive and manipulate us. We must not allow them to have a single day more. They are the guardians to the keys of our informal chains. They amuse us with insignificant debates. They impose their opinions on us, avoiding questions so simple that they would make them tremble with terror: How best to live? Who and what *keeps* us from this? Questions that immediately unmask the professionals of the lie. Critical coherence and the critique of incoherence aid in this operation.

-3-

Injustice is not anonymous; it has a name and an address.
— Bertold Brecht

Situationist theory, as integral critique of the totality of the conditions of survival and of the mercantile-spectacular capitalism that necessitates them, has been confirmed in events by falsification.

One cannot fight alienation by means of alienated forms. The sabotage of this world starts with the break with the roles the system imposes on us, the sabotage of our death in life and the refusal of the roles that they have allotted and appointed to us. To speak of the Revolution in these times is "to have a corpse in one's mouth". We only need to look around ourselves to see a scenario that constantly reminds us of the defeat. Sabotage is thus an action that serves as a propellant against the unreality that oppresses us. A practice that has not gone unnoticed by ideological recuperation, which has transformed it into "terrorism" (the professionalization of sabotage that has done no more than reinforce the system, due to its centralist, hierarchical and militarist character). Today, what is proposed is not the creation of an armed organization of this type, but widespread attack by small affinity groups, uncontrollable by any higher organization, that come together and dissolve like the lunar tides. The tides that are born of the awareness of how bad things are and of the worsening that awaits us due to events.

In the 19th century, such a practice existed that put the incipient capitalism in check. Beyond the Luddite attacks, the "proletarian rounds" rendered their repression and recuperation, in which the embryonic unions would play a role, almost impossible due to their lack of a rigid structure and their maximum flexibility in attacks. A group of people came together, struck and disappeared into the mass, while a new group came together within it. Such widespread sabotage makes it difficult for the enemy to organize repression. Thus it transforms the attack into a universe of pleasure for the enlightened hooligan, the feelings of which are impossible to describe or communicate with the poor and banal language of words.

The game of subversion, the rules of which are written by those that participate in it, becomes an effective weapon against capitalism in all its forms.

There is much more to destroy than to build.

-4-

Our epoch does not need to write poetic slogans, but to realize them.
— Situationist International

It has been demonstrated that small groups that attack do more damage than large organizations that specialize in armed struggle. The Angry Brigade continued its actions when people were arrested and the English state assumed the movement had fallen apart. The Kale Borroka (street struggle) in Euskadi, which Jarrai (the youth organization of the Basque nationalist left, NDR) recently declared uncontrollable, is another example. Power has difficulty repressing and eliminating little groups that with complete security do not know each other, and the only thing that unites them is the desire for the destruction of a system that prevents them from living and condemns them to survival and uncertainty.

They don't attempt exhibitionist actions in order to make propaganda as some acronym or mark of origin. In the case of the Asturias, sabotage was a class weapon used innumerable times, particularly in labor conflicts with these enterprises: Duro Felguera, Hunosa, Naval and Ciata... (Asturian businesses and mines where sabotage was determinant in the struggles going on in the 1990's); every weary person, regardless of her or his ideology, uses it. From the clerk who steals office supplies to the worker who damages the machine to which he is chained, passing through the use of plastic explosives like the licensed professionals of Duro Felguera. Today, the example is the burning of the ETTs (temporary employment agencies). The practice of sabotage remains limited to precise and very localized conflicts, without global perspectives, simply aiming for partial solutions with economic demands that remain within imposed limits where capitalist logic unfolds. The same holds in the case of the ETTs, an attack that goes beyond the temporality of a conflict in one enterprise, but that does not place wage slavery into question. Instead it only questions its most extreme form, not aiming at putting an end to exploitation, but rather to the ETTs. Today the conflict is global and it is not resolved through partial struggles, but through total struggle and through the refusal of this society as a whole. It is necessary to put an end to the reduction of our lives to commodities and to wage labor that wears us out, not just to ETTs. We must put an end to class society and not just fascism. Misdirecting our attention toward partial objectives only benefits the managers of our misery and those who will one day lay claim to its management, and both are among the targets for sabotage.

The widespread practice of sabotage (unhindered autonomy, maximum flexibility, self-organization, minimum risk) among like-minded individuals, opens the possibility for real communication, destroying spectacular communication, smashing the apathy and impotence of the eternal revolutionist monologue. Relationships and the possibility of contact with other people in the refusal of the spectacular role, these are transient situations that in their preparation and development carry in their essence the qualities of the revolutionary situation that will not retreat and that will suppress the conditions of survival. It does not fall into the irremediable alienating hierarchization that every specialized armed group of an authoritarian and militaristic character, to which the masses delegate their participation in the attack, carries within itself.

The quantitative growth of this practice does not come to us from the hands of propagandists of the spectacle, but rather by taking a walk through the scenario of capitalism, and finding in this drift the burned ATM, the ETTs with shattered windows, the smiths changing the locks of a supermarket. These visions make our complicit smiles blossom and move us to go out that very night to play with fire with the aim of making the same smiles rise on the faces of unknown accomplices through the fellowship of destruction. The number doesn't matter, but rather the quality of the acts: sabotage, expropriations, self-reduction... they return part of the life that is denied us back to us, but we want it all.

Comrades, the game is yours and we take courage in its daily practice. Organize it yourselves with your accomplices.

Against the old world in all its expressions, in order to leave pre-history, let's launch and multiply attacks.

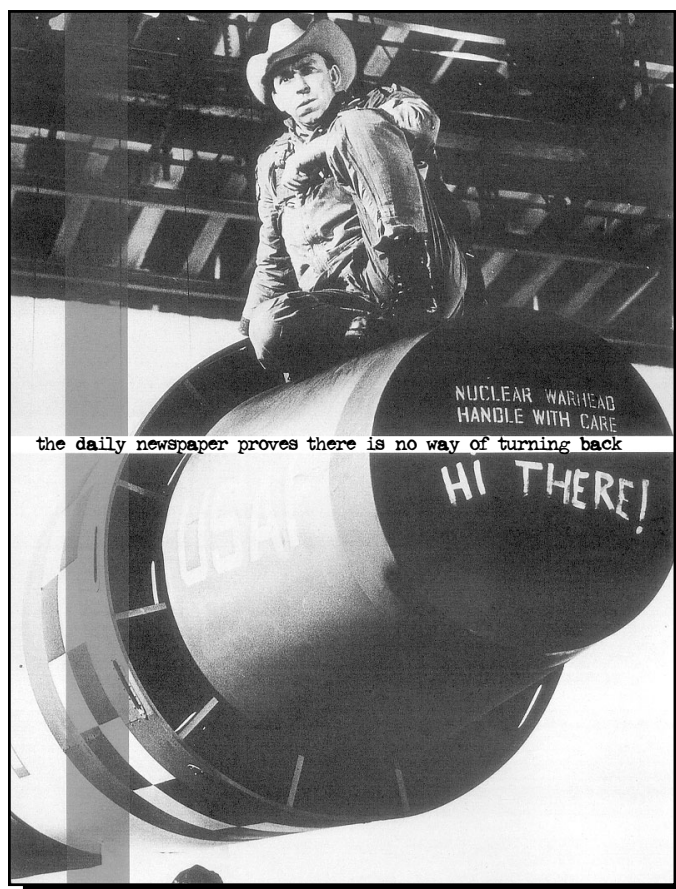
by The Asturian Institute of Comparative Vandalism

CREATE SPONTANELTY



Deny the ritual

ZERO WAR – TOTAL LIBERATION



INTRODUCTION

This article has had to go through numerous revisions and rewrites in a desperate and often failing attempt to stay 'current'. Indeed one of the most difficult things we face in resisting Capital's bloody adventures (or bloody banalities if you prefer) is the global dimensions of this global war. By this I don't just mean physical space, but maybe less tangible elements that work to reinforce the tangible nature of our current oppression. For one the "war on terror" is working to reinforce and deepen a globalised temporal order. The global size of the planning and execution of the war (and its simultaneous transformation into news/entertainment/marketing) happens in a digital/artificial "Real Time"®. The speed of these endeavors is ever increasing, and the multitude on the whole is left to spectate on a bewildering display of men in suits, tanks and special effects. The ever increasing pace of the war (and for that matter the rest of the global order - can you make a distinction?) makes it difficult to think, conceptualize and act.

BEYOND ANTI-AMERICANISM

... I awoke in a sweat from the American Dream
- Amebix

One of the first failings of the resistance against militarization is intellectual. There seems to be a sloppy anti-Americanism that abounds throughout anti-war sentiment in Australia. This anti-Americanism is attractive to many because it is something of an antidote to the cynical flag waving and rhetoric that parades across our screens. It is also credible since it identifies the litany of violent and abusive acts carried out by the US State. However, to identify the causes of global militarization as a product of a particularly nauseating element of US foreign policy (the idea that "the seppos" want to take over the world" or that "George W is a moron" - common sentiments in Australian society) is overly simplistic. Militarisation arises not from the US specifically but from a general crisis within the global empire of capital. Whilst the US does have a specific role in this world order as a major spoke in the composition and organization of military and economic forces, the current war is a product of the capital generally. Indeed if anything the "war on terror"- loose short-hand for multiple conflicts between numerous states and states in waiting - is a failing and destructive attempt by capitalism to resolve its unsolvable contradictions: it is an attempt to control an increasingly combative, self-organized and revolutionary multitude.

THE RE-COLONIZATION OF THE GLOBE

And the history of this, their expropriation is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire. - Karl Marx

The individual motivations of Generals in Washington or Saudi Princelings are beyond the ken of lowly proles such as myself. The specific individual histories of individual conflict that motivate the "war on terror" are beyond the scope of this article, however we can make some general observations about the role of war to the global ruling class.

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The cyber-industrial civilization of capital is literally always at war. In fact, since the first development of class society violence has been a key component to the maintenance of order. Wars of extermination and colonization were fought to include more and more territories within the sphere of individual imperialist markets. Wars were fought between individual imperialist powers. As Zerzan identifies, the motivations of imperialist conflicts were often attempts to control the population at home.² Class society has never seen peace and is always in a constant state of conflict. The so-called "war on terror" may appear to be a sudden and sharp break with the past, but in reality it is an intensification of a process that has accompanied neo-liberalism as capitalist rackets around the globe have moved to direct violence to reinsure their power.

It is this later motivation for war that is increasingly important to the status quo. As Hardt and Negri write in *Empire* the entire globe has fallen under the domination of Capital, and a shifting multi-centered world order now administers it all. Thus war today is not between different, separate imperialist powers or to include territories within capitalism. Rather it is between factions within a unitary - if hybrid - empire that dominates the globe yet struggles to control the resistance from the multitude. Whilst in their respective propaganda Islamists and 'Western' politicians try to define each other as mortal enemies, they both have the same goal in mind: the continuation of the empire of capital.

War thus is increasingly used to re-colonize the globe - however not for one single nation-state but for capital generally. This is achieved through the application and extension of bio-power. "Bio-power is the form of power that regulates social life from its interior, following it, interpreting it, absorbing it and rearticulating it. Power can achieve an effective command over the entire life of the population only when it becomes an integral, vital function that every individual embraces and reactivates of his or her own accord".³ Bio-power is the way that control is created when life is subsumed by the logics and apparatus of capital. It is the way that the discipline of the system is found in the entire minutiae that constitute everyday life. It is used in numerous ways. Firstly there is no better way to enclose land and destroy subsistence non-market ways of life than war. Throughout the globe militarization is used to force people into proletarianization. Mass bombings, the torturing of civilians, the imprisoning of whole villages in camps, their transformation into refugees, even supposedly beneficial food aid, enforces the logic of capital - of being governed and controlled by agencies of the state and dependent on the global economy - into peoples' everyday lives. Indeed in many parts of the world war is the only business in town and soldiering the only 'profession'.

Subtle methods are often at work. The mapping of land by the military, the construction of military infrastructure is often the vanguard for the construction of the general apparatus of the global economy and the inclusion of previously peripheral populations into the matrix of cyber-industrial civilization. Indeed there is no better example of this than that of the Laguasa marsh in the Philippines (the site of a decades long Islamic insurgency which is now just a sphere of the "war on terror"), where the military napalmed the marsh into black soil thus literally clearing it of people and life and opening the way for its development into a tourist resort.

For populations already proletarianized, war is a crucial tool used to decompose their agencies of self-activity. A case in point would be that after and during the last Gulf War, the militant oil proletariat throughout the region (including in newly "liberated" Kuwait) suffered greatly through intensified state violence. War increased the naked violence of the state in peoples' lives, whether it was through the carpet-bombing of Basra or the torturing and disappearance of Palestinians at the hands of US trained Kuwaiti secret police. The increased marginality people face in their lives from war, their increased insecurity, their displacement, works to break down the feelings

of empowerment often necessary for people to launch assaults on capital. Intimidated by soldiers in the streets, planes in the air and the rule of martial law, disobedient populations can be cowed into acquiescence.

