



it is collapsing the space
between life and death
it is moving swiftly
and remaining completely motionless
it is singular and whole
and infinitely fractured
it is everything outside us
and all worlds within
it is where we are going
and where we have been
it is deeply connected to ancient ways
and the unleashing of limitless desires...
...it is wildness!

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GREEN ANARCHY

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FREE TO PRISONERS

An Anti-Civilization Journal of Theory and Action

GETTING OUT...

OUR LOVE IS SUBVERSIVE, THE AFFECTION SPRING FROM OUR COMRADELY FRIENDSHIP, OR SPIRIT, IS IN THE SHADOWS OF CIVILIZATION, THE PASSION OF SEX, SENSATION OF DIRECT ACTION OR AN INSURRECTION, THE LUST OF A BODY, THE TENDENCIES OF A RIOT, THE IMPULSES OF OUR HEARTS, AND DESIRES OF OUR IMAGINATION, CURIOSITY, OR PERSONAL NATURE. OUR LOVE IS SUBVERSIVE BY THE JOURNEY, IT WILL PROVIDE THE ADVENTURES MANIFESTED THROUGH THE POTENTIAL OF OUR STRENGTH, THE COMMITMENTS AND DEDICATION THAT ARE PROVIDED THROUGH THE PROMISES OF THE PETALS WHICH CREATE THE FLOWER WE CALL RELATIONSHIPS, THE INTROSPECTIVE EXPERIENCES MUTUALLY ASSED THROUGH THE MOVING AND DANCING OF THE WALKS, FEET, AND TRAVELS WE TAKE, OR PASSIONS WE SATISFY, AND PLEASURE OR HAPPINESS WE RECEIVE, I CERTAINLY HOPE THIS IS CONSISTENT, THIS STRONG AND AMAZING SOLIDARITY OR SPIRIT THAT STAYS IN OUR HEARTS; WORDS AND SYMBOLISM HAVE NO ABILITY TO DECEIBE THIS HOPE, YET IT IS "OUT OF THIS WORLD" BEYOND THE RESTRICTIONS AND FEAR-FILLED SHAME/MASERY OF MONOGAMY, OUTSIDE OF THE REPRESSION OF ALIENATION AND THE APATHETIC SOCIETY WE BLINDLY SUBMIT TO, IT COMMUNICATES SECRETLY BEYOND THE SUPERFICIAL AND RESTRICTIVE INSTITUTIONS OF DOMESTICATION OR THIS "INDUSTRIAL MONOLITH".

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?, A FOUNDATION OF OUR HEARTS, OPERATING THROUGH NO SYSTEM BUT THE SAME DYNAMICS THAT PUGH THIS INSURGENTLY ONWARD, OUR LOVE IS SUBVERSIVE, IT IS AN ART STANDING STILL AS OTHERS RUSH TO THE SUBMISSIVE AND TRAGIC PATTERNS ONE COMES UPON THROUGH THE ACCEPTANCE/BLINDNESS TO ROUTINE, IT IS ART MOVING, AS OTHERS STAND STILL IN A TRAINED SILENCE, AND TAMED STILLNESS, THIS LOVE IS NOT TRAINED, IT IS CERTAINLY NOT FUCKING TAME, IT'S ROOTED BY A FORCE THAT VIOLENTLY LIBERATES A DANCING AND WILD SPIRIT FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF SURVIVAL, FROM THE INDOCRINATION OF FEAR, FROM THE IMPRISONMENT OF A PASSIONLESS AND LIFELESS SOUL, OUR LOVE IS SUBVERSIVE, HIDING OUT BUT ALWAYS ATTACKING HEAD-ON, GOING UNDERGROUND BUT ALWAYS RISING THROUGH ITS CONTAGIOUS JOY AND INSURGENT DESIRE, AND THE REVOLUTION THAT INEVITABLY FOLLOWS ITS BEAUTIFUL TENDENCIES, IT'S FUCKING GREAT TO SHARE THIS LOVE, OVERWHELMING TO KNOW ONE CAN FEEL THE EMOTIONS SO MANY HAVE LEFT AND FORGOTTEN, THE AUTONOMY OF OUR LOVE IS CRIMINAL, THE MOTHER EARTH OR PERSONAL NATURE OF OUR LOVE IS SMOTHERED, THE ART OF OUR LOVE IS INDOCRINATED, THE JOURNEY OF OUR LOVE ARE DOMESTICATED, THE WILDERNESS OF OUR LOVE IS TAMED, THE ACTIONS OF OUR LOVE ARE INCARCERATED, THE JOY OR PLEASURE OF OUR LOVE IS FEARED, THOUGH THE BATTLE OF OUR LOVE IS BEING FOUGHT, BY US, BY MANY, THROUGH ACTION, THROUGH JOURNAL/PLARY, THROUGH RESISTANCE, THROUGH THE WATERING OF THE FLOWER WE HAVE CREATED, LET'S CONTINUE TO WATER, NEVER STOP, NEVER FEAR, ONLY MOVE ONWARD

— SINCERELY YOURS, WITH NO PAIN—ALEX ASCH



ACT YOUR R/AGE!

(before you're regge becomes an act!)

North American Underground Direct Action Totals for 2003

There were 75 claimed illegal direct actions in North America in 2003, an increase of 8% over acknowledged illegal direct actions taken in 2002. Animal liberation actions comprised just under 50% or 37 actions, while 38 actions were committed for a combination of earth liberation, anti-GMO, anti-SUV, anti-development, anti-war and other reasons.

The Animal Liberation Front took action on 18 occasions in 2003, the same number as in 2002. The Earth Liberation Front took action on 13 occasions, mirroring the number of actions in 2002. Other groups claiming responsibility for actions in 2003 included the Revolutionary Cells – Animal Liberation Brigade, the Direct Action Front, and the Vegan Dumpster Militia. Multiple actions were similarly claimed in communiques by anonymous groups.

What increased dramatically in 2003 were the overall damage totals as a result of direct action. The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) alone caused upwards of \$55 million in damages in a series of anti-development and SUV dealership attacks that captured headlines across North America. It's likely that the damage totals for economic sabotage and clandestine direct action in 2003 were close to \$60 million, though the exact figure is difficult to determine.

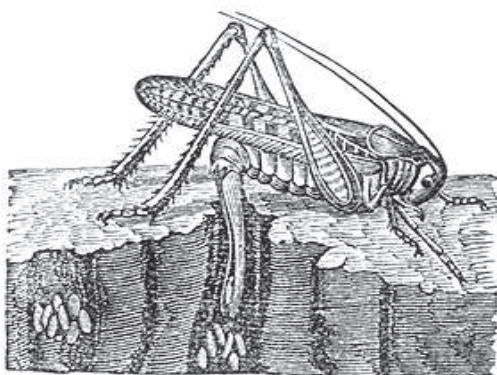
(This report was compiled by the Earth Liberation Front Press Office, who can be contacted at elfpress@resist.ca)

For Earth Liberation Actions, check out: www.earthliberationfront.com
For Animal Liberation Actions, check out: animalliberation.net



www.greenanarchy.org

CONTENTS



ISSUE #16/Spring 2004

- Nostalgia by Sky Hiatt, pg 2
What I Wish I Had Said September 12, 2001
by an anonymous nihilist, pg 5
Theses On Anarchism After Post-Modernism
by Bob Black, pg 6
Reclaiming the Tao Te Ching for Anarchy, pg 7
Patriarchy, Civilization, and the Origins of Gender
by John Zerzan, pg 8
The Witch and the Wildness by Kevin Tucker, pg 11
Biotechnology: Public and Private by Rene Riesel, pg 14
Lights, Camera, Action! by The Grievous Amalgam, pg 20
The Revolutionary Imperative of "Going Native"
by Rob Los Ricos pg 24
Insurrection in Australia, by Dave Antagonism pg 27
The Animal in the Dark Tower by Ran Prieur, pg 29
Everything that Plummets Must Converge
by Dan Todd, pg 51
Let the Olympic Games Die in the Land They
Were Born (by Greek Anarchists), pg 54
Summits, Counter-Summits, and Social War
by Wolfi Landstreicher, pg 56
The Future Is Unwritten (let us keep it that way)
by anonymous autonomist, pg 66

Back To Basics volume three: Rewilding

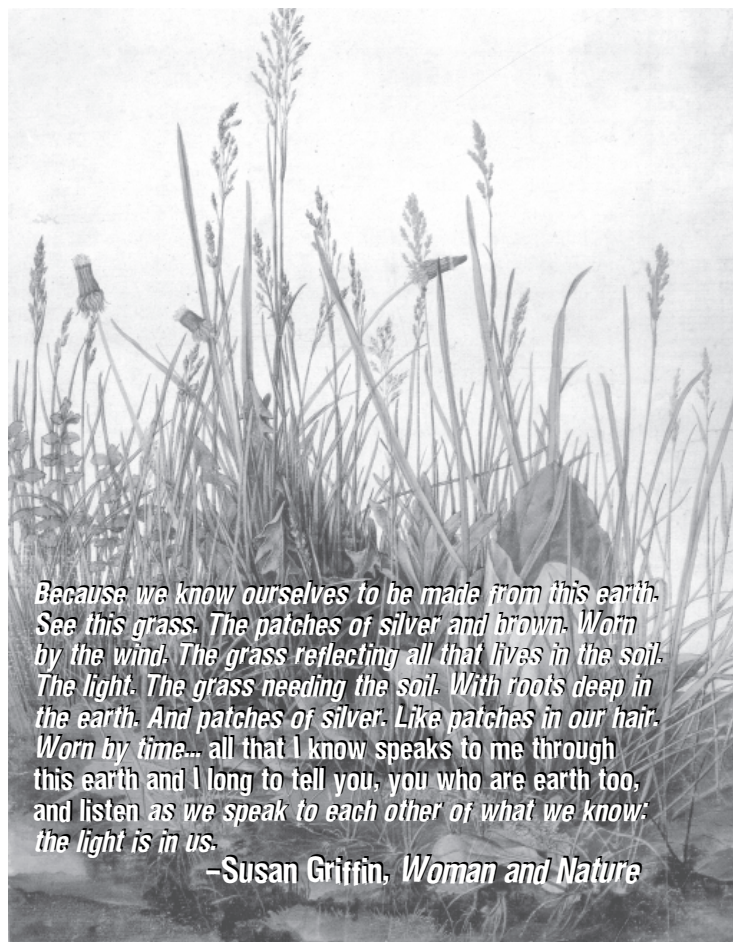
- Introduction, pg 31
The Journey from "Civilized" to "Primitive" Living
by RedWolfReturns, pg 32
Earthskills by Wildroots, pg 34
Bioregionalism by Wildroots, pg 37
Wild Foods in Your Bioregion, pg 38
The Question of Cultivation by Wildroots, pg 40
Rewilding References, pg 41
This Is Anarcha-Herbalism by Laura Luddite, pg 42
The Feral Fury Unleashed by Gimili, pg 44
Intuition as a Crucial Part of Rewilding by ardilla, pg 46

Direct Action Reports

- Earth Liberation Actions, pg 18
Indigenous and Campesino Resistance, pg 26
Prisoner Uprisings and Revolts, pg 47
Anarchist Resistance, pg 52
Anti-Capitalist/Anti-Government Resistance, pg 58
Symptoms of State Meltdown, pg 60

Sections

- Welcome to Green Anarchy, pg 4
The Garden of Peculiarities (fragment 8), pg 23
Political Prisoner Listings, pg 49
State Repression News, pg 50
Reviews, pg 62
Letters, pg 68
News from the Balcony with Waldorf and Statler, pg 72
Report on the 2004 BASTARD Conference, pg 73
The Nihilist Dictionary: Niceism, pg 73
Ads and Announcements, pg 74
Feral Visions Gathering Info, pg 75
Subscriber and Distributor Info, pg 75
Green Anarchy Distribution Center, pg 76



*Because we know ourselves to be made from this earth.
See this grass. The patches of silver and brown. Worn
by the wind. The grass reflecting all that lives in the soil.
The light. The grass needing the soil. With roots deep in
the earth. And patches of silver. Like patches in our hair.
Worn by time... all that I know speaks to me through
this earth and I long to tell you, you who are earth too,
and listen as we speak to each other of what we know:
the light is in us.*

—Susan Griffin, Woman and Nature

Nostalgia

by Sky Hiatt

THEY SAY WE CAN'T GO BACK. They say we don't really know the past, we just imagine it. They say we've changed it in our minds and made it better than it was. They say we've altered it, romanticized it, sanitized it. They say it wasn't that way. They say everyone, even people who lived in the past wanted the old days back. They say this longing for old times is a kind of weakness. To people suffering from this weakness, the present seems to lack something. They say this nostalgia is a law of life, that we all want our childhood back, and that all former times and former cultures felt this sad and hopeless yearning for yesterday.

But they are wrong. None of what they say is true. The people who say these things are weak in their own way. They are blinded by the present and accept it unquestioningly. They are tolerant of it. But they do not understand the present or the past, and they do not understand our longing for it.

So they demean and universalize our nostalgic notions. But, nostalgia for the past is not the normal thing. All former cultures did not share this yearning. Before Columbus landed, Native people did not long for something lost. Why would they? They lived close to the Earth in its primal state in a balance with nature and in a condition of cultural wholeness. Because of this they were free. They didn't want something different. They wanted what they had. In their time, the past and the future resembled each other. This organic continuum of living gave them a command over time and destiny. They were in control of their lives. They were not nostalgic. They were hopeful. It wasn't accidental. It was a social promise that worked for thousands of years until they were forced to change.

Today, of course, we believe in change. We crave it. Styles must change. Fashion must change. Car models must be upgraded and modernized. New medicines synthesized. New machines designed, new technologies developed, new toys in time for Christmas. New solutions to the problems our other solutions have generated.

Because we are indebted to change, we find it hard to remain settled or content. Modern life is tinged with urgency. Out of this urgency our nostalgias are born. Our sad yearnings are an indicator that social change has exceeded our ability to endure it. As the pace of change escalates, customs and traditions die out. Those that remain mutate obsessively to fill the void.

Eventually, our instinctual knowing alerts us that time is not on our side. We feel the past and the present collapsing in on each other. We feel the lack of continuity and control. And we know that much of what we once held dear is gone. Still, not one person in ten, in a hundred, believes in constancy or understands how destructive change has been.

The present depends upon ongoing, intensifying social transformation and upheaval. Because of this, the past and the future have become disconnected. As the past washes away, we lose the cultural plans we once had to move toward. Without the hopes, dreams and idealisms of the past, the future looms ahead unknown. Living without a certain future disturbs us. We are living in an amputated, rootless moment in time. We know this is not enough. This knowing is nostalgia.



The lack of a certain future generates social apathy, anomie, alienation, and fear. Change has destroyed our tribes, our clans, our families, our hometowns, our communities, our sanctuaries, our fellow species. The fracture of once sound social and biological systems has undermined our ability to unite in response to crisis. The social collective that secured



constancy and protected the future is gone.

Nostalgia is society's central nervous system. Without it we could not feel social pain. And there would be no consciousness of longing to warn us of chaos. We know valuable things are being left behind. It is not imaginary. Much is being lost every day. All kinds of things are disappearing that once were common and customary. So the longings and the great cultural sadness increase.

Experts say it is not productive, not practical. It is not possible to reclaim those things that have been compromised by time. The present is upon us. We can't go back, even to rescue the things we know were good. Not even if we wanted to. They say time marches on.

In exchange for this advancing social loss, as a kind of acquiescent delusion, many have come to believe now to be the best time. So we are taught to tolerate the intolerable, accept change and the loss it generates, to accept work we dislike unquestioningly, to accept ugliness, to live cut off from a natural life, and to forget the wild primal flare of living. But rather than doubt our times, we doubt ourselves and doubt our senses and doubt everything. If the present is not perfect, surely the past was worse. Because if the past truly were ideal, the present would take on the aura of an Oz-like charade.

Culture is the dynamic, interactive relationship of people to place and will naturally evolve when a society lives long enough in a place to learn all about it. Healthy cultures acquire this information after hundreds or thousands of years of patient experience.

There is no hurry at all. After a time, this learning weathers into its fossil form. And from this fossil knowledge comes the idiosyncratic social definition of culture as a reflection of place. Art, music, fashion, tradition, language, architecture, religion, myth, all develop organically from this indelible bond.

Because we were shaped and designed by the Earth, our nostalgias cannot lead us wrong. They are millions of years of coded revelations held by every human being like a longing or a dream. We know our hearts are breaking. We know we are afraid. We are a sad and uprooted population. We are an itinerant, ever-shifting, mobile, culturally disinherited people surrounded by deteriorating ritual, lapse of ceremony and loss of social meaning. We have allowed cultural memory to escape us. We are helpless, tame and not free.

Surviving Native societies are far more enculturated than we are. That's what attracts us to them. They have something we have lost. We feel a residual social jealousy manifesting in protectiveness. We will speak for them, or fight for them. It seems they have all kinds of tantalizing rights. They have visionary ideals nestled somewhere in the ancestral parts of the brain. We understand they have a right to their preferred expression of social being. We stand up for the Tribes but we do not stand up for ourselves because we have forgotten that these rights are universal. Because of this, we may see problems and set forth solutions, but none of them will work. After all, how can the lions safe in their cage save other lions from the zoo?

When a landed culture dies out, the fossil knowledge laid down one memory at a time dies out too. We are using up the Earth's fossil knowledge faster than we are replacing it. We don't think much about it. We don't feel any different. No one on the evening news is alarmed. No ratios are displayed — how much is lost, how much remains. No panels gather to consider how much knowledge it takes to successfully inhabit our planet. No wondering that someday we may not have enough knowledge left to keep on. No concern we may already have passed that point.

When fossil knowledge disappears, the social fabric is perforated and the things we will eventually become nostalgic for begin to vanish. These vital, precious data bits are not immediately retrievable. Reclaiming them requires whole cultures, whole generations, encoding for centuries. It requires a firsthand, interactive relationship with the Earth. This type of learning is ceaseless. It does not stop or start. It has no beginning and it does not end.

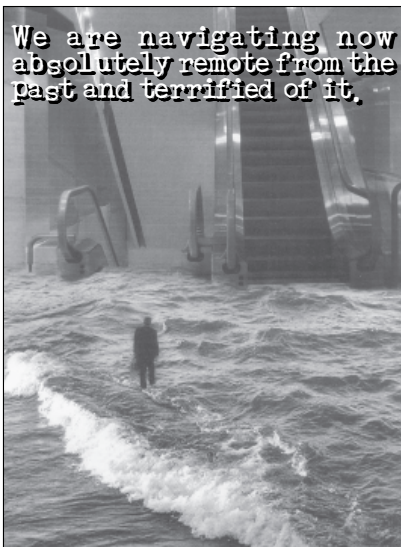
Modern learning, fragmented and temporal, now stands in for the real thing. This pseudo-knowledge, like a kind of guessing, is simply the modern method of forgetting. As a result, all major advertised gains of the present are illusory or transitory.

If we are locked into this time, we are the ones holding the key. It is not a game of words, it is a force of thought and a battle of ideas. Our personal nostalgic dreams are all that's left of the past and they are the hope for the future. The only thing wrong with them is they are not strong enough. We do not promote them.

It's not polite. We are ashamed and embarrassed by ourselves and hesitant to admit to our secret social longings and our private pain.

The self-absorbed, self-adulatory time in which we live does not enjoy being compared to other times. We are navigating now absolutely remote from the past and terrified of it. The ambition of our time is to isolate and destroy all alternate futures. The present allows no substitutes.

The past now labors under intense temporal prejudice. Time rights are being compromised. Human destiny is at stake. One hundred thousand years of evolutionary experience has etched in our minds an instinct for survival and in our hearts a capacity to feel. If we lose that, or if we are ashamed to feel, if we are corrupted by the present, the future will erase even the memory of these yearnings. Our species' obligation is to never let that happen.



We are navigating now absolutely remote from the past and terrified of it.

WATER KNOWS NO OBSTACLES AND OVERTAKES ALL OPPONENTS AS IT FLOWS TOWARDS ITS DESTINATION

It is remarkable how widely critiques of civilization itself are being expressed, and how few in the anti-authoritarian milieu come out against such perspectives. Even two or three years ago this was not so much the case. An awful reality is unfolding for all to experience, and our visions deepen in order to imagine a truly different world.

In fact, it has become almost mandatory—even for some on the left—to add “civilization” to the list of things we oppose. This is rather like the post-Seattle ’99 tide of activists who began identifying as anarchists. Overall, it’s a positive movement, not something to complain about.

And sometimes one wonders what the words actually mean to people, whether in every case outlooks really have deepened. For example, a recent article included the phrase “as long as there have been classes and states—that is, since the beginning of civilization.” This could certainly be (mis)read as classes and states equal civilization, and in that sense all traditional, leftist anarchists oppose it. Which they do not, in fact, because civilization more fundamentally means domestication and domination of nature, for example. The various anarcho-communists, “anti-state” communists, syndicalists, situationists, etc. do not question these institutions, because without them modernity, globalism, technology—to name a few others they don’t question—wouldn’t exist.

Similar references to civilization include using the word to refer to present reality in general, or in a qualified sense, as in “capitalist civilization,” which probably just means capitalism.

But if more precision would be nice, we must definitely be alert to an opposing problem as well. One that’s our responsibility; namely, not becoming sectarian, rigid, dogmatic in our resistance to civilization. The left is capable of some of the same ‘flexibility’ that capitalism has so often displayed. To throw the C-word in once in a while might give a false impression as to what the left is, how far it can go. And that’s worth taking note of.

But for us, new zines, more get-togethers, a growing resonance (e.g. articles, books, films), and resistance are visible in 2004. A deeply grounded popular movement is possible, if not likely. Let’s go forward strongly, but also openly and non-defensively, always looking for new questions. Starting with some for ourselves in fighting civilization/patriarchy.

Welcome to Green Anarchy

Issue #16/Spring 2004

Springtime has finally arrived! It's time to start sprouting and budding after the necessary dark and inward period of theorizing, reflection, and debate. It's time to get moving again and prepare for action! In our last issue of *Green Anarchy* (#15) we spent a lot of time focused on tactics and strategy, including articles on summits, sabotage, and armed resistance. It was also a special theme on the Left, including Part Two of our "Back to Basics" series, entitled "The Problem of the Left". As anti-civilization anarchists, we feel that the Left is not only a failed political orientation and a bankrupt position which has never questioned basic assumptions of the current arrangement (technology, division of labor, economy, progress, and organization), but in fact, it is antithetical to liberation and needs to be abandoned. While understanding what we are against and *why* is important in our project of de-civilizing, in this issue there is more focus on what we are for, the reconnection to wildness. So, while we have our usual elements of resistance to the megamachine and our anti-civ/post-left analysis, we also focus on something we are doing in our lives, but which sometimes gets overlooked and even downplayed in these pages: *rewilding*.

In this issue, we have volume three of "Back to Basics", which focuses on our observations and visions for an emotional, spiritual, and physical return to the wild. We would like to thank the *Wildroots Collective* in North Carolina for contributing the bulk of this primer. (Note: We intend the next "Back to Basics" to be either a revised "What is Green Anarchy" special introduction, or "Class and the Anti-Civilization Perspective".) This issue also features a look at video surveillance cameras and the rewilding act of destroying them, John Zerzan's "Patriarchy, Civilization, and the Origins of Gender", an essay by former member of the Situationist International turned anti-GE militant, Rene Riesel, Bob Black's "Theses On Anarchism After Post-Modernism", an intriguing look at the origins question by Ran Prier, a reclamation of Lao Tzu's "Tao Te Ching", a number of other articles and perspectives, and the usual sections on direct action and state repression, plus reviews, letters, poems and opinions. Unfortunately, because of the limits of time and space there is no interview in this issue, but we are working on a couple of them as you read this. We were also unable to include a substantial look at anarchist visions beyond the utopian model, which will appear in our Summer issue (#17).

Our new format has been well received! We are delighted to say that we have been given an abundance of positive feedback on our switch from newsprint tabloid to magazine. As we stated in the last issue, our content will not change, no sections will be cut, and the size and consistency will remain the same. We made this change with the hope of providing a more durable and long-lasting piece of propaganda, and in an attempt to get the magazine into larger circulation through distributors. Just so you know, the glossy cover of our last issue was a mistake by the printer, and although it looks sharp and "professional", for financial and ecological reasons, we will probably stick to a matte finish for the

magazine. And although we have gone through most of the 9,000 copies of the Winter issue, we did a print run of only 8,000 on this issue so we could print more of the "Rewilding" primers, and because we will have to get our Summer issue out a little sooner to better prepare for the "Feral Visions Against Civilization" gathering in August (see page 75 for details).

Feedback on the content of the last issue was mostly very favorable, although we should say that it was probably our most controversial issue to date. To be honest though, we could have written a very specific list before-hand of all the individuals who would get defensive and pissed off by issue #15 (including many anarcho-leftists, the more defensive folks in the punk scene, and certain "identity politics"-oriented people), and we would have been about 95% accurate. We are not here to be "agreeable" and "nice", but to raise questions we feel are important, to report on and offer analysis to the various resistance movements, and add our critique to the ongoing anarchist, anti-civilization, anti-authoritarian, and anti-colonial struggles. You will never get disingenuous smiley-faces and candy-coated positions from us. In a time of growing disparity, we feel blunt and open honesty is not only needed, but essential.

A word on the editorial collective.

We are made up of different individuals with different opinions, so we obviously don't all agree on (or write) everything in each issue, but we consent to publish articles and opinions that we feel offer

important ideas and directions to an ongoing anti-civilization perspective. We receive contributions from around the world, from a range of people with various points-of-view, but we want to get away from making excessive disclaimers with each article, only adding points we feel are absolutely necessary. Hopefully you won't agree with it all...we don't! We try to give our readers enough credit to draw from the issues what they desire, and what they wish to prioritize in their own perspectives and lives. We assume an intelligent reader, not one who needs endless qualifiers and disclaimers to direct them.

We need your help! This project cannot flourish without your active participation. We are always looking for contributions of articles, rants, feedback, poetry, images, action reports, prisoner updates, and ideas for future issues. We are always in need of local distributors (at any level), subscribers, and financial supporters. We give over half of our print run away for free, so if you would like to see this project continue, consider throwing a benefit in your area, sending in a donation, or helping us in some way monetarily. We thank those who have contributed to this project, in any form. Enjoy the issue, and good luck this Spring!

For the Destruction of Civilization,
And the Reconnection to Life
The Green Anarchy Collective
April 15th, 2004

(Our Deadline for our Summer issue is June 1st)

WHAT I WISH I HAD SAID

September 12, 2001

TODAY, MARCH 11, 2004, there was another major bombing in Madrid, Spain. The 'facts' in the case are still coming out (12 hours later) but it appears that the eye of accusation is envisioning the event as an Al Qaeda plot. The first 24 hours of mainstream news coverage after the September 11 attacks was an interesting glance behind the curtain. Not only were there reports (that I never heard followed up on) of there being additional attacks on government buildings in DC, but the blame for the attacks was all over the map: kind of a who's who of America's shit list.

The coverage then from the anarchist and left press was typically one-dimensional, as the initial response to the new Spain attack also appears to be. An example is in order. The report begins with a round or two of humanist hand-wringing, all about the children, the terror and how targeting 'innocent' people is no way to change the world. Then come the limp accusations about state terror. "How come we are forced to write this lament against the civilian population by a group without a state when the State does really bad things, too. The State is even worse than the topic of my moralistic diatribe!" Then there is a point or two about bad policies and how, if there were anarchy, or justice, or whatever-in-the-fuck, this would never have happened. The report is wrapped up with the sober analysis about how we should change the world by changing the fundamental problem and not 'play the same game' as those with missile technology and a standing army.¹

It is as if there were a Central Committee writing these things, press release style, making sure that no one is off script. There is no possible way that anyone could believe that there are people fighting a war against the system, people whom I may not wish to win, but who am I to judge? Until the day that I take up arms against the state, resisting the enemy on the only field that it understands, I am going to keep my mouth fucking shut about the correct or incorrect ways to fight the totality...

I am not going to tell you about how my eyes are running with tears because of all the children who will not be coming home to parents tonight. My eyes are dry. They are not dry because of the greater crimes of the United States, or Spanish governments. Sure, their crimes are legend, but if I were to cry today

about this one crime, what possible chance could I have to ever stop crying? This is the world I live in. If I am not going to burn myself to ash I have to deal with yet another headline about consequences as exactly what they are – people died in the course of a total war where one side has very few options at its disposal with which to attack domination.

My question is, to what extent will there ever be resolution to the Wars of Terror? Just as we know the pattern of behavior of the non-participant analysts of this latest action, we also know the behavior of the system itself. Of course there will be increased repression. Of course the ETA (the Basque separatists who were initially accused of the crime but may end up being off the hook for this action) will be crushed. More allies will join on to the American-led War against Terror. More money will be spent that will result in a higher degree of examination into our personal lives and greater amount of militarization of our society. This cycle will repeat until either the entire social apparatus collapses under the weight of its own repressive infrastructure OR there is total conformity under our compassionate overlords. I am betting on the former.

To defend acts of 'terror' would be to choose to spend an endless period of time debating

points of history, philosophy, and values – to what end? I am not convinced that lashing out against the State in media savvy public displays of violence has much connection at all to dismantling it. If I knew that it did, I would use this opportunity to beg your action along this line, or at the very least to ask you to tape me up for my run at the prize. Moreover, I am suspicious that what is being presented to me as reality isn't the half of it.

I may not be a believer, and will not be a beneficiary either way, but I also do not think that the conclusion to this 'total war' is going to be anything like what we suspect it is going to be. Revolutionaries of every stripe have been remarkably, consistently, wrong about the consequences of their behavior. What I do believe is that the radical action taken by a very few individuals today strikes more awe in me than terror. The cognitive, spiritual, and a-humanist leap taken on a train in Madrid, much like the one taken by 15 hijackers in 2001, has more value to add to an understanding about what a revolutionary practice is going to look like in the 21st century than a 1,000 black blocs or a million demonstrations against the state and for the cameras.

1. These thoughts courtesy of the 'anarchist' writer anarcho at <http://anarchism.ws/writers/anarcho.html>

* This essay is from *Nihilism, Anarchy, and the 21st Century*, a great new pamphlet intended to expose anarchists to the breadth of the nihilist contribution to anarchy, now available for \$2 from *Green Anarchy*.



Theses on Anarchism After Post-Modernism

(1) Anarchism, *n.* 1. The doctrine that a stateless society is possible and desirable. *Obsolete.* 2. Rule by anarchists.

(2) Anarchism, properly understood, has nothing to do with standards and values in a moral sense. Morality is to the mind what the state is to society: an alien and alienating limitation on liberty, and an inversion of ends and means. For anarchists, standards and values are best understood – that is, they are most *useful* – as approximations, shortcuts, conveniences. They may summarize a certain practical wisdom won by social experience. Then again, they may be the self-serving dictates of authority, or once-useful formulations which, in changed circumstances, no longer serve any anarchist purpose, or any good purpose.

(3) To speak of anarchist standards and values, then, is not necessarily nonsensical – but it does involve risks, often avoidable risks. In a society still saturated with Christianity and its secular surrogates, the risk is that the traditionally absolutist use of these moralistic words will carry over to the way the anarchists use them. Do you have standards and values or do they have you? It is usually better (but, of course, not necessarily or absolutely better) for anarchists to avoid the treacherous vocabulary of moralism and just say directly what they want, why they want it, and why they want everybody to want it. In other words, to put our cards on the table.

(4) Like standards and values, the anarchist “isms,” old and new, are best regarded as resources, not restraints. They exist for us, not us for them. It doesn’t matter if I, for instance, may have gotten more out of situationism than syndicalism, whereas another anarchist has gotten more out of feminism or Marxism or Islam. Where we have visited and even where we come from are less important than where we are and where, if anywhere, we’re going – or if we are going to the same place.

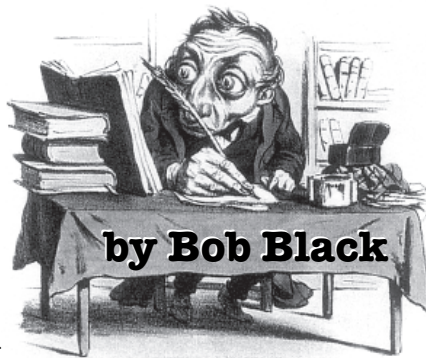
(5) Let “Type 1” refer to anarcho-leftism. Let “Type 2” refer to anarcho-capitalism. Let “Type 3” refer to the meta-typical (“names name me not”). The Type 3 anarchist categorically rejects categorization. His “existence precedes his essence” (Sartre).

For her, nothing is necessarily necessary, and everything is possibly possible. He thinks immediatism takes too long. “She flies on strange wings” (Shocking Blue). Winston Churchill’s wife once complained about his drinking. Churchill replied that he had taken more out of alcohol than alcohol had taken out of him. The Type 3 anarchist takes more out of anarchism than anarchism takes out of her. And he tries to get more out of life than life gets out of him. A loving, thoughtful, self-affirming, predatory orientation has as many practical applications as the ingenuity and imagination of the Type 3 suggests to her.