In what remains of the global "North" (as much as that has any meaning in these post-modern times of Empire) the use of war to increase the governmentality of the society of control is far more subtle. The recent experience in Australia suggests that the pretext of the war on terror is being used to legitimize and intensify state violence against dissidents. Even more all-encompassing is the use of the discourse of national security to intensify the repressive nature of all the networks of bio-political authority. Militarization is a society-encompassing spectacle that radiates and mutates out from TVs, radios, and conversations in the street. It takes on emotional, psychological forms that generate a sense of fear and hopelessness within the population about the very future of humanity. The real alienation and atomization that make up daily life in cyber-industrial civilization are telescoped to unbearable proportions. This spectacle of militarization makes individuals feel completely powerless and at the mercy of global political and economic forces. Faced with a seeming gulf of violence beyond comprehension, people begin to long intensely for the strong hand of the state to protect and guard them. Paranoia reaches fantastic heights as ethnic minorities become increasingly focused on as the "enemy within". Coupled with this are feelings of sympathy for the armed wing of the state and its successes. A savage brutalization takes place where people in the malls and workplaces of Sydney begin to believe the security of themselves and their loved ones can only be guaranteed by the deaths of people in Iraq.

Bio-political control, however, is not just the ideological hegemony of the system: it is not simply the dominance of



ideas. Bio-political power arises when all of society is subsumed within the apparatus of capital: when life becomes dominated by the mega-technological world of work. Militarization is, if anything, an extension of all the techniques and technologies of control. The division of labor, specialization, the reduction of the individual into a cog in a machine, the reification of technological ability and the dominance of functional reason - isn't all this expressed perfectly in the armed forces, in the military-industrial complex? And conversely is not the process of militarization the intensification of all of the above throughout all of society? The post-modern nature of the society of control is evidenced in the collapse of rigid subjectivities. The intensification of the "soldier" socially is the intensification of the "soldier" in all of us: our willingness to be trained, ordered, obedient

and subjected to surveillance. Conversely, it is also our willingness to produce ourselves and others as soldiers: to order, to command and to subject those around us to surveillance.

Evidence of the above is the announcement that Australia Post now requires that you show photo ID if you are sending a package over 500 gm overseas. Here is an example of where the practice of surveillance and policing intensifies in seemingly innocent every-day situations. Thus mass society, made up of the lashing together of alienated and atomized individuals, becomes even more atrophied as everyone carries out the work of the state.

MILITARY FORCES OF THE SOCIAL FACTORY

Through the history of capitalism revolutionary resistance to war was based on the refusal to participate in the war machine. Soldiers would mutiny; others would resist conscription or refuse to sign up. Paralleling industrial action in the mass factory, it was the withdrawal of labor from the military factory. This undoubtedly reached a high point in the Vietnam War where the refusal to accept military labor inside and outside of the armed forces reached epidemic proportions. The desertion and mutiny by Iraqi soldiers did far more to end the last Gulf War than US smart bombs.

It is thus increasingly obvious that the use of mass soldiering with mass casualties creates political unrest both inside and

TOTAL LIBERATION = ZERO WAR

outside the ranks. The days of mass soldiering were tied to those of the dominance of the nation-state. In contrast the process of globalization has seen with it the creation of global networks of organized violence that are co-ordinated through many points. At the center is always a hub of the covert, intelligence and special forces of the Global North and around them cheap proxy armies and mercenaries which the former often trains and co-ordinates. In the muddled world of international politics, these networks are often constructed with whatever is at hand and often appear quite illogical and contradictory. Also whilst capitalism is a global system having no home country, it is not homogenous: splits and rifts at all levels of the ruling class are common and often violent. In fact the change in relationship between US forces and Islamist groups like Al-Qaeda is proof of this. Is this current conflict not in many ways an officers' rebellion within a single military force? .

We have, however, still seen the deployment of large numbers of ground troops from the Global North. Though whilst their last deployment is a massive operation, and creates the feeling of total war, the soldiers themselves seemed to be put into very little real danger. Their purpose is spectacular, to create the feeling at home that there is a lot on the line. Thus the few soldiers that do die are transformed into heroes and martyrs whose deaths are given a weight and importance that in life the system never gave them.

For us then in Australia (and I suspect the rest of the Global North) our refusal to fight is relatively meaningless as our labor is superfluous to the global war machine. We are unneeded, and thus new ways of struggle, more active insurgencies are needed to destabilize Capital.

PROTEST AS USUAL

So far the anti-war struggles in Australia have been confined mainly to street demonstrations of varying size. They have been largely organized by social democratic and Leninist groupings, though the political flavor of them is generally liberal: clergy, trade union leaders, and various do-gooders dominate the podium. Originally after the September 11 attacks these demos were a breath of fresh air. They worked to undermine the consensus that "everyone" supported the war, and combated the feelings of isolation felt by the dissenters. Street demos do and will have a place in struggle. They can draw people together and can have an important morale lifting effect. However this only works when the demos take place in the context of larger, more combative militant struggles. In their current context they are proving to be increasingly disempowering, ineffectual and demoralizing. Why is this so?

Demos are in many ways left over from the last great upsurge in struggle. Throughout the 20th century, the working class engaged in long running militant actions: strikes, occupations, pickets, etc. Rallies played a part in this. However since the early '80s the combative elements of struggle have become largely submerged, only to explode out in various direct actions. On the whole though the praxis of the Left focuses on just a strategy of demo after demo.

Generally these demos replicate all that is wrong with mass society. Small groups of "organizers" fight bitterly in meetings over slogans and speakers; groups of "activists" engage in hyperactively paced work to build the rally, such as poster and leafletting in an attempt to get the "masses" to show up. Those who then do show up are asked to follow a strict and regimented path, often marshaled, chant when they are required to chant and listen to speakers. The success of the rally is based on either the number of people who turned up, media coverage, or how many people joined the various left grouplets. They are generally regimented and boring. They seem to mirror the rest of everyday life: being ordered around by our betters.

The essential flaw is that the strategy of demos is based on mediating away the power of people to a different source. The argument goes that through a show of numbers or good copy in the paper, that the rally will convince the relevant authorities to change their mind.

There is a kernel of truth in this in that often the state will worry about the potential of demos to transform into more radical activity and thus change their behavior. On the whole though the demonstration is largely either ridiculed or ignored.

It is incredibly depressing when people go to a rally to protest, say, the increased bombing of Iraq, on numerous occasions and witness that the rally has no effect what-so-ever.

"Generally these demos replicate all that is wrong with mass society. Small groups of "organizers" fight bitterly in meetings over slogans and speakers... Those who then do show up are asked to follow a strict and regimented path, often marshaled, chant when they are required to chant and listen to speakers... They seem to mirror the rest of every day life: being ordered around by our betters."

Here a strategy of "protest as usual", with its regimentation and ineffectuality works to complement the effects of the state: to convince people that they are powerless. Indeed the strategy of rally after rally is now thoroughly exhausted with numbers dwindling after the coalition military victory, and the "leadership" is fracturing as various Leftist sects battle for control and recruits.

This is not the whole picture and occasionally those of us who do turn up have a nice time, make our own networks, or break away from the marshals to take more combative action. In fact, globally more and more people are willing to defy both the State and the embodied statist ideology of the rally organizers. From heckling speakers to fighting the police, a conscious practical

critique of pacifism has exploded onto the world's streets, often to the embarrassment and disgust of the liberals and "cadre" trying to shepherd the multitude.

MILITANCY AS SELF-MILITARISATION

How can you celebrate a revolution with a rifle butt?

- Jacques Camatte

Outside of this, small groups of the multitude, often those that politically identify as "revolutionaries", are trying (often in vain) to find more effective and potent methods of struggle. This is all happening in a context in Australia, where combative direct action has flared up in the last couple of years. Coupled with this is an increase in state repression and the sophistication and brutality of the cops. Whilst the often boring, rigid, codified and predictable debate between "violence and non-violence" rages, the reality is that on the streets, any attempts to disrupt the circuitry of Capital has to take seriously the issue of confronting and combating the state.

However, some comrades faced with increased state violence have reduced the questions of confronting the state to purely military ones: a question of physical strength and conflict. This is a fundamental mistake. It is a truism that since capitalism is a social system based on violence that any attempt to overthrow it must be prepared to fight. It is also true that the process of insurrection, which often involves physical confrontation, is a crucial part of the upsurge for liberation. However violence in general is not only distasteful, it is brutalizing and the product of class society. The revolt against oppression is a revolt that hopes to remove violence permanently from our lives. The longer violence lingers the more it deforms and twists movements of liberation.

Firstly, it is important to realize that the unleashing of continual global militarization terrorizes people by confronting them with a seemingly endless cycle of violence. Revolutionaries who fetishize violence, who adorn the process of social liberation in the symbols of destruction (guns, hand grenades, etc) can feed this cycle. How can we celebrate the gun? We can celebrate the human in struggle, but not the commodity they use as part of the struggle. Indeed the fetishism of tools of war and thus the devaluation of human life is a continuation of the logic of class society. The question of confronting the violence and power of cyber-industrial civilization is a question of how can we manifest anti-power and anti-violence that can hollow out and topple the state and the market. We should be realistic about the violence inherent in Capital, we should celebrate all revolts of the multitude, but we should not however allow the



necessity of combating the state twist the vision of liberation. If we do, in the current context we extend the terrorizing of social relationships and thus the feelings of powerlessness of the people. Revolution is the weaving together of revolt and dismantling hierarchy, not self-militarization

TOWARDS FESTIVALS OF REFUSAL

We can fight it only by showing an equally strong bond of friendship and trust. Differences of habit and language are nothing at all if our aims are identical and our hearts are open.

- Albus Dumbledore

Stopping war and the revolution against the empire of capital are one and the same. Militarization is a direct challenge to the recent upsurge of proletarian fury and self-activity, and war will always exist whilst class society exists. As a general point then the best way to stop war is to keep on fighting. The multiplicity of revolts – large and small, overt and covert – must keep on going, building, circulating and intertwining. However the broader struggle is difficult, if not impossible unless it faces the challenges of potentially endless militarization.

Two difficult tasks loom: how to construct positive social relationships that allow the opportunity to revolt to manifest; and how to manifest revolts which will allow the construction of positive social relationships. What we need is to actualize revolts of insurgent desire.

If the drive behind militarization is to reinforce the governmentality of the population then the best thing to do is to be as ungovernable as possible. I imagine the only thing that will prevent war and push back militarization is a general wave of disobedience and defiance, a society-wide mutiny that through its own actions makes the continuation of the status quo impossible. This mutiny would have no "leaders" and take countless forms of defiance and non-compliance. Thus no single group or single action can spark it off. However we can make bold strokes that increase the power and strength of the weave of revolt and inspire others to do the same.

Firstly, whilst the "realists" of various social democratic and Leninist groups and the few anarchist rackets desperate to look "hard" may scoff at counter-culture, never has it been more relevant. Never before has dancing and socializing, forming friendships and feelings of autonomy and rebelliousness been so important. To put it another way, the micropolitical revolts and mutations that make up counter-culture begin to pull at the atrophied nature of everyday life and create/mutate new pathways of living. Here can we see the seed of the future. So go ahead, put on that gig, pirate that CD, write that zine, take those pills and go dancing. (As always I recommend listening to thrash 7 inches – if this can be done from the aircraft carrier you have just squatted, all the better.)

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Bring The War Home!

Actions Against the War Machine

After vandalism, ROTC drops uniforms

An act of vandalism against a symbol of the U.S. military on the University of Iowa (UI) campus over Spring Break prompted leaders to stop requiring cadets to wear uniforms to class.

Authorities are looking for a person who smashed two glass doors at the Reserve Officer Training Corps office in the South Quadrangle building and spray-painted such slogans as "Stop U.S. military research" and "Fuck all wars" on four other UI buildings between March 20 and 21. The U.S. Army Cadet Command advised military leaders on college campuses to be aware of their surroundings and to avoid public confrontations. According to police reports pigs found the words "Bomb Bush" scrawled in red spray paint on the northwest corner of the IMU and the words "USA = EMPIRE" with peace and anarchy symbols on the north side of the Becker Communication Studies Building.

Patrol guards also located the phrases "Freedom dies when bombs fall" and "Fuck war" in red paint on the exterior of the building. The words "USA: rogue state" also appeared in green paint on the building's electrical station.

Corporate Icons Brace For Backlash

U.S. corporate icons such as Starbucks Corporation, Coca-Cola Co. and the McDonald's corporation are bracing for trouble and stepping up security since the war in Iraq has stoked anti-American sentiment worldwide and will most likely unleash violence against all emblems of U.S. imperialism. U.S. multinationals, which generate substantial revenues overseas, are boosting plant security, armed guards, increasing staff training and instituting background checks on potential employees and rank-and-file workers like cashiers and drivers, security advisers said. "If you hate America, it's real easy to hate Coke or McDonald's", said Lawrence McNaughlin, who heads CoreBrand, a Connecticut-based brand consulting firm. "The two primary criteria for risk are if you're in business in the Middle East and you're a cultural icon."

YANKEE GO HOME

Security experts say the most vulnerable sector may be the fast-food industry, led by hamburger despot McDonald's Corp., whose 30,000 worldwide stores with their distinctive Golden Arches are the most recognized symbols of American culture. The company also has a substantial presence in the Middle East. Increased hostility toward America has already led to a few attacks on businesses linked to the U.S. in the Middle East, as well as security alerts in the region. Saudi Arabian youth have firebombed two McDonald's since November. The bombs caused only minimal damage but intensified fears among westerners. At least

five American-style fast-food restaurants in Lebanon, including two Pizza Hut branches and a KFC outlet, have been rocked by bomb attacks since last May. In Cairo, Egypt, a recent telephoned bomb threat to Citibank led to the evacuation of a large building off the central square where the offices of several foreign companies are located, such as Microsoft and Hewlett-Packard Co.

FRANKFURT, Germany - Anti-war demonstrators clashed with police outside the U.S. consulate in Hamburg and peace rallies emptied schools across Italy in a fresh swell of protests against the war in Iraq. Hamburg police turned water cannons on protesters, including middle and high school students, outside the U.S. consulate in the northern port city. Police said a group of Palestinians and Kurds armed with wooden sticks, stones and bottles joined about 8,000 students who had been protesting peacefully outside of the building, and then began attacking pigs.

"Tomorrow, we must immediately take the war to the enemy, leave him no rest, harassing him, cutting off his breath."

- Frantz Fanon

Chile: Bomb Attack Against Bank

Santiago: A small bomb exploded after hours at a Santiago branch of the U.S.-based BankBoston, in what is believed to be a protest against the U.S.-led war in Iraq. The bomb, which exploded outside the bank at around 11p.m., smashed windows and destroyed an automatic cash machine as well as causing minor damage to two adjacent stores. There were no injuries. A spokesman said police found a pamphlet at the site that said "death to the empire," which he took as a reference to the United States. Nobody claimed responsibility for the attack. A smaller explosive that caused no damage was planted last weekend at the same BankBoston branch. A recent opinion poll revealed that 98 percent of Chileans opposed U.S. military action in Iraq.

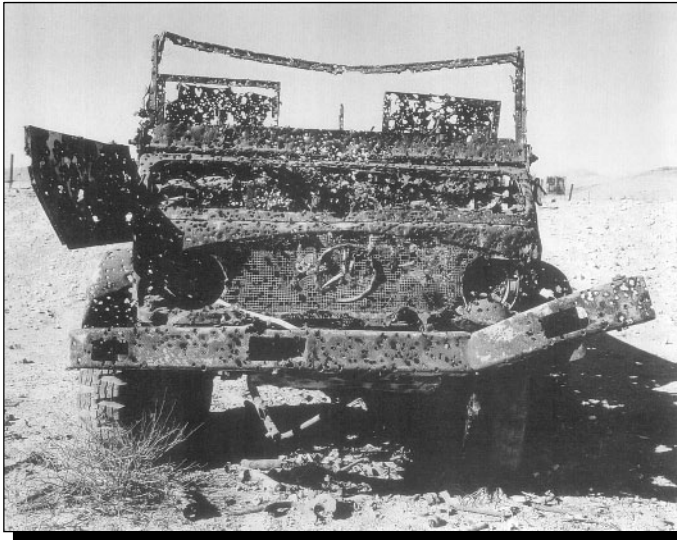
March 17, New Jersey: Communiqué From The Direct Action Front

Edison: The following is from a communiqué that was released on the internet by the **Direct Action Front:** "It has been announced by the U.S. government that a unilateral invasion of Iraq will begin on Wednesday at 8pm. This is 48 hours from the time that the ultimatum was communicated to the public through the corporate media. In response to this, the Armed Forces Recruiting Center on Old Post Road in Edison, NJ was the target of direct action. The intent was to cause as much economic damage as possible. Specifically it was intended to increase the costs to pursue the invasion and to eliminate another piece of the American military-industrial complex. The front door was shattered and the inside was methodically destroyed. Front displays were damaged, propaganda was scattered, and marine

U.S. Special Operations and CIA forces have been working inside Iraq to foment unrest and help lay the groundwork for an invasion. A constant bombardment of propaganda from the U.S. military has also been underway. 240,000 leaflets have been dropped around Iraq, threatening Iraqis that if U.S. and British troops were fired upon that it would lead to more severe bombing. Also, bombing has been continuous throughout the past 13 years. It has devastated Iraq's infrastructure, leading

On the UN Security Council, the U.S. delegates have always supported the most ruthless and draconian measures against civilian populations. It spearheaded a resolution in December that banned the importation of pharmaceutical drugs into Iraq. When issues of Washington's own accountability are in question, it abstains or uses its veto power as was done with the Kyoto Agreement and with the reparation debate in South Africa. Washington has been intent on invading Iraq for many months now,

and it is illustrated by its actions. The evidence is overwhelming: the U.S. government... is prepared to potentially murder millions of Iraqis to extend its hegemony over the oil-rich Middle East region. As Americans, they expect us to simply watch TV and "endure" any desperate attacks against US interests. They expect us to be bystanders and pawns of a government that is prepared to throw the world into a massive war. We are calling upon all Americans to act upon their responsibilities and hold this government accountable for its crimes against humanity. We call upon all humane, reasonable and sane voices... to take any means



to widespread malnutrition and disease. Every humanitarian and research organization from Oxfam to Middle East Research Project predicts a catastrophic humanitarian disaster for Iraqi citizens when there is an invasion. Who is paying for this invasion? The amount of resources necessary to conduct an invasion of this sort have been subsidized from the American public, and the corporate media has made every effort to be sure that the debate is kept closed. As the military build-up around Iraq has been underway, the unemployment rate in the U.S. reached the highest it has been

necessary to prevent this humanitarian disaster from happening. If profit is their motive, then make it unprofitable. If passive consumption is what they want, then actively dissent. If they want you to participate in the slaughter, then refuse... Our imperial government may try as much as it wants, but history shows that humanity will always endure and continue the struggle for a better world. Onward to social revolution!

In solidarity, The Direct Action Front"

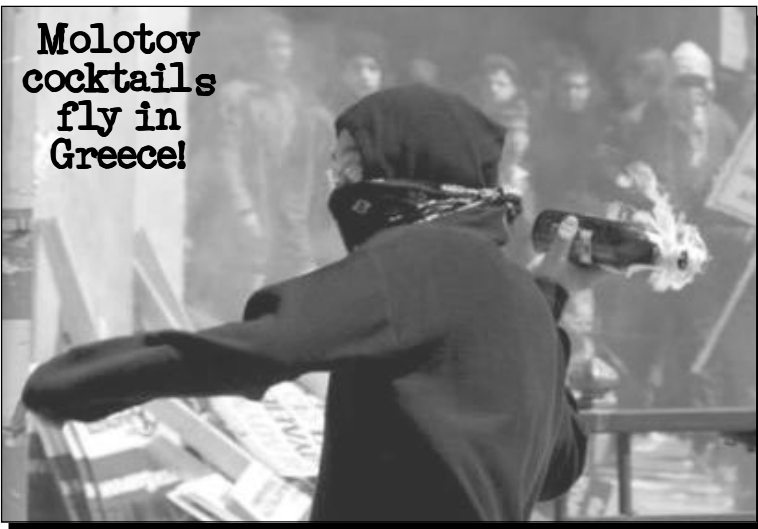
March 20, Minnesota: Recruiting Center Hit By Anti-Imperialists

Minneapolis: The following is a communiqué that was sent out over the internet: On the Night of March 20th opponents of the U.S. war on Iraq hit the Stadium Village Army Navy Recruiting Center in Minneapolis. Locks were glued, paint bombs thrown and windows broken. This is not about some abstract concept of peace, this is about stopping U.S. imperialism. Polite protest has not worked. It is time we intervene directly. There are rocks everywhere and the week has seven nights.

March 21, Greece: Anarchists Go On The Offensive

Athens: The demo started at about 1pm, and it is said that 200,000 participated. Anarchists, antiauthoritarians, autonomists, and youth who gathered behind a banner saying "War To The War Of The Bosses" were numbered at 800-1000 persons. In front of the French embassy, the police guards' house and surveillance cameras got smashed. An attack was also made against the Italian embassy, where stones and Molotov cocktails managed to land over the high fence. The Portuguese embassy got some stones too. After that, there was a strike against the Ministry of Internal Affairs with Molotov cocktails and stones. In front of "Evangelismos" hospital, a group of demonstrators attacked the riot cops with Molotov cocktails and other objects. Somewhere around Hilton hotel, the black bloc split in small groups, marching towards the U.S. embassy among the rest of the demo. The U.S. embassy was the main target for the biggest part of the demonstrators. During all the hours that the demo was taking place, people, especially the youth, who were passing in front of the building, were throwing rotten oranges, eggs, red paint and stones at them.

Molotov cocktails fly in Greece!



recruitment pictures were smashed. We consider this to be an appropriate response from the American public to stop the inevitable invasion. Time is running short, and everything possible must be done to stop our government's race to war. Approximately 230,000 U.S. and British troops are now surrounding Iraq and are prepared to unleash a full-scale assault and invasion of Iraqi soil. It is certain that many young American and British troops will die in the fighting. There is also a great chance of American civilian casualties. An invasion of Iraq will help escalate conditions that will lead to more violent attacks similar to those of September 11th. By bombing Iraq, there will also be a great number of Iraqi casualties. Already, UNICEF has estimated that 1.7 million Iraqis have died as direct result of imposed sanctions. Inhumane and manipulative steps have already been taken against the Iraqi people by Washington in the months during the build up.

starting a war, despite all the rhetorical rantings. A war has been raging between the U.S. and Iraq for the past 14 years. Since the Iraqi military's retreat from Kuwait, there has been a continuous bombardment on water sanitation systems and factories by U.S. forces. Operation Desert Fox went completely unnoticed as the U.S. corporate media offered the public sensational stories about the OJ Simpson trial. Washington is not starting a war. Washington is starting an invasion. They are trying to mobilize the American public to support the escalation of aggressive military policies. There was never any regard from Washington for international democracy. In November, MSNBC, subsidiary of General Electric (the second largest contractor to the Pentagon), announced that the Pentagon had approved invasion plans. At the beginning of December, senior officials in the White House said that "war is inevitable."

The vans and the cops were covered with paint and eggs! On the street next to the embassy a bank was set on fire. In the street between the Hall and the embassy there were massive clashes between demonstrators against cops. Many people participated in the fighting because they were enraged about the war, the riot police and the suffocating teargas. Protestors were using everything they could find to fight the cops: wooden sticks, bottles, and stones taken from the pavements, rotten fruit, and Molotov cocktails. After many objects were thrown at them, the cops started running back and were saved from a general retreat only when other squads came from inside the park to support them. More clashes followed, with groups of demonstrators throwing stones from all directions at the police. A retreating group of about 100 people reached the War Museum and set fire to some military airplanes exposed in the yard of the Museum, and afterwards attacked the building that houses the State Radio-Television (ERT).

Other March 21 Actions:

In Portland, Oregon, protesters smashed in three windows at a McDonald's, set flags on fire and sprayed graffiti on a sign at a Shell gas station. More than 100 people were arrested. "I like the idea of shutting down commerce and the city to counteract Bush's economic motives for this war," one young demonstrator told the press.

In Chicago, Illinois, several thousand marchers snarled afternoon rush-hour traffic along the city's main arteries, repeatedly breaking through lines of police on horseback or in riot gear.

March 23, Kuwait: Soldier Held After Grenade Attack

Camp New Jersey:

Thirteen soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division were wounded by a hand grenade that was thrown into the 1st Brigade technical operations center at Camp Pennsylvania in central Kuwait. A U.S. soldier assigned to the brigade is in custody. According to preliminary reports, the attack occurred at 1:21 am and involved a grenade and some gunfire. Three soldiers were evacuated to the 86th Combat Support Hospital at Udairi in northern Kuwait and seven were evacuated to the 47th Combat Support Hospital in Southern Kuwait. Details of the attack on



the operations center, which is in a closely confined tent and usually manned by a couple dozen staff officers, were sketchy.