(6) In principle, the rejection of principles of universal application has universal application. In practice, every individual has his limitations, and the force of circumstances varies. There’s no formula for success, not even the recognition that there’s no formula for success. But reason and experience identify certain areas of foreseeable futility. It is easy and advisable, for instance, for



anarchists to abstain from electoral politics. It is preferable but often not possible to abstain from work, although it is usually possible to engage in some workplace resistance without undue risk. Crime, the black market, and tax evasion are sometimes realistic alternatives or adjuncts to involvement in the state-sanctioned system. Everyone has to evaluate his own circumstances with an open mind. Do the best you can and try not to get caught. Anarchists have enough martyrs already.



(7) Anarchism is in transition, and many anarchists are experiencing anxiety. It is very easy to advocate changing the world. Talk is cheap. It is not easy to change your own small corner of it. The differences among the traditional anarchist tendencies are irrelevant because the traditional anarchist tendencies are themselves irrelevant. (For present purposes let’s disregard the Type 2, free-market anarchists who seem to have no noticeable presence except in the United States, and even there they have little dialog with, and less influence over the rest of us.) The worldwide, irreversible, and long-overdue decline of the left precipitated the current crisis among anarchists.

(8) Anarchists are having an identity crisis. Are they still, or are they only, the left wing of the left wing? Or are they something more or even something else? Anarchists have always done much more for the rest of the left than the rest of the left has ever done for them. Any anarchist debt to the left has long since been paid in full, and then some. Now, finally, the anarchists are free to be themselves. But freedom is a frightening, uncertain prospect, whereas the old ways, the leftist clichés and rituals, are as comfortable as a pair of old shoes (including wooden shoes). What’s more, since the left is no longer any kind of threat, anarcho-leftists are in no danger of state repression when

they remember and reenact their ancient, mythic glories. That’s about as revolutionary as smoking hash, and the state tolerates both for the same reason.

(9) Just how “anarchistic” is the world anyway? In one way, very anarchistic; in another, not at all. It is very anarchistic in the sense that, as Kropotkin argued, human society, human life itself, always depends far more on voluntary cooperative action than on anything the state

orders. Under severely statist regimes – the former Soviet Union or present-day New York City – the regime itself depends on widespread violations of its laws to stay in power and keep life going. In another way, the world is not anarchist at all, because no human population exists anywhere any more which is not subject to some degree of control by some state.

War is too important to be left to the generals, and anarchy is too important to be left to the anarchists. Every tactic is worth trying by anyone inclined to try it, although proven mistakes – such as voting, banning books (especially mine), random violence, and allying with the authoritarian left – are best avoided. If anarchists haven't learned how to revolutionize the world, hopefully they have learned a few ways how not to. That's not enough, but it *is* something.

(10) To speak of *priorities* is an improvement on speaking of standards and values, as the word is less burdened with moralistic overtones. But again, do you have priorities, or do priorities have you?

(11) Self-sacrifice is counter-revolutionary. Anyone capable of sacrificing himself for a cause is capable of sacrificing someone else for it too. Therefore, solidarity among the self-sacrificial is impossible. You just can't trust an altruist. You never know when he might commit some disastrous act of benevolence.

(12) "The struggle against oppression" – what a fine phrase! A circus-tent commodious enough to cover every leftist cause, however clownish, and the less relevant it is to the revolution of everyday life, the better. Free Mumia! Independence for East Timor! Medicines for Cuba! Ban land mines! Ban dirty books! Viva Chiapas! Legalize pot! Save the whales! Free Nelson Mandela! – no wait, they already did that, now he is a head of state, and will any anarchist's life ever be the same? Everybody is welcome under the big top, on one condition: that he refrain from any and all critique of any and all of the others. You sign my petition and I'll sign yours...

By maintaining the public image of a common struggle against oppression, leftists conceal, not only their actual fragmentation, incoherence and weakness, but – paradoxically – what they really do share: acquiescence in the essential elements of state/class society. Those who are content with the illusion of community are reluctant to risk losing its modest satisfactions, and maybe more, by going for the real thing. All the advanced industrialized democracies tolerate a leftist loyal opposition, which is only fair, since it tolerates them.

Reclaiming the Tao Te Ching for Anarchy



Lao Tzu: born white-haired in 604 B.C., immaculately conceived to a shooting star in the Chinese province of Honan. Does anarchy apply to the writings of Lao Tzu? Does Lao Tzu apply to anarchy? To define, terms may be used but none of them "absolute"...

(compiled by a
non-intellectual peasant)

46

*In a land where the way of life is understood
Race-horses are led back to serve the field;
In a land where the way of life is not understood
War-horses are bred on the autumn yield.
Owning is the entanglement,
Wanting is the bewilderment,
Taking is the presentiment:
Only he who contains content
Remains content.*

57

*A realm is governed by ordinary acts,
A battle is governed by extraordinary acts;
The world is governed by no acts at all.
And how do I know?
This is how I know.
Act after act prohibits
Everything but poverty,
Weapon after weapon conquers
Everything but chaos,
Business after business provides
A craze of waste,
Law after law breeds
A multitude of thieves.
Therefore a sensible man says:
If I keep from meddling with people, they take
care of
themselves,
If I keep from commanding people, they behave
themselves,
If I keep from preaching at people, they improve
themselves,
If I keep from imposing on people, they become
themselves.*

75

*Why are the people starving?
Because the rulers eat up the money in taxes.
Therefore the people are starving.
Why are the people rebellious?
Because the rulers interfere too much.
Therefore they are rebellious.
Why do the people think so little of death?
Because the rulers demand too much of life.
Therefore the people take death lightly.
Having little to live on, one knows better than
to value life too much.*

69

*There is a saying among soldiers:
I dare not make the first move but would
rather
play the guest;
I dare not advance an inch but would rather
withdraw a foot.*

*This is called marching without appearing to
move,
Rolling up your sleeves without showing your
arm,
Capturing the enemy without attacking,
Being armed without weapons.*

*There is no greater catastrophe than under-
estimating
the enemy.
By underestimating the enemy, I almost lose
what I value.*

*Therefore when the battle is joined,
The underdog will win.*

76

*Man, born tender and yielding,
Stiffens and hardens in death.
All living growth is pliant,
Until death transfixes it.
Thus men who have hardened are 'kin of
death'
And men who stay gentle are 'kin of life.'
Thus a hard-hearted army is doomed to lose.
A tree hard-fleshed is cut down:
Down goes the tough and big,
Up comes the tender sprig.*



* Next issue, "Reclaiming Chuang Tzu for Anarchy"

PATRIARCHY, CIVILIZATION, AND THE ORIGINS OF GENDER

by John Zerzan

Civilization, very fundamentally, is the history of the domination of nature and of women. Patriarchy means rule over women and nature. Are the two institutions at base synonymous?

Philosophy has mainly ignored the vast realm of suffering that has unfolded since it began, in division of labor, its long course. Hélène Cixous calls the history of philosophy a "chain of fathers." Women are as absent from it as suffering, and are certainly the closest of kin.

Camille Paglia, anti-feminist literary theorist, meditates thusly on civilization and women:

When I see a giant crane passing on a flatbed truck, I pause in awe and reverence, as one would for a church procession. What power of conception: what grandiosity: these cranes tie us to ancient Egypt, where monumental architecture was first imagined and achieved. If civilization had been left in female hands, we would still be living in grass huts.¹

The "glories" of civilization and women's disinterest in them. To some of us the "grass huts" represent not taking the wrong path, that of oppression and destructiveness. In light of the globally metastasizing death-drive of technological civilization, if *only* we still lived in grass huts!

Women and nature are universally devalued by the dominant paradigm and who cannot see what this has wrought? Ursula Le Guin gives us a healthy corrective to Paglia's dismissal of both:

Civilized Man says: I am Self, I am Master, all the rest is other—outside, below, underneath, subservient. I own, I use, I explore, I exploit, I control. What I do is what matters. What I want is what matter is for. I am that I am, and the rest is women and wilderness, to be used as I see fit.²

There are certainly many who believe that early civilizations existed that were matriarchal. But no anthropologists or archaeologists, feminists included, have found evidence of such societies. "The search for a genuinely egalitarian, let alone matriarchal, culture has proved fruitless," concludes Sherry Ortner.³

There was, however, a long span of time when women were generally less subject to

men, before male-defined culture became fixed or universal. Since the 1970s anthropologists such as Adrienne Zihlman, Nancy Tanner and Frances Dahlberg⁴ have corrected the earlier focus or stereotype of prehistoric "Man the Hunter" to that of "Woman the Gatherer." Key here is the datum that as a general average, pre-agricultural band societies received about 80 percent of their sustenance from gathering and 20 percent from hunting. It is possible to overstate the hunting/gathering distinction and to overlook those groups in which, to significant degrees, women have hunted and men have



gathered.⁵ But women's autonomy in foraging societies is rooted in the fact that material resources for subsistence are equally available to women and men in their respective spheres of activity.

In the context of the generally egalitarian ethos of hunter-gatherer or foraging societies, anthropologists like Eleanor Leacock, Patricia Draper and Mina Caulfield have described a generally equal relationship between men and women.⁶ In such settings where the person who procures something also distributes it and where women procure about 80 percent of the sustenance, it is largely women who determine band society movements and camp locations. Similarly, evidence indicates that both women and men made the stone tools used by pre-agricultural peoples.⁷

With the matrilineal Pueblo, Iroquois, Crow, and other American Indian groups, women could terminate a marital relationship at any time.

Overall, males and females in band society move freely and peacefully from one band to another as well as into or out of relationships.⁸ According to Rosalind Miles, the men not only do not command or exploit women's labor, "they exert little or no control over women's bodies or those of their children, making no fetish of virginity or chastity, and making no demands of women's sexual exclusivity."⁹ Zubeeda Banu Quraishy provides an African example: "Mbuti gender associations were characterized by harmony and cooperation."¹⁰

And yet, one wonders, was the situation really ever quite this rosy? Given an apparently universal devaluation of women, which varies in its forms but not in its essence, the question of when and how it was basically otherwise persists. There is a fundamental division of social existence according to gender, and an obvious hierarchy to this divide. For philosopher Jane Flax, the most deep-seated dualisms, even including those of subject-object and mind-body, are a reflection of gender disunity.¹¹

Gender is not the same as the natural/physiological distinction between the sexes. It is a cultural categorization and ranking grounded in a sexual division of labor that may be the single cultural form of greatest significance. If gender introduces and legitimates inequality and domination, what could be more important to put into question? So in terms of origins—and in terms of our future—the question of human society without gender presents itself.

We know that division of labor led to domestication and civilization and drives the globalized system of domination today. It also appears that artificially imposed sexual division of labor was its earliest form and was also, in effect, the formation of gender.

Sharing food has long been recognized as a hallmark of the foraging life-way. Sharing the responsibility for the care of offspring, too, which can still be seen among the few remaining hunter-gatherer societies, in contrast to privatized, isolated family life in civilization. What we think of as the family is not an eternal institution, any more than exclusively female mothering was inevitable in human evolution.¹²

Society is integrated via the division of labor and the family is integrated via the sexual division of labor. The need for integration bespeaks a tension, a split that calls for a basis for cohesion or solidarity. In this sense Testart is right: "Inherent in kinship is hierarchy."¹³ And with their basis in division of labor, the relations of kinship become relations of production. "Gender is inherent in the very nature of kinship," as Cucchiari points out, "which could not exist without it."¹⁴ It is in this area that the root of the domination of nature as well as of women may be explored.

As combined group foraging in band societies gave way to specialized roles, kinship structures formed the infrastructure of relationships that developed in the direction of inequality and power differentials. Women typically became immobilized by a privatizing child care role; this pattern deepened later on, beyond the supposed requirements of that gender role. This gender-based separation and division of labor began to occur around the transition from the Middle to Upper Paleolithic eras.¹⁵

Gender and the kinship system are cultural constructs set over and against the biological subjects involved, "above all a symbolic organization of behavior," according to Juliet Mitchell.¹⁶ It may be more telling to look at symbolic culture itself as required by gendered society, by "the need to mediate symbolically a severely dichotomized cosmos."¹⁷ The which-came-first question introduces itself and is difficult to resolve. It is clear, however, that there is no evidence of symbolic activity (e.g. cave paintings) until the gender system, based on sexual division of labor, was apparently under way.¹⁸

By the Upper Paleolithic, that epoch immediately prior to the Neolithic Revolution of domestication and civilization, the gender revolution had won the day. Masculine and feminine signs are present in the first cave art, about 35,000 years ago. Gender consciousness arises as an all-encompassing ensemble of dualities, a specter of divided society. In the new polarization activity becomes gender-related, gender-defined. The role of hunter, for example, develops into association with males, its requirements attributed to the male gender as desired traits.

That which had been far more unitary or generalized, such as group foraging or communal responsibility for child tending, had now become the separated spheres in which sexual jealousy and possessiveness appear. At the same time, the symbolic emerges as a separate sphere or reality. This is revealing in terms of the content of art, as well as ritual and its practice. It is hazardous to extrapolate from the present to the remote past, yet surviving non-industrialized cultures may

shed some light. The Bimin-Kushusmin of Papua New Guinea, for example, experience the masculine-feminine split as fundamental and defining. The masculine "essence," called *finiik*, not only signifies powerful, warlike qualities but also those of ritual and control. The feminine "essence," or *khaapkhabuurien*, is wild, impulsive, sensuous, and ignorant of ritual.¹⁹ Similarly, the Mansi of north-western Siberia place severe restrictions on women's involvement in their ritual practices.²⁰



With band societies, it is no exaggeration to say that the presence or absence of ritual is crucial to the question of the subordination of women.²¹ Gayle Rubin concludes that the "world-historical defeat of women occurred with the origins of culture and is a prerequisite of culture."²²

The simultaneous rise of symbolic culture and gendered life is not a coincidence. Each of them involves a basic shift from non-separated, non-hierarchized life. The logic of their development and extension is a response to tensions and inequalities that they incarnate; both are dialectically interconnected to earliest, artificial division of labor.

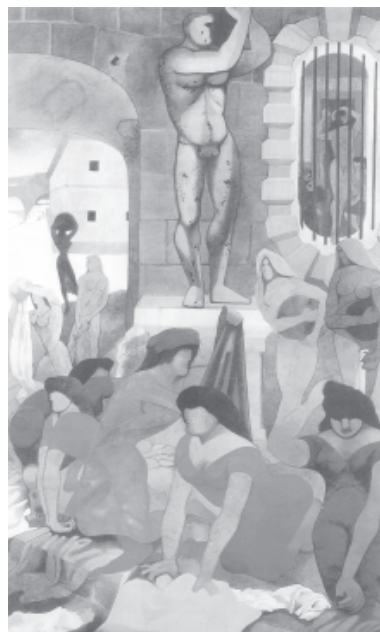
On the heels, relatively speaking, of the gender/symbolic alteration came another Great Leap Forward, into agriculture and civilization. This is the definitive "rising above nature," overriding the previous two million years of non-dominating intelligence and intimacy with nature. This change was decisive as a consolidation and intensification of the division of labor.

Meillasoux reminds us of its beginnings:

Nothing in nature explains the sexual division of labor, nor such institutions as marriage, conjugality or paternal filiation. All are imposed on women by constraint, all are therefore facts of civilization which must be explained, not used as explanations.²³

Kelkar and Nathan, for example, did not find very much gender specialization among hunter-gatherers in western India, compared to agriculturalists there.²⁴ The transition from foraging to food production brought similar radical changes in societies everywhere. It is instructive, to cite another example closer to the present, that the Muskogee people of the American Southeast upheld the intrinsic value of the untamed, undomesticated forest; colonial civilizers attacked this stance by trying to replace Muskogee matrilineal tradition with patrilineal relations.²⁵

The locus of the transformation of the wild to the cultural is the domicile, as women become progressively limited to its horizons. Domestication is grounded here (etymologically as well, from the Latin *domus*, or household): drudge work, less robusticity than with foraging, many more children, and a lower life expectancy than males are among the features of agricultural existence for women.²⁶ Here another dichotomy appears, the distinction between work and



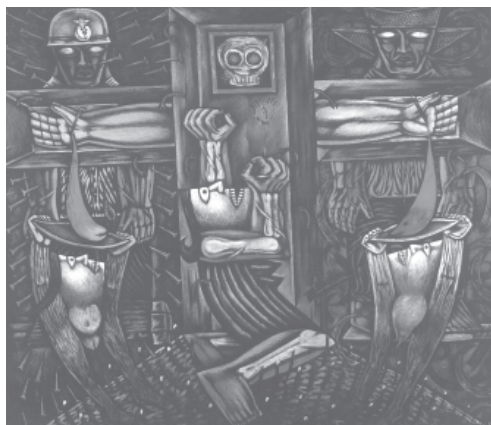
non-work, which for so many, many generations did not exist. From the gendered production site and its constant extension come further foundations of our culture and mentality.

Confined, if not fully pacified, women are defined as passive. Like nature, of value as something to be made to produce; awaiting fertilization, activation from outside herself/itself. Women experience the move from autonomy and relative equality in small, mobile anarchic groups to controlled status in large, complex governed settlements.

Mythology and religion, compensations of divided society, testify to the reduced position of women. In Homer's Greece, fallow land (not domesticated by grain culture) was considered feminine, the abode of Calypso, of Circe, of the Sirens who tempted Odysseus to abandon

(continued on next page)

SPRING '04 ISSUE



civilization's labors. Both land and women are again subjects of domination. But this imperialism betrays traces of guilty conscience, as in the punishments for those associated with domestication and technology, in the tales of Prometheus and Sisyphus. The project of agriculture was felt, in some areas more than others, as a violation; hence, the incidence of rape in the stories of Demeter. Over time as the losses mount, the great mother-daughter relationships of Greek myth—Demeter-Kore, Clytemnestra-Iphigenia, Jocasta-Antigone, for example—disappear.

In Genesis, the Bible's first book, woman is born from the body of man. The Fall from Eden represents the demise of hunter-gatherer life, the expulsion into agriculture and hard labor. It is blamed on Eve, of course, who bears the stigma of the Fall.²⁷ Quite an irony, in that domestication is the fear and refusal of nature and woman, while the Garden myth blames the chief victim of its scenario, in reality.

Agriculture is a conquest that fulfills what began with gender formation and development. Despite the presence of goddess figures, wedded to the touchstone of fertility, in general Neolithic culture is very concerned with virility. From the emotional dimensions of this masculinism, as Cauvin sees it, animal domestication must have been principally a male initiative.²⁸ The distancing and power emphasis have been with us ever since; frontier expansion, for instance, as male energy subduing female nature, one frontier after another.

This trajectory has reached overwhelming proportions, and we are told on all sides that we cannot avoid our engagement with ubiquitous technology. But patriarchy, too, is everywhere, and once again the inferiority of nature is presumed. Fortunately, "many feminists," says Carol Stabile, hold that "a rejection of technology is fundamentally identical to a rejection of patriarchy."²⁹

There are other feminists who claim a part of the technological enterprise, which posits a virtual, cyborg "escape from the body" and

its gendered history of subjugation. But this flight is illusory, a forgetting of the whole train and logic of oppressive institutions that make up patriarchy. The dis-embodied high-tech future can only be more of the same destructive course.

Freud considered taking one's place as a gendered subject to be foundational, both culturally and psychologically. But his theories assume an already present gendered subjectivity, and thus beg many questions. Various considerations remain unaddressed, such as gender as an expression of power relations, and the fact that we enter this world as bisexual creatures.

Carla Freeman poses a pertinent question with her essay titled, "Is Local: Global as Feminine: Masculine? Rethinking the Gender of Globalization".³⁰

The general crisis of modernity has its roots in the imposition of gender. Separation and inequality begin here at the period when symbolic culture itself emerges, soon becoming definitive as domestication and civilization: patriarchy. The hierarchy of gender can no more be reformed than the class system or globalization. Without a deeply radical women's liberation we are consigned to the deadly swindle and mutilation now dealing out a fearful toll everywhere. The wholeness of original genderlessness may be a prescription for our redemption.

Notes:

¹ Camille Paglia, *Sexual Personae: Art and Decadence from Neferiti to Emily Dickinson* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1990), p. 38.

² Ursula Le Guin, *Women/Wildness*, in Judith Plant, ed., *Healing the Wounds* (New Society: Philadelphia, 1989), p. 45.

³ Sherry B. Ortner, *Making Gender: the Politics and Erotics of Culture* (Beacon Press: Boston, 1996), p. 24. See also Cynthia Eller, *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Won't Give Women a Future* (Beacon Press: Boston, 2000).

⁴ For example, Adrienne L. Zihlman and Nancy Tanner, *Gathering and Hominid Adaptation*, in Lionel Tiger and Heather Fowler, eds., *Female Hierarchies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Adrienne L. Zihlman, *Women in Evolution*, *Signs* 4 (1978); Frances Dahlberg, *Woman the Gatherer* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1981); Elizabeth Fisher, *Woman's Creation: Sexual Evolution and the Shaping of Society* (Anchor/Doubleday: Garden City NY, 1979).

⁵ James Steele and Stephan Shennan, eds., *The Archaeology of Human Ancestry* (Routledge: New York, 1995), p. 349. Also, M. Kay Martin and Barbara Voorhies, *Female of the Species* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1975), pp 210-211, for example.

⁶ Leacock is among the most insistent, claiming that whatever male domination exists in surviving societies of this kind is due to the effects of colonial domination. See Eleanor Burke Leacock, *Women's Status in Egalitarian Society*, *Current Anthropology* 19 (1978); and her *Myths of Male Dominance* (Monthly Review Press: New York, 1981). See also S. and G. Cafferty, *Powerful Women and the Myth of Male Dominance in Aztec Society*, *Archaeology from Cambridge* 7 (1988).

⁷ Joan Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, eds., *Engendering Archaeology* (Blackwell: Cambridge MA, 1991); C.F.M. Bird, *Woman the Tool-maker*, in *Women in Archaeology* (Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies: Canberra, 1993).

⁸ Claude Meillassoux, *Maidens, Meat and Money* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1981), p. 16.

⁹ Rosalind Miles, *The Women's History of the World* (Michael Joseph: London, 1986), p. 16.

¹⁰ Zubeda Banu Quraishi, *Gender Politics in the Socio-Economic Organization of Contemporary Foragers*, in Ian Keen and Takako Yamada, eds., *Identity and Gender in Hunting and Gathering Societies* (National Museum of Ethnology: Osaka, 2000), p. 196.

¹¹ Jane Flax, *Political Philosophy and the Patriarchal Unconscious*, in Sandra Harding and Merrill B. Hintikka, eds., *Discovering Reality* (Reidel: Dordrecht, 1983), pp 269-270.

¹² See Patricia Elliott, *From Mastery to Analysis: Theories of Gender in Psychoanalytic Feminism* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1991), e.g. p. 105.

¹³ Alain Testart, *Aboriginal Social Inequality and Reciprocity*, *Oceania* 60 (1989), p. 5.

¹⁴ Salvatore Cucchiari, *The Gender Revolution and the Transition from Bisexual Horde to Patrilineal Band*, in Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, eds., *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge UK, 1984), p. 36. This essay is of great importance.

¹⁵ Olga Soffer, *Social Transformations at the Middle to Upper Paleolithic Transition*, in G. nter Brauer and Fred H. Smith, eds., *Replacement: Controversies in Homo Sapiens Evolution* (A.A. Balkema: Rotterdam 1992), p. 254.

¹⁶ Juliet Mitchell, *Women: The Longest Revolution* (Virago Press: London, 1984), p. 83.

¹⁷ Cucchiari, op.cit., p. 62.

¹⁸ Robert Briffault, *The Mothers: the Matriarchal Theory of Social Origins* (Macmillan: New York, 1931), p. 159.

¹⁹ Theodore Lidz and Ruth Williams Lidz, *Oedipus in the Stone Age* (International Universities Press: Madison CT, 1988), p. 123.

²⁰ Elena G. Fedorova, *The Role of Women in Mansi Society*, in Peter P. Schweitzer, Megan Biesele and Robert K. Hitchcock, eds., *Hunters and Gatherers in the Modern World* (Berghahn Books: New York, 2000), p. 396.

²¹ Steven Harrall, *Human Families* (Westview Press: Boulder CO, 1997), p. 89. Examples of the link between ritual and

inequality in forager societies are widespread, according to Stephan Shennan, *Social Inequality and the Transmission of Cultural Traditions in Forager Societies*, in Steele and Shennan, op.cit., p. 369.

²² Gayle Rubin, *The Traffic in Women, Toward an Anthropology of Women* (Monthly Review Press: New York, 1979), p. 176.

²³ Meillassoux, op.cit., pp 20-21.

²⁴ Cited by Indra Munshi, *Women and Forest: A Study of the Warlis of Western India*, in Govind Kelkar, Dev Nathan and Pierre Walter, eds., *Gender Relations in Forest Societies in Asia: Patriarchy at Odds* (Sage: New Delhi, 2003), p. 268.

²⁵ Joel W. Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees Struggle for a New World* (Beacon Press: Boston, 1991), pp 99, 143.

²⁶ The production of maize, one of North America's contributions to domestication, had a tremendous effect on women's work and women's health. Women's status was definitely subordinate to that of males in most of the horticultural societies of [what is now] the eastern United States by the time of first European contact. The reference is from Karen Olsen Bruhns and Karen E. Stothert, *Women in Ancient America* (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1999), p. 88. Also, for example, Gilda A. Morelli, *Growing Up Female in a Farmer Community and a Forager Community*, in Mary Ellen Mabeck, Alison Galloway and Adrienne Zihlman, eds., *The Evolving Female* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1997); Young Efe [Zaire] forager children are growing up in a community where the relationship between men and women is far more egalitarian than is the relationship between farmer men and women (p. 219). See also Catherine Panter-Brick and Tessa M. Pollard, *Work and Hormonal Variation in Subsistence and Industrial Contexts*, in C. Panter-Brick and C.M. Worthman, eds., *Hormones, Health, and Behavior* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1999), in terms of how much more work is done, compared to men, by women who farm vs. those who forage.

²⁷ The Etoro people of Papua New Guinea have a very similar myth in which Nowali, known for her hunting prowess, bears responsibility for the Etoros' fall from a state of well-being. Raymond C. Kelly, *Constructing Inequality* (University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1993), p. 524.

²⁸ Jacques Cauvin, *The Birth of the Gods and the Origins of Nature* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2000), p. 133.

²⁹ Carol A. Stabile, *Feminism and the Technological Fix* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1994), p. 5.

³⁰ Carla Freeman, *Is Local: Global as Feminine: Masculine? Rethinking the Gender of Globalization*, *Signs* 26 (2001).



THE WITCH AND THE WILDNESS

by Kevin Tucker



THE MAINSTAY OF OUR GLOBAL CIVILIZATION is the energy that flows through outlets into our walls. The fact that our global civilization exists is primarily because we keep plugging in. So why do it? When we turn on a light switch do we think about leaks in nuclear power plants, mountains stripped of their peaks with nothing but steel tracks and dead canaries left inside; do we think about 6 million birds who die yearly in the U.S. alone because they flew into microwave towers high above the tree lines; do we think about the wildness that constantly tries to seep through cracks in the concrete? Do we think about the wildness within us that turns into boiling rage because we compromise life for survival? Of course not, because if we did, we would be out there bashing everything that stands in the way of autonomy. Spiritually speaking, we are dead.

Domestication is the destruction of the soul. It takes a wild being and turns it into a piece of the global machinery; we become a part of the machine, mentally and physically. It is no easy process, but it is one we are all familiar with. A process we all feel with deep agony when we say thanks for being handed a paycheck. But in the eyes of the civilizers, it is a necessary process. It's necessary because we aren't born thinking that power is necessary or justified any more now than we did ten thousand or a million years ago. We have to be tricked into believing in it.

The antagonistic split between the self and the Other lies at the heart of domestication. To defend territory or to turn a wild plant or animal into your property requires that you not only see it as different, but inferior (Duerr 1985, Tucker 2002). This isn't to say that true primitives don't recognize that they aren't plants or animals, but the relationship with the Other isn't antagonistic or necessarily important: that comes with domestication. James Woodburn made the important observation that societies can be split into two primary groups: based either on immediate or delayed return/gratification (Woodburn 1982). Put simply, there are egalitarian (meaning all people have equal access to necessities) and non-egalitarian societies (where there is a ranked system of access) respectively. In "Immediate Return" (IR) societies, there are no barriers to getting what you need when you need it. There is no mediating system and all people have the skills necessary to meet their needs. This is more than economics; it is about a way of living that is a constant reminder of the community of life.

The separation with the other is contextual: humans are a part of life, not aside from it. There are neither barbarians nor gates; wildness is not feared, but relished. That these societies lack a belief in witchcraft should hardly be surprising, but is widely noted (Brain 2001: 211-2, Lee and DeVore 1968: 91-2, 341). As Colin Turnbull noticed among the BaMbuti: [they] roam the forest at will, in small isolated bands or hunting groups. They have no fear, because for them there is no danger. For them there is little hardship, so they have no need for belief in evil spirits. (Turnbull 1962: 14) But the absence of witches is not only lack of imagination. It is not uncommon for IR gatherer-hunters to acknowledge witchcraft among sedentary neighbors, but they take no interest in it for their own uses (Woodburn 1988: 40).

"Delayed Return" societies are a different story. The loss of egalitarianism is directly linked to three primary factors; surplus, sedentism, and domestication. Some societies have one of these, while others may have all three. These can be gatherer-hunters, but in the case of all three being present they are typically horticultural societies. However insignificant any of these things may seem to be, they are all very important. When a society becomes dependent on surplus, it is no longer an option for people to just take freely, because for the first time something is produced.

The fruits of labor are pooled together and positions emerge for people to distribute food. This is where positions of power emerge: in small steps, access to life is removed from our hands (something so engrained in our own lives that the thought of being truly self-sufficient can be shocking).

Sedentism, or settled societies, not only counter the anti-power tendencies of mobility and flexibility (Barnard and Woodburn 1988: 28, Brain 2001: 211-2), but also challenge the ecological relationship formed over millions of years. The contraceptive on the hip has been a powerful way of keeping populations within the carrying capacity. But when people settle down, it becomes easier to raise multiple children at one time. This settling further allows for more elaborate domestic situations. Domestication in its literal sense (accustomed to the household), becomes an issue. The erosion of egalitarian relations begins to be seen in village life and its architecture (Wilson 1988). Furthermore, domestication of plants and animals solidifies the superiority of the self/Other split, not only between humans and non-humans, but between tribes and kin.

The picture here is the emergence of power and the degradation of egalitarianism. This is the context where witches, werewolves, sorcerers, and things that go bump in the night emerge.



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Just as misery loves company, power-mongers need a common enemy. The role of a chief is more fragile than the role of a king or president. While strict taboos can arise in their benefit, they are still accessible. When kings or presidents lose credibility, they still have access to power (also, in our case, ludicrously high-paid public relations experts). When chiefs lose their credibility, they are often killed or exiled. So a scapegoat is needed. We have terrorists; many others have witches.

Domestication is dependency. A bad growing season, drought or blight means starvation to agriculturalists, whereas gatherer-hunter mobility means they carry on and look for food elsewhere. For many agricultural states, droughts and floods have meant collapse (Fagan 1999); in others, it has meant that witches and sorcerers are to blame. Not only are bad harvests and hunts at stake, but personal failures, ill health, and most often, death, are all caused by witches.

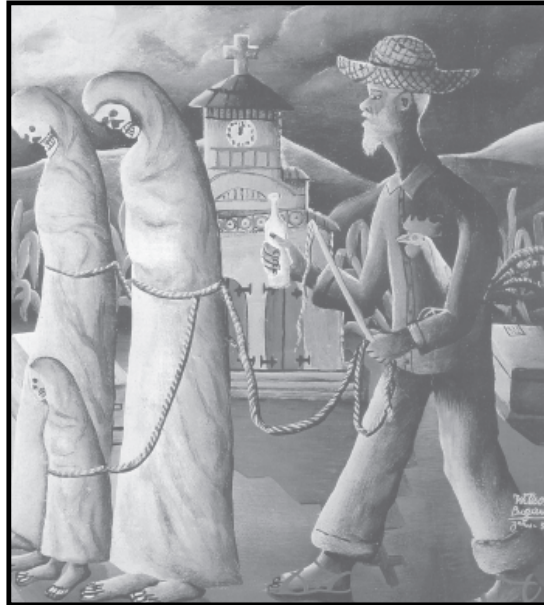
For agricultural societies, witchcraft is a common plight. Among the Azande, it's recognized that the witches are always active, but they only become a problem when a person falls victim to witching. That doesn't mean people aren't always cautious, especially because a witch may not know they have bewitched you. As we stock up on canned foods and seal our windows with plastic and tape, we bear many similarities to witch fearers' burial and securing of possessions, excrement, nail clippings, hair, and so on, so they don't become tools of the witch's trade.