March 25, Ecuador: Grenade Attack On British Consulate

A grenade was thrown at Britain's honorary consulate. The honorary consul in Guayaquil, Colin Armstrong, told local television station Ecuavisa he thought the attack could be a protest against the war in Iraq. No one was hurt in the attack, and the grenade did little damage. In what appears to be another anti-war protest in Lebanon, a small explosion damaged the outer wall of the British Council building. The explosion in Ecuador shattered windows on the ground floor of the building. Police General Edgar Vaca told the Associated Press news agency that a group called the People's Revolutionary Militias had claimed responsibility for the attack in an e-mail. The e-mail condemned the United States and Britain for attacking Iraq. Since August, the group has exploded three small bombs, including one in the capital, Quito. In prior attacks, the group has scattered leaflets urging Ecuadorians not to vote in elections last year and later criticizing President Lucio Gutierrez for launching economic austerity measures. Security sources in Beirut said an unknown assailant threw a stick of dynamite at Britain's cultural center after the office closed for the night.

March 26, Spain: Anti-War Riots Spread Across Country

Tens of thousands of students protested across Spain, demanding the government's resignation and calling for a halt to the U.S.-led war on Iraq. Pockets of militant protesters throwing stones and bottles clashed with baton-wielding riot police in Madrid, Barcelona and Zaragoza. In Barcelona, masked demonstrators smashed the windows of a McDonald's fast-food restaurant and a department store.

March 26, Italy: US Military Vehicles Firebombed In Anti-War Protest

Italian police say at least two vehicles belonging to American military personnel have been firebombed near U.S. bases in northern Italy. Authorities say the cars, with license plates identifying them as belonging to Allied Forces Italy, were set on fire. No one was injured. The vehicles were parked on the street about one kilometer from the U.S. base at Vicenza. The base is home to the Southern European Task Force. A third vehicle was torched near the U.S. airbase at Aviano. Authorities say they believe the attacks were protests against the U.S.-led war in Iraq. It's clear from this level of resistance that fear has begun to enter into the heart of capitalism, which is not the unassailable Moloch that its techno-bureaucrats pretend. The historical moment is serious; the social war paws the ground and the agents of repression seek to pursue and exterminate all rebels. We need to keep hammering away at the power structure while being careful to avoid the snares of hierarchy, bureaucratization and the specialization of roles within our own movement. Because the revolutionary movement must know how to overcome the cage of spectacular

rot imposed by power, in order to encourage widespread conflict everywhere in daily life where reification smothers revolt. Actions like these can be carried out by almost anyone, anonymously and autonomously, and help to keep our struggle leaderless.

Anti-War Hacking Rises Sharply

More than 20,000 websites have been hacked since the war on Iraq began, according to one security firm. UK security firm F-Secure has seen a dramatic rise in the number of hack attacks since the conflict started. In the first few days of the conflict there

was a flurry of attempts to access vulnerabilities on websites such as that of the U.S. Navy. Defacements from pro-Islamic hacking groups suggested that it was the beginning of a new era of cyber hacking. Now it seems that the hackers are getting closer to sensitive targets with both the White House and Number 10 websites suffering attacks according to F-Secure. "More and more people are joining in the fray," said General Manager of F-Secure, Jason Holloway. "The majority of the messages are still anti-war," he added. Qatar-based TV station Al-Jazeera has reported that a denial-of-service attack could have been conducted on its website. The attack has not been confirmed and could just be due to a large weight of traffic. Al-Jazeera has now launched an English-language version of its website which has also suffered outages. This conflict has seen a new breed of hacktivist, in the shape of pro-peace campaigners who have been joining pro-Islamic hackers and pro-American groups in expressing their grievances online. Political tensions around the globe are often mirrored in cyberspace. Increased tensions in the Middle East and between Pakistan and India have all been used by so-called hacktivists to launch web defacements and denial of service attacks. Three Iraq war-related computer viruses, including the Ganda worm, have also been spotted by F-Secure, although the damage done by these has been limited.

... continued on next page

ZERO WAR - TOTAL LIBERATION

continued from page 9



If the move to militarization works to secure the rule of Capital, by subjecting the world to a global war machine and by further atomizing personal relationships, we can fight back by both monkey-wrenching nodes of the machinery and simultaneously beginning to re/form a community of struggle. To me the task then is to begin to pick our own battles, select sites of military power and attack them in ways that both work to halt their operation and simultaneously bring new ways of living into being. These acts in themselves may not be enough, but in concert with other autonomous activities they may just begin to open the door to rebellions that can dig the grave for Empire.

POST-SCRIPT

As the cameras turn away from the rubble of Baghdad the official voices of adjudication have declared the war a "victory". Those on the Right triumphantly proclaim the vindication of the U.S. Administration and laud the prospects for freedom and democracy. Those on the Left rub their hands and worry that this victory signals the return of imperialism and a defeat for freedom and democracy. Both sides only see the clash as one between two nations states and equate victory with the Coalition's triumph over the Baathists. But this war was not about a clash between two states as much as it was about securing the entire global order of states. There was no doubt that the Coalition's armed forces were going to easily smash the Iraqi army. The entire war was about securing the continuing reign of global capital in a time where the entire order is increasing divided and bankrupt.

If there was a central goal, it was the unleashing of "shock and awe" (militarily and ideologically) to terrorize the global multitude and thus re-enforce our obedience. Did it work? Just like the last Gulf War, huge sections of the Iraq army deserted. In other words they refused the basic lie of nation states: that we should lay down our lives for them. If anything, this act of mass defiance rather than signaling the end of rebellion amongst the oil proletariat is testament to their continuing ungovernability and self-organisation.

Waves of mass defiance also swept the globe. Whilst often the mass rallies were liberal in tone and passive in nature, increasingly large sections of them challenged the authority of both the state and the official organizers. In Sydney, Australia, student anti-war rallies defied their Leninist marshals and were transformed into combinations of roving festivals and direct confrontations with the police. Young people of mainly Islamic and Middle-Eastern backgrounds rebelled against the extra policing that they had subjected them to and exhibited a great willingness to directly fight the state. At the demonstrations in Canberra, speakers were heckled, people refused to follow the established march roots and eventual a group marched on parliament house confronting the police there. Graffiti and other forms of low level property damage (include writing "NO WAR" in gigantic letters on the Sydney Opera House) are widespread. So much so the in Wollongong, the Returned Services League has had to organize vigilante groups to protect war memorials.

These are just examples of a global rebellion. It is this rebellion that was so worrying Chirac and Schroeder. Europe's original "opposition" to the war was not based on any commitment to political liberalism, but rather was an attempt to marshal old liberal and social democratic ideologies to fend off revolt. What the French state realized is still plain to see (if you look through the digital-smoke of the simulacrum): that the global order of capital can not create a harmonious mode of operation in the face of continuing revolt. The so-called victory has not stopped this revolt. If anything it has deepened it further by chipping away the consensus and compliance that civilization requires for normal operation. The response to this will be of course be more militarisation: more surveillance, more police, more violence, more terror. So much so that protesters attempting to interfere with the running of a detention center in the South Australian desert faced a raid by police armed with machine guns. This was the first time in recent memory that this has happened.

Will increased direct state repression and a neo-conservative political culture of unfreedom secure a future for the cyber-industrial civilization of Capital? The confusion we are faced with is the weave of oppression and resistance. We refuse the rule of Capital, but we are inside Capital and in many ways it is in us; thus living resistance to civilization is a blur of hope and despair. However, if anything the war shows that capitalism cannot reach its own totalitarian fantasies: often attempts to govern work to strip away at the governmentality of the people. New waves of proletarianisation, of social control may defeat struggles here and there, but they move on, grow and erupt elsewhere. Pertinent question remain, liberation may not be inevitable. However for all the bluster it seems at this point that even in the face of smart bombs, embedded journalists and Saving Private Lynch, the multitude will not be terrorized.

¹ Seppo is a WWII era piece of rhyming slang for Americans. Yanks = Septic Tanks = Seppos.
² Zerzan, J. "Origins and Meaning of WWI" in *Elements of Refusal*. Columbia Missouri, C.A.L. Press 1999 pp 145-165.
³ Hardt M. & Negri A. *Empire*. Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 2001 p23-24.

For more analysis on the war-machine, and ideas on resistance to it, send \$1 to **Green Anarchy** for a short pamphlet entitled, "the war machine continues"



Although no one any longer tends the temples of Mars, the Roman god of war, his faithful are still arranged in crisp battalions.



March 27, Mob storms KFC as anti-war protests sweep country

Tripoli: At least ten people were injured following clashes between Internal Security Forces (ISF) and demonstrators who tried to storm a KFC restaurant. In Tripoli and other major cities across the country, students from both public and private schools and universities left their classes around noon to participate in demonstrations against the war in Iraq - more than 40,000 participated in Tripoli, converging from different destinations. A couple of hundred participants left the demonstration and marched toward a KFC outlet on the Bahsas boulevard and started throwing stones at it. ISF personnel intervened, shooting in the air to disperse the crowd.

March 28, Italy: Ford Cars Torched In Protest Against The War

Rome: A dozen cars at a Ford dealership on the outskirts of the city were set on fire, and a banner reading "Sabotage the imperialist war" was hung on the gate of the lot.

March 29, Greece: Greeks Continue To Up The Ante

Athens: Some 15,000 demonstrators chanting "we'll stop the war" marched to the American embassy in central Athens. Protesters splashed red paint on the road outside the embassy building and onto the front windows of a McDonalds restaurant. Earlier that day, another McDonalds restaurant was damaged in a grenade attack after closing hours in an Athens suburb. No one was hurt and there was no immediate claim of responsibility. Authorities have tightened security at potential targets in the Greek capital after a spate of arson attacks against U.S. banks and other businesses since the war began.

April 1, Washington: Recruitment Center Attacked

Bellingham: The following communiqué was released anonymously over the internet: *On the night that the dictator of the USA escalated its war against the citizenry of Iraq, an anonymous individual threw a rock through the front plate glass door of the military recruitment center in Bellingham, WA. No humans or animals were hurt in this attack. The U.S. military has waged continuous wars on the peoples of this world for long enough. Everything must be done to stop Leviathan.*

April 10, Oregon: Marine's Flag Burned

Eugene: After an energetic march through town, the U.S. flag was taken down from in front of the Marine Reserve Building and burned, much to the horror of a few patriotic assholes.

April 26, Iraq: Stone-throwing children put troops on edge

MOSUL - The love affair between U.S. troops and Iraqi children is turning sour. As the invading troops pushed north towards Baghdad in the first weeks of the war, it was always the children in every town that came out first to smile, wave, give the thumbs-up and shout the same greeting: "Good, good, good!"

Happy to see a friendly face, the soldiers waved back and many handed out candies from their field rations.

But more and more of the encounters ending with some children, usually the older ones in their early teens, hurling stones at the soldiers.

It can be a Catch-22 situation for the troops. If they let the children swarm around them, they expose themselves to possible attack from adults who can use the cover to get close and throw in a hand grenade.

But if they push them back, it hurts their efforts to win over the civilian population, and can spark the stone throwing.

"It's frustrating. They're like little gnats that you can't get away from," said Captain James McGahey, a company commander of the 101st Airborne Division who says almost every one of the patrols he sends out in the northern city of Mosul gets stoned.

RAINING STONES

In one typical incident, a group of soldiers on foot patrol attracted an ever-increasing posse of children as they moved past a local fire station and on through a rough neighborhood of Mosul.

By the time they reached a school building, at least 200 children and a small group of adults were around them, and the stones came raining in from about a dozen of the older kids.

"They were throwing them like they were pitching a baseball," said Sgt John McLean, who was hit on the helmet, in the back and on the heel.

The troops pulled away and took up a defensive position but even then the children and adults only dispersed when

a warning shot was fired over their heads.

The problem is not confined to Mosul. Crowds of 250-300 Iraqi teenagers hurled stones at U.S. Marines patrolling the holy city of Najaf in southern Iraq. In many other Iraqi towns and cities, there were similar activities.

April 16, Greece: Petrol Bombs And Tear Gas Punctuate Anti-War March

An anti-war protest in police-thronged central Athens exploded into extensive rioting as hooded youths threw petrol bombs and stones at riot police forces and vandalized shops and banks. As hooded anarchists started throwing Molotov cocktails and stones at the cops who were monitoring the demonstration (prompting a massive tear gas barrage),

other marchers tried to break through a riot police cordon sealing off the northern end of Syntagma Square in an attempt to stop demonstrators from approaching Zappeion Hall, where visiting EU politicians were assembled. Demonstrators were angry about the presence, in the Greek capital, of the premiers of Britain and Spain, who backed the U.S.-led attack on Iraq. The march moved on towards the U.S. Embassy, but at several points along the route anarchists attacked police, who responded with more tear gas. Eight pigs, one journalist and a cameraman were injured during the riots as anarchist insurgents (many of whom wore gas masks to handle the copious amounts of tear gas the pigs were dishing out) threw petrol bombs, smashed bank and shop windows and burned down bus stops. Eighty-four suspects were arrested following the rioting; many face criminal charges of causing explosions and possession of explosives, as well as the misdemeanors of damaging foreign property, resisting arrest and "breach of the peace". That night, arsonists poured petrol over a police jeep and set it on fire in the southern suburb of Glyfada, severely damaging the vehicle.