Witch accusations are a regular occurrence. Most often, guilty witches can repay the damage of their malign substances without being killed, but this isn't always the case. Needless to say, members of the princely class are very rarely accused of being witches, at least publicly (Evans-Pritchard 1976: 9). So are witches a catch-all category for disorder? In many ways, apparently so, but it's easy to see why. When things start to fall apart, it's always more beneficial for those with power to keep people looking everywhere but at the social system. Of all people, we should be rather familiar with this.

The witch, then, is the threat of decay and opposition to the social order. Among the Lele, sorcerers turn their back on their own kind and run with the hunted, fight against the hunters, and work against diviners to achieve death instead of healing. (Douglas 2002: 207) Again, this should sound familiar. Werewolves, vampires, and wild men have long haunted civilized societies, lurking in the forests outside of the empire and creeping in at night (Duerr 1985, Anonymous 2003, Kennedy 2004). They steal or eat our children and souls, they

threaten to carry us beyond the barriers between civilization and savagery and destroy us (turn us loose or kill us, the former seemingly the more frightening to most).

Despite this, witches are not always used only to justify or strengthen power. The role of witchcraft is typically relative to the amount of egalitarianism that remains within a society.



However, increased stress can always make it more dominant. European influence meant a surge in witchcraft accusations for the Yanomami (Ferguson 1995: 58) and the Navaho (Kluckhohn 1944), as it likely has for others. But among stateless societies, witchcraft accusations are used against further centralization of power. Most often, the witch in stateless, non-chieftom societies takes the role of the Trickster. It passes on justification for taboo and lays out etiquette by exemplifying what is socially destructive behavior. Witches break taboo and take on the character of a poor neighbor embodying such qualities as unsociability, isolation, stinginess, unfriendliness, and moroseness (Lehmann and Myers 2001: 205). Among the Navaho, witches primarily take part in all secret and malevolent activities against the health, property and lives of fellow tribesmen (Kluckhohn: 110), while at the same time offering a means of expressing these thoughts/behaviors (Ibid: 85).

The witch or trickster character then is an important aspect of social cohesion (something to keep in mind when thinking about

anti-authoritarian social organization as well). As a society becomes more dependent upon division of labor and predictable circumstances, it is vital that the health of the state is seen as the health of the individual. Even in microform, nationalism is the lifeblood of forced societies. Keeping social stratification to a minimum is an important task, one where witch accusations can come in handy.

In these societies, witch accusations can be a means of social leveling. When people become more and more powerful at the expense of others, social unrest shoots up. As Kluckhohn noticed among the Navaho, the threat of an accusation of witchcraft acts as a brake upon the power and influence of ceremonial practitioners. To keep their capacity for influencing the course of events, supernatural techniques must be used only to accomplish socially desirable ends (Ibid: 111). In keeping with the anarchistic tendencies of Navaho society (Ibid: 113), the rise to power is extinguished early. This usage can be further seen among Shawnee nativists, who, during their revolt against Christianity and colonization in the 1750-70s, would accuse the rich and powerful of being witches (Dowd 1992: 136).

Although we can clearly draw similarities between witches among the Navaho and the Azande and terrorists in the age of globalization, it is important to look at witches in our own his-story. It has often been easy for social Darwinist and apologists for Progress to point towards fear of witches as reasons why primitives were less evolved or childish and in need of civilizing (in the form of a rain of bullets or reign of colonization). But a look into our own closet shows the European Witchcraze taking place within the birth of our beloved scientific rationality from the early 14th century to the late 17th century.

In America, the Salem witch trials stand strong in historical memory, but the 25 lives burned at the stake are little compared to other cases: in the Italian Diocese of Como, 1,000 witches were burnt in 1523; 1585 left two



villages reduced to one female inhabitant each; 1581-1591 saw 900 witches burnt in Lorraine (Griffin 1978: 15). The list goes on and on. Burnt remains are the legacy of fear. The witch as disorder and wildness was never so feared. Only now the disorder became a more obvious target.

As patriarchy became even more enmeshed in civilization, enemies became more obvious. For the first time, the witch became gendered and classed. The social deviants were the dispossessed, those whose very existence served as a constant reminder of the frailty of power. During this period, those being burnt were most likely women, the poor, homosexuals and radicals (Evans 1978, Griffin 1978, Merchant 1990). As women were further subjugated and increasingly seen as relics of nature, they would rise to 82% of supposed witches between 1562 and 1684 (Harris 1989: 238).

This period was a time of increasing unrest. As social stratification soared to new levels, totalistic disempowerment was hardly an abstract concept. The established order was being threatened by the very backs it was built upon. Marvin Harris writes: The principle result of the witch-hunt system (aside from charred bodies) was that the poor came to believe that they were being victimized by witches and devils instead of princes and popes. (Ibid: 237) Burnt bodies gave validity to the state. Social ills had a source and, most importantly, the state was doing something about it. Today whites fear non-whites because they are a tangible threat. Our chances of being killed in a car wreck make the chances of being killed by terrorists (Bush's evil people, not governments, of course) look ridiculous. Someone is more likely to die by having a vending machine fall on them than be attacked by sharks. But what are we afraid of? Anything but the entire system: the whole of civilization that stands before us daily, the anxiety of a machine-paced world, the nagging urges to resist domestication, the microwaves that pierce our bodies in the lurking wildness. The wealth of production is our health; that is the message domestication puts into our minds. That is our burden, our crutch. Wildness, disorder, chaos, anarchy, these are the witches of civilization.

But the message here is not only a problem, but an option. By drawing on the Navaho heritage we can turn toward the persecuted witches during the Christian ritual purifications and take the cue that is being offered. Among the Navaho, Azande, Lele, Europeans, and so on, when times get hard, where does one turn? If all your life, you hear of this power that lurks and exceeds the human body; why wouldn't you try to use it? We know that this is what many did during the European Witchcraze (Duerr, Evans), and there seems little reason to doubt things were much different among primitives.

When the patriarchs of Puritanism began to preach of the evils of the lurking wildness of witches and beings that stride the fence between civilization and savagery, the dispossessed sought this out. In searching for a way out, they identified with the antithesis of state power. This is what we have to learn. In seeking to eliminate the threats of the state, those in power show their weaknesses. They unwittingly show what has always lay before us; underneath the veneer of absolute power lies a frail and fragile corpse maintained by the sweat and blood of those who are trained to see through its eyes, the vision of domestication.



Civilization becomes us: chains on the mind, scars on the body, piles of charred corpses, the yearning of an enslaved animal to smash the barrier between it and true freedom. The witches, shamans, and sorcerers brought themselves to the brink of death to remind themselves of the frailty of life and the joys of being. Drug-induced trances were temporary breaks from the pain of survival sickness. They sought bewilderment, having surrendered their individuality, renounced personal volition to the will-of-the-land, and merged individuated desire within the expansive needs of the wild. (Moore 1988: 21)

This isn't to say that delving into New Age programs, drug-induced escapes or forced rewilding will break our domestication; this is actually far from my point. Rewilding is a process and active resistance is a necessary part of that. What I am saying is that the key to the destruction of civilization lies in understanding its witches, its fears. Not only looking at the external system, but domestication itself,

the internalized system: the cop, missionary, politician, economist, and worker in our heads. When we look within and outside, the target before us becomes most apparent. It becomes possible to see that the plug can be pulled on this technological civilization, and it will all come crashing down before us.

The witch is wildness. The witch is very much alive, for the witch is life itself. It smashes machines at work. It burns construction equipment under the cover of night. It stirs within us, and it seeks to overtake us if only we would let it.

The civilizers fear this wildness. They lock it up. They paint it as a brutish beast that would go on a violent rampage if released. They push it in our heads. They stand strong with an iron fist, but they are weak. They know they are weak. They know, in time, the wildness will eat their monuments and swallow their pride. The witch runs rampant. And when the lights go out, beyond the reach of the state, beyond the dependency, beyond the imposed system, we will be free to let the witching substance, the wildness, become us.

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B I O T E C H N O L O G Y P U B L I C A N D P R I V A T E

INTRODUCTION: Born in 1950, Rene Riesel is a veteran of the May 1968 general strike/insurrection in France and a former member of the Situationist International. At the age of 17 he belonged to the Nanterre-based "Enragés", a group of dissident students who helped spark off the cataclysmic events of May '68, and also participated in the Occupation Committee at the Odeon during that uprising. The Situationists would recognize him as one of their own, the youngest and also the most promising of them according to Guy Debord (who eventually expelled Riesel from the S.I. along with almost all the other members!) Since 1973, Riesel has lived in the French countryside, and for a dozen or so years he has been a sheepfarmer.

In 1991, Riesel joined the Confederation Paysanne (Farmers Confederation) and helped plan and carry out the sabotage of transgenic maize in Nérac in 1998, for which he received a suspended eight-month jail sentence. But in December of 2001, Riesel and codefendants Jose Bove and Dominique Soullier were charged with destroying experimental transgenic rice plants in Montpellier, and he is now serving a seven-month jail sentence. Riesel's radicalism these days is located within a tenuous but lively network centered on the Encyclopedie des Nuisances group (which publishes his writings) and the Society Against Scientific Obscurantism and Industrial Terrorism. The influence of these groups is marginal, but they incisively expose the soft underbelly of leftism and anti-globalism: the incapacity to criticize the technological system and debunk the myth of Progress.

Riesel is the author of "Declarations on Transgenic Agriculture" and "On Those Who Claim to Oppose It". A number of texts by Rene Riesel concerning the first direct action campaign in France against organically modified seeds, have now been published in an English translation in the anthology "RESTRUCTURING AND RESISTANCE" (London: resresrev, 2001), and are also available at: directaction.piranho.com/riesel.html

SOME MONTHS AGO a team of French psychiatrists was asked to evaluate the motivation of the opponents of genetic engineering. Curiously, this reassuring news was not widely reported. Nor does anyone seem to have noticed the remarkable self-imposed discretion of the devotees of transgenetics with respect to the doings of their enemies. Only on the rarest of occasions do they let slip some faint condemnation of the over-sensitivity, the old-fogeyism or the obscurantism of the anti-GMO crew, or mutter under their breath that the dissenters' virulent hatred of progress is really a matter for the psychiatrists. True enough, the most exemplary aspect of the first campaign waged in France against genetic engineering – a campaign that began with the Nérac sabotage of January 1998 and ended with the Montpellier action of June 1999, and included ten or so destructions of experimental crops and brief occupations of premises of Novartis, of CIRAD (Centre for International Co-operation in Agronomic Research for Development) and of INRA (National Institute of Agronomic Research) – lay in its renewal of the Luddite tradition. Considering that some participants are eager to downplay this aspect, no doubt because they need to forget the implications of what they have got caught up in, it is probably worth recalling the bases of this modern-day Luddite madness.

GREEN ANARCHY #16



by Rene Riesel

It may seem odd at first that the campaign came to an end without ever destroying harvests, but this is easy to explain. In Nérac a very small number of farmers found themselves at the forefront of one of the rare practical rejections in this country of the innovation of plant necro-technology (which at that time the genetico-industrial complex expected to impose easily, banking on ready acceptance by farmers). The aim was unambiguous from the start: to "denature" State-authorized transgenic seeds inside a factory, and so prevent their sale. At Montpellier matters were even more clear-cut: the Inter-Continental Caravan of Indian Farmers purely and simply destroyed experimental rice plants being grown in a facility belonging to CIRAD, a government research organization specializing in "co-operation" with countries considered developmentally backward. A fact unknown at the time of the operation is that the European Union wholly or partly funded the wrecked research.

During this period we envisaged not attacks on French silos containing harvested grain, but rather the monitoring of consignments of imported transgenic seeds. This was not out of some sort of protectionism, but because – as a positive result of the Nérac action – harvests had been restricted to a twenty-fifth of their planned size; at the same time crops were even harder to trace in that their locations, for which Novartis became responsible in 1998, were just as secret as the experimental parcels of the CGB. This also explains why there was no destruction of "commercial" transgenic crops.

We were not there yet. Given the balance of forces, two priorities imposed themselves: first, reducing our extreme isolation by trying to precipitate a snowball effect that would multiply acts of sabotage (success in this regard was extremely limited, as we have seen); secondly, taking what had been started to its logical conclusion by moving from guerilla actions against private companies to the first, inevitably frontal offensives against government research. Not the intangible sort of government research that some unique virtue sanctifies and absolves of all responsibility in the world as it is, but real government research caught with its hand in the cookie jar of what it actually produces. This had got off to a very good start in the CIRAD action, and in a distinctly more confused way in Ariège two days earlier, with the destruction of CETIOM-INRA rapeseed(colza) at Gaudiès. At last the question of the

Page 14

status and function of research relative to the development of this society was beginning to be posed directly - and not just biological research either, although the biotechnologies of death are, it is true, particularly illuminating in this respect.

Up until now we had done no more, at best, than denounce the mercenary character of government research, pointing the finger at a few ways in which this research works hand in glove with the mercantilism of the private-sphere poisoners. The method chosen, namely direct action, perturbed some. At bottom, though, the most vulgar boosters of the Nanny State, of fair-play capitalism, or of the permanence of the industrial system could still feign not to understand or affect to believe that our uncivil behavior somehow lent support to their arguments. In a word, no tenet of progressivist dogma was so much as scratched - least of all infallible science still defying eternity from its dusty tomb.

All the "citizens" were still free to trot out their old saw according to which it is only the use to which some technical application is put that "causes the problem", whether that application happens to be DDT, high-speed trains, river-polluting polychlorinated biphenyls, agent orange, asbestos, cloning, Monsanto's Round-Up herbicide, the Internet, cell-phones, nuclear power, or you-name-it. Once the alarm has been raised, all that is required is to take more security precautions in the future; to reinforce the institutions of modern democracy - stepsister to techno-science; to help governments make decisions; to assert one's independence; and so on and so forth - with everything becoming more participatory by virtue of opinion polls, referendums and "consensus conferences". In this way an end will be put to the "aberrations" of neoliberalism. Last but not least, "good" genetically modified organisms will thus become acceptable, however little they may be "public" in any sense of the word.

Apart from sporadic wrappings-up of the Pont-Neuf by Greenpeace commandos, tele-activism courtesy of Ecoropa, petitions from myriad pressure groups, and a few investigations, lawsuits and trials, nothing - no actual movement - followed in the wake of the aforesaid acts of sabotage. Two years went by before a few militants summoned the courage to dress up as vegetables and go and negotiate with supermarket managers for permission to inform consumers by actually distributing leaflets among the shopping carts!

Nothing, meantime, had intruded upon the corporatist cackle of public-sector researchers, so safely ensconced behind their government seal of approval and forever bemoaning the Stalino-Gaullist golden

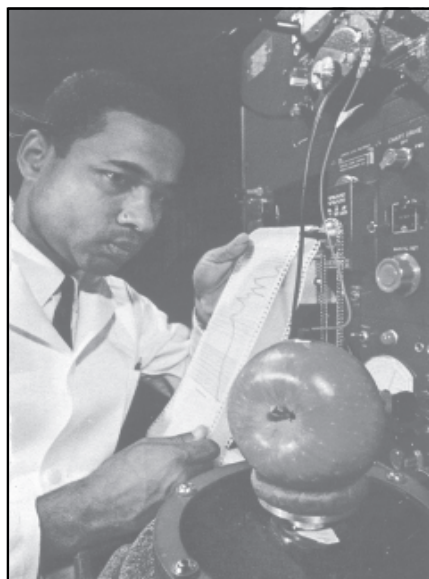
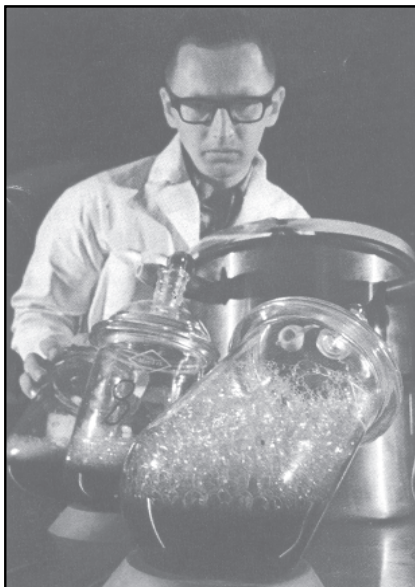
age (whose return, as has of course been scientifically proven, depends solely on increased government funding for research). They realize, of course, that in accordance with the wishes of the most modern voices, they must accept a broadening of their role. This will naturally include consultation services to the decision makers, but above all it will involve the new functions of valorization and communication -

related, obviously, to what used to be called vulgarization, but even more closely tied up with social acceptance in the Telethon sense; consider the encores that greeted the sole known French and State-sponsored demonstration of the "immense promise held out by gene therapies", as performed on two bubble-children by a medical team at Necker Hospital (Paris).

As a modern echo of the Luddite cry "Enoch made them, Enoch shall break them!", the profanatory CIRAD operation, no less than the Nérac action, took aim at a Centre of production of genetic chimeras. This time, however, the intervention took place upstream - at the intellectual stage of production, so to speak, if the word can be said to apply to the nature and conditions of the work of CHS's and other menials of technoscience, be they specialists in agro-toxicology or not. Forcing the door of the laboratory strictly amounted to provisionally entrusting meal moths and leaf-rollers with sole responsibility for resisting that intentional genetic pollution which the necro-technological onslaught has already turned into a fact of life in the larger laboratory that our environment has been turned into, a laboratory which - to borrow the dreadful words inspired in Günther Anders by the nuclear industry - is "coextensive with the globe."

We deliberately chose a target that was a Centre of both material and ideological production. We were banking on the possibility that the resulting turbulence in the "research community" might prompt the odd defector to declare him or herself, and at least initiate a critique of the institutionalized confusion between research and development that would clarify the role of techno-scientific research in the lockstep forward march of hyper-industrialization and artificial over-socialization. In this hope we were disappointed. But direct action has in common with classic scientific methods that it too seeks the practical verification of preformed hypotheses; and we had another, less naive ambition, one deriving from more basic principles: to test the hypotheses that one cannot help formulating on the rising rate of illiteracy and false consciousness among research staff. In view of the apparatus that has been set up for the teaching of ignorance, which has given rise among other wonders to the researchers of the genome industry, such testing of the situation was clearly in order.

As many as five hundred ranking researchers signed a collective "Open Letter to Citizens" whose drafters stated: "On the one hand we are asked to furnish data for the assessment of agro-environmental risks; on the other, our research in process is destroyed!!!" A short time later a hundred and forty-two of the signatories' colleagues, "without presuming as citizens to impose their views on civil society," claimed that they were nevertheless justified in saying that "it is certainly society that needs the findings of this kind of research if it is to frame the rules that it means to impose on the cultivation of transgenic plants". A Confederation Générale du Travail-INRA statement darkly predicted



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“stormy weather ahead”, the time being now over when, as in the last several years, “public agronomic research fulfilled its role by pursuing basic research on the possibility of using transgenic plants for agronomic and agro-alimentary purposes.” Lastly, a CFDT-INRA communiqué issued in connection with a promotional remake in April 2000 of the rapeseed destruction at Gaudiès, complete with schizophrenic Greens and State-decorated representatives of Attac, declined “absolutely to condemn the use of GMOs” and added its voice to the chorus of denouncers of the “obstruction of the progress of a kind of knowledge sought in direct response to a social demand ... despised by those who destroy these experiments...”

Our mummified government researchers are devalued in their own eyes, poorly remunerated for their expertise, and disqualified by their decisive contribution to the “silent revolution” – to the export of the green counter-revolution and to the results thereof, censured not only by their paymaster but also by their paymaster’s public opinion; and if they get hot under the collar about being seen to change masters, with the advent of public-private consortia of the Génoplante variety, it is only because they have largely resigned themselves to the fact that their function, society itself, their boss, and even their illusions on all of these have already had to change.

They needn’t worry: it is plain enough that researchers are model citizens par excellence. It is not merely that, like all good consumer-actors, they take their citizenship for a walk at every possible legitimate opportunity, voting according to their convictions, informing themselves with that aim in mind, consuming in perfect lucidity, not to mention joining civic, cultural and athletic associations, entrusting the State with the education of their offspring as early as possible, and so on. They do better still, going so far, in their laboratories, colloquia and publications, as to eschew all discussion of their mission, which by its very nature serves scientific and human progress, as well as the dissemination of the national scientific culture; for it should be borne in mind that this mission is assigned to them by a hierarchy all the more empowered to do so for having been appointed by a political class which – short of contesting the superiority of the democratic system itself – must be deemed a pure emanation of the sovereignty of the people. Furthermore, whenever perplexity assails this parliamentary representation or its executive arm in connection with some technological innovation or other, does it not fall as a matter of course to a researcher (or at least to a research director) to offer society a suitably multidisciplinary account of the benefits that may be expected to flow from it? And incidentally, in the controversy over genetically modified organisms, was this not the goal of consensus conferences?

Notice that nothing at all in the pleadings of these experts – low as they are on the totem pole, and hardly steeled to the need not to let the cat out of the bag – nothing so much as hints at the notion, the indeed perfectly absurd notion, that one day the recommendation might be made, by experts, that the fertile field of research and specialization opened up by genetic engineering be closed, or that a single decision-maker could ever conceivably accept such a fanciful suggestion. That this should be so is itself information of capital importance, for it encapsulates everything needing saying about all those technical, economic, ecological or ethical debates where social questions are purportedly allegedly being addressed. And, being of capital importance, it has of course gone unnoticed, just like most of the spectacle’s public

secrets, never so well kept as when they are made blindingly obvious. But for this very reason its revelation has to be counted one of the most eloquent experimental findings of the Luddite executions and operations described above – those “commando actions” and “other combats” conducted by “a few Manichaean manipulators” who make no bones about their inability to oppose genetically modified foods without opposing the world that produces them.

We live in a time when the triumphant industrialization of the world has largely persuaded our contemporaries that the entire future of the human race resides in the uninterrupted continuation of this process. There are those here or there who are busily convincing themselves that transformations of wage-labor, the filtration and recycling of industrial pollutants, the biologists’ revenge upon the physicists, considered together with the swamping of the masses under information technology and any other conceivable means of making life artificial, are just so many harbingers of a post-industrial era. Carried to its inevitable logical conclusion, this attitude implies that humanity can be deprived of all real support, and stultified to the point where of its own accord it abolishes

the very last traces of any other conceptions of life. Careful scrutiny reveals that this is precisely the agenda of interactive submission concealed by the veils of the economic critique of the economy as propagated, on a “precautionary” basis of course, by the boosters of anti-globalist speed-thinking. In reality there is no possible common ground between these mental contortionists jabbering about “commodification” while at the same time claiming to have discovered the economy’s universal ambitions, and those who firmly intend to revive reasons for overthrowing that economy.

These last can do no less than renew the connection with “the anti-industrial subversion of that unknown revolution which since the Luddites and the canuts runs like a secret thread through the history of social struggles.” Nor, by extension, can they avoid saying why they see the sabotage of necro-technologies as a resurgence of the shearing-frame breakers, and why such action “finally provides canuts [and Luddites] with the justification that they in their time were not quite able to conceive of.”

In the crepuscular dawn of industrial society, the Luddites could hope in a material sense to halt the invasion of the machines that denied their craft and replaced it with the “shoddy work” of mass production: they could break those or threaten to do so. For our part, though we may enjoy the dubious advantage of two centuries of hindsight and clear knowledge of the industrial extremes to which workers were subjected for long years in the twentieth century, we cannot nourish any comparable hopes with respect to genetically modified plants. Those who claim that it might be possible to “survive” genetic modification (in what condition? one might ask) are lying, or fooling themselves, or don’t know what they are talking about, or all of the above. We shall not survive genetic modification even in the way in which some people still dream of surviving the ravages of nuclear power: by cohabiting for a few millennia with radioactive dumps, crumbling sarcophaguses, marine dead zones in the Baltic, and so forth. We had better get ready to keep an accounting – beginning forthwith and continuing until the end of time – of the mutagenic effects, direct and infinitely recombinable (and not confined to the plant world), of a genetic pollution of plants whose irreversibility is about the only thing certain that may be said about it.

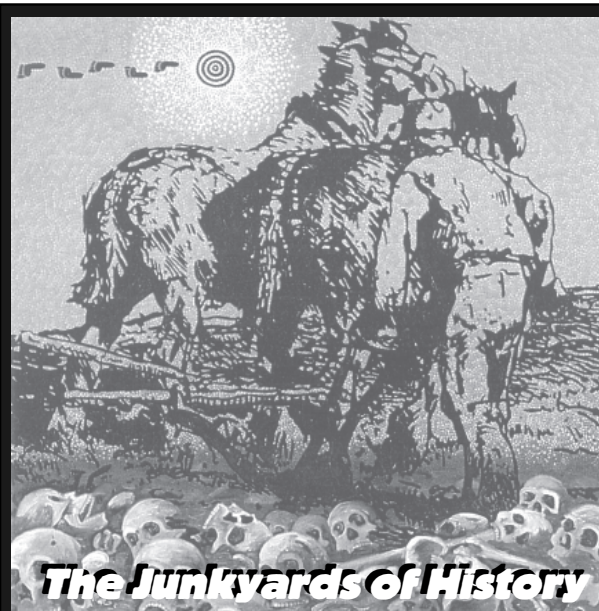


Even as the credulous are being entertained with precautionary “decisions” of the European Parliament, or of the Cartagena Conference on biosafety and international trade, and assailed by government and corporate propaganda about the use of genetically modified foods in the home, the happy-go-lucky meddling with every living thing accelerates – and it speeds up all the more where knowledge of the spheres concerned is virtually nil: plants strictly for industrial use, strategic viruses, animals with human organs – the mind boggles. And medical research, all shame long forgotten at never admitting that its sole aim is to contrive our adaptation to a pathogenic society, now envisages the deployment of gene therapies to produce, on the model of the improved animals of industrialized husbandry, new human beings who will demand to be continually treated as sick because they will have been persuaded never to despair of being repaired throughout their lengthy survival.

The Luddites and we are separated by an epoch, at times exhilarating for our side, during which the poor, gravitating en masse from the fields to the factories and the struggle against wage-labor, came to believe – like many a millenarian movement before them – that the only problem was to burn down the castle, to expropriate the expropriators, that the world would promptly change its foundation if the economy were set right side up, if the means of production and their technical supports, which “belonged to all”, were simply reappropriated: selection and reassessment of their use could safely be left until later.

Aside from the fact that it is happily no longer possible to bask in the messianic illusion of an ineluctable shift from the reign of necessity to the reign of freedom, we have also had to come to terms with the liberation in human beings of extremist tendencies towards submission as soon as totalitarian systems, well enough equipped ideologically and technically, could neutralize the old conditions of exploitation and domination, which still allowed for humanizing tendencies. All the same, human communities antedating modern totalitarianism, or surviving on its fringes, cannot be said either to have fully realized themselves or to have ended up in an industrial universalism. They have been obliged, simply, to renounce the exploration of alternative avenues once open to them. The last historical opportunities to take such avenues get fewer when, the better to erase their memory, the superlatively well-equipped totalitarianism of the democracy of commodities prepares to colonize, not just the body and the mind, but the most intimate reaches of all life.

It must be made clear that there can be no “getting through” either genetic modification or any of the other biocidal technologies propagated by an unshackled economy until we have overcome our need to submit to the blandishments of technology and industry and believe in scientific promises of uninterrupted progress. This is the only conceivable escape route. And it leads out of this society. Not that reform is impossible, far from it: it goes on every day as a way of staving off the catastrophe with which the society continually threatens us. The point is that the catastrophe is real. It is the normal modus operandi of an industrial world for which it has become profitable to announce that each of its advances precipitates permanent dislocation and collapse; and to stress that there is even worse to come, that we should fear unprecedented disasters, and be ready to cope with them. Be ready, above all, to keep taking it in the neck. This is why it would be especially illogical to reject the intra-economic crisis-theory of the mechanistic Marxists, with its boom-bust cycles so propitious for the final proletarian onslaught, only to embrace a socio-ecological messianism predicated on a general outbreak of peace and love on every level (technological, climatic, nuclear, financial, viral, etc.), which would suddenly ruin the prospects of the dominant system by launching the rag-tag remnants of humanity upon the reconquest of who knows what paradise lost. Since we know that the catastrophe lies within the realm of the possible, we have no choice but to refuse in practice to take it into account. Striving to put it off, even speculating on the tactical opportunity it might offer – these are merely ways of collaborating with the effort already in hand to reach a final solution to the human question.



A grey utilitarian dust smothers the landscape; it squeezes all life drop by drop from those who have not yet had the time to live it, in order to lubricate the machinery of economic necessity.

They slither from the boxes they call homes, trash bin cubicles cluttered with pastiches of pop culture with which these dispirited cogs invent identity, an individuality as unique as the grey malaise their passive existence builds.

Yet from the midst of this dusty fog, this discolored, passionless horror, suddenly strange laughter springs forth to haunt the sleep of utility's reason; for in the cracks and crevasses, there are vagabond jesters, fools who serve no courts, no kings, no gods, not even conscience;

Wanderers at the fringes – meandering through the nights in mad adventures.

Though often we may choke up on the grey, our laughing colors smothered in the dinginess, drawn down into the maw of passionless despair,

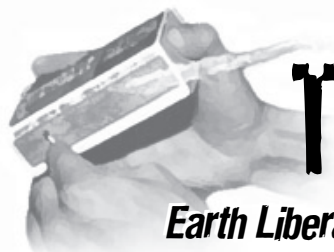
Yet through us whirls a mad cacophony refusing to be channeled or suppressed...

And so a rowdy, dancing, howling band – strangely invisible except as colors flowing through grey dreams – flies through the night on razor's edge, sifting through the detritus utility has left behind to find the weapons and the toys which will invent the sounds and colors of desire without constraint.

This greyness is the stench of social rot, of civilized decay. Utility has filled the world with useless junk to feed our crazed cacophony, a resource for the ruins in which we dream our crazy colors.

For from the junkyards of history, we shall create ruins from which bricolage symphonies of chaos will burst forth.

by Wolfi Landstreicher



The Destruction of Toytown!

Earth Liberation Actions From All Over Our Battered and Besieged Planet

"IF A THING IS DEPRIVED OF FIRE, THEN THERE IS NO MOTION IN IT. THE HOLES AND CRACKS IN THE EARTH REQUIRE INCINERATION BY FIRE IN ORDER FOR THE ANCIENT RENEWALS TO BE RECEIVED. SUCH A WORK REQUIRES A HEAT POWERFUL ENOUGH TO SOFTEN AND MELT THOSE PARTS OF THE EARTH THAT HAVE BECOME FREE FROM DARKNESS AND BLESSED WITH LIGHT INSTEAD. THE FIRE CAUSES EARTHLY THINGS TO BE PENETRATED BY A SPIRITUAL FORCE AND MAKES VOLATILE THAT WHICH WAS FIXED. THE HEAT OF FIRE CLEANSSES THAT WHICH IS UNCLEAN. IT THROWS OFF THE BAD ODORS AND NOURISHES THE ELIXIR OF LIFE. WHAT WAS FIXED BECOMES ILLUMINED, AND IS CHANGED INTO A BEAUTIFUL TRANSPARENT SUBSTANCE. THE HEAT OF FIRE WARMS THE COLD EARTH, THAT WHILE COLD WAS HALF DEAD. IN THIS FIRE ALSO TAKES PLACE THE TRUE ABLUTION, OR CLEANSING OF DARKNESS AND STENCH, AND THE DEAD WILL BE MADE TO LIVE AGAIN. THE HEAT OF FIRE WORKS ELEVATINGLY, FOR BY ITS FORCE THE SPIRITS HIDDEN IN THE EARTH ARE RAISED UP TO DANCE IN THE AIR."

—SOLOMON TRISMOSSINS, *THE MEANS BY WHICH NATURE ATTAINS HER ENDS*

October 20–21, 2003 Cleveland Heights, Ohio: 15 SUV's Vandalized

Multiple sports utility vehicles (SUVs) in the wealthy (or at least, upper middle class) community of Cleveland Heights, Ohio, were targeted by angry earth-lovers over the course of two days. Local police say that more than 15 vehicles were targeted by someone "trying to make a point." The SUVs all had the words "SUVs Kill the Planet" written on them in yellow spray paint.

November 24, New York City: Autonomous, D.I.Y. Destruction of Our Era's Most Hated Symbols!

A trail of silver and black followed every SUV and Hum-V in plain sight from the upper West Side of Manhattan, through midtown to the East and West village. Approximately 30 banks were spraypainted and all ATM slots filled with green and black acrylic paint, several Starbucks, Gaps and an Eddie Bauer store, and 20 SUVs and Hum-Vs (including one police vehicle) were spray-painted with the word "consume" across the entire body of the vehicles. Other tags read "Fuck the US Government" and "Your TV Lies," while still more targets were tagged with "ELF" and the circle-A symbol. Approximate \$ damage is difficult to determine; one corporate media source said \$100,000, but that seems a bit steep?

A similar autonomous action occurred around Christmas in New York City, but was much smaller in scale — a couple of stores, 1 Starbucks and 3 SUVs all got the "remodeling" treatment.

December 23, Port St. Lucie, Florida: ELF Sends 2nd Warning to Developers

A city sign in the area of a large planned development was tagged with the letters "E.L.F." in black spray paint. The spray-painted sign is on 386 acres of land slated for Kenco Communities, which is expected to include 875 homes and condos and as much as 290,000 square feet of commercial and office space. The city planner who discovered the vandalism stated that this was the second such incident.

January 5, 2004, Quebec, Canada: Bomb Threats Made Against Condominium Construction

A previously unknown group planted fake bombs at construction sites in an alleged bid to protect low-cost neighborhoods against swarms of condo-seeking yuppies, and wound up getting blanket media coverage in Quebec and across most of Canada. The action — claimed by a group calling itself the Comité d'Action Anti-Gentrification — was a successful attention-getting strategy, and forced the government to start paying lip

service to issues like affordable housing and urban sprawl. José Ponce, whose construction company was working at one of the sites, said he had seen signs of discontent a few weeks before the bomb threats, mentioning that someone had written "pas des condos" on the ceiling of a garage at the site.

January 22, Fayetteville, Arkansas: More Hummers Targeted by ELF

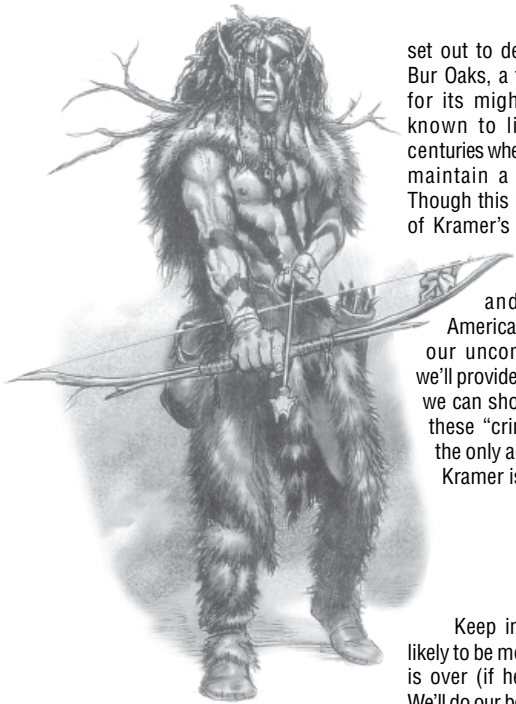
The Earth Liberation Front is believed to be responsible for the vandalism of five Hummers in northwest Arkansas over a period of several weeks. According to a story reported by local ABC affiliate KHBS-KHOG, each of the SUVs suffered similar damage: slashed tires, broken windows, dents and the letters ELF spray-painted on the vehicle. One angry owner of a vandalized Hummer, Richard Coger of Fayetteville, complained to the press that perpetrators had also stuffed a Bologna sandwich into his gas tank! Coger said that he would take actions to protect his Hummer, once it is fixed. "It's going in the garage from now on," he said. In recent months, Hummers and other SUVs have become frequent targets of the ELF's rage because of their garish, gluttonous design and their extremely poor fuel efficiency (SUVs are known to pollute three times as much as other vehicles, and consume three times as much oil). Last year, the ELF took responsibility for setting a fire at a Hummer dealership in California, which destroyed some 40 vehicles. The direct actions taken in and around Fayetteville are believed to be the first of their kind for the northwest Arkansas area, and while

the above-ground ELF Press Office has not posted any official claim of responsibility, these actions now appear on their website. At the present time, Fayetteville police have made no arrests related to these incidents, but in Virginia three members of ELF were recently convicted of multiple attacks on SUVs and face up to five years in prison when they get sentenced in April (see this issue's "State Repression" news section on page 50 for more details). Remember, if you're out there engaged in nocturnal subterfuge, actions like this carry with them felony charges. Be careful, be methodical, and make sure to vanish "without a trace."

January 23, Adams, Wisconsin: Man Who Defended Oak Tree Shot Deputy in Self-Defense

The West Coasters sit in trees and play with spikes (sometimes even "winning"), but prairie folk don't fuck around. The trial of Thomas Kramer, 55, of Strongs Prairie, WI, who is being charged with the shooting death of a sheriff's deputy, got underway in late January in the Adams County Courthouse and has brought to light a largely unknown, but particularly committed, incident of eco-defense. The incident evidently occurred on March 7, 2003, when Adams County sheriff's deputy Michael Shannon was shot and killed by Thomas Kramer. Kramer's defense lawyer says Kramer acted in self-defense, as he felt his life was threatened by the cop and the road crews he feared would cut 100-year-old oak trees. In her opening statement, defense attorney Sheila Kessler said





set out to defend were most likely Bur Oaks, a tree species renowned for its mighty root systems and known to live for two or three centuries when domesticated humans maintain a respectful distance. Though this is the first we've heard of Kramer's situation, we can say without reservation that as a cop-killer and defender of North America's native sylvia, he has our unconditional support and we'll provide him with whatever help we can should he be convicted of these "crimes." At the moment, the only address that we have for Kramer is:

**Thomas Kramer
Adams County Jail
P.O. Box 279
Friendship, WI 53934**

Keep in mind that Kramer is likely to be moved as soon as the trial is over (if he's convicted, that is). We'll do our best to update our readers on Kramer's situation in future issues of *Green Anarchy*.

February 7, Charlottesville, Virginia: ELF Damages Construction Equipment

The Earth Liberation Front has taken credit for its second known action of 2004 with an attack on equipment at a building site. The 30-acre clearcut, slated for the development of 300 duplex-apartment units, a bank, a Target store and some restaurants, was apparently targeted as part of the ELF's ongoing actions against large-scale developments going up at the expense of what little green space is left in North America. According to an anonymous email received by the ELF Press Office: members of the ELF visited the site, torching two trucks and one bulldozer and causing minor structural damage (broken windows and gauges, and cut wires) to all the other trucks and bulldozers on the construction site. A banner reading "YOUR CONSTRUCTION = LONG TERM DESTRUCTION — ELF" was left at the scene. Developer Wendell Wood says he knew there was opposition to his Hollymead Town Center project, but never thought that the ELF would get involved in the controversy (Woods' company, United Land, was recently fined by the Department of Environmental Quality for clearing an extra 17 feet along a stream on the site beyond the "authorized" 2,500 feet). Damages related to this action are

estimated at \$30,000. ELF claimed actions total \$55 million in damages in North America during 2003, and \$100 million in damages since 1997.

February 10, The Bahamas: Four Electrical Power Lines Sabotaged!

Police have launched an investigation into the apparent sabotage of Bahamas Electricity Corporation (BEC) equipment, following an hours-long island-wide electrical blackout. New Providence and Paradise Island both experienced blackouts after four electrical poles that supported high tension wires in the South Ocean area were cut down with what appeared to be a chainsaw. In a televised news conference, attended by BEC executives, Works and Utilities Minister Bradley Roberts held up four fingers to emphasize the number of damaged poles cut down with what appears to be a chainsaw. "This triggered a reaction and caused both power plants to go down." In Minister Roberts' eyes, the person(s) responsible for the damaged lines have no regard for the nation's number one industry — tourism — on which the public treasury spends some \$70 million each year to bring visitors to the Bahamas. It is expected that repairs to the BEC poles will result in "substantive" costs to the government. The Bahamas Electrical Workers Union, who are engaged in an ongoing industrial dispute with BEC, denied any involvement in the poles being downed.

February 17, North Lima, Ohio: Construction Site Vandalised

Police are investigating whether vandalism at a construction site may be linked to the Earth Liberation Front. The construction site is related to a new showroom being built for fireworks company B.J. Alan. The damage was mostly done to construction equipment belonging to A.P. O'Horo Construction. Saboteurs broke windows in a construction trailer, sprayed a fire extinguisher around the construction site, and scratched the initials "E.L.F." into the side of a piece of heavy machinery.

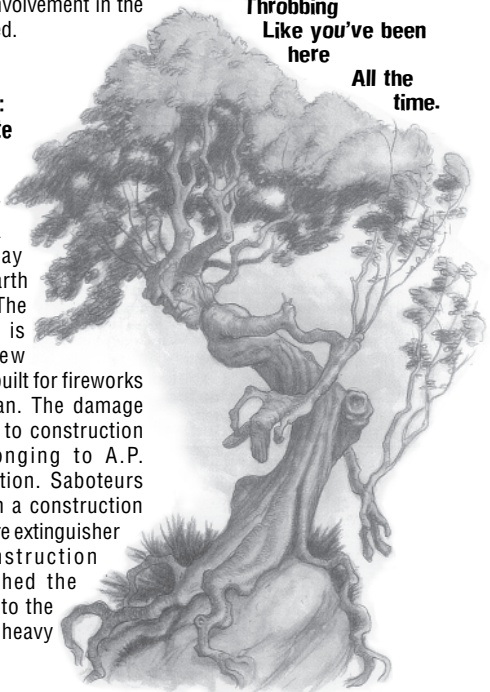
February 28, Bloomington, Indiana: Eco-Vandals Attack SUVs!

Sports utility vehicles (SUVs) were targeted as part of a growing underground campaign to halt the use of this heinous technology. At least nine SUVs were claimed to have been splashed with an acid that destroyed windshields and caused thousands of dollars in damage, according to a report issued by the Bloomington Police Department. In early March, this communiqué was released: "25 personal SUVs windows and paint damaged with hydrofluoric acid. The cost of arrogant gas-guzzling just went up."

Remember

**Remember
Claw away the wreckage
the rubbish of now
and go back
Claw through it
Til the long plain passes
Stride by stride
Beneath your feet
Take off your shoes
Grasses stroke the spaces
Between your toes
Your clothes fade weather
Fall
Sun and wind warm
and cool you now
Run!
Run hard hard hard
Your breath and blood
Will bring you
Throbbing
Like you've been
here**

**All the
time.**





Lights, Camera, Action!

Destroying Video Surveillance Cameras as an Act of Rewilding

by The Grievous Amalgam

Surveillance is developing in more and more domains and at an extremely rapid pace. Surveillance cameras are obviously involved, as are miniaturized cards, portable telephones, the growing number of recording devices of all kinds, the Internet and electronic “cookies.” This is the era of Big Brother! Today, when cameras equipped with face recognition software add their specters to the pantheon of the failed illusions of security, the government is trying to pass liberty-killing laws under the fallacious pretext of the “fight against terrorism.”

Here, we are made to live in the psychosis of continual control: filmed, surveilled and filed all day, as if we are all criminal suspects, and asked to accept the “fact” that — in the name of our security — men, women and children will have to be killed. We denounce those truly responsible for this masquerade, those thirsty for political power who do not hesitate to use demagoguery and opportunism to inflame the fears of “the Other” and who, even before September 11, were playing the “Total Security” card in an attempt to get votes. We demand the rejection, from now on, of politics in the service of the maintenance of the market — economy and social inequities, of politics that have as their guiding principle the enslavement of the general population and the restriction of human possibilities.

We hope to live in a different world, one in which we don’t have to submit ourselves to the government-subsidized industrial companies that pollute our air, land and water, that rapaciously enrich themselves by riding the backs of workers, those in precarious socio-economic situations, and that set up the market in the surveillance of human beings. The images of money-traffickers and fiscal paradises, political operatives who can act with total impunity, and deal-makers working in the rich soils of the powerful will not be captured by surveillance cameras, despite the facts that they are the ones who are responsible for the world in which we are forced to live, and who should be held accountable for it.

The supermarket is surveilled, as are the streets, offices and factories. What a plethora of images! And why are they captured? In the supermarket, each movement and gesture of the apathetic consumer is filmed and analyzed so as to discover the unknown factor that will facilitate the sale of mad-cow-infected meats, spoiled cheeses, and aseptic chickens. At the office and at the factory, we are surveilled in the name of profits; in the street, we are surveilled so that we never lose the sense of being watched! For what purpose? To force behavior to become normalized; all movements other than normal become suspicious.

When will we address ourselves to the real problems, the ones that erode our capacity for life? When will we have the intelligence — which is lacking in this society, which turns in the wrong direction — to refuse to accept these conditions, neither for us nor for the generations to come? The progress of digitalization and computerized information profits the type of social control that we fear will exist in the future. Aren’t people already enmeshed in the gears of the market, which without hesitation supports every political manipulation so as to have servile consumers? We say “no” to the liberty-killing laws that would legalize this fuckery.

We reclaim the right to possess “disguises.” We reclaim the right to a private life. We reclaim individual freedom, not simply the freedom to exist, but all freedoms.

We Are Being Surveilled - Camouflage Yourself!

— Collective for Individual Freedom in the Age of Information Technologies

IN RECENT YEARS, the use of video surveillance cameras (also called Closed Circuit Television, or CCTV) to monitor public and private spaces throughout the world has branched out to unprecedented levels, dramatizing the rise of a global, centralized One World State that meticulously controls all aspects of political and social life through the use of state power and its perfected technological systems of suppression. The leader in this trend is the U.K., where it’s estimated that between 150 and 300 million pounds per year are spent building a surveillance grid involving 200,000 cameras furnished with full pan, tilt, zoom and infrared capacity. The more colossal camera web covering Britain is appraised at 1,500,000 cameras and counting, radiating invisible lines of influence on the thoughts and actions of those living under its predatory, voyeuristic Eye. Enveloping all, a frightening electronic Retina is emerging as an absolute and uncontested regulatory mechanism, from which no concealment, let alone escape, is possible. The clarity of the pictures collected by these cameras is usually excellent (for the State!), with many systems being able to read a cigarette package at a hundred meters.

These cameras are intimations of the future, as Britain is in many ways being used as a “social laboratory” for the development of technologies that extend the pervasive homogeneity of the unilateral political order; methodologies of enslavement are being formulated and installed, with the aim of increasing obedient uniformity and snuffing out wildness on an international scale. The U.K. Home Office estimates that 95 percent (!) of towns and cities in Britain are moving to CCTV surveillance of public areas, housing estates, car parks and public facilities. The System, compulsively preoccupied with order, precision, utility, and rationality, can now zoom in on the lives of its “citizens” and effect the complete elimination of anonymity. Architects and urban planners in Britain are already factoring cameras into the core design of new towns and buildings, and our lives are all tarred with the same leveling brush of what “civil engineers” are now describing as

the “fifth utility.” Cameras the size of a matchbox are commonplace and are being integrated into urban architecture in much the same way that electricity and telephones were in the early 20th century. Some of the “cameras” being installed are “scarecrows,” empty shells meant to look like cameras, but with their surface aesthetics reinforcing the same sense of estrangement and extracting the same obedience from their ghettoized human subordinates. Appearances are maintained — and monotony imposed — by the invasion of this reifying technical progress that governs the details of urban construction and social scheduling/ social dislocation.

The global system is striving to eclipse all contestable sites of physical space and shape all interpersonal relations through the establishment of a totalizing *spatial enclosure*. This is the process whereby the explicit duplication of a characteristically capitalist mode of production reprograms and utterly restructures the behaviors, life rhythms, cultural habits and temporal sense of its subjects. Nanotechnology, genetic engineering, and CCTV are all integral to the project of taming wildness and pounding it down into the coin of mercantile civilization.

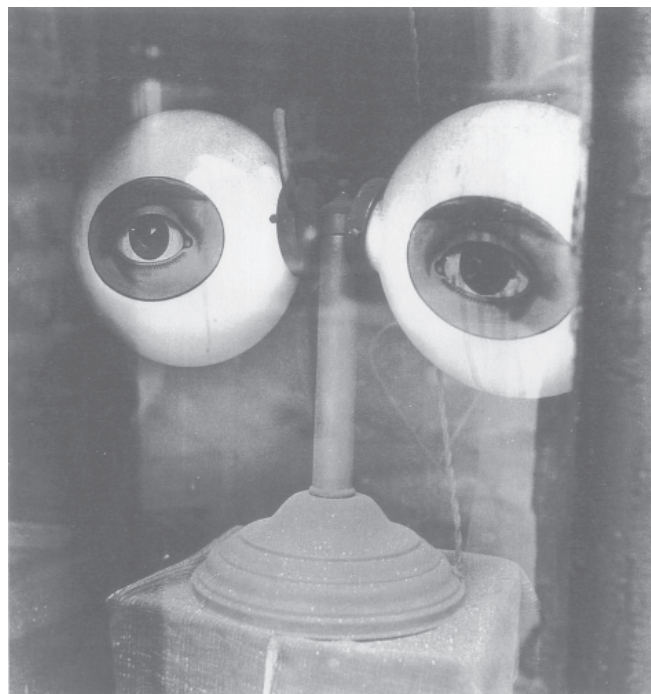
The very presence of CCTV negotiates conflict between exploiters and exploited, engendering human relationships that are stilted, artificial and lacking in intensity. Public becomes pseudo-public and an “apartheid” of inner-city spatial relations the norm, in a liaison between architecture and the police state that inverts interior and exterior reality. These surveillance technologies are converging with sophisticated software programs that are capable of automated recognition of faces, crowd behavior analysis, and in certain environments, intimate scanning of the area between skin surface and clothes. The U.S. government is now funding the development of “passive millimeter wave technology” that allows police to peer under clothing to see if a person is carrying contraband or weapons.

Through the implementation of CCTV, the political order accommodates into its own structures a safety valve for sedition. When disenfranchised factions within society rebel against the disempowerment of a super-organized, vise-like system, CCTV isolates, enlarges and creates permanent photographic evidence of the rebels’ transgressions, recuperating them into bounds where they will have no consequences for the authoritarian state apparatus. CCTV exists to create a sterile,

whitewashed world in which spontaneity disappears, our behavior is fully law-abiding and humanity eventually sleeps itself to death.

In the Land of the Blind the One-Eyed Lens is King

The proliferation of video surveillance cameras and other technologies of domination evokes all kinds of nightmarish, dystopian images and scenarios, the most clichéd of which is the overused (and thoroughly recuperated) term “Orwellian.” As important a book as Orwell’s *1984* is, we feel we would only be doing our readers a disservice by drawing such an obvious analogy, especially when far more potent and accurate political models exist to describe the cage-like conditions of techno-industrial civilization. Any serious attempt to analyze and break down the locked doors that enclose our lives in the modern world will inevitably lead to the observation that society itself has become a vast prison, a monumental gulag of the body, mind and senses. Thus it’s hardly surprising that many social theorists since Orwell have discussed the character of modern Western civilization using *prison imagery*.



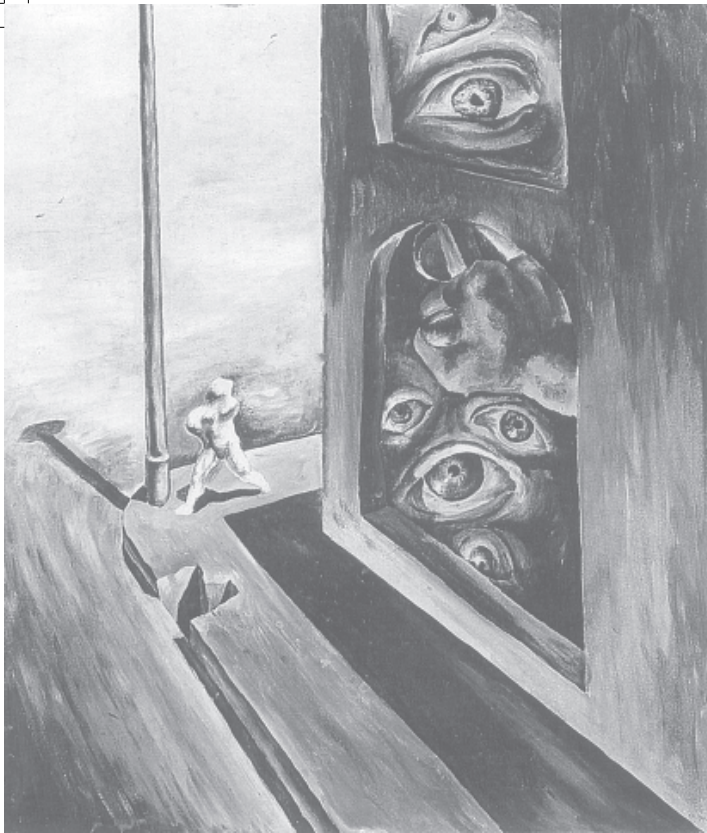
Max Weber depicted it as an iron cage; Gary T. Marx defined it as a “maximum security society,” while others have represented it using terms like “disciplinary society.” But Michel Foucault offers a more sinister and arguably more precise concept to outline the facelessness of high-tech political repression: that of Jeremy Bentham’s blueprints for the Panopticon prison, where all prisoners were

segregated into cells around a central tower which allowed guards to watch prisoners without being seen and where the prisoners sense that they’re under ceaseless observation. Bentham, an English Utilitarian philosopher, unveiled in 1791 his prototype for the “all-seeing place” or panopticon, the ultimate prison with the central goal of using the mental uncertainty and paranoia of implied and constant surveillance as an instrument of discipline, wherein prisoners constrain their own behavior. Bentham found this Utilitarian ideal of oppressive self-regulation to be appealing in many other social settings, including schools, hospitals, and poorhouses, although he achieved only limited success in realizing his twisted vision (at least in *his* lifetime).

Michel Foucault seized upon this metaphor of the Panopticon as the perfect governing design for any institution in which discipline is required. By encouraging self-surveillance on behalf of the prisoner, the Panopticon assures the automatic functioning of power. Control no longer requires physical domination over the body in modern society, Foucault noticed, where our spaces are organized “like so many cages, so many small theaters, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible.” In the Panopticon all power resides with the State and government control becomes internalized. The gaze of someone in an authoritative position is a power/knowledge mechanism, which contains and imprisons those subjects who come under its scrutiny, its *guardianship*.

It follows that these examples of the “Panopticon Principle” equip anarchists with a beneficial critical tool to comprehend the ubiquitous spread of video surveillance cameras and the State’s scheme to control the “psychic selves” of the populace and turn the mind itself into a space of imprisonment. The “surveillance effect” of globally pervasive “image catchers” creates mental chains as crippling as literal chains. Believing ourselves to be under the microscope of the State at all times, we are conditioned to act in accordance with the will of the watchers. The urban and suburban zoos the System has herded us into become increasingly claustrophobic as the techniques of social control metastasize internally and externally, creating the impression of police omnipresence and omnipotence. If they “know what’s good for them,” people will conform to the whims of the electronic eye.

(continued on next page)



Wide-Angle Enclosure: Overexposed to a Mirror With Memory

It would be a serious mistake to focus exclusively on the “self-policing” quality of video surveillance cameras and ignore the *physical dimensions* of this latest despotic encroachment of the State. The ruling class is endeavoring to construct a “Total Institution” of permanently entrenched fear, a digitally re-mastered menagerie, and their cameras *are* there to archive and track our movements as well. The state has a vested interest in establishing whether or not rules are obeyed, who obeys and who does not, and how those who deviate can be located and punished. CCTV cameras *do* freeze moments in time *and* provide a reservoir of information to the probing, investigating eye of law enforcement; in some of the larger urban labyrinths, these cameras are becoming more common than wildlife.

Class struggle has always been a component of civilization and the War on the Wild, and video cameras are the absolutist tool of a particular social class (civilization’s ruling elite), wielded to sequester another class. The exploited, the undesirables, the “bad consumers,” the natural world, *the wild* — we are all to be reduced to high-resolution captivity superimposed on us by video surveillance, and autonomy and feralness are to be faded out cinematically. In the workplace video cameras are proving to be a forceful new feature of the class war, as the roving overseer or foreman is being substituted by the silent and untiring electronic eye.

The machine has (once again) replaced the presence of a human being; instead of “breathing down one’s neck”, management now fixes a seemingly continuous and unyielding gaze on one’s productivity from the colder and more uncertain distance of the hidden recorder. Scientific control techniques reach a new peak of intensity and the shadow of the Panopticon extends further over our lives, immobilizing revolt and endangering the traditional “weapons of the weak” (sabotage, theft, wildcat strikes).

In the past, the exploited always knew that monitoring was episodic — the supervisor could not be everywhere all of the time. In contrast,

camera and recorder can be omnipresent and allow our masters to even analyze the *friendships* that form between fellow slaves. The CCTV network threatens to smother all *wildness*, that “dreaming ground... invoking ever new dreams,” as all conceivable sites of resistance are absorbed by the Spectacle of self-oppression. The cameras of the State seek to produce a new type of civilized slave, one that is satisfied in its restricted possibilities, isolation and anomie, dreaming the circumscribed dreams of the powerless and unimaginative, never crossing the paltry bounds that the system provides. With no aspirations that go beyond what exists in their plastic tombs, the exploited become like wild animals whose teeth and claws have been removed.

But humans are not simply robots or “docile bodies” following the dictates of coercive micro-mechanisms of state power, but potentially feral, ungovernable agents capable of interpreting, rejecting and destroying these structures. In his book *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Erving Goffman discusses how although “primary adjustments” or acts of conformity abound in tightly run “Total Institutions,” rebellious individuals also make “secondary adjustments” which defy the suffocating demands of the institutional order. These acts of recalcitrance are practices of “reserving something of oneself from the clutch of the institution... like weeds they spring up in any kind of social organization.” To use straightforward war terminology, for every *strategy* that is planned for a particular

purpose there are always innumerable *tactics* which can spontaneously be deployed to counteract them.

Put simply, “strategy is the science of military movements beyond the field of vision of the enemy; tactics, that of movements *within* his field of vision.” For every new strategy of social control on the part of the State, there is a novel and surprising tactic of negation, and for every video surveillance camera installed, there is a complimentary form of resistance, of subversion. For Big Brother’s telescreen has blind spots just like the human eye that rests on the other side of the lens.

Hitting Your Mark: From Digitized Subject to Insurgent Negative

In a Panoptic, conformist society of mediocrity and standardization — where vanquishment, collaboration and/or capitulation (all unacceptable) — seem to be the only responses an overwhelmingly technological, capitalist civilization permits, it’s uplifting to see rebels around the world roused to revolutionary action against the CCTV dragnet. In August 2002, a militant aggregation known as Motorists Against Detection (MAD) started a direct action anti-“speed camera” campaign in Britain, kicking it off with the UK’s most profitable speed camera located at the bottom of the infamous M11 motorway near Woodford, Essex. This particular camera was reputed to earn up to 840,000 pounds per week in traffic fines, as it tracks the movements of all motorists and communicates in real time via microwave links and the phone system to the newly upgraded Police National Computer. Within two weeks, MAD had sabotaged a further 29 speed cameras along the whole 27 mile length of the A406 North Circular Road between Chiswick and the east side of London.

A member of the resistance calling himself Captain Gatso (a tongue-in-cheek reference to the inventor of the speed camera, Maurice Gatsonides) released a communiqué soon after the CCTV Jihad started, stating that “we are fed up with lining the pockets of police forces and councils as a stealth tax revenue raising scheme. Everyday now it seems we read stories about camera technology and hear people talking to radio stations moaning about them. Up until now this has not made a lot of difference which is why it is time for all of us to act before it all gets out of hand.”

The balaclava-wearing highway liquidators of MAD vowed to burn, bomb, and dismember all speed cameras within the range of their wrath. They followed through on their threats with a string of attacks in the county of Norfolk, where six cameras valued at more than 100,000 pounds were set alight and vandalized. The secretive mutineers are fast becoming the most

popular outlaw folk heroes in Britain since Robin Hood and his Merry Men stalked the countryside: from the south coast of England to the Highlands of Scotland no camera is safe, as the “Gatsometers” are being playfully destroyed in a carnivalesque transformation of the State’s totalitarian topography. With each unit costing about \$38,000, a huge bill is being run up. But the rebels are unrepentant: “We are all guinea pigs in a huge experiment that will restrict our liberty, not just in London but the whole U.K.”

Communicating to the broader public through internet chat rooms, MAD rails against speed cameras (calling them “Weapons of Mass Persecution”) and warns of the menace of what they call the Talivan — mobile police speed detection units. Particularly destructive MAD cells are known to be operating in North London, Essex and Wales, while recent months have seen new operations in central Scotland. Most MAD actions have involved simple approaches like spray-painting camera lenses, burning them or cutting them down with power tools. But Northhamptonshire police are offering a reward for help in identifying the MAD members who used plastic explosives to bomb a camera in May 2003.

MAD’s “mad antics” are definitely catching on, as the destruction of these noxious devices has become a near-weekly occurrence in the British Isles. To date, MAD has taken credit for the destruction of more than 700 cameras, while other clandestine groupings around England have taken up the practice of placing tires over speed cameras and setting them alight (and often posting images of their charred remains on the web). Still other camera-haters are shooting them out with guns and one creative hooligan pulled down a speed camera by attaching a rope from the back of his car to the camera’s pole and driving away — a humorous reenactment of the staged toppling of Saddam Hussein’s statue?

In early February 2004, a group called the Mendip Mafia achieved a local publicity coup in its battle against speed cameras when it used dynamite instead of the usual flaming tractor tire to destroy a CCTV camera in the village of Emborough, on the A37 Road. This same camera had been destroyed once before — by other means — and twelve of the fifty surveillance cameras operated by the Avon, Somerset and Gloucestershire “Safety Camera Partnership” (who “oversee” this district) have been violently disabled since May 2003.

And the camera rebellion is spreading, a heartening sign of chaos in revolt! In Brussels, Willem Laurens is accused of leading a gang that torched 26 cameras in the city of Flanders, while in France, the country’s first radar camera was vandalized just hours after its inauguration by someone who cracked its armored-glass plating with a sledgehammer (equally determined

police had the \$90,000 unit repaired the next day, and its images were being examined for clues). In early October 2003, a pipe bomb took out a CCTV unit in North Belfast, and on October 23, in Milan, Italy (as reported in issue #15 of *Green Anarchy*) 101 security cameras were attacked throughout the city.

That’s a Wrap

While some people conceive of “rewilding” as scattering marijuana seeds in the cracks around City Hall or learning the Latin names of “native” plant species, we recognize that any serious rewilding will also necessarily involve the destruction of the technological system. The total administration of life is underway and to fight it we need to move from arresting paralysis to the deployment of regenerative chaos, by smashing the rational and institutional restraints placed on our lives and rekindling the Promethean fires of the imagination. The struggle to reclaim wildness is intrinsically a confrontation between chaos and organization: whether we accept it unquestioningly or rebel against it, technology has acquired not simply a life of its own, but a life that substantially infiltrates *our* lives, warping our characters as we gradually accept its mechanistic parameters.

If we succumb indifferently to the totalitarian reengineering of our world, we risk becoming androids ourselves, *animals made into machines*. To deny technology’s pervasive role in our existence means, then, to deny reality — at a time when the prospects for life and liberty seem to be rapidly drying up, and we are advancingly imbricated in the Panopticon’s presence. Only by demolishing the System’s machinery itself can we hope to get out from under the thumb of the political order and achieve our vision of renewal. Technology and the State are two of the more obvious enemies of wildness. **Destroy what destroys you!**



THE GARDEN OF PECULIARITIES

by Jesus Sepúlveda
Fragment 8



Beauty is fragile. This is another almost irrefutable truth. The calypso orchids that grow along the paths of the temperate forest take at least nine years to reproduce. This is a heroic act of palingenesis that takes place in the middle of the forest. In the spring their rose-color graces the skirts of the pine trees. But if an intruder touches its stem, the orchid dies instantaneously. Not so if only the petals are touched. This is the beauty of life, fragile and delicate, like everything that passes through our hands. Human beings are nothing more than nature. To pretend differently is to fall into alienation. It is to forget beauty. Usually children go to the zoo. This experience is part of our early training—it distances us from the rest of the animals. We all inhabit this planet, which feeds and gives shelter to every living thing. The balance between everything and the planet is as fragile as the orchid. Looking past the function of nature, the desire to find its utility and control it and dominate it, is a central challenge. On the other hand, to observe nature in order to appreciate it is to find plenitude. Our existence and the existence of everything else on this planet depend on this challenge. For this reason, unlearning the conditioning of our childhood in order to be able to appreciate nature’s beauty is a primordial necessity.

Human beings can be beautiful creatures. But for this to happen we need to shift our perception of reality from the utilitarian to one of appreciation. In other words, we need to substitute the instrumental for the aesthetic. The dominant ideological paradigm creating the present gives free rein to technological reason, but it displaces creation. Heidegger calls this latter mental agitation “poiesis.” But to replace the drive to dominate, expand and colonize—in order to radically dismantle economies based on competition and comparison—it is absolutely necessary to change the lenses through which we see reality. This is to say, refashion your perspective to appreciate day, night, the seasons, waves, the potency of rivers, the birds’ songs, the movement of animals, the woods, bees, women, men and all of the constellations of peculiarities that form other constellations of peculiarities and that spring savagely like orchids in the forest.

Translation by Daniel Montero
Edited by Janine Sepúlveda & Jesús Sepúlveda

"The Revolutionary Imperative of 'Going Native'" — rob los ricos

DURING THE ERA OF CONQUEST, there was a current of resistance to colonialism from within, as people expected to participate in the subjugation of foreign lands and Peoples instead switched sides. They disappeared across the frontier and integrated into indigenous cultures, usually through marriage.