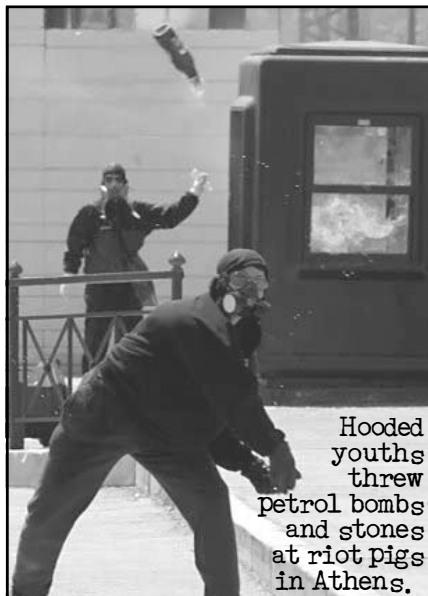
April 23, Vancouver: Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment Center Attacked

"ACT 1
We, the Anti-PROPERTY committee of Vancouver claim the responsibility of the several broken windows at the Canadian armed force recruiting center on Georgia Street (1070 West Georgia St.), Vancouver.

Canadian troops out of Iraq and Afghanistan! No to sending RCMP or Canadian troops to Iraq. End the occupation of Iraq!

Who's next?"

"Decolonization is always a violent phenomenon . . . The naked truth of decolonization evokes for us searing bullets and bloodstained knives which emanate from it."
- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*



On The Decomposition of Our Enemies!

Unleashed Passions, The Delirious Taste of Revenge, and Further Symptoms of State Meltdown

Every Social Conflict is the arena for three mutually antagonistic forces: the Establishment, the opposition which seeks to overthrow the existing Order and replace it with one of its own, and the tendency towards increased Social Entropy, which all Social Conflict engenders, and which, in this context, may be thought of as the force of Chaos."
- Gregor Markowitz, *The Theory of Social Entropy*

April 1, Italy: Bomb Placed Outside IBM Headquarters

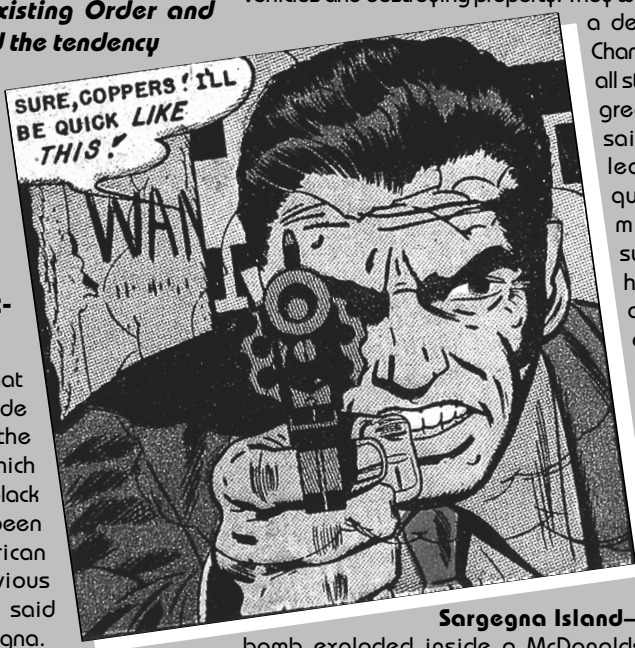
Rome—The Italian police allege that they disabled a crude bomb placed outside the Italian headquarters of IBM in the northern city of Bologna. The device, which police said contained an unidentified black powder and a fuse, had apparently been timed to explode outside the American Computer Company during the previous night. "It was put there to do harm," said Romano Argerio, the pig chief of Bologna.

April 7, Oregon: Bomb Threat - Courthouse Evacuated

Grants Pass—The Josephine County Courthouse was evacuated in the morning after a man phoned the Circuit Court and said there was a bomb inside the building. The unidentified caller announced during the 10:18 a.m. phone call that a bomb would go off "in 45 minutes." County Commissioner Harold Haugen said it was the second time this year the courthouse had to be evacuated because of a bomb threat. A similar incident also occurred in January. A deputy pig investigating the incident said that the receptionist who took the phone call when the threat was made said the caller's voice was similar to that of a man who phoned earlier that morning and asked to have his sentencing date rescheduled.

April 26, Kenya: Students Riot and Take Pig Hostage

University of Nairobi students went on the rampage, stoning vehicles and destroying property. They were protesting against a decision by their Vice Chancellor to send home all students pursuing a degree in Nursing. Police said one of their colleagues sent to help quell the rioting was missing and they suspected the students had abducted him. The angry students threatened to transform the students' union into a political party if the ministry did not increase their loans.



Sargegna Island—During the night a bomb exploded inside a McDonalds' restaurant in the town of Oristano.

Chinese Villagers Riot Over Plan for SARS Quarantine Center

Chagugang, China - Some 2,000 villagers torched a school building earmarked as a SARS quarantine center and ransacked government offices in China's first reported instance of social unrest related to SARS. The mayhem in Chagugang town, a rural settlement 90 minutes southeast of Beijing, happened Sunday night after the government in nearby Tinajin city decided to convert a school into an isolation facility for urban people suspected of having contact with SARS patients. About 2,000 angry residents marched to the

school and ransacked it, smashing windows before setting it alight, highlighting growing tensions over the draconian measures China is taking to bring SARS under control.

"They went to the school and burned the school. It can't be used any longer," a local "official" said. "Then they went to the local education office and smashed it to pieces. Then they went to the town government office and smashed the whole building, breaking windows, removing doors and throwing them out of the windows. "They broke in and smashed everything, overturned vehicles. All facilities are out of use now."

The official said armed police and anti-riot forces arrived but by that time the villagers had run away.

"Today it is okay but at that time the situation was very serious," said the official, who estimated the crowd was 2,000-strong but that only a core of 30 to 40 people took part in the destruction.

"The rest cheered them on," he said. Residents showed no remorse, voicing outrage that the government claimed to be trying to stop SARS spreading to the countryside, but at the same time wanted to send urban suspect cases to their township.

May 2-9, Mediterranean Europe: Various Acts of Sabotage

On May 2nd, a large group of North African immigrants destroyed the dining room of the San Foca detention center in Lecce, Italy, to protest the imminent notification of deportation orders. The rebels threw pots and chairs at police and military officers and 8 pigs ended up in the hospital.

On May 8th, a cellphone tower in Casciana Terme, Italy, was set on fire.

On May 9th, 2 automatic tellers of the Caja Madrid Bank and one teller of the Zaragoza Bank were attacked in Barcelona, Spain. The windows of one branch of the BBUA bank were smashed. Some telephone booths were also damaged.

Send us your local symptoms of state meltdown, or anything else you find in the news!

For How Much Longer Will We Tolerate Mass Murder?

Anarchist, Anti-Capitalist, and Anti-Imperialist Battles From All Over This War-Torn Planet

"THE REVOLUTION WHICH IS BEGINNING WILL CALL IN QUESTION NOT ONLY CAPITALIST SOCIETY BUT INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. THE CONSUMER SOCIETY IS BOUND FOR A VIOLENT DEATH. SOCIAL ALIENATION MUST VANISH FROM HISTORY. WE ARE INVENTING A NEW AND ORIGINAL WORLD. IMAGINATION IS SEIZING POWER."

- POSTER FROM THE SORBONNE, PARIS, MAY 1968

April 16, 2003: Banks Burn In Nighttime Attack!

Buenos Aires, Argentina - During the night the armored glass windows of a branch of the Banco Francés were cracked and the bank was attacked with flammable devices. The fire from the hall entrance destroyed the automatic teller of the bank. **For more information check out: www.guerrasociale.org**

April 29: Striking Nigerian Workers Take Hostages

Lagos, Nigeria - Striking Nigerian oil workers have taken about 100 foreign workers hostage on several offshore oil installations, including 21 Americans. The strikers have been holding 97 foreign workers, including 35 Britons, aboard four offshore drilling rigs owned by Houston-based Transocean since April 19. The events occurred in a remote area off the West African nation's coastline. Fighting in March shut down nearly 40 percent of Nigeria's production of 2.2 million barrels a day. Nigeria is one of the world's largest oil exporters and the fifth largest producer of U.S. oil imports.

May 20, Arizona: School Property Trashed

Vandals slashed the tires on all but seven of the 59 buses owned by Apache Junction Unified Schools and glued shut keyholes on a handful of classroom doorknobs at the high school in the early morning. Staff members made the first discovery around 5 a.m. at the district transportation yard. One or both tires on the front ends of 52 buses were flattened. Special education and kindergarten buses were left intact. Dozens of maintenance workers scrambled to repair tires with help from city- and county-loaned generators and compressors. The first tier of buses was on the road 30 to 45 minutes behind schedule. The second tier was about 10 minutes late. About 79 percent of the district's 5,500 students are bused to school. About "six or seven" classroom doors were "crazy glued" at Apache Junction High School. The keyholes were repaired before students arrived on campus. The school is planning to beef up security for the final two days of the school year.

"Let me state it in terms you can understand. The natural tendency in the physical realm is toward ever-increasing randomness or disorder, what we call Chaos or entropy. So too, in the realm of human culture. To locally and temporarily reverse the trend towards entropy in the physical realm requires energy. And so too in human societies — Social Energy. The more Ordered, thus unnatural and anti-entropic, a society, the more Social Energy is required to maintain the unnatural condition. And how is this Social Energy to be obtained? Why, by so ordering the society to produce it! Which, as you can see, requires more Order in return. Which creates a demand for more Social Energy, and so forth, in a geometric progression that spirals as long as the society attempts to achieve Order. You see the paradox, do you not? The more Ordered a society becomes, the more Ordered it must become to maintain its original Order, requiring still more Social Energy, and never really catching up. Thus a society can tolerate less and less randomness as it grows ever more Ordered."

- Gregor Markowitz, *The Theory of Social Entropy*

MAY 1: World Marks May Day, Violence Flares in Berlin

Berlin - German riot police clashed with rock-throwing demonstrators in Berlin and violence was expected in other European capitals at rallies marking the May Day holiday. Hundreds of thousands of workers and protesters took part in largely peaceful May Day rallies round the world, though scuffles were reported and some demonstrations on the public holiday included criticism of the U.S.-led war on Iraq. Berlin police were out in force, with some 7,500 on city streets braced for battles with anarchists after 27 police officers and an unknown number of assailants and bystanders were injured in three hours of clashes overnight. The violence erupted without warning toward the end of a peaceful protest by about 4,000 people in the Mauerpark, in the Prenzlauer Berg district where the Berlin Wall stood.

A group of 200 anarchists hurled bottles and rocks and shot fireworks at police, who charged the group, arresting 97 of them. Violence in the area lasted three hours, with street barricades set ablaze and some shop windows smashed.

The German capital has been marred by May Day clashes between anarchists and police every year since 1987. Last year rampaging youths caused extensive damage, setting luxury cars and bus shelters on fire.

In London, radical anti-capitalist activists had a hit list of more than 50 "companies of mass destruction" in their sights in protests that police feared could turn violent.

Anarchist groups published the names and addresses of the establishments — oil companies,

arms manufacturers, banks and multinationals — on various Internet sites. Two years ago, in the most extreme May Day violence in Britain of recent times, masked protesters rioted in London, defacing the Cenotaph war memorial, trashing a shop and burning cars.



Switzerland - On May Day, Police in Berne used water cannon to keep some 300 demonstrators from entering a government-controlled weapons company. The protesters were calling for a ban on arms exports from neutral Switzerland.

May 24, Afghans Protest Shootings At US Embassy

Kabul - Angry Afghan demonstrators hurled stones at the U.S. Embassy to protest the shooting deaths of three Afghan soldiers by U.S. Marines outside the heavily guarded compound. Carrying banners saying, "Death to America, Death to (President Hamid) Karzai," about 80 protesters marched

through downtown for several hours. On a street near the embassy, they threw rocks at several passing vehicles belonging to the 5,000-strong international peacekeeping force that patrols the city, shattering windows in at least two of them. One "peacekeeper"

was treated at a hospital for slight wounds and then released, said Lt. Col. Paul Holken, a Dutch spokesman for the multinational force. "Why are Americans killing us inside our home, inside Afghanistan?" said Gul Ahmad, a 20-year-old taking part in the protest. As stones were lobbed at the U.S. embassy's large main gate, U.S. Marines stood in a fenced guard tower, speaking into walkie-talkies. Afghan officials have called the shootout a mistake, saying Afghan soldiers at a military intelligence compound were loading or unloading weapons from a vehicle across the street from the embassy when U.S. guards believed they were about to come under attack and opened fire. Two Afghans also were wounded. International peacekeepers have given another version of events, saying Afghan troops may have fired on a passing car — perhaps

because it failed to stop at a checkpoint. The Afghan soldiers' bullets were fired toward the U.S. Marine guards, who mistook it for an attack and returned fire, they said. The following day, Afghan and U.S. authorities said the shootout would not undermine relations between the two countries. There have been few signs of serious tension between the United States and its Afghan allies since American forces were deployed in the country after ousting the Taliban regime in 2001. America is the primary military backer of President Hamid Karzai's government. About 11,500 coalition soldiers, including 8,500 Americans, are in the country to preserve the Karzai government.

A specter has returned to roam the Earth. After endless years of a social peace composed of exploitation, alienation, misery and suffering, the rage of the oppressed returns at last to the streets to serve the death sentence to a social organization incompatible with humankind and the planet. The triumphalism that accompanied the spectacle of mercantile abundance at its dawn is finished, and all that is left is a world that is going to the dogs on all fronts, with a caste of functionaries to govern its agony. They don't tell us that we are in the best of all possible worlds anymore—because that would be ridiculous—but simply that no one else is now capable of running such a battered planet. After having destroyed every form of community and sterilized all human relationships, after having expropriated all of our awareness and know-how, after having transformed us into appendages of an infernal and incomprehensible technological apparatus that are incapable of interacting with nature, our own bodies and other individuals of our species, they tell us that all that remains to us at this point is to trust our fate and the fate of the planet to technology (that is, to Capital) to resolve an emergency that we can neither understand nor, much less, confront. This is what is meant by the affirmation that "History is finished", which really means nothing more than that we must bow our heads and obey; otherwise, the truncheon falls.

Time and time again, the general crisis of existence is passed off as crises of particular sectors, disconnected from the totality of industrial production and its basic contradictions. The unavoidable consequences of a mode of production that is structurally polluting, poisonous and productive of only imbalances are made to pass for temporary incidents caused by poor management that demand corrective interventions by the State. It is needless to say that, since such "adjustments" are themselves the harbingers of new calamities, they will render further technological-beaucratic "remedies" necessary, which becomes a business called "reconstruction", "regulation", and "reclamation". Not being able to produce anything good, capitalism reproduces itself by living off its trash (the material as well as the ideological trash) and involving everyone in sharing its disastrous responsibility.

In such a scenario, where all human relations, social activities, and the times and spaces of life are oppressively contaminated by separation and isolation, any opposition that is not moved by a hostility against the industrial way of life will only be a contribution to Capital, helping to keep it up to date. The supposed autonomy of a civil society that would control the choices of power, guarantee a greater "democracy" and impose rules, laws and precautions, is the ultimate ideological lie formulated to "democratically"

The Anarchists Song: —to all men of power

we are kept in poverty and ignorance
by the projection of your fear,
of your greed for power.
We are kept in terror and confusion
By your protection racket politics,
By your nursery rhyme propaganda.

But slowly, like a crystal forming,
Self-awareness liberates our minds,
Cell by cell, person by person,
Until we are truly free,
Until we are truly human beings,
Separate yet united in mutual trust;

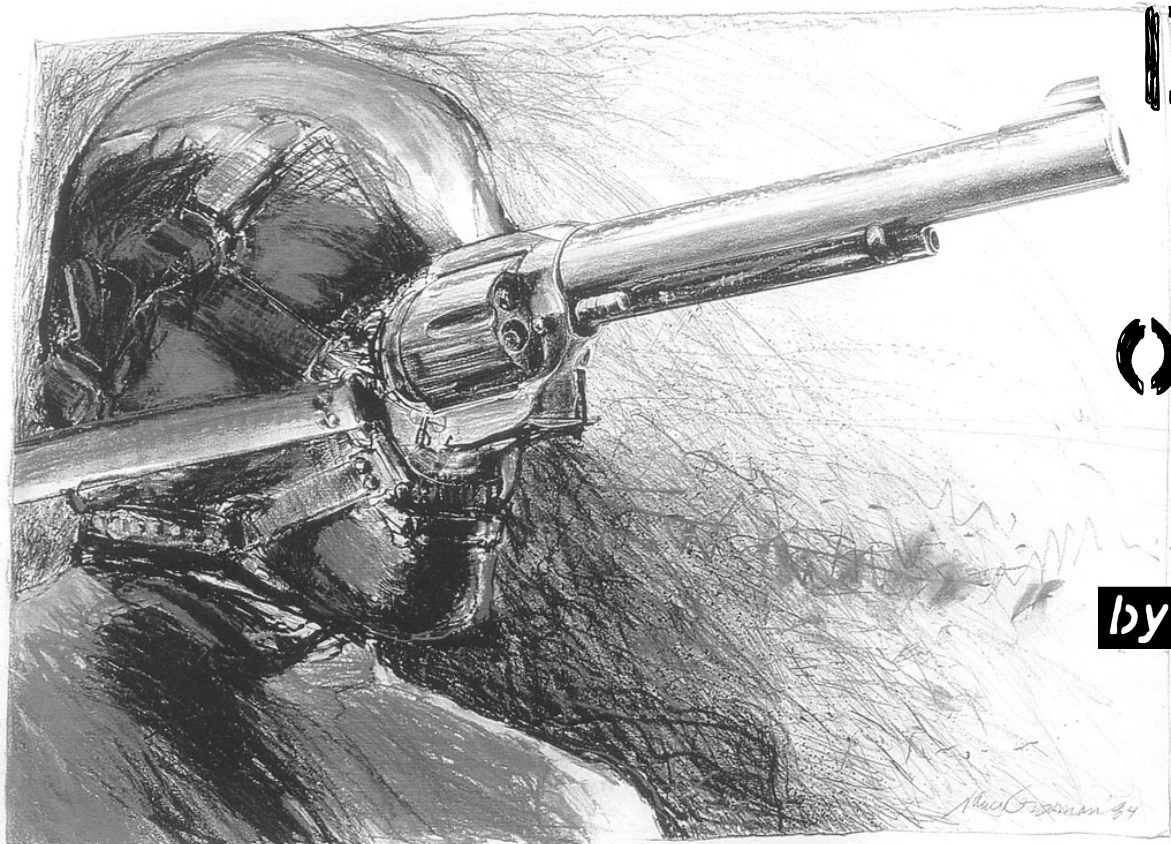
Your awkward puppets shall dance no more,
And you, the puppet masters will vanish
Into the shadows of our fulfilled dream.

—Fange

"CERTAINLY, IT IS STILL POSSIBLE TO GO ALONG THE ROAD OF THE ORGANIZATION OF SYNTHESIS, OF PROPAGANDA, ANARCHIST EDUCATIONISM AND DEBATE — AS WE ARE DOING JUST NOW OF COURSE — BECAUSE... THIS IS A QUESTION OF A PROJECT IN TENDENCY, OF ATTEMPTING TO UNDERSTAND SOMETHING ABOUT A CAPITALIST PROJECT WHICH IS IN DEVELOPMENT AND PREPARE OURSELVES FROM THIS MOMENT ON TO TRANSFORM IRRATIONAL SITUATIONS OF RIOT INTO AN INSURRECTIONAL AND REVOLUTIONARY RESULT."

—ALFREDO M. BONANNO,

ANARCHISM AND INSURRECTIONAL PROJECT



Decoding the Apocalypse of the Militant Greek Left

by the Green Anarchy Collective

Diplomatic Life Behind Bulletproof Glass

For nearly three decades the price tag for security in Athens was the highest of any U.S. diplomatic community in the world, due to the unpredictable, surprise attacks of groups like N17 and the ELA. At one point, the reward for information leading to the arrest of N17 members was fattened to more than \$9 million (\$5 million of which was pledged by the U.S., who were handing out a flier describing the bounty with every visa issued). Armed leftist groups were the backdrop against which ordinary Greek citizens carried out their affairs, but to fully understand the political climate that helped facilitate the proliferation of so many urban guerrillas, we need to take a closer look at the Greek leftist milieu.

During the military dictatorship in Greece, thousands of anti-Junta leftists fled to Paris, which became the unofficial base for resistance activities. The uprising against the U.S.-backed Junta gave birth to the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the political party which has governed Greece for 18 of the past 21 years, and also provided the recruitment reservoir for groups like N17 and ELA who didn't feel the struggle had ended with the establishment of a U.S.-influenced "puppet democracy". Because of their common ideological roots with N17, PASOK has long been dogged by allegations of shielding the group from prosecution. And indeed, as the year passed, it does appear that a complex web of suspicious characters and political interests was established around N17 and ELA, acting to protect them and to obstruct investigations. At this point it is fairly well established that ELA had links with the East German secret police (the Stasi), who had a well-documented track record of financing any group whose activities contributed to the "destabilization of the western democracies". The extent of Stasi influence on ELA can only be guessed at, but it does appear that the East German infiltration of the Greek government expanded after 1981 with Stasi agents forming para-state links with the Greek secret service. It was also during this period that N17 and ELA activity was at its peak.

And amidst all these cloak-and-dagger conspiracies and labyrinthine political games were genuinely anarchist elements, like Christos Tsoutsouvis, who received his initial arms and explosives training with ELA, before breaking off from "Anti-State Struggle" (a group whose name speaks for itself). In the case of N17, we seem to be dealing with a group who might have had good intelligence contacts within the Greek establishment but who also had anti-state leanings and acted autonomously from the official Greek left. As Ioannis Rahiotis, the lawyer representing Alexandros Yotopoulos, said at the opening of the N17 trials, "N17 represented the 'aggressive left'. Before N17, the left maintained a defensive role. N17 is the quarry that decided to turn hunter... Its activity is clearly political. Call it a crime, but a political crime."

Inside the Shadow Wars:

In October of 2002, *Green Anarchy* received an English translation of a prison interview with Alexandros Yotopoulos, that originally appeared in the Greek newspaper, *Larmia Press*. How a written interview was smuggled out of a high-security prison is not known, but the state, humiliated and outraged that Yotopoulos was able to pull something like that off, imposes a week of isolation on him and bars him from having visitors. In this fascinating interview (which will be included in a forthcoming N17 booklet co-published by *Green Anarchy* and *Agitation Press*), Yotopoulos does not admit to his involvement in N17 but alludes to (without incriminating himself) other sects of N17 that are evading arrest; he allows it to be understood that N17 is autonomously organized and that cells take action independently of each other; that about 15 other members are free. Yotopoulos also advocates armed struggle in this interview and states that he does not consider N17 terrorists.

The apparent dismantling of the November 17 (N17) movement (and now, the recent ELA busts) have sparked one of the official Left's periodic confrontations with its deepest political uncertainty; the relevance of their program, analysis and outdated organizational forms to a world that has already witnessed the dreary, oppressive reality of communism and all its offshoots. Fourteen years after the Berlin Wall crumbled into tourist souvenirs, few marxist-leninists have faith in the "dialectically-ordained" revolution that will usher in a classless, communist society. Instead, disillusioned by the state-communist dystopias, many leftists—still intent on "managing" other people's lives—have shifted their focus towards more reformist goals, like socialism. Since most thoughtful people recognize that communism and capitalism are the same dismal story with a different face, the Left (especially here in the US) has been forced to modify its rhetoric, and to engage in anti-authoritarian posturing, in a desperate attempt to keep up with the times and keep their membership-starved organizations alive.

In Greece, nothing exposes the bankruptcy and irrelevance of the Left more than its fainthearted, pathetic attempts to distance itself from the N17 and ELA urban guerrillas, groups who clearly had a leftist interpretation of the world and who undeniably emerged from the radical left milieu. These arrests constituted an existential crisis for the Greek Left, which tried to explain it all away as a state-orchestrated campaign to attack the Left and curtail their civil liberties! This is because the Left wants to believe that the system still conspires against it, for that is the ultimate proof that it is still seen as a *threat* to the system. But the Left isn't seen as a threat to anything in Greece; it was the invisible assassins and "popular avengers" of N17 that the government wanted to neutralize, because their actions and proclamations reflected the widespread anti-Americanism that has existed in Greece since the fall of the military dictatorship in 1974, and their communiqués contained more or less what most people said in private conversation. When the N17 arrests began in 2002, and the Left failed to step forward and extend solidarity (to individuals who *sprang from their own ranks*), it fell upon the Greek anarchist movement to rally in support of the captured anti-capitalist guerrillas. Here at *Green Anarchy*, we understood the significance of the events that were unfolding in Greece and tried our best to provide our readers with accurate updates on this massive government clampdown. Now, however, with the trials of the N17 suspects in full swing, we feel its important to take a closer look at the actual *politics* of the N17 movement, in light of recent revelations.

What Exactly Where the Political Objectives of N17?

The first and most basic obstacle to deciphering the politics of the N17 Movement is the lack of reliable information available on them here in North America and the fact that very few of their communiqués have been translated into English. Most of the data we currently have at our disposal comes in the form of theories that Greek prosecutors have formed since the N17 arrests began and can hardly be considered objective or unbiased. Compounding the difficulty further is the refusal of the majority of the N17 suspects to admit to their involvement in the group.