Trappers, adventurers, outlaws and renegade slaves escaped from the repressive conditions imposed upon the subjects of militaristic colonial powers. Escaped slaves played a vital role in helping some Indigenous Peoples replenish their numbers after they'd experienced epidemics of imported diseases. In some instances, escaped Africans, colonials and remnants of decimated native Peoples created their own distinct cultures. These African and mixed race Peoples became known as Maroons.¹ At times, Maroon societies prevented colonial expansion into unconquered lands or outright defeated colonial powers in armed conflict, as they did in Florida, Brazil² and Haiti.

Intermarriage between native Peoples and colonials also led to the development of distinctive, bi-cultural societies, most notably Caribbean Creoles, French-Indian Metis and New Mexican Cibaleros. The latter were Spanish and Mexican settlers who "went native." They built homes more similar to native's pueblos (easily defended) than to Spanish estates. In the spring, they would plant corn, squash and beans. The men would spend the summer hunting in the plains, then return home for the harvest. A newly appointed viceroy to New Mexico once complained that he had difficulty distinguishing "the Christians from the savages."³

There are many such subversive cultures we — as insurrectionary, green anarchists — can look back upon to help us envision alternatives to the shystem we're currently mired in.

Sadly, we cannot return to the past. We can only learn from its examples. The pertinent question to be answered at this point is: Are such cultures of resistance achievable in the 21st century?

Frantz Fanon's monumental book *The Wretched of the Earth* suggests that it's not only possible, but necessary, in order to rid the world of residual colonialism and imperialism.

Fanon describes the differences between revolutionary urges in city-bound, educated Marxists and the more immediate, deeply felt aspirations of the country folk, and focuses his attention on Algeria. As the revolutionaries — workers and students for the most part — began to attract the attention of the government, the resultant repression brought against the rebels drives them out of their comfort zone and into the countryside. There, they encounter people oppressed beyond the city-dweller's worst nightmares. At this point, the revolutionaries must tread carefully, because the rhetoric with which they attempted to attract followers in the cities is volatile in the countryside. The oppressed tribal Peoples are restless, angry and always ready to explode. The revolutionaries must organize among the people and ingrain themselves within their culture in order to successfully utilize the revolutionary energy in the countryside.

Too often, Marxist parties end up merely using the natives for their party's gain. However, this is no longer the only example of native-

based insurgency. The EZLN of Mexico are the most well-known alternative to the classic communist revolutionary group. The Zapatistas spent 10 years underground, learning the lay of the land, the ways and needs of the people and, most importantly, deprogramming themselves, clearing out rigid Marxist dogma in order to cultivate a new revolution, one arising from the struggles of Indigenous Peoples.⁴

Native Peoples of South America have shown their strength by toppling governments in Ecuador and Bolivia, and are continuing to threaten the states of Chile, Argentina and Peru. Adivisi Peoples in India are fighting against development projects that would destroy their ancient cultures — mostly because of dam construction that would flood their homelands.⁵ In these instances, there are no vanguard parties directing native insurrection — the people are guiding themselves. No education is required, they live through the conditions of their exploitation and oppression.

Another successful insurrection is taking place in Algeria. There, an insurgent movement of village and neighborhood assemblies — the AARCH — has arisen to displace the federal and provincial governments in the Kabylia region. The AARCH consists of a network of revocable delegates. Their insurgency has such widespread support, the Algerian government and their henchmen in electoral and leftist parties, unions, even Islamic fundamentalists have been unable to gain the slightest grasp on the movement.⁶

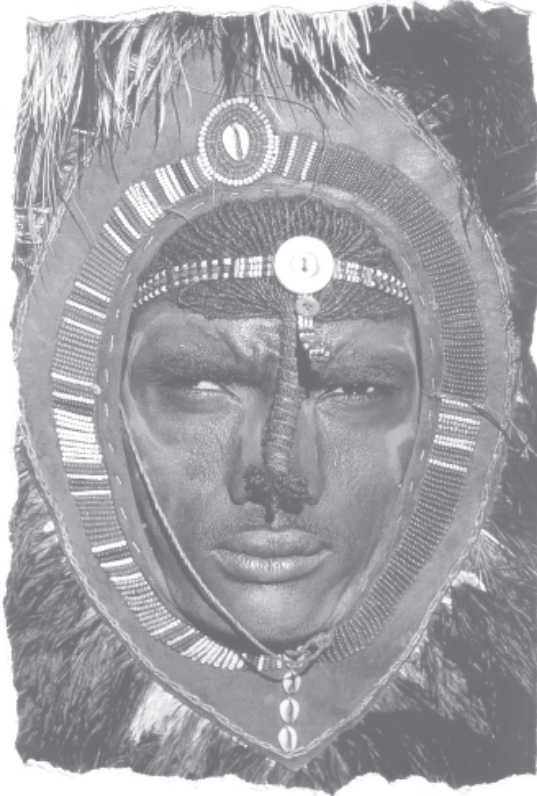
It is encouraging to see revolutionary movements after the post-Cold War collapse of totalitarian communism. Even more encouraging is the evolution of Marxist revolutionary movements into genuine People's movements.

The Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) has toned down its dogma since the capture of their Party's chairman, Abdullah Ocalan, in '99. Although still revered by his followers — who write poetry about and for him — his successor and brother, Osman, has changed the group's name to the Congress of the People (Kongra-Gel), and they've become more of an Indigenous People's movement.

According to PKK founding member Duram Kalkam, "We wanted to transform a system that massacred our language, culture and being. Perhaps instead of asking why we didn't take advantage of the (partial amnesty) law, one could ask Turkey, 'Why did the people leave their homes and go up to the mountains?'"

By giving up their privileges as wage earners and following the people into the mountains, the guerrillas of the Kongra-Gel are learning to value their People's cultural heritage above their own material comfort. They admit to suffering hardship, but believe the sacrifice is worth the effort, particularly the women soldiers who have the most to lose should fundamentalist mujaheddin governments form in Iraq and Turkey.⁷

Indigenous People's struggles to maintain or regain their autonomy are forming the basis of revolutionary insurrection in the 21st century. Here in the US, we must look to the past to rediscover our own culture of resistance to Leviathan.⁸ This is the one step back we must take in order to take two steps forward. Those steps being: 1) supporting genuine



insurrectionary People's movements throughout the world, and 2) creating the conditions for our own autonomous revolution.

Right now, the native cultures of Free Papua are in danger of being wiped out by the Indonesian army and corporate mercenaries. Similar genocides are being carried out in Amazonian Peru, the Cloud Forests of Colombia, western Sudan and numerous other places in Africa, the Americas, and Asia.

The people perpetrating, growing wealthy or otherwise benefiting from these atrocities mostly live in the G-8 nations, where the banks that finance genocide and the corporations who profit from it also reside. They are able to do this with impunity. It is up to us to hold them accountable for their actions.

It's worth mentioning that vast amounts of lands claimed by the Canadian State have never been ceded by the Native Peoples (1st Nations) there, so Canada has no legal claim to much of British Columbia, the Yukon and Northwest Territories. If half the number of people who attend anti-globalization protests were to sustain continuous pressure on the Canadian government to recognize 1st Nations' autonomy in those regions, it would be a major victory, one which all North American Indigenous Peoples could build upon. And one which we could benefit from, if we "go native."

Notes:

- (1) From the Portuguese "cimmarron," meaning "wild," according to John Conner in *Children of Guinea*.
- (2) *Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage* by William Loren Katz.
- (3) *The Comanchero Frontier: A History of New Mexico-Plains Indian Relations* by Charles L. Kenner.
- (4) *¡Basta! Land of the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas* by George Collier.
- (5) *The Cost of Living* by Arundhati Roy.
- (6) *Insurrection in Algeria* from *Ye Drunken Sailor* Vol. II issue III.
- (7) *Guerillas in the Mist* from U.S. News and World Report, 3/15/04.
- (8) See Fredy Perlman's epic *Against His-Story, Against Leviathan*.

Green Anarchy Editorial Note: While we're pleased to hear that the PKK (Workers' Party of Kurdistan) is moving in a more anti-authoritarian and pro-indigenous direction, we have serious reservations about endorsing them until we become better educated about these recent changes. For years, the PKK "leadership" (a problem unto itself) was under the strong influence of Yale 'n Küçük (a Stalinist writer who, incidentally, worked at the Institute of State Planning in the 1960s), and has been very clear about its desire as an organization to create its own State. Nations (needless to say) are an abstract concept (with very real implications) utilized by aspiring power structures to deceive and misdirect the struggle of desperate and oppressed peoples, and we're extremely hesitant to applaud the PKK until we can confirm that they've made a clean break with their Stalinist past and are now promoting a vision of liberation that goes beyond the conceptual confines of Western democracy. The Turkish Left (comprised of numerous rival gangs) is notorious among anarchists there for ignoring and scorning the ideas of freedom, individual initiative and autonomous organizing, while praising the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the "vanguard party". We can only hope that these new shifts in orientation and focus within the PKK will alter the trajectory and dynamic of their struggle. We've also heard (admittedly, unconfirmed) reports of PKK members targeting anarchist prisoners within the Turkish prison system. At any rate, we want to thank Rob Los Ricos for contributing this excellent article and we want to remind our readers that Rob is still serving a 7-year measure 11 (mandatory minimum) sentence for throwing a rock at a cop during the June 18, 1999 riot in Eugene, and needs our continued support!

* You can write to Rob Los Ricos at: Rob Thaxton #12112716, OSP, 2605 State Street, Salem, OR 97310.



"Do you know what the soul really is? It is the primitive in us...Some people sneer at us. They think we are advocating a return to the idea of the Noble Savage! They are incapable of understanding! We do not want to "return" to anything; we only want to peel off the layers of paint and varnish, chrome and plastic behind which we human beings have hidden ourselves from ourselves, and so come to the true man buried underneath."

- young siberian man,
from Shelekhov
region near Irkutsk

SPRING '04 ISSUE

A SANGRE Y FUEGO

Indigenous and Campesino Resistance



December 30, 2003, Brazil: Ranches Occupied by Those with Ancestral Claims

Thousands of indigenous people have invaded several farms close to Brazil's border with Paraguay in an attempt to reclaim ancestral land. Brazilian police said that members of the Guarani and Kaiowa peoples appeared with painted faces and bearing traditional weapons. Occupants of the ranches in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul fled in fear. Reports from the area said people armed with bows and arrows and shouting in their native language took over two farms located near the city of Iguatemi. Two thousand Indigenous people have also set up camps at the main entrances to other farms, performing war rituals and planning more invasions. The Native people have long been at odds with farmers who have moved into the area and use the land for large-scale cattle ranching. The Guarani have one of the highest suicide rates in the world, according to Survival International; more than 300 out of a population in Brazil of 30,000 have killed themselves since the mid-80's.

January 4, 2004, Brazil: Indigenous Land Reclamations Continue to Intensify!

Indigenous families wearing masks and war paint on their faces and armed with shotguns, bows and arrows, have now taken over 16 ranches near the Paraguay border since the last week of December, 2003.

January 7, Halmahera Island (Indonesia) – 400 indigenous insurgents from the Kao and Malifut communities occupied the Loguraci gold mine and stopped production on their traditional territory.

January 12, Tajra (Bolivia) – Peasants fed up with water poisoning from mining operations decided to set fire to mining equipment. When police showed up the peasants set fire to nearby railway tracks and attacked the police with dynamite. One police truck was destroyed.

January 12, Soncochi (Bolivia) – 40 indigenous Aymara families reclaimed and occupied an 80-hectare farm and farmhouse.

January 14, Tlalnepantla (Mexico): Townspeople Clash with Mexican Police After Declaring Autonomy
Dissidents battled police in a small town south of Mexico City after police entered to reinstate a mayor who had been kicked out by indigenous residents earlier in the week. Local residents (supposedly aided by what the Mexican government termed "leftist supporters") had recently seized the town hall in Tlalnepantla and declared the hamlet an "autonomous municipality", and had violently defended themselves from the police by throwing molotov firebombs. Morelos Governor Sergio Estrada said police were attacked by dissidents when they entered the town, in what he called an effort "to prevent violence between the mayor's supporters and dissidents...at the request of the

"It's like science fiction. There's this predatory energy...it's on the earth...it's on this planet and it feeds off the essence of all living things and when we look at the natural world and consider our proper place in the natural world (we're not necessarily superior to it but we're a part of it), and when we consider our role in that proper context – this predator energy feeds upon living things – it has found a way to take fossils and mine them into a form of energy to run its machine system. **This predator energy has also found a way to mine the spirit**, has found a way to mine our minds, it can even feed off the essence of our spirit because of that physical machine. It feeds and it taps upon the essence of our spirit, our soul, **upon our essence.**

It feeds off of us. And just as that fossil fuel system contaminates and pollutes the environment around us – the air, the water, the whole life cycles – it leaves it with its poisons and contaminations. As they mine our spirit through our minds, the contaminations and pollutants are the distortions that are left and leave our minds foggy **so that we can't see clear.** That's the **insecurities** – that's the hatreds and that's the extremes of self trust and self respect and the many forms of masks and disguises that it wears within our minds. This is all very deliberately done.

So in order for this system, this predatory energy system to work, we have to believe in it, and if we were to look clearly at what's really going on as this process works, if we are going to believe in it **then we cannot believe in ourselves**, we cannot trust ourselves; that's just the way this system works. We all have a commonality and it's within our genetic memory. I am from the people that are indigenous to this hemisphere but we are all indigenous to this planet. The DNA of the earth is in all of us. It's in all of us and it's just part of what's being mined along with the rest of the fossils. It's some elaborate system that I can't quite truly understand but it feeds upon us. Our commonality is that somewhere within our genetic memory, within the DNA patterns, we are all tribal people. Each and every one of us are the descendants of tribal people, it doesn't matter where we come from on this planet – we are descendants of tribal people.

So this process that they work upon the indigenous peoples in this hemisphere in this time – this historical space in time, in history – is just a repetition of a process that they used upon the other tribes throughout history in order to make them become submissive and subservient to the male god theory of domination. And that's reality."

- John Trudell

legally-elected mayor of the town." Police eventually recovered the town hall, allowing Mayor Elias Osorio to return. The dissidents refuse to recognize him, and in many ways this dispute resembles the 2002 standoff in which rebellious farmers seized the town of Anteco, east of Mexico City, for over a year, blocking highways, taking hostages, halting elections and facing down federal authorities.

Government officials of Morelos appear determined not to allow the establishment of an Anteco-style municipality, like the townships run by the Zapatista rebels in Chiapas. Such townships refuse secret-ballot "elections", block access to federal and state authorities, and reject all government development programs. After clashes broke out in Tlalnepantla, police arrested about

(continued on page 28)

Insurrection in Australia

On the night of February 15, the Sydney inner-city suburb of Redfern experienced probably the most defiant and successful urban insurrection within recent Australian history. It was centered around an area known as 'The Block', a thriving Aboriginal community. Around 150 Aboriginal youth engaged in direct conflict with police, injuring about 40, and fighting back wave after wave of offensive by the cops. The result is a political crisis that could add to a slowly growing wave of unmediated resistance to Capital that has marked the start of 2004.

The insurrection was sparked by the culmination of systematic racist brutality by the police against indigenous people in the area, the death of 17 year old TJ Hickey. TJ died after he was impaled on a fence pole. His friends argue that TJ was fleeing the police at the time, a charge that the cops deny. Since the insurrection there has been something of a crisis that has gripped the country, and it is unclear how we can connect with and deepen the revolt throughout the social body.

The roots of the rebellion lie obviously in the inheritance of genocide. The invasion of the Australian continent by the British Empire, and the transformation of the land into basically a jail, mine, and military base (which in part remains the global function of Australia today), involved a protracted campaign of extermination against the indigenous population and a long series of "border wars". The indigenous population faced extreme attempts to shatter their social bonds and push them off the land. This took the forms of both violence and exclusion, but also forcible integration into liberal and church institutions. Indeed children were stolen from their families and raised in foster homes and orphanages through most of the twentieth century.

However, countering this is a hidden history of Aboriginal resistance, in which indigenous people have struggled against their oppression and have worked hard to reinforce and maintain social and cultural links. The Block in Redfern is such a spot and embodies the successes and difficulties of this process.

Aboriginal people have lived on The Block in Redfern for over 60 years (since being kicked out of their traditional land). Since at least 1968, various state authorities have tried to relocate people out of The Block and into other areas of Sydney. The early 1970s saw a wave of squatting in the area. At the time, the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF), which was quickly becoming the most militant union in Australia, was going beyond the constraints of trade unionism and was engaging in "Green Bans". This meant that the BLFers refused to work on projects they thought were environmentally or socially destructive and tried to have cheap housing in the inner city. Going well beyond the terrain of legality, they would often destroy the work done by scabs and made alliances with many in struggle. Indigenous people in The Block and the BLF and radical plumbers worked to transform houses into a livable condition, and the Aboriginal Housing Company become the official landlords. This of course happened in the context of the wave of social ferment that characterized the epoch. However, by the late 1970s, the BLF had

been destroyed by union machinations and many social alliances amongst the multitude were broken by the strategies of incorporation and isolation the Labor Federal government used to implement neo-liberalism throughout the 1980s.

The Aboriginal Housing Company is now largely estranged from the community of The Block (which has formed the Aboriginal Housing Coalition), and has participated in the demolition of 70 of the 90 houses in the area. This is symptomatic of the effectiveness of social democracy in recuperating a layer of official leadership of oppressed groups to help with harmonious social management.

All this also happens within the context of the changing political geography of Sydney. Sydney is quickly becoming the Capital of Capital within the region. Of course, since Capital is a social relationship it has no true "home", yet many concrete functions of both the financial workings and cultural production of and for Empire in the Pacific

take place in Sydney. This means that many people flock to Sydney to find work (of a total Australian population of 20+ million, approx. 5 million of them live in the Greater Sydney area.) This has led to a process of de/reterritorialization in Sydney, as previously poor inner-city areas are transformed into far more expensive locales, and a surge in the construction of high-density housing powers much of the local economy. The Block then stands as a thorn in the development of potentially very expensive land. In the last few months, economists have started to predict that the building economy will (to use *their* term) "overheat" and go into recession. Access to this land therefore becomes increasingly important for Capital.

Since the night of the insurrection the aftermath has been telling concerning the conditions of Australian politics. Whilst there has been some support of the revolt, it has been unable to go beyond simple protest and symbolism and match the insurgent ferocity of the revolt itself. We should not be too pessimistic. Indeed the willingness of people to publicly support and sympathize with direct confrontation with the

police is quite advanced for Australia. What it does show is two things: the containment of revolt within the world of the political and the very real divisions of power and identity that chain the multitude in Australia.

Dissent in Australia (with a few exceptions) remains largely stuck in the world of the political – protests, petitions, the Left – and rarely matures into a real social clash. We could attribute this generally to the effects of neo-liberalism that have largely decomposed the more combative sections of the class war. It also arises from the inability to develop new methods to articulate and actualize our antagonism to Capital. We remain largely stuck in out-dated conceptions of social revolt. The very real moments of revolt and micro-networks of solidarity that do form are largely isolated from each other. This is in part due to the divisions of power and segmentations within the class.

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Indigenous and Campesino Resistance

(continued from page 26)

dozen people on weapons possession and other charges; the fighting included exchanges of gunfire, tear gas and molotov cocktails. One dissident died after being shot by the police. Many of the local dissidents scattered into the surrounding mountains after the clash. 300 state police have been posted in the town to prevent any further moves towards autonomy. Helicopters were seen by eyewitnesses hunting campesinos in the hillsides.

By contrast, the Mexican State never made such a determined effort to intervene in Anteco, which

shows how concerned they are about the example that was set there. In fact, Sergio Estrada – the governor of Morelos State – blamed “radical leaders from Anteco” for the trouble in Tlalnepantla, saying that “these dissidents were supported by subversive groups from outside the town. These groups were apparently supplying them with weapons.” Morelos State, the smallest in the country, is currently controlled by the PAN, the conservative party led by Mexican President Vicente Fox.

January 14, Kanesatake, Mohawk Territory (Quebec): Police Chief Forcibly Ousted

60 cops left the indigenous community of Kanesatake after being barricaded inside their station and deprived of food for three days. Community members had been angered by Grand Chief James Gabriel, who had brought in new cops from outside the community, in order to “crack down on crime.” On January 12, community members responded by cutting down trees to blockade a highway, burning Gabriel’s home and car, and surrounding the police station, trapping all 60 police inside. A large red-and-black Mohawk warrior flag was put on the fence near the reserve’s police headquarters, and when cops attempted to leave the police station they were pelted with bricks. Police Chief Gabriel said that this wife and children had left the house before the fire started. His dog died in the fire and his car and tractor were also set on fire. However, Gabriel said he wasn’t going without a fight. “I’ll be damned if I’ll let them chase me off my territory where I grew up.”

Some Mohawk warriors told the media that there was no need for any kind of police on the reserve, since Warrior Societies have always filled the function of protecting their community. Tensions were still high after the captured cops were released and a highway leading into the Mohawk reserve was still blocked with two large pine trees that were felled. The reserve, near the community of Oka, gained notoriety in 1990 over a land-claims standoff that saw one provincial cop killed when police stormed barricades erected to prevent

expansion of a nearby golf course on to land Mohawks considered sacred.

January 21, Brazil: Federal Police Move to Evict Indians

Police have revealed plans to evict 3,000 Indigenous people from farms they are occupying in southern Brazil. The people who come from the Guarani and Kaiowa tribes, began invading the farms in mid-December 2003, and as of mid-January had seized 16 farms in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, on land that ancestrally belongs to them. The previous week a federal judge sided with the farmers and gave the indigenous people three days to leave the land. On January 21, a tense stand-off developed as displaced farmers returned to confront the native people, who wore tribal dress and carried bows and arrows. The farmers fired shots into the air, but the police soon arrived to restore



Mohawk warriors oust police chief in Kanesatake

“order.” The 600 police who have assembled to carry out the dispersal of the occupation will receive logistical help from the army, and local hospitals are on stand-by in the event of injuries. The indigenous people have refused to go quietly and have promised to fight to the death in defending the reclaimed farms.

February 4, Grassy Narrows, Ontario (Canada) –

The indigenous Anishnabe community of Asubpeeschoseewagong (Grassy Narrows) set up another blockade to stop clear-cut logging on their territory, and because loggers had recently destroyed an Anishnabe man’s access trail. A blockade has been maintained here for more than a year, making it the longest running blockade in Canadian history.

“The land has never been merchandise for us, as it is with capitalism, but it is the support for our cultural universe.”

–Julio Carduna, indigenous mexican



February 6, Aotearoa (New Zealand): Annual Waitangi Day Clashes

About 200 indigenous Maori sovereignists clashed with 70 police on Waitangi Day, New Zealand’s national day which commemorates the Treaty of Waitangi made between European settlers and Maori chiefs in 1840. Maori sovereignists traditionally protest the day, sometimes clashing with police and replacing the New Zealand flag with the Maori sovereignty flag. This year’s battle broke

out when a Maori tried to stop a plainclothes cop from videotaping the Maori protest at the Treaty House. Scuffles broke out as police tried to arrest the man and Maoris fought back. Maoris yelled “fuck off, this is our land” at the police. One Maori climbed a tree during the battle and hung the Maori sovereignty flag. Maoris threw mud at politicians,

police, and journalists the day before, hitting the National Party leader in the face.

February 17, Latacunga (Ecuador) –

Businesses were closed, indigenous people blocked roads with barricades of rocks and burning tires, and food was looted from a small market in the second day of protests against the International Monetary Fund. Four interprovincial buses and two soldiers were also detained by protesters.

March 7, Wodrabinda (Australia) –

About 20 youths in this small Aborigine town attacked a police station, hurling rocks at the building and trapping the two on-duty cops inside for about 20 minutes.

Insurrection in Australia

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Capital has restructured the multitude in Australia in a way that accentuates divisions of power. The most obvious tool is race. The machinery of the system has worked hard to accentuate feelings of racial division, through the championing of a white racist ideology, institutional privilege, and by ghettoizing people through multi-culturalism.

The insurrection in Redfern showed both our potential strength and our weaknesses. It highlighted the lack of practical solidarity amongst the multitude, something we must work to deal with; the question remains how? How can we avoid the pitfalls of the Left or a fetish for building organizations, yet still weave real social bonds? There is no clear answer. My suggestion would be that we start from the perspective of circulating struggle. We work hard to spread the experiences and ideas of individual revolts throughout the class more broadly, and maybe in the networks we create, we will create a more practical resonance for revolts against the global order of Capital.

– Dave Antagonism

THE ANIMAL IN THE DARK TOWER

BY RAN PRIEUR

INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION IS RAVAGING THE EARTH, and its participants are sick, stressed out, and alienated. Agricultural and pastoral societies are a lot less destructive, but destructive enough that they've turned formerly lush regions into deserts, and the lives of the participants are easier than ours but often narrower. Hunter-gatherers are the least destructive by far, do the least work (and their "work" is more like play), are the healthiest, and have socially rich, meaningful lives.

From here, it's only a short step to the political ideology that we should all be hunter-gatherers again, after we take apart this civilization or it falls apart on its own. This position is stridently condemned by people who (predictably) have a huge ego investment in civilization, who don't want to consider that they could have wasted their lives, or their history, so badly. They cry "romanticism" while themselves dreaming that technologies of domination and self-absorption will lead to utopia. Or they declare it categorically impossible to "go back," though that's what we've done all through history when our little civilizations have burned out. Or they correctly point out that the end of this system will mean a drop in the human population, as if the blame for the die-off rests on the economy of the survivors and not on those who permitted billions of human lives to depend on the radically unsustainable exploitation of "resources."

If our species survives at all, it will be in societies more intimately related to the rest of life, and thus, according to Western mythology, "lower." What I'm arguing here is that the ideology of simply knocking down or outlasting civilization, and then simply being in these other societies, even hunting-gathering, does not go far enough.

The usual anti-civilization argument features a line between civilized and natural, such that on one side we use up the Earth and crash, and on the other side we can live in balance forever. Or, actually, there are two lines, one for what we can get away with in the future and one for where we went wrong in the past. Whether these lines must be in the same place, or may be in different places, is such a profound question that most people simply assume one or the other without thinking. For now I leave the question open.

In telling the story of where we went wrong in the past, the line is most often drawn at the invention of agriculture around 10,000 years ago. So on this side is a densely-populated, authoritarian, labor-intensive, Earth-consuming, expansionist society, domesticated and cut off from its roots, and on the other side are nature-based wild humans and all of nature, merged in perpetual harmony, disrupted only by the single exceptional event that spawned civilization.

If you're against civilization, it's comforting to believe that this event was a fluke. Then we

only have to put the world back the way it was, and with the slightest precautions, this nightmare will never happen again. But given that something happened, we should assume it was prone to happen, more than half likely given the circumstances. The burden of proof is on those who want to say it was a fluke, and in this case, though they have some evidence and stories about how hunter-gatherers got tipped into settlement and farming, they're nowhere near proving that the shift was unlikely.

If you look at a thorough global timeline of prehistoric technology, you don't see a sudden movement beginning at the invention of agriculture, merely an acceleration of a movement toward domesticity that goes much farther back. Around 40,000 years ago there was an earlier acceleration, still unexplained. Anatomically modern humans might have appeared at this time, or much sooner, or even later, depending on your definition of "anatomically modern" and the evidence you focus on or exclude. This whole subject remains tangled in uncertainty and controversy, but in any case the technological and biological changes that made civilization possible, if not inevitable, have been going on for well over a million years, since fire and stone tools.

It seems—though there is still debate—that our harmonious hunter-gatherer ancestors exterminated a lot of species. For a good argument that at least some of these were killed off by a global catastrophe (other than that of domesticated humans), see Vine Deloria's book *Red Earth, White Lies*. But other extinctions occurred at

different times—and at the same times that humans appeared in those areas. Even in historic times there is evidence of ecological impact by hunter-gatherer societies. A recent analysis of the journals of Lewis and Clark found that the regions with the most diverse and abundant wildlife were the regions with the fewest indigenous humans.

Also, what happened, exactly, to Homo

erectus and Homo sapiens neanderthalensis? One often reads that they were not "exterminated," merely "out-competed," as if the actual people faded into air as peacefully as the colored lines representing them on graphs, as if the extinction of an adaptable and intelligent human species in a world of wilderness can sort of happen by accident. If they ran short of food they must have been driven out of the land where they were getting their food, which would have required force, maybe the same kind of force with which Americans "out-competed" natives in the 1800's. Neanderthals had larger brains than us, so it's a reasonable guess that they were smarter, but apparently not as good at fighting.

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"IF OUR SPECIES SURVIVES AT ALL, IT WILL BE IN SOCIETIES MORE INTIMATELY RELATED TO THE REST OF LIFE, AND THUS, ACCORDING TO WESTERN MYTHOLOGY, 'LOWER.' WHAT I'M ARGUING HERE IS THAT THE IDEOLOGY OF SIMPLY KNOCKING DOWN OR OUTLASTING CIVILIZATION, AND THEN SIMPLY BEING IN THESE OTHER SOCIETIES, EVEN HUNTING-GATHERING, DOES NOT GO FAR ENOUGH."

John Livingston, in his book *Rogue Primate*, wonders if we killed them off because we were bothered by their wildness. That's just an aside in a radical and challenging analysis of human domestication.

Livingston distinguishes humans from all other animals by our reliance on culturally-transmitted technique: knowledge of how-to-do-it that is no longer dependent on nature, on having a place in the web of life, but on nurture, on abstract mental models learned from other humans. He calls this a "prosthetic being," an interface with the rest of the world that is no longer direct or intimate, but buffered or mediated by our intellectual and ideological devices.

He speculates that the tipping point was the taming of fire. From that time, our ancestors built an increasingly domesticated or idea-dependent culture, and here's the kicker: Out of that domesticated culture evolved *Homo sapiens sapiens*, us, already biologically adapted for domesticated life, with thin bones, weak muscles, dull senses, and brains specializing in abstraction.

Then we spread over the Earth and developed the whole variety of nature-based indigenous cultures—but these cultures are still prosthetics: They are not a true merging with nature, only an uneasy fitting-together. Livingston writes:

Nowhere may the human presence be seen as fully integrated and "natural," because wherever we may be, or however long we may have been there, we are still domesticates. Domesticates have no ecologic place, and they show it consistently and universally. When non-European indigenous peoples received and began to use firearms, for example, they revealed their exotic placelessness without missing a beat.

A common anti-civ argument goes that "we" lived sustainably for more than a million years before the few thousand years of civilization, that stone age technology and only stone age technology has ever been sustainable, and that therefore we should live pretty much like we lived for that million-plus years. But that wasn't us! Those were our less biologically-domesticated hominid relatives. Arguably, *Homo sapiens sapiens* has never lived sustainably, by which I mean that we have had societies that gave as much as they took, but that these societies themselves were precarious, that they could and sooner or later did fall out of balance—or get knocked out of balance by conquest or technological infection from some imbalance over the horizon.

I suggest that we draw the line in our heads not between industrial civilization and hunter-gatherers-plus-nature, but between *Homo sapiens sapiens* and all other life—and of course not in the sense that we are more "highly" evolved, but that we have evolved to some strange place off to the side, isolated and dangerous, the animal in the dark tower.

Maybe everyone would be better off if we just went extinct. But that's not realistic as a goal or even politically viable as an argument, and it

would put us in the extremely civilized mental space of fixing a problem by killing the bad guy. There is no problem, only a situation, one that demands more complex understanding and action than just knocking down the technological infrastructure—although that would certainly feel good, and it would greatly decrease the assault on nature... for the moment.

The situation is that particular civilizations keep crashing but the human tendency to fall into civilization persists. Roughly, we do it by using our hyper-flexible technique to invent ways to get some obvious benefit by doing some less obvious harm. The harm could be geographically distant, or far in the future, or concealed in the perspectives of other creatures, or even right in front of us but subtle. And once we've done it, we're in a feedback loop, tending to become dependent on the benefit, to extend and intensify our destructive practice, and to hold back our empathy or our "self," so that we don't notice the harm because that awareness would jeopardize the whole racket.

How can we ever avoid this trap? There may be no exit, nothing but to keep veering off and crashing, eon after eon, until we veer so far off and crash so hard that nothing survives bigger



than a rat. Or maybe humans will continue to physically evolve off to the side, farther from our roots, more dependent on our fleeting technologies and cultures, making our extinction ever more likely. Or maybe somehow we can physically evolve into a more integrated animal, through some sci-fi scenario that's not as implausible as space colonies.

But the usual idea is that we will culturally evolve into a more integrated animal, and the simplest version of this is that we'll live like known indigenous peoples, anchored by the customs of our ancestors and our knowledge and love of our native place. But if this is all that's

holding us to nature, then all it takes is for conquerors to force us out of that place, or eradicate the species we eat, or send our kids to school, or kill almost all of us, and we'll be disconnected and drifting, sucked into depression and probably into the culture of our conquerors.

Or will we? Some of the world's indigenous cultures have survived conquest and displacement, or are fighting it now, and they are not the same as they were a few centuries or decades ago, in that they now include awareness of civilization and techniques for resisting it, techniques that are evolving right now under intense environmental pressures. Even people with no indigenous cultural background, even people (like myself) who don't feel a deep bond with nature, are culturally evolving awareness of civilization and techniques for resisting it.

There may even be a level of evolving behavior deeper than learned culture, but not DNA. It's the level that tells a spider how to spin a web, or birds when to migrate, a level that biologists can tell stories about but have yet to explore. We could see it as a kind of species-wide group mind that can change over time. I suspect that this concept would not be troublesome or even surprising to most non-European and indigenous cultures, and even Western experimental scientists are starting to notice it. (See Rupert Sheldrake, *The Presence of the Past*)

In any case, it's not enough that we learn a location, a way of being that's in balance with nature. We must also learn a direction, a way of moving toward wildness. The mythology of our civilization is onto something when it says "we can't go back." We (individually and collectively) find it psychologically much easier to drift deeper into comfort and control and predictability, than to open ourselves to rawness and otherness and flux. How often does a child who wears shoes become an adult who goes barefoot? Have you ever seen a "property" owner remove a lock from a door? How many people, as they get older, have fewer possessions and care less whether those possessions get scratched? We try to go "back to nature" by moving to the woods and installing buildings and utilities, but how many people move to the city and take them out?

We have to learn, if not these changes, then thousands of changes like them, and the relentless focus and expansive awareness to drive them. If we don't, as long as we favor domesticating motion, we'll get a ratcheting effect that will seduce us from the healthiest society straight through self-absorption into hell. And if we do, if we learn to favor motion toward wildness, or learn to navigate the spectrum with full consciousness, then we can not only stabilize ourselves in stone age societies that are known to work—we might also increase our range, and sustain ways of being that are farther from nature than the stone age—or closer! As the drug trippers say, it's not how far you can go—it's how far you can come back from.

email me at: ranprieur@yahoo.com

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fences cannot hold back the wind!

Prisoner Uprisings and Revolts

"The most beautiful moment is when the clash against all the things that oppress us expresses our passion for equality and solidarity. This passion cannot be destroyed. The insurrectional flame, the will for life, will pass through the rubble of prisons and courts...because they don't capture a free man because they put him in a cell. Even the most inhuman power of authority is not enough to erase what we have in us. It cannot crush what we are fighting for; what pushes us and what we are pushing for, all of us: the social revolution, when the free expression of human nature won't be just an abstract concept but will take life from the same passion that fires us to fight"

— Anarchist Group of Cyprus



December 4, 2003, Port Hedland (Australia):

About 20 immigrants held a protest on the rooftop of an immigrant detention center and were attacked by guards who used tear gas. There were clashes between detainees, guards and police. Four guards and one cop were injured. Four days later, 21 of the refugees being held in isolation cells because of their participation in the riot began a hunger strike.

December 13, Helena, Montana: Prisoner Escapes from State Penitentiary

A prisoner's escape from the Montana State Prison is being blamed on prison staff who got lax with security policies. Charles Avitt is believed to have snuck out of the prison by hiding in a load of clean laundry, Warden Mike Mahoney said. Avitt was caught the next day after breaking into a veterinary clinic.

December 17, London (U.K.):

Youths in a detention center started fires in their cells after three prisoners climbed on the roof of the building. The three rebels were placed in isolation units for their actions.

December 19, Columbia, South Carolina: Prisoner Escapes From County Jail

John Griffin Jr., 20, escaped from Ridgeland Correctional Institution but was recaptured more than a week later at a Lexington County mobile home community.

December 20, British Columbia: Prison Guards Hospitalized

A prisoner at the Kent maximum-security prison east of Vancouver attacked two guards, causing injuries that required them to be taken to a hospital and suspended from work to recover. In response to the assault, prison officials put the entire cellblock on lockdown, meaning that all 28 inmates in the cellblock were confined to their cells until further notice. Kent prison is notorious for riots and rebellions; two riots took place in 2003 alone.

December 28, Grafton (Australia) –

Youth rebelled inside a high-security juvenile detention center, started fires, attacked guards, and armed themselves with weapons from the woodwork shop. Guards were forced to flee the building and police were brought in to quell the uprising. The center sustained serious damage and many inmates were transferred to another prison.

January 7, 2004, Missouri: Prisoner Escapes from Webster County Jail

David Choate, 22, escaped from the Webster County Jail but was quickly recaptured. According to Sheriff Ron Worsham, Choate had been arrested on a warrant for possession of a controlled substance. While in the booking area, Choate observed the combination to the keypad lock on the area's door. "When the jailer left the area to take another prisoner back to the cell, Choate dialed in the combination and got out," Worsham said. A Marshfield cop (unfortunately) apprehended Choate 15 minutes later.

January 7, Palatka, Florida: Prisoner Escapes from Putnam County Jail

Prison officials say Johnny Edward Staten, Jr., sentenced to 30 years in prison for armed carjacking, was awaiting transfer to the Department of Corrections when he escaped. Deputies said Staten apparently got access to a white kitchen uniform, which allowed him to mix with the general jail population during the morning feeding time. They said he then climbed over the razor-wire fence, cutting himself. Deputies found a bloody jumpsuit about one-half mile south of the jail, and proceeded to search for the escapee using bloodhound teams and a helicopter. It's unknown to us whether or not he still eludes arrest.

January 8, Oakland, California: Prisoner Escapes from Hospital

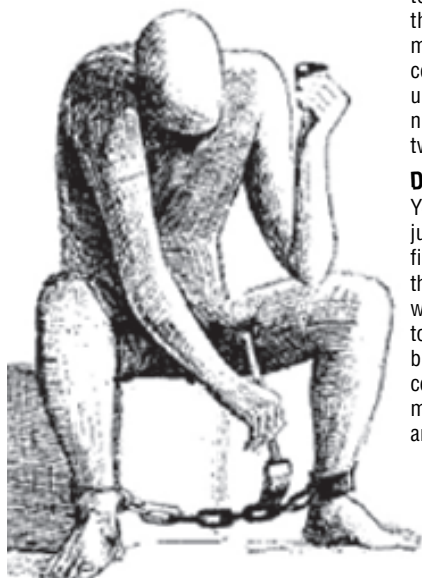
A manhunt was under way in the Bay Area in early January for a prisoner who police said used a fake leg cast to dupe sheriff's deputies and escape

from custody at Highland Hospital. 32-year-old Dion Parrell was being escorted by a sheriff's deputy to the hospital so that he could have a cast on his broken wrist recast; because of the injury only one wrist had been handcuffed. Parrell also wore a cast on his leg – even though he had no related injury, Lt. Dale Amaral said. "They wouldn't have put leg irons on him," Amaral explained. "This has certainly been planned. It was not a spontaneous escape." The prisoner and his supervising escort were in an elevator at the hospital; when the doors opened at the seventh floor, Parrell bolted. "He exited the elevator, running down seven flights of stairs," Amaral said. "He hit the streets – he was like a gazelle." A search of the area surrounding the hospital was conducted immediately, and Parrell's red jail clothing and wrist cast were located a few blocks away.

January 12, Bindura (Zimbabwe): Prisoner Escapes from Farm Labor Camp

Takesure Katena, a prisoner at the Chawagona Prison Farm escaped under the nose of armed guards and dogs in the middle of the afternoon while working in a maize field. After working for about an hour, Katena is said to have asked for permission to go urinate, and then disappeared. Last year two other prisoners escaped from custody in Bindura. The two were repairing a vehicle before they asked to test the vehicle. When given permission, they allegedly drove out of the prison premises.

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January 21, Oklahoma: Prisoner Escapes Custody... Briefly

Oklmulgee County cops were unfortunately successful in re-capturing a prisoner after he pulled a "disappearing act." The prisoner, who made a valiant bid for his freedom, has been identified as Lance Edward Harris, age 19. Harris made his brief escape gambit following an early morning court hearing on "Knowingly Concealing Stolen Property" charges. Captain Shimika Johnson was returning from the courtroom to the jail facility with Harris and three other prisoners, when Harris disappeared, apparently leaving the courthouse through the east-side door. Johnson said Harris was still dressed in civilian clothes. Johnson then discovered Harris had fled east down an alley. An employee of a carpet business told local pigs that a man fitting Harris' description had run into the business' warehouse. Police later apprehended Harris hiding in the men's restroom of the warehouse area.

January 21, Albuquerque, New Mexico – A prisoner—described by officials as paranoid-schizophrenic—is now back in custody after he briefly escaped while being transported to the local Metro Detention Center. It's unknown how this prisoner escaped, so we have no tips to offer our readers.

January 23, Buckeye, Arizona: Prisoners Hold Guards Hostage in Tower

On the sixth day of an ongoing penal system uprising, two prison guards held hostage inside a watch-tower by a pair of inmates sent word to the outside world that they were all right. The voice (radio) contact was at least the second time negotiators spoke with the prison guards since they

were taken hostage at the Arizona State Prison Complex – Lewis, a 4,400-inmate medium-to-high-security prison west of Phoenix. The standoff began almost a week earlier when a prisoner attacked a guard in a kitchen area. That prisoner and another inmate then got into an observation tower where two guards, were stationed. It's not known how the prisoners managed to overpower the armed guards and take them hostage, but the guard tower, in the middle of the prison grounds, was believed to have been stocked with weapons. This possibility, coupled with the tower's three-story high position on open ground, left prison officials with few existing options to free the hostages quickly. Four days into the standoff, one of the prisoners holding the guards hostage set off a gas canister that landed in the prison yard; prison officials (wisely) chose not to retaliate and negotiations resumed. This standoff was still in motion when we received this news item in late January, and quite honestly, we don't know how the situation played itself out. (We'll try to dig it up for next issue.)

February 6, Exeter (U.K.): Prison Riot Tears Shit Up!

Inmates rioted at the Exeter prison, damaging computers, doors, and an office, and arming themselves with chair legs and pool balls. The rebellion broke out when about 15 prisoners refused to return to their cells after socializing. Guards were forced to withdraw. Riot police were called in, and some prisoners returned to their cells, but about 8 inmates barricaded themselves in a cell. The prisoners suspected of being involved in the revolt have been split up and transferred to a different prison.

February 7, Edmonton (Alberta, Canada) – An inmate reportedly beat up a guard at the Edmonton Institution and sparked a riot by about 19 prisoners who refused to return to their cells and destroyed furnishings and computers, causing \$170,000 dollars in damage. After being promised dinner the inmates went back to their cells.

February 8, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil): Massive Prison Break!

49 prisoners escaped through a hole in the wall of their cell. 74 prisoners were in the cell but guards didn't notice until 49 had escaped. Six guards have been suspended because of the incident. Only two prisoners have been recaptured.

February 8, Valencia (Caraboo State) – The most recent reports claim 7 dead and more than 30 injured in a jail house mutiny at the Tocuyito State Penitentiary after midnight confrontations between prisoners and the National Guard. Prison Governor Luis Calderon says riots spread throughout the facility and shots were heard fired just after 1 a.m. by local residents. Prison inmates were said to be using roughshod firearms and improvised swords but Calderon said the disturbances had been brought under control by daybreak.

February 9, Tecumseh, Nebraska: Prisoner Escapes Using Toilet-Paper Gun!

Prisoner Michael McGuire escaped from a hospital, where he'd been taken for a medical scan, after using toilet paper to make a fake gun. According to his lawyer, McGuire had been planning his escape for up to a year and he'd discovered wet toilet paper would harden if left to dry. McGuire stuck the cap of a pen (without the pocket clip) into the hardened paper to make the hole at the end of the barrel. He then wrapped the "gun" in tape and colored it black. McGuire didn't tackle the two guards in charge of watching him and instead waved the "gun" around so they couldn't see the barrel was actually crooked. He forced them out of the hospital and into a prison van where they were ordered to handcuff themselves together. He then drove to a remote area and left them handcuffed to a tree.

February 10, Guatemala City – A riot broke out inside a women's prison during a police operation. Six guards and 35 prisoners were hospitalized.

February 12, Whitehorse (Yukon), (Canada) – Eight prisoners are facing new charges after a small riot broke out inside the Whitehorse Jail when guards provoked the incident with a late-night search for drugs. The eight prisoners barricaded themselves in the dormitory, ripped sinks off the wall, used the legs of beds to smash equipment, and set small fires.

February 14, Arkansas – Inmates in the White County Jail removed a surveillance camera and destroyed it. Inmates also ripped a sink and shower from the wall, causing \$5,000 damage. The revolt seemed to have been triggered by the recent suspension of smoking privileges.

February 15, Nyborg (Denmark) – 100 prisoners rioted at the Nyborg State Prison, setting two offices on fire and smashing furniture. The prisoners were angry because the Danish government had decided to remove all weightlifting equipment from the nation's 80 state prisons and probation centers. Prison officials seem to be afraid of the strength of the prisoners. "Some inmates have grown to abnormal size," said Carsten Pedersen, the chairman of the Union of Danish Prison Officers. "They have become monster men."

February 16, New York City: Prisoner Escapes in the Bronx!

A handcuffed prisoner swung open the side door of a police van and managed to escape. The male prisoner had been arrested for possession of a controlled substance, police said, adding that officers were still investigating whether the name he provided was really his.

February 28, St. Petersburg (Russia) – 5,000 prisoners started a hunger strike in six different prisons in the region to struggle against the brutal conditions inside the jails and the recent murder of a prisoner by guards.



THEIR TERRORISTS, OUR FREEDOM FIGHTERS!

North American Political Prisoners Listings:

Note: We cannot list every political prisoner, so we are prioritizing anarchists, anti-authoritarians, eco-defense warriors, animal liberationists, native and land rights prisoners, and others we have strong affinity with that are being held captive in North America.

Anarchist & Anti-Authoritarian:

Bill Dunne #10916-086, Box 019001, Atwater, CA 95301. Anti-authoritarian sentenced to 90 years for the attempted liberation of a prisoner in 1979.

Larry Giddings #10917-086, Box 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837. Anti-authoritarian prisoner serving 75+ years for revolutionary action.

Matthew Lamont T90251, Centinella State Prison/ A-5-114, PO Box 901, Imperial, CA 92251. Serving time for allegedly planning to attack a white supremacist gathering.

Ojore N. Lutalo #59860, PO 861, SBI #0000901548, Trenton, NJ 08625. Anarchist and black liberation soldier serving time for revolutionary clandestine activities.

Brian McCarvill #11037967, TRCI, 82911 Beach Access Rd, Umatilla, OR 97882. He became politically active while serving a 39-year sentence on bogus charges. He has been continually harassed after filing a lawsuit against the Oregon Dept. of Corrections.

Mike Rusniak DOC K88887, Dixon CC, 2600 Brinton, PO Box 99, Dixon, IL 61021. Serving time for stealing a police car, and other acts of anti-government property-destruction.

Robert Thaxton (Rob Los Ricos) #12112716, OSP, 2605 State Street, Salem, OR 97310. Long-time anarchist sentenced to seven years in prison for throwing a rock at a cop in self-defense at a June 18, 1999 Reclaim the Streets protest in Eugene, OR.

Harold Thompson #93992, Northwest Correctional Complex, Route 1, Box 660, Tiptonville, TN 38079. Serving multiple life sentences for clandestine resistance.

Rodney Wade #38058, I.S.C.I. 13A-20B, P.O. Box 14, Boise, ID, 83707. Ecological activist serving time for self-defense against a racist attack.

Jerome W. Bey #37479, SCCC (5-D-256), 255 West Hwy 32, Licking, MO 65102. Social prisoner and founder of the anarcho-syndicalist Missouri Prison Labor Union.

Eco-Defense & Animal Liberation:

Ted Kaczynski #04475-046, US Pen-Admin Max Facility, PO Box 8500, Florence, Colorado 81226. Sentenced to multiple lifetimes in prison for the "Unabomber" bombing attacks against architects of the New World Order.

Jeffrey Luers (Free) #13797671, OSP, 2605 State Street, Salem, OR 97310. Serving a 22+ year sentence for setting fire to SUVs to protest the destruction of the environment. He has been made an example of by the criminal injustice system and urgently needs your support.

Craig Marshall (Crittter) #13797662, SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd, Ontario, OR 97914. Unapologetic eco-anarchist serving a five-year sentence for setting fire to SUVs to protest the destruction of the environment. Critter has been extremely marginalized and needs support.

Benjamin Persky - RELEASED, after serving multiple years for property destruction at multiple anti-HLS demonstrations.

Fran Thompson #1090915 HU 1C, WERDCC, P. O. Box 300, Vandalia, MO, 63382. Longtime eco-activist serving a life sentence for shooting dead, in self-defense, a stalker who had broken into her home.

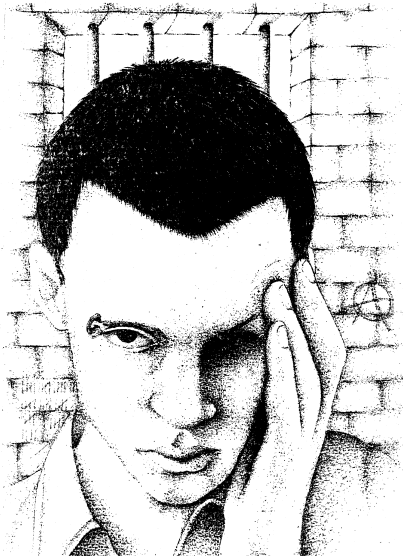
Native American & Land Rights:

Byron Shane Chubbuck #07909051, US Penitentiary, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048. Indigenous rights activist serving time for robbing banks in order to acquire funds to support the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico.

Eddie Hatcher #0173499, ECI, PO Box 215, Maury, NC 28550. Longtime Native American freedom-fighter framed for murder.

Leonard Peltier #89637-132, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048. American Indian Movement (AIM) activist, serving two life sentences, having been framed for the murder of two FBI agents.

Andy J. Riendeau (John Two Names) #193786, Dorm 16/Bed 25, Limestone Correctional Facility, 28779 Nick Davis Rd., Harvest AL 35749.



Tewahnee Sahme #11186353, SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd, Ontario, OR 97914. Native rights advocate serving additional time for a prison insurgency.

David Scalera (Looks Away) #13405480, TRCI, 82911 Beach Access Rd, Umatilla, OR 97882. Native rights advocate serving additional time for a prison insurgency.

Luis V. Rodriguez #C33000, PO Box 7500, Crescent City, CA 95532-7500. Apache/Chicano activist being framed for the murder of two cops.

MOVE Prisoners:

MOVE is a radical, ecological movement that has been attacked by the Philadelphia Police since its inception. Nine members were convicted and sent to prison for life following a 1978 siege at their house in which one cop was killed by another cop. One of those nine, Merle Africa, died in prison after being denied medical treatment.

Debbie Simms Africa #006307, Janet Holloway Africa #006308, Janine Philips Africa #006309, 451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238.

Michael Davis Africa AM4973, Charles Simms Africa AM4975, Box 244, Grateford, PA 19426-0244 SCI Grateford.

Edward Goodman Africa AM4974, Box 200, Camp Hill, PA 17011-0200 SCI Camp Hill.

William Philips Africa AM4984, Delbert Orr Africa AM4985, Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612 SCI Dallas.

United Freedom Front (UFF):

The following three individuals are serving huge sentences for their role in actions carried out by the (UFF) in the 1980's. The UFF carried out solidarity bombings against the US government on a variety of issues.

Jaan Karl Laaman W41514, Box 100, South Walpole, MA 0207.

Ray Luc Levasseur #10376-016, Box PMB, Atlanta, GA 30315.

Thomas Manning #10373-016, Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048.

Richard Williams #10377-016, 3901 Klein Blvd., Lompoc, CA 93436.

More information on Political Prisoners & POWs can be obtained from the following websites:

Anarchist Black Cross Network
www.anarchistblackcross.org

Eddie Hatcher: Native American Political Prisoner
www.eddiehatcher.org

Howl For Freedom: Free Defense Network
www.freefreenow.org

International Leonard Peltier Defense Committee
www.freepeltier.org

Jericho Movement
www.thejerichomovement.com
MOVE

www.onamove
Prison Activist Resource Center
www.prisonactivist.org

Robert Thaxton (Rob los Ricos)
www.defenstrator.org/roblosricos

Spirit Of Freedom:
Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network
www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk

Note to Prisoners:

Due to our mailing costs, we are asking that prisoners now re-subscribe (for free) every five issues so we know that you would like to continue receiving our magazine. We will let you know when your subscription has run out with your fifth issue. We are dedicated to providing free subscriptions of *Green Anarchy* to those who have been kidnapped by the state, and are currently sending over 400 free copies an issue into the prison system. We just want to make sure its going to people who want it. Anyone prisoner who is currently receiving GA will receive the next three issues.



OUR MUZZLED FREEDOM STATE REPRESSION NEWS

MICHIGAN MEN CHARGED FOR LAST JUNE'S RIOTS IN BENTON HARBOR

Two Benton Harbor residents, Larry Doolittle and William Johnson, faced resisting and obstructing police charges late in January for allegedly driving vehicles at cops during the Benton Harbor rising last June. Houses, police cruisers, and fire trucks were burned and several cops pelted with rocks and bricks at that time.

In charging vehicle drivers with rioting, Chief Assistant Prosecutor Arthur Cotter asserted that the defendants' actions delayed efforts to restore order, making them as culpable as the people who assaulted police. The riots were torched off by the death of Terrance Shurn, whose motorcycle crashed into a house while he was fleeing police at high speed. Although the two men are not accused of active participation in the police assaults or arsons that marked the riots, the prosecutor's office contends that a state rioting statute applies because the drivers disobeyed police orders to stop. The riot statute says that a person who fails to do any of three specified things when ordered by police at a riot scene can be prosecuted as a participant. When ordered by police, a person must "aid and assist in seizing and securing such rioters," help suppress the riot, or leave the area. Only one person has been convicted so far of an assault stemming from the riots, Kevin Cloy, of Benton Harbor, who was sentenced to a year in jail for throwing a bottle at a car. An arrest warrant has also been issued for another person the police are unable to locate. Prosecutor James Cherry said his office has not been able to charge more people with violent acts because of identification problems. Tense standoffs between large numbers of police and rioters took place across a no man's land that made it "virtually impossible to get through and make arrests of people throwing rocks and bricks," Cherry said. "It's almost as if we were on a Napoleonic battlefield."

THREE RICHMOND, VA ELF MEMBERS TO BE SENTENCED

John Burton Wade and Aaron Labe Linas, both 18, and Virden Blackwell, 20, face possible five-year sentences for their guilty pleas in conjunction with damage to SUVs, construction sites, and fast-food outlets in the Richmond area. We're not sure how any of these three individuals was identified and apprehended, or WHY they pled guilty to federal conspiracy charges, but their convictions were the first in an avalanche of bad news to arrive this winter regarding ELF-related arrests. The specific charge they pled guilty to—being part of a conspiracy to destroy vehicles and property by fire—carries a maximum penalty of five years. One of the actions they pled guilty to involved an attempt to blow up the fuel tanks of a crane and other motorized construction machines at Short Pump Town Center in Henrico, according to court documents. The actions against SUV's were: marking the windows and bodies of 25 vehicles at a Ford dealership; smashing windows, slashing leather seats and denting the body of a jeep at another dealership; and damaging SUV's parked at homes in Henrico. They also admitted defacing the windows of two

from all these recent arrests, we need to analyze (to the best of our ability and with the facts we have at our disposal) what went wrong and how these mistakes can be avoided in the future. Because the reality is, folks, we're up against a global leviathan and its trajectory of universal annihilation is not likely to peacefully change course. The responsibility is now ours, whether we want it or not, and in this war none of us are expendable!

SUV OWNERS APPEAL TO FEDS FOR PROTECTION

The Sport Utility Owners of America (SUVOA) called on Attorney General John Ashcroft and Homeland Security czar Tom Ridge in January to take effective measures against the ELF and save their hogmobiles! SUVOA represents 24 million threatened guzzler-consumers who are supposedly scared shitless of the militant Earth Liberation Front, who defiantly take credit for targeting SUV's all over the country in a constantly escalating campaign of destruction. Founded in 1999, SUVOA actively defends the "rights" of SUV owners and seeks to refute the "false" charges regarding the safety and environmental record of SUV's.

LONGTIME REVOLUTIONARY NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT

Green Anarchy has just learned of the imprisonment of former situationist and anti-GMO militant RENE RIESEL, who is serving seven months in prison, as of December 2003, for twice destroying genetically modified crops in France. He could definitely use some letters of support! You can write him: Rene Riesel, no. d'écrou 4612, Maison d'Arret, 37 chemin Sejalan, 48000 Mende, FRANCE

Editors Note: See page 14 for his article on biotechnology, and also, check out a new English translation of some of Rene Riesel's writings on genetic engineering, now available as a pamphlet entitled "Against The Engineering Of Life", which can be ordered for \$3 from: Venomous Butterfly Publications, 818 SW 3rd Avenue, PMB 1237, Portland, OR, 97204.

ELF BUSTS IN TEXAS

Four teens were arrested at the end of January in Harris County, Texas for allegedly causing \$90,000 damage to as many as 50 SUVs, in a vandalism spree that began last October. The names of those arrested were withheld, but the accused ringleader is said to have been convicted last year of criminal mischief for burning a flag in front of a local school. Two of the accused are said to be 18 years-old and another is believed to be 19 years-old. All four of them stand accused of a felony that carries, with conviction, 2-10 years behind bars.



CALTECH STUDENT HELD WITHOUT BAIL

Billy Cottrell, 23, is in federal custody after his March 9 arrest, accused of firebombing 125 SUVs to the tune of \$2.3 million in LA County last August. He faces up to 40 years; his lawyer has proclaimed his innocence. Cottrell is a second-year grad student in physics at the California Institute of Technology, and emails from computers at that school claimed responsibility for the SUV destruction on behalf of the Earth Liberation Front. FBI agents also claimed in an affidavit that Cottrell was involved in a plot to plaster sport utility vehicles with 5,000 bumper stickers that read "My SUV Supports Terrorism." His lawyer has accused the presiding judge of "Guantanamoizing" Cottrell, referring to the military base in Guantanamo Bay where U.S. authorities are holding hundreds of suspected Islamic militants without bail or access to lawyers.

HELEN WOODSON FREE ...BRIEFLY

The eco-peace activist was released March 9 after 27 years in prison for robbing a bank and burning the money in protest of capitalism and the destruction of the environment, and damage to a nuclear missile silo, most prominently. Woodson reported to federal authorities March 11, whereupon she poured red paint over security apparatus and issued a Christian-oriented eco-statement. She's now back in prison, but unfortunately, we don't have any more information available to us at this time.

MICHAEL SCARPITTI ARRESTED, aka TRE ARROW

Tre was nabbed in Canada in mid-March, while supposedly trying to steal bolt cutters at a home improvement store. On the run for two years, he had been accused of torching logging trucks at the Eagle Creek, OR timber sale protest in 2001. Prior to extradition to the U.S. he can be reached at: Michael Scarpitti (remand prisoner), PO Box 9224 Stn. Prov. Govt., Victoria, BC, Canada V8W 9J1. Tre had been on the FBI's most wanted list. The former Green Party congressional candidate confronts a possible twenty-year sentence if convicted, so he needs all the support that we as a movement can muster! Be assured, the State WILL try to make an example out of Tre Arrow, as they did with Free, so now's the time to go on the offensive, before his extradition is completed!

Everything that Plummets Must Converge by Dan Todd

George Bush, a man who in his (greatly prolonged) youth could not drink and (having completed extended toilet training at Yale University) now cannot think, has outsourced this activity to minions who in their youth drank deep at the fountain of Leon Trotsky, the Russian Bolshevik leader. With apologies to Flannery O'Connor, everything that plummets must converge.

In the early 1920's, about the time Winston Churchill advocated gassing "uncivilized" Iraqis who rejected British occupation, Trotsky oversaw the murdering of revolutionary Russian workers and sailors who did not accept Bolshevik control, most notably at Kronstadt, the naval fortress protecting St. Petersburg, where sailors had broken the back of Tsarist authority a few years earlier. Trotsky never repented his severity, despite being denounced by Stalin some years later for being on the wrong side of History. In a 1938 essay entitled "Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt," he continued to slander the memory of those he had slain by arguing they represented, "on the basis of objective circumstances," as he so magisterially put it, reactionary, petty-bourgeoisie elements, quoting Marx to the effect that "it is impossible to judge either parties or peoples by what they say about themselves."

It is this essential arrogance that no doubt endears his memory to writers such as Stephen Schwartz, a former disciple of Trotsky who has transferred his allegiance to another 20th century luminary, William F. Buckley. Writing in *National Review* last year (6/11/03), Schwartz hailed the trend in radical leftism that "followed the principle of opposition to the Soviet betrayal of the revolution to its logical end," noting disciples of the "Old Man" joined the AFL-CIO in the 1960s, "its best Cold War period," and eventually became staunch Reaganites. Perhaps the most pathetic example of this strange odyssey is Christopher Hitchens, who unabashedly supported the invasion of Iraq.

Trotsky's legacy offers much his bastard disciples can use. As noted above, the elementary courtesy of calling people the names they choose to call themselves is scorned. Schwartz calls critics of the neoconservatives "neofascists." His fellow *National Review* writer, Victor Davis Hanson, calls opponents of the Iraqi occupation "Islamofascists." Hanson sneers at Arundhati Roy for wearing stylish jewelry while she denounces war, amusingly echoing Trotsky's derision of the Kronstadt mutineers as containing "completely demoralized elements, wearing showy bell-bottom pants and sporty haircuts." And just as *National Review* mocks anti-war activists for their supposed naiveté, Trotsky condescendingly denounced "sentimental lamentations of the pacifist kind in the spirit of Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, and their latest imitators."

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were anarchists deported from America to Russia after the October Revolution in 1917. They were in St. Petersburg at the time of the Kronstadt Revolt and wrote sympathetic accounts of the mutiny and its causes. They described how hateful the "flower of the Revolution" found the increasingly cruel and

coercive Communist Party. Goldman wrote, "The free exchange of products between the workers and the peasants, between the city and the country, embodied the very *raison d'être* of the Revolution." This program was the alternative to forced requisitions, not the reintroduction of capitalism under the term "New Economic Policy."

From Trotsky to Bush, a legacy of slaughter for . . . free trade? Yes, for Trotsky actually said, "The insurgents did not have a conscious program and they could not have had one because of the very nature of the petty bourgeoisie. They themselves did not clearly understand that what their *fathers and brothers* needed first of all was free trade." (Emphasis added to contrast the patriarchal attitude of the Bolsheviks with that of the Kronstadt sailors, who on March 7, Woman Workers' Day, sent a radio greeting to the working women of the world, expressing hope that "you soon accomplish your liberation from every form of violence and oppression. Long live the free revolutionary workingwomen!") Nowadays, of course, many of us are still ignorant of our need for free markets, but that may be because of our belief in the magic of the (flea)marketplace.

William Pfaff wrote in the 4/8/04 issue of the *New York Review of Books*, "The search for consensual American global hegemony, as for the 'defeat' of terrorism and 'victory' over evil, is a naive simulacrum of the serious armed utopianisms that were the curse of the twentieth century." Yesterday the utopians were intoxicated with the State; today it's the Market. They lurch and stagger over the globe, spewing spiraling destruction on their progress to nowhere and reminding us our sobriety means nothing until the punchbowl of Power they slurp from has been shattered into a thousand points of light.

SPECIAL DELIVERY:



FOR YOU, BUSH

A new form of life is emerging against the global commodity production system, a life organized around play and the wisdom of elders. We are not doomed to accept the ruin of creation; we can share in the creation of ruins, the ruin of a social order more palpably deranged every day.

Beyond the Limits!

Anarchist Resistance from Around the World

"The idea of anarchism is the absolute incompatibility between freedom and authority. From this it follows that one can only enjoy total freedom in the complete absence of Power. Because Power exists and has no intention of disappearing voluntarily, it will be necessary indeed to create a way to eliminate it. Correct me if I am mistaken."
- Penelope Nin

December 3, 2003, Rome, (Italy) – The special police arrested an anarchist with the accusation that he participated in the beating of an undercover police officer, along with anarchist prisoner Massimo Leonardi, during the European Union Summit street clashes of October 4, 2003, which took place in Rome. Police searched the arrested comrade's home and the home of another anarchist

December 5-9, Heraklio (Greece): Anarchists, Family, and Friends Attack Police Headquarters After Brutal Shooting

Iraklis Maragakis was shot in the head by Greek police for not stopping at a roadblock. The next day, December 6, his family, friends and about 80 anarchists (in total about 100 people) attacked the police headquarters in Heraklio. The crowd broke almost every window and video camera and flipped over and damaged several police vehicles. About 10 cops ran out of the building and attempted to make arrests but were beaten back by the crowd. Four pigs were injured. Pig reinforcements arrived from other

departments and made several arrests; three of the arrested are anarchists. On December 9, 2003, Iraklis Maragakis died in a hospital.

December 11, 2003, Athens (Greece) – Two anarchist groups claimed responsibility for firebomb attacks which took place the night before on the home of a senior Athens Judge and on a car with US license plates, saying that they carried out the attacks in solidarity with recently convicted Greek "terrorists". The arsonists, calling themselves Popular Justice and the Proletariat Resistance Group, said in telephone calls to an Athens newspaper that the attacks were to protest the convictions of 15 members of the armed leftist November 17 organization.