Alexandros Yotopoulos, the 63-year-old "renegade" communist — whom the Greek state describes as the "motor" that kept November 17 going — is steadfastly disavowing any connection with the N17 foot soldiers, and claims he is being targeted by a vindictive U.S. State Department who have never forgotten his anti-Junta activities in the early 1970's. Yotopoulos is being fingered by Greek authorities as the "cultured intellectual" who penned N17's highly informed proclamations (if this is true, it may well explain why the group elected to send its manifesto to French existentialist philosopher Jean Paul Sartre in 1977- two years after it first appeared in France's left-wing paper, *Liberation*). But Mary Bossi, who has spent 20 years "studying terrorism" in the service of the Greek government, has her doubts about Yotopoulos and believes that the groups' dismantling is far from over. "The only thing Yotopoulos convinces me of is that he wrote proclamations on demand, as a hired hand. They gave him the work to do," says Bossi,

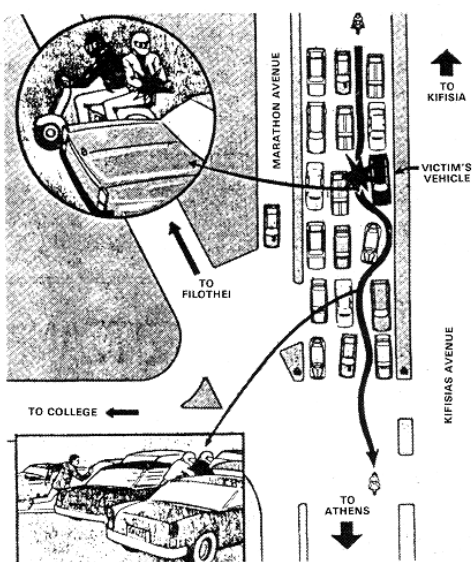


Diagram of an N17 Assassination

suggesting that Yotopoulos may have just been an N17 employee. Bossi herself was honored with a visit in 1997 by N17 at her doorstep, when they left a "calling card" - 1.5 kilos of dynamite - at her home.

At the opening of the N17 trials (which are expected to last at least five months) Yotopoulos vociferously denounced the proceedings, stating that "I reject the charges, of course. I am here because this is what the Americans and their collaborators in the government, who hate everything Greek, want. I come from a well-known left-wing family. I fought dynamically against the Junta and was convicted of this by a military court. I placed a bomb in the American embassy during the dictatorship. I did not cash in on my anti-dictatorship and anti-American activity and did not join any party, I did not collaborate. The indictment is a cheap Anglo-American fabrication."

The 19 N17 suspects face a total of 2,000 counts of murder, bombing and bank robbery, among other charges. Eleven of the accused, including Yotopoulos, face life sentences. Intelligence agencies are still hunting for other N17 founders, believed to be a small group of 3-5 and known as "the grandfathers of N17". Finding them may prove to be impossible. "They must look in circles of 70's revolutionaries, which includes much of Greece's political elite," said Giorgos Petsos, a former Pasok minister of public order and industry, who survived an N17 assassination attempt in 1989. Petsos claims that the assassination attempt against him was dictated by "political interests" other than N17, linking the attempt with the then-pending corruption trial of Pasok founder and former Prime Minister, Andreas Papandreou. "My disappearance would have served the political interests of the time. The Papandreou trial would not have taken place had I not survived," says Petsos, who also alleges that he was under constant surveillance by the EYP (the Greek Secret Service) around the time of the assassination attempt and that they allowed it to occur. "The people who stand accused are either a small part of the operational branch of N17 or else something entirely separate from the whole structure of terrorism in our country...The heads are clearly missing."

Aside from the Yotopoulos interview, the only direct explanation we have for the underlying politics motivating N17 comes in the form of an interview that Savas Xiros - the first N17 arrestee - gave from a prison pay phone. When asked about the N17 assassinations, Xiros states: "First of all, they were not done out of hate for a certain individual. It is done out of the love for the whole, for the whole that this individual has hurt." When asked what led him to violence: "My conscience took me there. When in front of your eyes horrific things are taking place and you feel that you scream but are not heard, you must do something, you can't stay complacent. I can't possibly see these things and not react. I don't know if what I did was the best way, but that's what I did and what I'm paying for."

Sham Opposition and Heaps of Leftist Idiocy

This spring the three judges involved in the N17 trial decided that the trial would not be a "political" one, but strictly criminal. Interestingly enough, in an interview with *NET* state television, a spokesperson for Greece's communist party (KKE) said, "N17 was a group with political aims, and played a political part." However, she added "For us to say that the crimes were political does not mean that we idealize or exonerate them." The KKE then went on to condemn N17 "terrorism" and claimed the group was created by the CIA and the Greek S.S.

These types of shifty, spineless denunciations really come as no surprise; in times of crisis the left has always been characterized by sectarian squabbling and back stabbing. But the Greek left's cowardly abandonment of its own frontline warriors placed many anarchists there in the awkward position of doing solidarity work for a movement many now feel they have serious misgivings about. As one Greek anarchist put it: "Every variety of leftism disassociated itself from N17 because it wants to be respectable. So Greek anarchists came to fill this vacuum of solidarity. By this anarchists supported a left guerrilla group and fought for *rights*, which isn't what we fight for. Leftism deals with such struggles. But the left is absent and anarchists felt the need to fill this lack of solidarity". Other Greek anarchists have expressed severe disappointment over nationalistic statements certain N17 prisoners have been making. With all these criticisms being voiced, it seems like a good a time as any to discuss our views on the left in general.

Beyond Left and Right, Beyond Control...

Both capitalism and communism are failed systems, soon to be fossils, that attempt to exist outside the natural (biological) world, corrupting everything (the ecology, human health and relationships - even the weather!) with their destructive influence, as our souls bleed a slow death from the meaninglessness of it all. Both capitalism and communism reduce human beings to commodities, where our lives count only as cogs in some system and where every individual is leveled into the anonymous mass or fitted into an organization - or both at once. Under capitalism *or* communism, uniformity and banality characterize the general existence in which all individual subjects of the state have been reduced to zero. Under either system - which both worship at the altar of industrialism - the biosphere itself is wounded and covered over with standardizing uniformity by an abstractly organizing technology, so much so that in many bioregions the landscape already has the appearance of a machine-made commodity and gives off no aura, as if the planet is being rebuilt to become one giant Tokyo interspersed with patches of agriculture. Capitalism and communism are two fronts in a 10,000 year war on wildness and both leave the human spirit limping in alienation. Correlative with the poisonously grey nature of capitalist and communist societies is not only subjective but *objective* boredom. This is not the kind of boredom which eventually exhausts itself (that is, fades after having risen to the level of nausea); it is, rather, a stultifying, omnipresent atmosphere of psychic immiseration that reinforces the profound emptiness of civilized life.

As regular readers of this paper know, about the only thing we have in common with communists is a hatred for capitalism, but for us this extends to a hatred for *all* forms of bureaucracy, *all* forms of government, and an explosive, all-consuming hatred for the industrial system itself. We oppose the state, not merely, as according to Marxist analysis, by virtue of the class interests which the state serves, but by virtue of the fact that *it is the state*. As green anarchists, we stand outside the entire left/right spectrum of political thought (which we regard as a shallow, binary construct of civilized logic) and view the industrial power structure from a *radically* different perspective. Anarchy is not an idealistic experiment in anti-authoritarian theory that we seek to test, it is a mode of existence that we seek to *reclaim*, a condition of unimpeded wildness that has *already existed* and that our species has enjoyed for 99% of our time on this planet - before artificial systems of control like the state, religion, feudalism, socialism, etc., were imposed on us. This is something the left is not able to comprehend about the anarchy movement, as they attempt to corral us into their limited arena and claim ownership over our struggle by labeling anarchists the "extreme, utopian" branch of the ultra-left. But the left's strategies of containment will not succeed this time around, for we've learned from our bitter defeats and our failed opportunities, and we'll no longer be hoodwinked by the lies of those who would have us believe in the inevitable "withering away of the state".

This, of course, brings up the question of what other movements of the dispossessed do we support and extend solidarity to, and under what circumstances? Clearly, supporting authoritarian movements and ideologies is going to get us nowhere, but how does this insight apply to a group like N17, who were/are explicitly anti-Stalinist and seem to have wanted something akin to "direct democracy", and who have also demonstrated solidarity with anarchists in the past? At what point is enough common ground established to render our political differences insignificant and incapable of hampering effective, collaborative resistance against our shared enemy?

We bring these questions up not to undermine support for the N17 prisoners, but because we feel these are the types of questions the anarchist movement needs to be asking itself, as we assert our autonomy from the opportunistic left and renew our struggle with no illusions about what we're fighting for.

We would love to get some feedback on this article from anarchists in Greece. For more background on the N17 Movement, check-out the last few issues of *Green Anarchy*.

Right-Wing Militia Targets Anarchists

A Phoenix-area right-wing militia group has said it is going to be targetting anti-war protesters, and anarchists in particular. Violence has been threatened, including sniper attacks at demos, using rifles and nightvision scopes. Some may know that Arizona has a huge problem with racist border, anti-immigrant militias - it looks like it could be moving into the cities, and it also looks like they have some backing from local capitalists. Further, these militias (and this alleges to be a "coalition" of militias) seem to be making the connection between anti-border work and anarchists in particular (a legitimate connection), and the anti-war stance of anarchists, perceived as unpatriotic (rightly so), is being used to legitimize the attacks.

The following are statements from this group, recently posted on their website, some of which were reposted to Arizona Indymedia (including some comments from a reporter for a local paper doing a story on it). Shortly after going up, the page that hosted the anti-protester militia has been taken down, probably because it got so much scrutiny. It's not clear, but there are allusions to possible connections to police - they certainly are very concerned about the cops' welfare (pro-war counter-demonstrators have been turning up at anti-war rallies here recently, so this is a possible source of their intelligence). They also don't state which anarchist group they have "infiltrated" (nor do they offer proof that they have done so), though the obvious assumption is the Phoenix Anarchist Coalition or its east valley collective, the Monsoon Anarchist Collective.

People should remember that one sure sign of fascism is the rise of paramilitary groups who operate with the tacit (or even open) approval of the State. This, along with the development of anti-immigrant militias, is a very disturbing development if true, particularly given its presence in Arizona's largest city.

It is important to point out a few things. There is no evidence of infiltration, and no one we know has reported any evidence of an attack or specific threat to anyone in particular. Nor is there evidence, aside from these statements and the website, that this group even exists, not to mention whether it has the numbers it claims.

This also comes in the context of the prominent arrest of local anti-racist, anti-police organizer, Laro Nichol by ATF on weapons and explosives charges. Also, it is important to note that COINTELPRO informs us that the police have frequently used paranoia and suspicion as weapons to destroy groups from the inside, so most anarchists I know are not over-reacting to this news. No one we know has been deterred from their normal activities. Work continues.

We're sharing this information to make other anarchists aware of a possibly disturbing turn of events, but not

one that wasn't predictable given the current political climate. We are not posting this to arouse feelings of suspicion or finger-pointing. A cautious attitude is recommended. Keep your eyes and ears open, but do not over-react.

The statements and links follow:

"BRIEF NOTE: Our Militia Coalition is Growing.

We have now joined with two other Militia Groups. Our coalition is at about 82 members strong right now. We expect that one or two Militia and Pro-American groups will be joining us.

WE will be sending out a rally flyer to members. We will list meeting times for Anti-Protestor strategy meetings, the equipment we will need and post locations for surveillance and target marking.

The fun will begin soon just be patient.

WE have access to more Night vision equipment as well as illuminated low light Scopes. We also know where to get these items at a discounted price.....just for us.

Apparently our supplier is in on our crusade with us against the Anti-American protestors. They just don't want their company name listed."

The following was taken from a press release issued when requested by local media:

"PRESS RELEASE: Note to Media about Anti-American Protestor Militia Organization

Due to the nature of our intentions, we do not feel that it would be in our best interest to make any statements about our planned activities, the number of people involved and who they are. I figure this is the information you are seeking. After spending some time yesterday making calls to others in our coalition about your request, it was decided that no particulars would be revealed in the event of any interview.

I can however tell you that we do believe in the first Amendment and the exercise of it by protestors, however we feel that some people/groups have stepped across that fine line between use and abuse of their Constitutional rights. To us they have yelled "fire" in a crowded theatre. We know the police are being harassed and baited into taking actions against these protestors that of course they will exploit in the media, police brutality etc. To this point these extremists have not succeeded in doing the job.