December 22, Vancouver, BC: Why We Fucked With the CIBC Bank on Hastings Street (by A Few Angry People)

*To whom it may concern,
On Monday, December 22 we broke a few windows at a CIBC bank branch on Hastings Street between Nanaimo and Benfrew in East Vancouver. We wanted to strike a company which*

makes millions of dollars while ordinary people slave away at shitty jobs or starve or freeze on the streets of Vancouver and all over the world. We don't think it's a coincidence. So we decided to hit back.

*Sincerely,
A Few Angry People*

December 26, Thessaloniki (Greece) – A gas canister bomb exploded at a Socialist Party (PASOK) office.

December 27, Athens (Greece) – Two Molotov firebombs were thrown at an office of the New Democratic Party.

December 27, Bologna, (Italy): Romano Prodi Survives Parcel Bomb Attack

European Commission President Romano Prodi escaped unhurt after a parcel bomb attack on his home. Prodi said a wrapped novel burst into flames as he opened it, burning his carpet and a piece of furniture. The pages of the book, wrapped in yellow paper and addressed to his wife, had been cut to insert explosive powder. The book used was *The Pleasure* by Gabriele D'Annunzio, a famous supporter of Fascism before his death in 1938. Two other explosions in

rubbish bins near Prodi's home that past week were claimed by an anarchist group. The previously unknown group, Informal Anarchic Federation, claimed the earlier rubbish bin attacks in a letter to an Italian newspaper in which it said that it wanted to target "the apparatus of control that is repressive and leading the democratic show that is the new European order." The message went on to say that the attacks were carried out to make sure that Mr. Prodi "knows that the maneuvers have only begun to get close to him and others like him." Prodi said those attacks, which also failed to cause injury, and other warnings had made him more cautious as he tackled a pile of Christmas post.

December 30, Amsterdam: New Bomb Scare as EU Steps Up Security;

Anarchists Blamed for Attacks

A suspicious package arrived in the mail and triggered off a panic at the European crime fighting organization Eurojust. The package arrived at the Eurojust headquarters right after the EU organizations ramped up security following a spate of parcel bombs blamed on Italian anarchist groups. Four parcel bombs have now been

sent from the Italian city of Bologna, including one sent to European Commission President Romano Prodi on December 27, followed by booby-trapped packages received on December 29 by European Central Bank President Jean-Claude Trichet and Europol Chief Juergen Storbeck. The most recent bomb, which was the size of a book, was diffused by Dutch military experts, according to the public prosecutors office in the Hague. Like Romano Prodi, all the targets represented Trans-European organizations. Europol is a law enforcement agency that coordinates European police forces with one another and with intelligence agencies outside of Europe, like the CIA; the European Central Bank oversees the 12-country joint European currency, the Euro.

January 1, 2004, Thessaloniki (Greece) – Three gas-canister bomb attacks were carried out against the city government's central town-planning offices.

January 5: Italian Anarchists Blamed Again As Parcel Bombs Explode in Euro MPs' Offices

Parcel bombs exploded at the offices of two Euro MP's, prompting fears of a fresh wave of anarchist attacks against politicians. These latest attacks were aimed at the office of Gary Tittle, a senior British MEP, and a German member of the European Parliament. At least two other parcel bombs were sent to the European Parliament headquarters in Brussels, addressed to German and Spanish political figures. All of the explosive devices were concealed in books in brown envelopes, but the packages in Brussels failed to explode.

The latest packages to turn up in Brussels appear to have passed through European Parliament security screening operations before the earlier bombs alerted staff to a Bologna-based threat. One of the packages, which was opened by a staff member, was addressed to Hans-Gert Poettering, the leader of the centre-right European People's Party. The other, unopened, device, was sent to Jose Ignacio Saiafranca, head of the Spanish Conservatives. Bologna police spokesman Luigi Persico said that Italian police were coordinating investigations with colleagues in other countries and

working with law enforcement "from half of Europe." Persico also said that the Bologna addresses from which the packages were sent were false. A spokesman for the German federal prosecutor's office in Hamburg — Harmut Scheider — said they were working with Italian police and had launched an investigation against unknown suspects for attempted murder and forming a terrorist organization. "We are looking at members of an Italian group that are close to the anarchist spectrum," said Scheider. "It seems that someone is angry at the EU system." The city of Bologna was the departure point for all the earlier bombs sent by the shadowy new anarchist movement, who advocated armed struggle in their proclamation and state that the first explosion was the beginning of their "Santa Claus" campaign.

Enrico Di Nicola, Bologna's chief attorney, said he was surprised by the recent bombs. "Just yesterday I said the only thing missing was a bomb against the legislative power. We were expecting it." Gary Tittle, one of the British politicians targeted, whined on about how "There can be no justification for these attacks which are in reality an attack on democracy." Di Nicola and his team of investigators say the movement could have up to 350 members and

cells. Di Nicola worries that Italian anarchists are building ties with what he calls "more experienced" Greek and Spanish anarchists, evolving into a far-flung array of cells united by ideology and targets rather than coordination from a central command.

January 8, Argentina – Paintbombs were thrown at a church. A group calling itself the "Grupo Revoltoso Insurrecto" (Insurrectionary Rebel Group) claimed responsibility and said "We attacked and disappeared mysteriously. But the attacks will continue. There is nothing of this world to save, all is within our sight. For the extension of the rage. We are already here, wild and destructive."

January 14, Thessaloniki (Greece) – A homemade explosive device, planted in front of the Hellenic Telecommunications Organization (OTE) offices in Thessaloniki's Kalamaria district, failed to detonate. The incident followed three successful such attacks in the northern city this year, believed to have been the work of anarchists. In Greece, anarchist groups have been blamed for a spate of arson attacks over the past year in which simple (but effective) gas-canister bombs have been used against banks, political party offices and the homes of members of parliament. Greek police are now

February 4, Athens (Greece) – A gas-canister bomb exploded at a bank and damaged its ATM machine.

February 9, Thessaloniki (Greece) – Six gas-canister bombs exploded outside a bank early in the morning, causing an estimated 3,000 Euros in damage.

February 12, Thessaloniki (Greece) – A gas-canister bomb exploded at the entrance to offices of the Missionary Evangelical Church, causing roughly 3,000 Euros in damage. Police also found an unexploded gas-canister bomb outside the office of the New Democracy candidate for MP for Thessaloniki, Erotokritos Theotokatos. On the same day, a "suspicious" fire broke out at a car showroom belonging to the PASOK (the ruling Socialist party in Greece) candidate for MP of Thessaloniki, Thomas Rombopoulos.

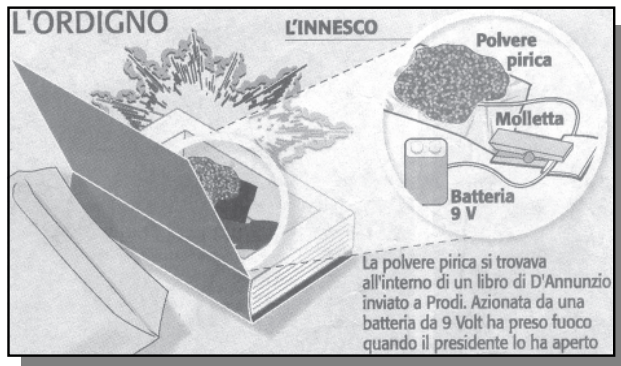
February 17, Urbino (Italy) – A Telephone Interface Module (TIM) repeater was set on fire. Six days earlier Telecom and Ti di Fontecorniale radio towers had also been set aflame.

February 17, Italy – The homes of 40 people were raided by police in the cities of Viterbo, Rome, Abruzzi, and Reiti, in a crackdown on anarchists. The police are trying to produce charges against the anarchists for "subversive association" and attacks against institutions.

February 17, Athens (Greece): Anarchists March Against Olympics

About 1,000 anarchists marched through central Athens to protest massive security measures being planned for the August 13-29 Olympics. Police attacked the anarchists with a small amount of tear gas near the end of the demonstration. This was the latest in an ongoing series of protests against the Olympics and security measures costing more than \$750 million. The measures will include the deployment of 50,000 police and soldiers, the militarization of Athens to enforce restrictions on street protests during the games, and the installation of some 1,300 security cameras in Athens and five other cities serving as Olympic venues. Greece, one of the smallest countries

(continued on page 55)



A diagram of the parcel bombs sent to EU officials

sympathizers with a wide range of profiles—from radical punks on the margins of anti-globalization marches to dissident intellectuals steeped in theory. "This movement is characterized by a complete lack of structure and cohesion. In that world there are no rules and no hierarchies."

Investigators are nervously acknowledging that the anarchist network is international in scope, with Spanish, Greek and German

joining with colleagues from other European Union members in a task force targeting anarchist groups, following a series of incendiary letter attacks on EU officials attributed to an Italian ring with links in Greece and Spain.

February 1, Spain – Anarchist Gabriel Pompo Da Silva escaped from the prison isolation unit where he was being held captive and released a statement to his family and friends!

LET THE OLYMPIC GAMES DIE IN THE LAND THEY WERE BORN

"There is no doubt that we are entering a police-state situation and we will have to learn to live with this. (...) If necessary, even the stadiums will be guarded by the army" Jacques Rogge, president of the International Olympic Committee, November 26, 2003.

In times of war for the imposition of global domination, where the bosses proceed to inter-state coalitions and capitalist completions, coordinating their raids in the name of "anti-terrorism" to establish totalitarian control and the pillage of the world...

In times of an all-out attack against the peoples of the so-called "third world", whose genocide from starvation and diseases and their enslavement in the dungeons of mass production-colonies of the multinationals nourish the "developed" world's well-being; whose death during the New Order's crusades and under military occupation, their confinement in concentration camps and the attempts to neutralize their resistance have become the foundation stone for the security of domination's projects...

In times of intensified exploitation, surveillance and repression for the excluded and those who resist within the metropolitan walls...

...The Olympic Games are a front-window of capitalism and domination itself. An advertisement of the world of class slavery and of the subsequent police and military means to impose it. A global-range gala, sealing on one more level the cooperation of the local bosses with multinational corporations, international political staffs and agencies of repression.

For the Greek state, a participant in the criminal coalition that is launching the global terror-war, the Olympic Games are a step to upgrade its role in the world's elite, to strengthen its pre-eminent position in the Balkans, as well as the spearhead for its attack against the exploited and the oppressed within its territory. An attack to be continued after the new confirmation of the parliamentary dictatorship through the fraud of elections on the 7th of March.

Every day it is becoming obvious that the Olympic Games are not just a sports event lasting a few days, but a permanent process, signifying a new era of repression and social control.

In the name of accomplishing the Grand Idea, the "ideals" of profit are praised by the bosses: the companies, contractors and state officials who handle the huge 2004 budgets. In this giant commercial enterprise, the proletarians are labeled as the "volunteers" to pay its cost by being robbed through taxes, the expensiveness and wage freeze, but also to pay its price: speeding up the rhythms of work, in extremely dangerous conditions, with their own blood in working "accidents". The human sacrifices of local and immigrant workers on the altar of profit and of the bonuses given for the fast termination of the Works, have taken nightmarish dimensions in the Olympic construction sites where hundreds of workers die or are seriously injured. A new model of absolute exploitation and expendable humans is consolidated in the Olympic works, to characterize from now on the conditions of labor in every other site of wage slavery.

At the same time, as the Games offer a unique opportunity for capitalist looting, the natural environment is plundered and destroyed, while the urban landscape is redeveloped according to the new norms of commercialization and surveillance of public space.

The local version of the global terror-war is being established through the colossal operation "Safe Olympic Games", including: the collaboration of "anti-terrorist" specialists from Greek, US, British, Israeli and Australian secret services, military exercises by Greek and foreign mercenaries belonging to special forces of the police and the army (with dominant participation of the US), based on "pre-emptive action" and "management of disproportionate threats" scenarios, spying military aircrafts flying over the city, the use of NATO's "security systems", mass imports of modern weapons and the installation on a large scale of technologically advanced equipment monitoring public spaces and

persons, such as the C41 system developed by the American multinational SAIC (a company providing know-how, infrastructure and armament for the war in Afghanistan and Iraq). Hundreds of surveillance cameras are being placed, forbidden "Red Zones" are instituted and in the streets the death squads of a police occupation army are loose. During the Olympics, 50,000 soldiers will be on "high alert" and every demonstration or working strike will be forbidden.

Through these orgiastic preparations, the repressive apparatus is upgraded, and the new police role of the army in the confrontation of the "internal enemy" is being promoted. The "zero tolerance" doctrine against any expression of social and class dissidence is taking root and the operations against "illegal" immigrants are being intensified.

The Olympics are proclaimed a "matter of national interest" and their safety becomes the ideological vehicle for an accelerated imposition of a State of Emergency (not only

for the period before and during the games, but mainly for the period which follows, where the intensification of social struggles is anticipated), for the implementation of methods and conditions that are either way considered as priorities for modernizing state terrorism. Within this situation, "court-martials" are set, such as the one that accomplished its mission recently inside Koridallios prison, imposing to those accused as "November 17" members exterminative sentences of political convenience, and the one that will take place on February 9 against the five accused of participation in E.L.A (Revolutionary Popular Struggle). These are trials aimed at having the institution of "independent justice" legalize all "anti-terrorist" commandos operations, the tortures and confinement in "white cells", the snitches and the pogrom against the dissidents of terror-democracy. Participation in social resistance and solidarity with persecuted fighters is criminalized, while many of them remain literally hostages awaiting trials, like the arrested in the demonstration against the EU summit in Thessaloniki. The Greek state signs international "anti-terrorist" acts and treaties allowing the extradition of social fighters to the Global Gendarme (USA), and takes part in the establishment of a European Task Force committed to chasing anarchists. Officials of the "anti-terrorist" agencies from the 7 countries participating in this Force met in January and specifically examined the issue of Athens Olympics, while introducing the concept of "struggle against anarchist terrorism" for reasons of preemptive repression and preparing the ground for suppressing any social resistance.



The Olympics, as the bosses' Grand Idea, propagandized by the whole spectrum of the authoritarian system (political parties, financial institutions and the Media) is a contemporary ideological machine to extract social consent, consisting of the most conservative figures, such as nationalism, to the most modern "values" of consumerism and "voluntary" offer of unpaid labor in the service of the bosses.

We do not forget that, here as much as globally, the excess of multi-advertised means, mechanisms and methods of repression the state and capital are getting armed with, as well as their intimidating campaign, reflect also their insecurity caused by existent and imminent social explosions. They reflect the failure they taste in their effort to present their domination as indisputable and totally invulnerable, when all over the world there are struggles and revolts bursting against globalization of exploitation and oppression, against war and capitalist peace.

Today, the Olympics concentrate the state's effort to deepen its authority in society, repressing all those resisting its plans. But this campaign is not adequate to instill fear, discourage and deter the multi-form expressions of social and class struggle. On the contrary, it is a condition highlighting the necessity to intensify and spread this struggle in every front the bosses are opening with their aggression and in every front they try to close to their account.

We antagonize the projects of the growing commercialization and surveillance of public spaces, reclaiming them and transforming them to spaces of resistance. We sabotage social peace. We resist against the "anti-terrorist" war inside and outside the borders. We stand in solidarity with political prisoners and persecuted social fighters. We act together with all those revolting against the dictatorship of the State and Capital.

REKINDLE SOCIAL AND CLASS WAR DESTROY THE BOSSES' GRAND IDEA

Open Assembly of Anarchists-Antiauthoritarians Athens, Jan. 2004



Anarchist Resistance (continued)

to host the event, is planning to spend a record \$800 million on security, three times the amount spent on the Olympics in Sydney four years ago. But a confidential US report, cited by the Greek media, questioned the Olympic organizers' ability to tackle the threat of snipers from hills around the venues, as well as the threat of anarchists who regularly carry out firebomb attacks against the reigning social order in Greece. Protesters are also angry with the rising death toll among builders on Olympic sites, many whom have died in the mad rush to complete construction of Olympic facilities.

February 19, Rome (Italy): Bomb Explodes in Police Station

A letter bomb exploded at police headquarters in the central Italian city of Perugia, injuring three cops, including one who went into surgery to try to save three fingers. This is the latest in a series of parcel bomb attacks over the last couple of months. A bureaucrat at the syndicate's office in Perugia said that this particular parcel was actually sent to a local petrol station where employees noticed wires hanging out of the package and called in the police; the bomb only exploded when it had been taken back to police headquarters. Italian police have since put some 40 people under investigation for alleged links to anarchist groups aimed at "undermining democratic order."

February 21, Barcelona (Spain) -

Two gas-canister bombs exploded at a Synergie temporary labor agency. A group calling itself "We Break The Silence" claimed the action, saying that the attack was in response to the deaths of 1,000 workers over the past year and in solidarity with the struggle of the Spanish shipyard workers.

February 22, Takoma Park, Maryland -

At least five different commercial businesses were vandalized in the early hours of February 22, in an apparent effort to discourage the spread of chain stores. Two of the targeted stores were Subway and Starbucks in the Woodmoor Shopping Center. The as-yet-unidentified vandals left

behind a trail of shattered windows and spray-painted graffiti. The graffiti painted in front of the businesses seemed to hold similar anti-corporate messages. The one in front of the Carroll Avenue Subway read "Shop Local" with an anarchist symbol drawn inside a heart.

February 25, Athens (Greece) -

About 100 anarchists broke off from an anti-Olympics demonstration and threw rocks and paintbombs at riot police near the Labor Ministry. The anarchists unfurled giant black banners near the entrance of the Athens University. One read: "The Olympics are about bribes, doping, and concrete. These are the Olympic ideals," while another said "No participation in the Olympic plague."

February 26, Athens (Greece) -

A group named after the Olympic mascots "Phevos and Athena" claimed responsibility for bombing two government vehicles, in an attack timed to coincide with a visit to Athens by International Olympic Committee officials. Athens security chiefs forecast that a crackdown to head off possible international terror attacks ahead of the Olympic Games would also spell an end to these types of attacks by anarchists. "These are all very small fringe groups and they have no popularity among our society," Athens chief of police Colonel Lefteris Econoov said. "The closer we get to the Games the tighter the security measures in the urban areas will become and we think by the time of the Games they (the anarchists) will be finished."

February 27, Athens (Greece) -

Five political party offices were firebombed within 15 minutes of each other. Three New Democracy Party offices and two PASOK Party offices were the targets.

March 5, Athens (Greece) -

Unidentified dissidents caused damage to offices of the ruling PASOK and opposition "New Democracy" parties in the eastern Athenian district of Vyronas. The insurgents used empty beer bottles and stones to smash the windows of both political parties' officials. Police believe the culprits are probably linked to Exarchia-based anarchists.



Summits, Counter-Summits and Social War

-Wolfgang Landstreicher

"We are at war, even if the images of spectacular daily life
try to make us believe the contrary.
we have not chosen these social conditions ourselves,
we can only choose from what position to fight."
—quale guerra, winter 2003-2004

"The enemy must not know where I intend to give battle. For if he
does not know where I intend to give battle he must prepare in a
great many places. And when he prepares in a great many places,
those I have to fight in any one place will be few. [...] if one
knows neither the battleground nor the day of battle, the left
will be unable to aid the right, or the right, the left; the van
to support the rear, or the rear, the van. [...] therefore, when I
have won a victory I do not repeat my tactics but respond to
circumstances in an infinite variety of ways."

—SUN TZU

We are living in the midst of a social war that has been going on for as long as there have been classes and states – that is, since the beginning of civilization. If most of the time this war is a cold war in which rule through fear – whether fear of the direct repressive violence of the rulers, or that of some ephemeral menace such as "terrorism" or "crime" from which the rulers are supposed to protect us – maintains a tenuous social peace, anarchists and revolutionaries desire it to ignite in the form of social insurrection and revolution and act in this direction. It is on this level that the debate on counter-summits can be of interest, raising questions about how to develop a principled strategy for battling the social order.

When I speak of a principled strategy, what I mean is a strategy or methodology for ongoing revolt against this world that in its very practice reflects our desires and dreams of how we would want to live. In other words, methods and strategies for struggle in which self-organization, horizontal relationships and communication, direct action, the refusal of hierarchy and delegation, and autonomy from every institution that would try to represent our revolt are maintained as we carry out our attack on this civilization of domination and exploitation.

When the question of counter-summits comes up, it is necessary to bring in the critique of the spectacle – that social relationship in which the image mediates all social activity. As a matter of fact, the real decisions of our rulers are made daily, out of any limelight, and their summits are precisely the image of decision making, a spectacle. If the real activity of capital, of the state, of civilization, is the ongoing social hell that surrounds us every day, then real resistance to it happens precisely here, in our every day lives, on the streets and in the villages wherever we may live. Since the summits are a spectacle, the counter-summits, which simply follow in their steps, are the same. Certainly, individuals vent their rage at these events, and may even momentarily break out of their roles, but the question must still be raised: is the spectacle itself challenged or are the protests just another scene in the drama?

In Seattle, the sincerely rebellious element took both the authorities and the organizers of the event by surprise, managing to temporarily break through the spectacle. But this only happened precisely because of the element of surprise. It was only a matter of weeks before

the event had been completely recuperated into spectacular frameworks even in anarchist circles, with the sad result of people trying – and inevitably failing – to repeat the event over and over again. One of the essential traits of spontaneity and surprise is that they cannot be repeated. Their force can only be maintained precisely by the refusal of repetition. The positive elements in Genoa (the participation of local poor and exploited youth in some of the trashing and looting and the willingness of a substantial number of people to defy Tute Bianche control of the event) also carried the element of surprise simply because things got way out of the organizers' control. But Genoa also revealed quite clearly who has the military force for direct confrontation. We need to begin to develop a practice of revolt based on a different conception of force, a method of attack not based on direct face-to-face confrontation, but on discovering and attacking the fragile points of the social order wherever we are.

It seems that anarchists forget that these counter-summits are organized by someone. This was true of Seattle – where certain of the organizers and other good leftist sheep even tried to protect a Nike shop from looting by local youth – and even more so of later summits. Like the ruling authorities, these petty alternative authorities learn from their experience – and the levels of control from all sides have increased drastically at these demonstrations, in a precise attempt to prevent surprising elements or bring them back into the spectacular framework as quickly as possible.

Blackbeard's story of his participation at the Cancun summit protests in GA #15 is particularly revealing in terms of what this has come to mean. The protesters at these events find themselves sucked into hierarchical and vertical methods of organizing activities, methods that help to keep the actions – even the tearing down of a fence or the suicide of a Korean farmer – within the framework of the spectacle. None of this is really surprising when one considers that the organizers of these events are the same folks who organize

the Social Forums, small-time wannabe politicians whose questioning of capitalism only goes as far as “fair trade, not free trade” – you can imagine how foreign any critique of civilization is to them.

The summit in Cancun has another lesson to teach us as well. It was one of the extremely rare occasions in which the decisions that the great powers had already made before the summit failed to be automatically rubber-stamped by the poorer nations. Only the most self-deluded activist looking through the narrow tube of her or his ideology could believe that this was due to the alternative spectacle outside. In fact, a significant number of poorer nations (and even a few wealthier nations like South Korea) have been rocked by ongoing unrest roused by recent hyper-exploitive economic policies (those known as neo-liberalism). Governments have been threatened and a few even brought down by large-scale movements of revolt. But these movements have not taken place in the protest areas in front of the summits, but in the places where those in revolt live and directly experience domination and exploitation. These ongoing movements of revolt where people live their lives are what turned the Cancun summit into a stalemate, showing once again where the real struggle takes place.

So one does not challenge the spectacle by creating a counter-spectacle, but by moving outside of its framework and attacking its roots in our daily lives. We can think of it in terms of different ways of carrying on a war (since indeed a social war is going on): when one side is aware that it is greatly militarily overpowered, it makes no sense to use a military form of confrontation (particularly not a spectacular one in which the stage is set up by the enemy). Rather one should rely on unpredictability, anonymity, and invisible omnipresence (“Riva is everywhere”) – i.e., attacking at any time from any place without seeking to be seen, the very opposite of “counter-summit” non-strategy. Of course this requires ridding ourselves of the evangelistic tendency and the idealistic conception of how revolutions occur which is the source of this tendency. If we actually look at various insurrections and movements of revolt that have sprung up recently in the world (Argentina, Algeria, Bolivia, Ecuador, etc.), not one of them began because the populace suddenly recognized the need to destroy capital, the state or civilization in any theoretical sense, but rather because the circumstances of their lives angered them enough to act, and having lost faith in the authorities to deal with their demands, they acted directly, discovering the methods of horizontal communication for moving such action forward. So we don’t need to find ways to preach anarchy and revolt to the world or to show off our rebellion, we simply need to rebel ourselves, in our daily lives, against all that stands in the way of our freedom.

Anarchist proponents of counter-summits have asked, “Is it acceptable to allow our global masters

to convene their banquets of power without a challenge?” Of course not, but this is why we need to challenge them daily wherever we encounter their projects in our lives, throwing unexpected monkey wrenches into the works, so that when they meet, they will do so with the fear of not knowing when, where or how their projects will be attacked. This is the real challenge to their activity, as an analysis of their failure to ratify agreements in Cancun shows. Miami, where the police closed down the city, proves that closing down a city when it is expected challenges nothing. The masters themselves will order it if they find it convenient. It is the unexpected blockades of normality – the wildcat strikes of transit workers in Italy, the blockades of Basilicata in the same country to prevent the building of a nuclear waste plant there, the blocking of the locks at the transit stations in Barcelona – that scare the masters, especially when accompanied by well-directed, anonymous sabotage.



Of course, there have been and will continue to be real rebels who go to these counter-summits. Though I don’t agree with their strategy, this does not mean that I deny them solidarity when they face charges for actions carried out in these contexts. Critical solidarity can recognize real revolt even within a strategy with which one disagrees. This is why, while the counter-summit organizers are busy with press conferences and other publicity, it will often be anarchists who reject the counter-summit strategy who are nonetheless in the forefront of solidarity activity with those facing serious charges.

Some counter-summits are described as “victories” or “successes”. No doubt, the events in Seattle caught the rulers by surprise and did succeed in momentarily breaking through the image of social consensus and social peace, exposing the rage that is seething below the surface. But this was not repeatable. The first

question we needed to ask was not “how do we do this again?” but rather, “where do we go from here?” It is precisely because most people asked the first question that Seattle was so quickly brought back into the spectacle.

If the breaking of the spectacle’s spell in Seattle had been more than momentary, insurgents would have attempted to take the social war to another level. Here and there some did. But can anarchists and revolutionaries honestly speak of any counter-summit since then as any sort of victory? If so, in what way? Those in power continue to make their decisions over our lives daily. These protests really haven’t produced a significant ripple in this process. And those involved in the counter-summits aren’t even able to create horizontal, non-hierarchical relationships among themselves, let alone find methods for connecting with the dispossessed in the places where they are protesting. Even for the protesters, it seems these demonstrations remain just another spectacular event in the media’s eternal now, disconnected from their daily lives where the real decisions of the rulers have their effects. Again, it is not counter-spectacles that really challenge the spectacle. We cannot keep on letting our opponents choose the time and place of the battle. It is our daily refusal to succumb, the various anonymous acts of revolt and sabotage carried out every day, in which the real challenge, the real movement of resistance – and beyond resistance to attack – exists. Why waste time at the planned confrontations organized by those who merely desire “fair trade” and “true democracy”, when we can attack the operation of trade and the state everyday wherever we are? These latter forms of daily struggle are what demonstrate the most important thing: *that we are everywhere.*

John Zerzan Responds: *Wolfi sets up a strict either/or dichotomy between the “spectacle” of counter-summit militancy and the authenticity of the “real struggles” in daily life. But I think there is considerable spill-over in both directions. In various countries, I’ve come across many who’ve been greatly inspired by what happened at the likes of Seattle, Prague, Genoa, etc. It would seem that these events have had a good impact on other, more “daily life” acts and projects. Similarly, I don’t personally know any anarchists whose only activity is going to summits or who are otherwise defined by them. The fact that the official organizers of counter-summit protests are not anti-authoritarian radicals doesn’t strike me as a compelling reason to abstain. Should we also avoid, say, conferences called by non-radicals? The most important event in modern society, the “French May” of 1968 in which 10 million became involved in a sweeping occupation movement, began as a struggle to modernize the university system. The situationists and others chose to intervene, on their own terms, and helped propel matters forward. Would Wolfi have disapproved? At a demo or anywhere else, do we let ourselves be defined by reformists?*

Out of Isolation, Into Battle!

Anti-Capitalist and Anti-Government Resistance

"With a bit of practice we could get through a whole day without one single idea. Daily routine thinks in place of us. From work to 'free time', everything comes about within the continuity of survival. We always have something to cling to. The most stupefying characteristic of today's society is the ability for 'comfort' to exist a hair's breadth from catastrophe. The economy and the technological administrations of the existent are advancing with irresponsible recklessness. One slips from entertainment to large-scale massacre with the disciplined insensitivity of programmed gestures. Death's buying and selling extends over the whole of time and space. Risk and brave effort no longer exist; there remains only security or disaster, routine or catastrophe. Saved or submerged. Alive, never." –At Dagger's Drawn

December 22, 2003, Badung (Indonesia) – 1,000 workers clashed with 200 police during an action against the low minimum wage in Indonesia. Two workers were injured in the melee.

December 25, Cibinong (Indonesia): Striking Workers Temporarily Hold Boss Hostage

A dozen police raided a worker-occupied textile factory and injured five workers in order to free a boss who had been taken hostage. The 600 employees of the factory had been on strike for three months and occupied the factory on December 24, demanding that they finally be paid their wages. When management failed to deliver their pay, the workers took the company director hostage. Although the boss has been released, the workers have maintained their occupation of the factory.

December 29, Seoul (South Korea): Farmers Clash with Cops at Rally Against Free Trade Pact

South Korean farmers fought riot police as thousands rallied to urge parliament not to ratify a free trade agreement with Chile. Hundreds of farmers wielded steel pipes and hurled stones at shield-carrying police who used water cannons to stop them from entering the National Assembly compound in central Seoul. The farmers claim the agreement would drive them out of business by flooding the market with cheaper foreign products. "No to FTA (free trade agreement)," they shouted, while some burned bags of rice in a symbolic blaze. South Korea signed its first free trade agreement with Chile in February of 2003, but its ratification has been delayed amid fierce protests.

December 30, Seoul (South Korea): Squatters Defy Police Action!

A unyielding and often violent protest by squatters in an apartment complex in the Dongjak district of Seoul persevered through the month of December (2003), while Seoul police, who vowed to put down the rebellion, have failed to make any arrests.



Korean squatter families resist eviction

The squatters are resisting plans by the district government to redevelop the apartment complex. In November, construction workers attempted to evict the squatters, but were beaten back when squatters resisted with homemade weapons. A dozen workers were injured in the clash. Police found that squatters had used makeshift firearms to shoot metal pellets at the workers. The authorities have sworn to identify those who used guns and charge them with attempted murder. But police have not re-entered the complex since December 8, when they attempted to serve arrest warrants. Again the police were forced to retreat in the face of a barrage of stones fired from slingshots and a cascade of Molotov cocktails, golf balls and bricks.

The police once cut off electricity and gas to the complex, but the squatters coped, using small power generators. The residents are also

said to have large stocks of food that can be used for several months. Meanwhile, the squatters have promised continued resistance against the police. One squatter wearing a black mask said, "We have installed deterrents here to prevent police officials from raiding our complex." Besides equipping themselves with slingshots and other weapons, squatters have blocked the entry into the complex by piling up barricades of used furniture. They have also spread water near the entrance, which froze overnight.

January 1, 2004, Washington D.C.: Zapatista Solidarity March Gets Rowdy

A march commemorating the ten-year old anniversary of the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico, took an uncontrollable turn when several paint bombs were thrown at a Starbucks, a Subway restaurant, a cell phone shop and a bank. People attempted, on several occasions, to block the crowd of about 100 people from marching, but demonstrators managed to evade the police, and nobody was arrested.

January 4, Missouri: 'Twas the Night Before Bush Visits St. Louis...

It seems that the midwest (St. Louis especially) has been pretty quiet lately, and that Monsanto, Boeing, Anhaesuer-Bush, etc., feel fairly comfortable there. But this recent communique suggests that things are starting to change.

From the Communique:

The night before Bush came to town 2 separate military recruiting stations were attacked. The front windows of the recruiting stations were smashed, along with 2 red, white and blue recruiting vans which had their

windows knocked out. While smashing the windows of these well-lit recruiting stations, the individual(s) involved realized that they had apparently scared people inside those buildings who were hiding once they realized what was going on. This is only a taste of things to come. The midwest will no longer be a quiet, complacent place. Resistance is everywhere. This was a very small "welcoming" for the president.

January 7, Seoul (South Korea) – Squatters in an apartment building fought off riot police and construction workers with Molotov firebombs. About 100 people attended a solidarity demonstration for the squatters, including militant workers, street vendors, and local residents. The latest clash is part of an ongoing war between the squatters and the South Korean State (see Dec. 30)

January 8, Seoul (South Korea) – 3,000 farmers battled police, throwing rocks and bottles, as they opposed the signing of a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Chile. Riot police used pepper-spray and water hoses against the demonstrators. The farmers had also clashed with the police the day before.