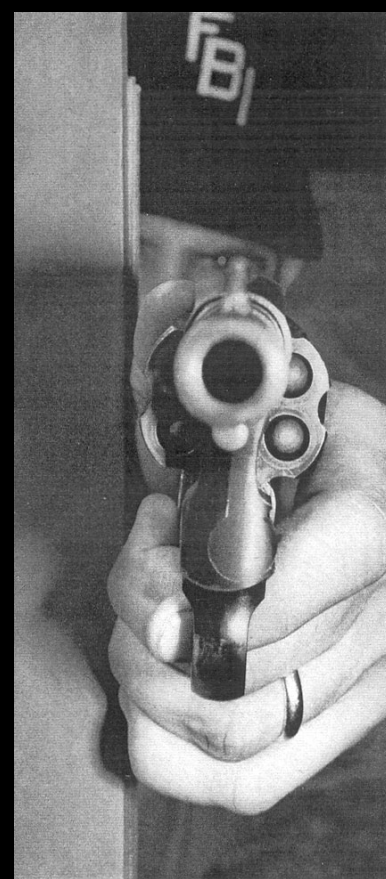
We feel it is past time to Eliminate this element from our society, we feel it is our Patriotic duty. At almost any other time their protests would not be a bother to us but due to the nature of our Countries [sic] current situation, and the fact that we have been watching the activities of this/these groups for over 6 months (and before they even started their Anti-war campaign) we know for a fact that the Anti-Government and Anti-American Ideals that many of these people have are Parallel to that of domestic terrorists.

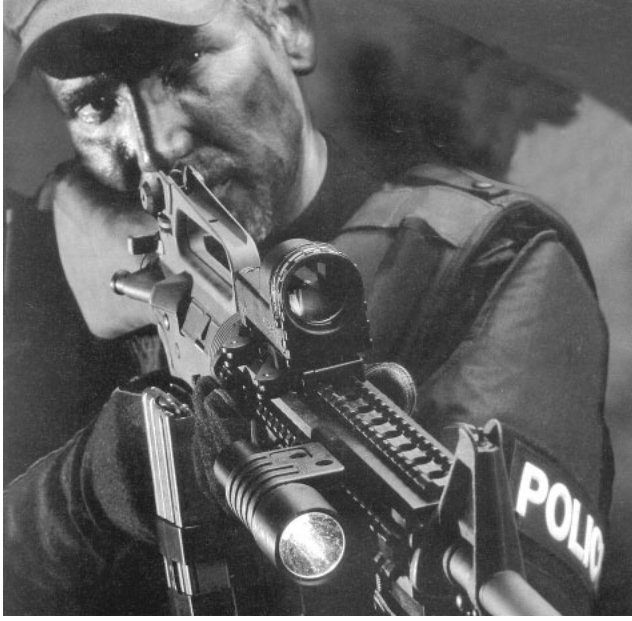
We started our operations and monitoring of this group back in June or July of last year, our initial beef with this group of Anti-American subversives started with their Anti-Border militia activities. We have a number of people infiltrated to this anarchist group and this is why we know what we know and what we know is what will drive us to fulfill the missions that we seek to accomplish. God Bless America, Have a Freedom Day. -VPC"

Support Barbara Smedema: It's Your Choice - Resistance or Annihilation!

Green Anarchy has just learned that Dutch anti-war activist, Barbara Smedema, is being imprisoned in the Women's Penitentiary Institution in Evertsoord, Holland. She is being held for sabotaging the communication discs on an American communication bunker at the military airport Volkel. She carried out her action on the night of Feb 9, 2003, when she dismantled the discs causing roughly 500,000 euros in damage. This action was taken as an act of resistance against the (then) impending threat of war against Iraq. In this military bunker, which operates 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, the military communicates on matters concerning the American nuclear bombs that are located at the base in eleven special bunkers. It is claimed that for the past 30 years secret planning has been taking place at this bunker in preparation for possible deployment of the nuclear missiles stored there. Actions like this are a necessary part of dismantling the omnicidal war machine and it's important to support those who get caught engaging in acts of defiance. As Barbara herself puts it, "We do not have the illusion that we can stop the war-machine in this way but we need to show hope and confidence that the world can be different."

Please write: Barbara Smedema, P.I. Ter Peel, Patersweg 4, 5977 NM Evertsoord, Holland.





March 26: Trial Begins For Teen Charged In Costly School Fire

A prosecutor told a Taylor County jury that a 17-year-old is a self-proclaimed anarchist who orchestrated a fire that damaged an Abilene school. The statement came as the arson trial of Nikolas Pethis got under way in Abilene. The prosecutor says the fire caused \$1.5-million in damage to Wylie Junior High School in Abilene. Pethis is accused of leading a group of teens suspected in several arsons last year, as well as thefts, burglaries and vandalism in the months leading to the Wylie blaze. Pethis is being tried as an adult on a charge of organized criminal activity. If convicted, he could be placed on probation or serve up to life in prison. Pethis' attorney told jurors that he wasn't at the school when it was set ablaze February ninth of last year. Attorney Lynn Ingalsbe says the fires were "random acts of juvenile violence."

April 24, Belgium: Geert Waegemans Released!

Geert had been serving 5 years for various ALF arsons. Controversially he named police informant, Anja Hermans, as aiding him with his actions after she named him as an ALF activist & alerted the police to his activity. Following Geert's conviction for various ALF arsons the police were threatening to prosecute Geert for membership of a criminal organization (the ALF) and are also looking to place further ALF arson charges against him. He however, is now out of jail.

April 26: Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty US Statement About FBI Raid On Their House

"We all knew it would happen some day. The SHAC-USA office was raided by the FBI this week. In the midst of moving to our new office location, about 20 FBI agents and a search warrant came in and carted off a few computers and other items. But rest assured, we are now settled into our new office location and up and running!! Even with their most dramatic efforts, the Feds are still always one step behind.

Well, we wish them fun times in combing through our stuff. In the meantime, it's business as usual and there's a campaign to be won - and we are more eager than ever to win it! As of Monday we will have a new office number and can be reached at: 609.936.8422.

Let this latest turn of events be a jolt of caffeine for the campaign and the animal rights movement. This raid is the clearest sign yet that the HLS campaign is being effective - even more so than we may have thought. Rather than being derailed, we are driven by even more injustice against which to fight. Not only are the animals at HLS under attack, but our own activists. It's time to pull together even more than before, resist this criminalization of dissent, and finish the hellhole that is HLS off for good!

THE GRIP TIGHTENS

Repression Reports From Around The World

If you'd like to help SHAC-USA out, we welcome donations to replace some lost office equipment, and to cover legal fees. Checks and money orders can be made out to "SHAC-USA" and mailed to PO Box 22398, Philadelphia, PA, 19110. Also, please forward us the names of any sympathetic lawyers; help us complete a kick ass legal team to squash this bug of an investigation. Keep active, keep angry, and keep your heads up.

Remember, if you are visited by the FBI, or any other authority, tell them firmly that you have nothing to say and to go away. Say it over and over again as many times as necessary until they do. You do not even need to open the door unless they have a search warrant. If you are visited, please contact SHAC-USA at 609.936.8422 or 888.354.2435 for support. And remember, whether they have a warrant or not - **NO MATTER WHAT - YOU DO NOT NEED TO SAY *ANYTHING* TO THEM.**

Now more than ever, **SMASH HLS.**

For the animals,
- SHAC-USA."

May 6: Volkert van der Graaf Gets 18 Years For The Assassination Of Right-Wing Politician

Dutch extreme right-wing party leader Pim Fortuyn was shot to death (five times at close range) as he walked to his car after a campaign radio interview. Fortuyn was outspokenly racist, having recently published a book against the "Islamification" of Dutch culture, a self-proclaimed "populist" candidate who was in the process of successfully building an "anti-immigration" political party in the Netherlands. Moments after the fatal shooting of Fortuyn, Dutch police chased down and arrested 33 year-old Volkert van der Graaf and charged him with murder and illegal weapons possession; Police supposedly found a pistol on van der Graaf that ballistically matched the pistol used to assassinate Fortuyn and later claimed to have found ammunition at the suspect's home in Harderwijk, about 30 miles east of Amsterdam, that matched shell casings at the crime scene. Volkert van der Graaf was initially being described by the Dutch media as an animal rights and environmental activist who for years had peacefully and legally fought industrial factory farming in the Dutch courts. A founder of the animal and environmental advocacy group *Environmental Offensive*, van der Graaf worked on more than 2,000 lawsuits to fight the expansion of industrial animal farming, and his arrest came as shock to most of his former activist colleagues. Shortly after van der Graaf was officially charged with Fortuyn's murder, there was an almost complete media blackout on his case here in the U.S. and it became difficult for us to provide our readers with regular updates. With the help of some of our anarchist comrades in Holland, we were able to learn that on July 12, 2002, van der Graaf began a 70-day hunger strike to protest the

presence of a 24-hour surveillance camera in his cell. After ending his fast, Van der Graaf was transferred to a State mental hospital for "observation", where *Green Anarchy* attempted to make contact with him and conduct an interview. Van der Graaf had made a dramatic and unexpected confession to the court during his first appearance there on March 27, and we were anxious to hear his side of the story, but transatlantic communication barriers prevented us from learning anything more about his situation until his recent sentencing in mid-April, 2003. Van der Graaf was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment by a surprisingly lenient Dutch court, after explaining that he felt it was his moral duty to help groups in society that he considered threatened by Fortuyn, whose rise to political power Van der Graaf compared to that of Nazism in Germany in the 1930s. Because he expressed "remorse" and claimed during his trial that he was now "struggling" with the question of whether his act was acceptable, the presiding judge ruled that "Dutch society should not give up on the hope of Van der Graaf being rehabilitated," and dished out a comparatively mild sentence. Pym Fortuyn supporters were outraged by the light sentence and even many of our Dutch anarchist contacts admit that there are many puzzling questions about this case that haven't been answered: for example, where Van der Graaf learned to shoot with such accuracy, where he obtained the extremely uncommon weapon in the first place (guns are hard to come by in Dutch society), why the clumsy escape attempt, and how come there has been no attempt to identify the other people who were

seen fleeing the assassination scene by eyewitnesses? Some have even suggested that there might have been State complicity in Fortuyn's murder, speculating that he was viewed as an equal threat to the establishment as he was to foreigners. But like the convoluted, Machiavellian web of intrigue surrounding the N17 movement in Greece, we'll probably never know the answers to these questions.

If anyone reading this has more up-to-date information on Volkert van der Graaf (especially his prison mailing address), then please contact the *Green Anarchy Collective* at: P.O. Box 11331, Eugene, Oregon, 97440 or collective@greenanarchy.org

May 21, California: Animal Rights Activist Extradited To New York

Sabrina Forsey, an animal rights activist currently living in Oceanside, California, was extradited to New York last month after

police raided her home in connection with a charge from an old Bank of New York demonstration two years ago. She is being charged with riot and forgery (allegedly for giving false identification during her initial arrest.) Her next court date is on June 17- for her lawyer to submit a briefing to the court on why she should be treated as a "youthful offender", as she was 17 when the charges first occurred.

The purpose of the enemy is to break our bones, the only target they can see. Our purpose is to defend the collective imagination now gaining momentum.

Former ELF Spokesmen Form New National Revolutionary Organization in U.S.

May 12, Portland, Oregon: Leslie James Pickering and Craig Rosebraugh, the former spokespersons for the North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, announced the formation of a new revolutionary organization in the United States called *Arissa*. "Arissa is an effort at building an effective revolutionary movement in the United States," the group proclaims on its website: www.arissa.org. "Until such time as a revolution occurs, the U.S. political structure will continue to inflict widespread atrocities on a domestic and international level." Both Pickering and Rosebraugh operated the North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, an independent public relations group ideologically supporting the Earth Liberation Front. Pickering and Rosebraugh left the press office after concluding that more directed, strategic, and severe action needed to be taken against the political structure itself in the United States. Both maintain that only a political and social revolution in the United States will create the necessary opportunity to alleviate most domestic and international human and environmental problems caused by the U.S. government. Determining that the pursuit of building an effective revolutionary movement must begin with public education, *Arissa* in the near future will be offering educational materials in various forms of media designed to demonstrate the need for a revolution in the United States.

For more information contact: *Arissa* PO Box 6058, Portland, Oregon 97228-6058. Email info@arissa.org Call: (716)698-2396 or (503)703-6069.

**INTERNAL SCREAMS, INTERNAL SCREAMS!
RESTLESSNESS, TOSSING, TURNING
DREAMING OF DESTRUCTION!
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INTERNAL SCREAMS!
NOXIOUS AIR, FACTORY FARMS, DEFORESTATION,
OZONE DEPLETION
INGESTING DESTRUCTION!
CLONING, BIRTH CONTROL, ABORTION
INTERNAL SCREAMS!
POOR, HUNGER, HOMELESSNESS
LIVING DESTRUCTION!
NOBODY CARES 'CAUSE
SEINFELD IS ON!**

- TURKEY
AKA TRACY BOOTH