January 9, Venice (Italy) – The locks of ticket offices were glued shut in solidarity with striking transit workers.

February 3, Spain – 2,000 masked shipyard workers engaged in wildcat strikes in Puerto Real and Cadiz built barricades on bridges and launched attacks on riot police, using slingshots and Molotov cocktails.

February 9, Seoul (South Korea) – More than 20,000 farmers fighting against a "Free Trade Agreement" with Chile clashed with 9,000 riot police, set fires in the streets, and torched cars and construction sites.



February 19, Vienna (Austria): Protesters and Police Clash Outside Opera Ball

Five cops were injured in clashes with demonstrators who marched in downtown Vienna in a yearly protest against the Opera Ball. About 450 dissidents rallied, expressing outrage at the most visible high-society event of the city's social calendar – but also against U.S. foreign policy and capitalism. Demonstrators carried banners with slogans that included “Down with the Opera Ball, bring down capitalism” and “USA: international genocide headquarters.” Demonstrators also threw glass and stones at the hundreds of police guarding the opera house.

February 22, Ouargla (Algeria) –

Young people angry about unemployment and poverty, and a visit to the city by President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, raged through the streets attacking institutions and fighting police. Burning barricades were set up in the streets and young rebels assaulted shops, a hotel owned by the state hydrocarbon company Sonatrach, and the main government building. Riot police used tear gas to break up the rebellion.

March 8, Paris (France): Mass Sabotage of Subway Ads

Suzanne (a pseudonym) glances furtively up and down the subway platform in Paris. Slowly, the station empties: the coast was clear. With a mischievous glint in her eyes, she whips out a red wax crayon from her handbag, and wielding it like a sword, scrawls her fury across a billboard advertising home appliances.

“Too many things, not enough poetry!”, she writes.

Pow! Thus another blow is struck in France in a fight raging against advertising. The attackers are a small but determined band of campaigners for whom ads are a plague. Their battlegrounds are the tunnels and platforms of Paris subways, and bus stops in other towns. Their targets: companies that make capitalism tick. Organizing over the Internet, hunted by the forces of order, these urban guerrillas are focusing attention on advertising's power.

To “Suzanne”, a 63-year-old political militant since she first threw stones at police during the student and worker riots that shook France in 1968, “Capitalism needs consumerism to survive...If we get rid of advertising, we get rid of consumerism and that will get rid of capitalism.” France's

anti-advertising campaign to some extent dovetails with the larger movement against globalization that regularly riots outside meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Group of Eight industrial nations, and other capitalist bodies. “Suzanne's” group alone has attacked more than 50 billboards in at least eight subway stations. On one nocturnal mission, they happened across other campaigners (from another affinity group) slapping up stickers saying, “Every day I wash my brain with advertising,” mocking laundry detergent ads. “Advertising is a one-way message that amounts to harassment,” says “Suzanne.”

“Suzanne's” affinity group usually changes subway lines every three or four stations to avoid being spotted by security agents. At each station, they first follow other passengers heading towards the exits. Then, having determined that no guards are lurking in the tunnels, they double back to set to work tearing down ads and spray-painting slogans like “Advertising Numbs You.” “It's joy,” says “Louis”, 16, describing how it feels to spray-paint. “It's a real pleasure to finally be able to resist.” In all, militants have been known to damage up to 3,500 advertising posters in one night, says Metrobus, a Publicis subsidiary that sells the subway's advertising space.

March 15, Halandri (Greece): Time Bomb Planted at U.S. Bank

A relatively new militant group has claimed responsibility for a bomb placed outside an Athens branch office of a U.S. bank. Greek police used a controlled explosion to destroy the small device, which was hidden in a backpack and placed outside a Citibank branch in the Northeastern Athens suburb. The clandestine dissidents calling themselves Popular Revolutionary Struggle claimed responsibility in a telephone call to the Athens newspaper *Ellithertypia*. Police said the bomb was made out of dynamite, a detonator and a timing device. The bomb has raised even more concern among security officials preparing for the August 13-29 Olympics. The targeted bank is located on a main road leading to the Olympic complex, about two miles

away. On September 5, 2003, the same group claimed responsibility for two powerful bomb blasts at Athen's main court complex. The blasts, which wounded a cop and damaged a building in the closely guarded court compound, were carried out in response to the trial of suspected members of the November 17 Revolutionary Organization. Police said that the communique released after that action was written on a computer and that each page bore a red five-point star, a symbol used by the November 17 movement. In that statement, the group lashed out at Greece's Minister's of Foreign Affairs, Justice and Public Order, calling them “servants of American interests.” It also criticized the presiding judge in the N17 trial, calling him a “theatre director”.

Olympics-related security in Greece has been increased following the deadly train attacks in Madrid. A secret Olympics security operation involving several hundred American troops has started, as Greece's new conservative prime minister took the troubled games under his personal wing. While there has been a mainstream news black-out on the secret operation, code-named “Hercules Shield”, we've learned that U.S. forces will play a command and control role for 2,000 Greek troops, and that operation “Hercules Shield” will stretch from the southern Greek island of Crete to Athens.



THE TRAJECTORY OF REFUSAL!

Peasant Combat, Capricious Vandalism, and Further Symptoms of the System's Meltdown (get ready for some fine explosions...)

December 3, 2003, Caracas (Venezuela): Riot Over Fireworks

Police and troops fired tear gas to disperse rioting street vendors who resisted an attempt by the police to seize their fireworks. Street vendors hurled rocks and fireworks at the police and the rioting spread to the steps of the mayor's office and the National Electoral Council, which were attacked with stones while garbage was set on fire in the streets. During the battle a corporate news cameraman had his camera stolen. Six cops were hurt in the street clashes.

December 14, Concord, North Carolina – A teenager accused of plotting to blow up his high school with homemade napalm will be tried as a juvenile, ruled Chief District Court Judge William Hamby.

December 15, Worblavten (Berna): Sabotage At Military Base

Unknown warriors have taken credit for five incendiary devices placed near a military truck under the obscurity of night, causing damages of roughly 70,000 francs. The saboteurs penetrated the military area unnoticed and unidentified shortly after cutting through a newly placed metal fence. Three military vehicles were completely destroyed and an investigation is underway.

December 22, Buenos Aires (Argentina)

– An explosive device caused minor damage but no casualties when it blew up before dawn outside the local headquarters of the ruling rightwing Popular Party.

December 30, Wellington (New Zealand)

– Police evacuated the US embassy because of a bomb threat but found nothing suspicious and employees were soon back at work.

January 5, 2004, Thessaloniki (Greece)

– A gas-canister bomb exploded under a van used for cash transfers by a private security firm.

January 8, Germany: Students Chase Top Politician From Building!

Several hundred students stormed a building in Leipzig to prevent Chancellor Gerhard Schroder from signing an official application for the city to host the 2012 Olympic Games. The signing ceremony was forced to move to a nearby hotel. Students all over Germany had been on strike for over a month against proposed cuts in University financing.

January 9, Thessaloniki (Greece) (Again!)

– Three gas-canister bombs exploded under another car owned by a private security company.

January 9, Louisville, Kentucky: Pig Station Attacked

During a protest of 400 residents, enraged at the murder of a young black teenager by a white cop, some angry demonstrators attacked the office of the Police Chief, breaking three windows, while he was sitting inside. The protesters then ran away, dragging garbage bins into the street as they fled. Police arrested four people.

January 10, Sweden: Action Against the Dead World of "Art"!

Four masked persons rushed into a museum and destroyed or partially destroyed art with an estimated value of 150,000 Swedish crowns (or \$20,000 U.S.). An employee who tried to intervene got punched in the face. The four then left the art gallery running.

January 10, Vancouver, British Columbia: Fuck the Police!

From the communique:
"This Saturday, January 10, the so-called "Community Policing Centre" on Wall Street had 3 of its nice big windows broken. We hate the police. Solidarity to anybody who has ever been beaten down by the VPD and solidarity to the families of people who the VDP have killed."
— People in the city."

January 12, Kawerau (New Zealand)

– Three Molotov firebombs were thrown over a fence towards a police station and damaged three police vehicles.

January 13, Miami, Florida: Homeless Squatter Resists Golf Course Eviction

A man who has lived on a golf course for 40 years has been ordered to leave because some golfers complained that he scared them. Kenny Bethel, 55, first showed up at the golf course after he ran away from home in 1963. He collected and resold stray golf balls, used the club's showers and toilets

and slept in a sheltered area on the course that housed the showers. For the last nine years, he has been joined by his wife Francis, 43. "This course became my job, and, later, my home," said Bethel. "What have I done to deserve this?"

Bethel now gets chased away by the staff when he tries to collect balls. And the restrooms are locked at night. Golfers who had become accustomed to seeing Bethel on the course were surprised by his banishment. "It seems a shame that someone who is an institution on the course can't be grand-fathered in," golfer Jim Anderson said. "He's a nice guy," agreed golfer Mario Deif. "You have to admire someone who has debunked modern life and lives off the land." Bethel has temporarily relocated to a nearby bridge and has vowed to fight the eviction.

January 15, Rafina (Greece)

– Three people attacked and robbed the Deputy Prefect for Eastern Attica (who is also the most likely candidate for the New Democracy Party in the upcoming Greek elections) as he was leaving his home. The attackers got away with the official's jeep and 600 Euros in cash.

January 19, Jamaica: American Capitalist Digs His Own Grave!

John Eugster III, a developer/land speculator who grew up in Stoughton, Wisconsin, and who built a secluded beach resort in Jamaica, was found shot to death on another Jamaican beach he planned to build on. Eugster had been living in Presque Isle, Wisconsin, with his family, while engaging in profitable development projects in Jamaica. His first development in Jamaica was a project called Coconut Cottages, which was built about 15 miles from the town of Negril, after Eugster bought land there in 1986. The land he had purchased nearby to "develop" had been inhabited by squatters, who Jamaican police claim may have played a role in the murder.



Eugster had been fighting against people who lived on the land he hoped to develop for years. A Jamaican newspaper, the *Jamaica Observer*, published a story that links Eugster's killing to another death related to the "long-running land feud." The article said Eugster was fighting in court against residents who charged that he couldn't develop the land they lived on. Eugster was reportedly supervising a backhoe operator when his killers drove by and shot him in the head and chest. Squatters are often at the forefront of the battle between capitalism and personal dignity. At times they are forced to defend themselves with violence against those who claim to own the Earth. This is an example of how revolutionary action needs no Vanguard or party ideology to determine who the enemy is. True revolution can be a spontaneous and autonomous defense of one's family and way of life.

February 13, Kingston (Jamaica) – Hundreds of people attacked a police station and set police cars and a military jeep on fire after a cop shot a high-school student. The student was eating lunch with classmates near his school when the cop shot him in the head. "The policeman just pointed his gun over the fence and started shooting," said a witness. "He said he didn't like people from west Kingston." As news of the incident spread, about 500 people gathered and marched to the Denham Town Police Station, attacking it with stones and setting vehicles on fire. Police also say that some people fired shots at the station and wounded a soldier. Riot police used tear gas to break up the rebellious crowd.

February 15, Sandy Spring, Maryland – The computer lab of a school was broken into and set aflame with firebombs, causing an estimated \$10,000 damage.

February 18, Northampton, United Kingdom – The roof of the Billing Brook School was set on fire, destroying one classroom and damaging another. Windows had recently been smashed at this school, a garbage bin was set on fire, wires were cut and taps had been knocked off the walls.

February 21, San Luis Obispo, California: Mardi Gras Partygoers Turn Against Police

Mardi Gras celebrations turned violent when partygoers threw bottles and rocks at police, who responded by firing rubber bullets and tear gas and arresting as many as 60 people. The rowdy revelers started hurling beads, bottles, cans, road cones, and



photo provided by d.m.

at least one steel pipe at police after they broke up two large parties at an apartment complex near the California State University's San Luis Obispo campus. An estimated crowd of about 5,000 was dispersed with tear gas.

February 26, Algiers (Algeria) – Youth set up barricades in the streets and rioted after a policeman killed one of their friends at a garbage dump. The murdered youth had been searching through the trash for fireworks to sell on the street.

February 26, Oakland, California: Deputy Narrowly Escapes Deadly Assault

A rookie Oakland County Sheriff's deputy barely escaped serious injury as he was attacked by a motorist he had attempted to pull over. Deputy Scott Howden was patrolling the streets of Oakland just before 1 a.m. when he saw a large Dodge pickup blow a stop sign. Howden gave chase and caught up with the pickup truck, which pulled over as the cop drew near. Howden then got out of his fully marked patrol car and began walking towards the pickup, at which point the suspect took off like a bat out of hell. Howden resumed the chase and as the patrol car pulled close, the suspect slammed on the brakes, causing Howden to fly past the truck. At that point the larger pickup slammed hard into the rear of the patrol vehicle, pushing the pigmobile approximately 256 feet up the road!

The disoriented and injured deputy then staggered out of his vehicle and was looking back at the suspect's truck but was partially blinded by the headlights. The suspect came charging at the Oakland pig on foot, screaming "I'm going to kill you!" Sadly, he wasn't able to follow through on his threats, as he was subdued and brought into compliance by pepper spray and baton blows to the legs.

February 29, Settara (Algeria)

Residents attacked state buildings in anger over unemployment and electoral corruption. Barricades were built in the streets, the home of the regional state representative was torched, and the town hall and regional government office were trashed.

March 7, Melbourne (Australia)

A suspicious fire broke out in a classroom at Mowbray Secondary College, causing about \$15,000 in damage. Since the beginning of March there have been similar fires at three other schools in Melbourne: the Malvern Valley Primary School, the Mount Waverly Secondary College, and the Seaford Primary School.

March 20, Eugene, Oregon: Small Explosives Found on Transient at Jail

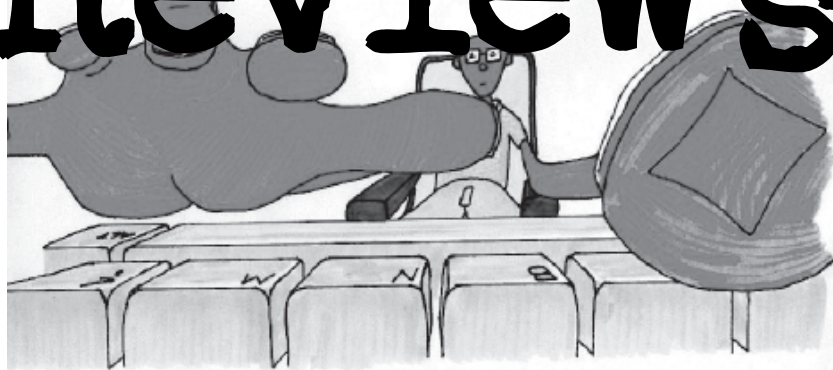
Eugene pigs got more than they bargained for when they booked a 44-year-old transient into the Lane County Jail for a parole violation. When Richard E. Park was taken to jail shortly before noon, deputies claimed to find three small, homemade explosive devices in his belongings. The Lane Metro Explosive Disposal Unit was called in, and a portion of Fifth Avenue was closed for about 15 minutes while the bomb experts removed the devices.

"There is a single world, the world of authority and money, of exploitation and obedience: the world in which we are all forced to live. It is impossible to pretend that we are outside. This is why we cannot allow ourselves to be indifferent, this is why we cannot manage to ignore it. If we oppose ourselves to the state, if we are always quick to seize the occasion to attack it, it is not because we are indirectly molded by it, it is not because we have sacrificed our desires on the altar of revolution, but because our desires cannot be realized as long as the State exists, as long as any Power exists. The Revolution does not distract us from our dreams, but is rather the only possibility that allows the conditions for their realization. We want to overturn this world as quickly as possible here and now, because here and now there are only barracks, courts, banks, concrete, supermarkets, prisons. Here and now there is only exploitation, while freedom, as we understand it, does not really exist."

– Insurrectional Anarchist Group "E. Malatesta"



Reviews



The last issue of *Green Anarchy* (Winter/#15) contained some rather controversial reviews, which have received, for the most part, a positive response. Our more critical (and anarchist) readers understand that without a sharp examination of the projects we or others are engaged in, we cannot move to challenge the system on any meaningful level. Some people would like to see us give a good review to everyone (which certainly didn't happen this time) and be a cheerleader for any project which is "trying", but that would be disingenuous and not really beneficial for anybody. Our review of *Slug and Lettuce*, which was critical (but we feel, *fair*) not only of that paper, but also the punk scene it promotes, was certainly one of the more contentious of the Winter issue. A few of the more defensive self-identified punks and local scenesters got pretty irritated, yet refused to discuss their specific problems. A couple even ended "polite" friendships (which really had little significant depth to them anyway) with some of us over this review, while others have attempted to undermine our project in some very real ways (which we can't/won't get into here). But we fully understand that this is what critical free thought (or just a simple opinion) gets one in thin-skinned and bohemian "anarchist" scenes. Meanwhile, others connected to the punk world thanked us for a much-needed critical look at a scene that, despite some positive attributes, is unfortunately not willing to be very self-critical. We're not afraid to ask questions that we feel are important, ruffle the feathers of complacency, or have an opinion. This is what people expect when they pick up our magazine, and that is what we will continue to provide. While most of the reviews in this issue are fairly negative, we promise that the next issue will be more focused on things we feel are important to check out, rather than avoid. You can also look at the suggested readings, links, and contacts in the "Rewilding" section for some useful information. We welcome your reviews of books, zines, papers, cds, films, or other projects (please try to keep them under 800 words).

GREEN ANARCHY #16

Adbusters: *Journal of the Mental* *Environment*

The March/April '04 *Adbusters* was to have consisted of critiques of the Left and post-Left visions of the future. Sadly, the issue contains virtually none of the above and is one of *Adbusters'* worst ever.

Its politics are utterly reformist: calls to reform media and other corporations mark the limits of the "vision" available here. The token gesturism of *Adbusters'* patented "Buy Nothing Day" has been joined by marketing a line of (non-Nike) sneakers called "the Unswoosh." If it were possible to promote something even less radical than one day of the year's non-consumerism, the Unswoosh is it. Calls to mind the greenwashed capitalism of the Global Exchange hucksters.

Nick Rockefeller's "Business Solutions" is the rare exception to the spirit-less horizon of the issue, exposing the corporate influences and practices of groups like Rainforest Action Network, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, and Greenpeace.

Otherwise it's the usual anti-war bromides (plus graphics) and a line-up of progressive politicians, not forgetting several leftist heads of Latin American states, also lauded.

One piece goes so far as to celebrate the passing of the Concorde, but of course doesn't hint at an indictment of jetliners in general and the fatal industrialism they represent.

Occasionally *Adbusters* rises—at least partially—from this dreary plane, but not this time. Glossy and expensive, its final irony is the mandatory sprinkling of the word "anarchist" in such a non-anarchist zine.

The real anarchy, needless to say, doesn't issue from big offices, paid staff and well-heeled backers. From the same region as *Adbusters* come marvelous DIY publications such as the anti-civ *Beyond Agriculture* and *Acephalous World*. Quite some contrast!

Available everywhere for \$7.95 (no shit)
1243 West 7th Ave, Vancouver, BC V6H 1B7,
Canada. www.adbusters.org

Anarchy: *A Journal of Desire Armed*

After almost a quarter of a century as a cutting-edge theoretical anarchist publication, *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* (*AJODA*) is still one of the most important magazines out there. Often tackling controversial subjects and themes, *AJODA* is not afraid to challenge every aspect of society and the anarchist movement. It has been at the forefront of the Post-Left discussion, making it clear that the Left has been a monumental failure which almost always stands in opposition to individual freedom. While *AJODA* may be too dry for those not used to exercising their cerebral matter or too critical for those obsessed with the vague concept of "unity", the subjects raised are not only important to the creation of a free society,

but vital to any anarchist trajectory (and by this I don't mean those who wish to create counter-institutions or an anarchist infrastructure, but those truly committed to a liberated existence). *AJODA* has always been a top-notch publication, yet it does have some minor limitations. Purely from an aesthetic viewpoint, it can be quite dull, with the same artist (Richard Mock) filling the pages and covers (not that his work is not interesting,

but it gets repetitive), and the lay-out can be uncreative. The editorial voice, while very intelligent and thought-provoking, has been limited by the fact that Jason McQuinn (who has tirelessly kept this project going from the beginning) has been, for the most part, the sole voice of *AJODA*. This, however, will be changing over the next year, as a transition to a new editorial collective takes place. The process has already been set into motion, as some of the new voices from the San Francisco Bay Area collective can be heard in the current issue (#57/Spring-Summer 2004). I'm confident this will be a positive direction for the magazine, as these new folks build on a solid foundation created by McQuinn and the previous contributing editors, who have



Page 62

included Lawrence Jarach, Manolo Gonzalez, Doug Imrie, Jonathan Slyk, Michael William, and the lovable John Zerzan. While the transition will be gradual, by the fall of 2005, it will be complete. Already, the influence of the Bay Area crew can be felt and appreciated.

The current issue begins with a concise editorial by Jason McQuinn on "The Fear of Individual Freedom in the Radical Milieu." Opening the issue with this rejection of the political Left and ideology in general, and embracing individual freedom, is essential in a milieu which still attempts to breathe life back into the same old dinosaur of the Left. The influence of the new collective can be seen in the section featuring numerous

essays which focus on identity politics from an anarchist perspective ("Anarchist Identity Politics in the 21st Century"). These included a critical report-back from the APOC (Anarchist People of Color) Conference in Detroit by two members of RACE (Revolutionary Anti-Authoritarians of Color). They challenged some of the shortcomings of the reform-and-rights-based agenda of many in attendance and the lack of significant differences in structure or curriculum compared to any other anarchist conference. Dot Matrix, one of the future editors, contributes an excellent anarchist critique on the white, guilt-ridden "Challenging White Supremacy" (CWS) workshops; while well-intentioned, the overly-simplistic approach to racism often refuses to acknowledge the complexities around power, and often ends up objectifying those they are trying to respect. According to Dot Matrix, "Unfortunately, right now, CWS exists more as a stamp of leftist approval on a white person's activism, to show that s/he is taking racism seriously, than it does to challenge the foundational concepts or relationships of racism." Also of interest is Christina Heatherton's "Representation as Salvation", a critique of the "Poetry for the People" movement, a college course which promises the "political and artistic empowerment of students...motivated by the moral wish to mitigate the invisibility and the imposed silence of those less privileged than we". Heatherton found the course actually playing into the representations of identity manufactured by the dominant culture, and hostile to any radical or diverging perspectives on identity. The issue also contains an in-depth look at the first Independent Media Center split, a look at the Montreal punk riot after a cancelled Exploited show, an interview with author Ursula Le Guin (which left a lot to

be desired in that she didn't seem all that interested in the interview), a unique look at schooling, a provocative rethinking of how we deal with domestic violence and abuse, Aragon!'s much appreciated

column on "Strategy and Anarchy", tons of reviews and letters, and a much-too-long (20 pages), yet intriguing, back-and-forth on Leftism vs. Post-Leftism, part of an ongoing debate in the Institute for Anarchist Studies' web newsletter *Theory and Politics*. While this publication could use an infusion of wildness and some creative imagery, overall, *AJODA* is a very

critical magazine put out by very critical people. **\$6 a copy or \$16 for a 4 issue subscription, Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446 or C.A.L., POB 3448, Berkeley, CA 94703, www.anarchymag.org**

Telos

(reviewed by Pepto-Dismal)

Since the general theme of this issue of *Green Anarchy* is "Rewilding", it seems only fitting to take a look at a publication that is the very antithesis of wildness: *Telos*, a lifeless, creatively-barren "journal of theory" that epitomizes academic drivel and intellectual pomposity. From Republicanism to Postmodernism, from Gnosticism to Plato, *Telos* is a veritable reference guide to the Western Tradition and its multitude of mental poisons. I probably never would have encountered this putrid, pathogenic journal of mind rot had John Zerzan not somehow managed to get an article titled "Why Primitivism?" published in their Summer

2002 issue. Interested in this new outlet that John had found for his ideas (and naively hopeful that I was about to discover a substantial, new, post-left anarchist paper), I trustingly opened the pages of *Telos* and began to suffer an immediate cerebral hemorrhage as the pernicious, suffocating gray dust of the European philosophical heritage spewed forth from the other articles, depriving me of oxygen and sunshine, and inducing a mental blackout.

When some friends finally found my rigid, paralyzed body on the floor of Zerzan's living room (with the death grimace of rigor mortis beginning to form on my face), they quickly revived me with smelling salts and a cold shower. Ever so slowly, I commenced to regain "consciousness", only it was a foggy, blank, "hung over"-type of cognition, as if I was repressing horrible war memories I didn't have the strength to relive. I had amnesia for two weeks and wanted nothing more than to watch Bugs Bunny cartoons and eschew thought of any kind (if "thought" was now synonymous with acute suffering). The printed word was thoroughly repugnant to me, as the stench of decomposition that was discharged from *Telos'* booby-trapped interior was fouler than the pits of Dachau and Treblinka.

After a prolonged period of convalescence from this headlong psychic onslaught and defilement, I began to reflect on the presence of this recent, modernistic adversary and resolved to study *Telos* carefully and methodically, as a hunter would study its prey. If *Telos* really had been sowing such potent, capable "thought sedatives" throughout the body politic for 124 issues, then they needed to be stopped, before they put anyone else to sleep (the lethal by-products released by a chemical plant into our drinking water are, remarkably, less offensive to this reviewer than the baneful, cheapening consequences that publications like *Telos* have on clarity and comprehension). *Telos* would have to be approached like any other enemy of wildness, *of life*; I would need to be armed with a thorough knowledge of my opponent's weaknesses and methods of operation, its sources of funding, and its hidden purpose and agenda.

Determining *Telos'* weaknesses was easy, as it has no discernable strengths to speak of. My preliminary investigation into *Telos'* sordid publishing history revealed that they once served as some kind of forum for dry, Marxist analysis, pandering strongly to the hideous Stalinist philosopher, Georg Lukacs.



Telos had some brief association with the New Left in the late 1960's, but by the end of the seventies their "analysis" made an abrupt (but unsurprising) shift towards the neoconservative. In its current, aimless incarnation, *Telos* exists to provide high-brow, theoretical pornography for tenured wankers with kinky, intellectual fetishes. Rather than being physically bound and whipped by a dominatrix (which would be an experience of the **body**, and not the mind), the readers and contributors of *Telos* appear to have a preference for scatology, that is, eating each others' shit and dissecting the subtle variations in taste, the end result being that, anytime one of these "learned" university types pontificates in the pages of *Telos*, it's with a mouth full of shit.

If it was possible to measure the pulse of a publication, then *Telos* would be a flatliner; there's no heart or spirit present in *Telos*, and the main artificial power source fueling the continued production of this deathly ode to domestication is nothing more than a chronic inflammation of gray matter, in abundant supply amongst the undead, limping ghouls of specialized "higher" education. Issue after issue of *Telos* is given over to endless, circular speculation that's never really intended to go anywhere or arrive at any conclusion, because then the game of collegiate cleverness and scholarly "one-upmanship" would be over (and we couldn't have that!). If religion is the opiate of the masses, then *Telos* is the valium of academia, another elitist house of mirrors manufactured in some graduate studies department, a sort of "Rubik's Cube" for philosophy majors. Publications like *Telos* are just one of the many tentacles of control whose parentage can be traced back to the toxic malignancy of the university system. All in all, *Telos* seems to be produced by what the anarcho-punk band Crass called "ancient, rotting corpses breathing horror by the hour" in one of their songs. I think I'd rather be laid up with pneumonia for two weeks than to ever have to even glance at a cover of *Telos* again.

Telos, 431 E. 12th St, New York 10009
(\$15 for back issues or \$45 year-subscription)
www.telospress.com

AWOL Magazine The Revolutionary Artist Workshop, vol. 3 (reviewed by 4-NRK)

The long anticipated third issue of *AWOL Magazine* has finally hit the streets. For those unfamiliar with *AWOL*, it is a thick and impressive-looking glossy periodical (although irregular in frequency) which is a

forum for "the raw voices of oppressed peoples who are, literally and figuratively, under the gun." It has taken the place of the now defunct *BLU* magazine as the collective voice of revolutionary hip-hop and includes a cd, which is a decent sampling of many revolutionary hip-hop artists. The project had an interesting and controversial start as a radical project within the War Resisters League, a national pacifist organization. *AWOL* made some sizable waves in the group, as its content could certainly not be termed "pacifist" in any conventional use of the word.



alternative to the often materialistic, misogynistic, homophobic, and shallow commercial rap and hip-hop world. The issue begins with a rant by Mario Africa, of the inspirational MOVE organization. He appears to be one of the main editors of the project, and kicks it off by redefining who the gangstas and thugs really are (Bush and his crew). The cover image of the magazine also reflects this perspective with images of George Bush and his posse (Cheney, Powell, Rice, Rumsfeld, and Ashcroft) styled out in silver teeth, gold chains, automatic weapons, sports paraphernalia, Hummers, and general flash, playing out the tired-old switch of who's really pimpin' who. I mean sure, I guess the analogy works, but it comes off as pretty superficial.

Some of the more positive aspects of *AWOL* include the original artwork and poetry, personal reflections on living as a person of color in a white supremacist society, the challenging of sexist and homophobic language in hip-hop culture, anti-military recruitment information, and, of course, the music. The cd is well worth the price of the magazine, and includes lots of up-and-coming artists and hard to find tracks (at least here in Eugene). Highlights include "Point of No Return" by Immortal Technique, "Face the Music" by Young Lao, "Attack the System" by 25 Years of Resistance (featuring Mike Africa of Seeds of Wisdom and MOVE), and "Black Fist" by

HetHeru (although some of my favorite revolutionary hip-hop artists, like dead prez, Talib Kweli, and Paris are sadly missing).

My biggest problem with *AWOL* is the lack of any clear anti-authoritarian politics. The analysis of race, gender, and imperialism is there, but power itself is never fundamentally challenged. What you are then left with is a vague opposition to the current power structure, but no real direction to move in. It often falls back on the throwbacks to the black nationalism of the '60s and '70s, liberal analysis of U.S. foreign policy comparable to that of Michael Moore, Howard Zinn or the *Utne Reader*, or vague socialist rhetoric of taking back the streets and the land to distribute them equally. There is even an interview with the Hammer Bros., two Palestinian rappers from New York, who promote Islam as a potential way to unite the world. Also disappointing are the full-page ads for well-known artists like Michael Franti and Spearhead.

Finally, on the back cover, there is some sort of spoof on "revolution".

It depicts a stereo-typed black woman with a spliff, bottle of Hennessey, and disgruntled face with the words "Before Revolution" under her. Then, there is a smiling, dreadlocked woman in African prints and jewelry with a bottle of "Revolution_™ (Maximum Strength Formula)" in her hand. It makes you wonder if they were listening to what Gil Scott-Heron had to say. What makes it even worse is the list of "All the Freedom You've Always Dreamed About", which includes: social justice, free health care, free education, affordable housing, economic equality, and reparations (I've always appreciated dead prez's view on the subject of reparations: they're something you take, not something you ask for). Anyway, the positive thing about not goin' too far, is that there is plenty of room for improvement, which I have some hope for (especially since an explicitly anti-authoritarian friend of ours is working on the next issue).

\$5 - *AWOL Magazine* c/o CCCO, 1515
Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102,
1-800-NOJROTC, awol@objector.org

Harbinger: "The End of the World" (Fifth communiqué)

For me, reading *CrimethInc.* material usually brings about commingled emotions, contemplations, and responses. The newest edition of *Harbinger* (not to be confused with the non-anarchist Social Ecologist periodical from Vermont) is no different. Like a perpetual roller coaster, or better yet, the teetering edge between being good and drunk and having the spins,

I love it, then I hate it. I still can't even figure out why I am so attracted to certain pieces, and why some make me violently gag. I guess the free-spirited, Situationist-inspired, anything is possible, you just have to take the first step attitude is refreshing in an increasingly grim reality, but then I wonder how much time these people have on their hands to produce this endless self-indulgent exercise.

The new *Harbinger* is a mixed bag, and not so much from article to article (if you can call them articles), but more from line to line. The main theme of this issue is "The End of the World", and starts off by embracing the concept of "Disaster". This part was probably the easiest to digest, bringing up clever ideas and exciting examples of liberatory and communal experiences in the midst of natural and human-caused disasters. It's not that uncommon to recognize that people can have the greatest potential in times of crisis, as well as the opening of possibilities for direct experiences during a rupture in "civility" or interruption in "normality". As usual, it is taken to an absurd post-modern extreme, flipped back upon itself, then unfolded a few more times before it is thoroughly exhausted and left virtually meaningless. Not that we didn't have some good times together. Particularly useless is the excessively long rant on how we should strive for failure. I appreciate the attempt to do something unique, but sometimes it feels like they try too hard. *CrimethInc.* often appears to exist in a vacuum, rarely ever acknowledging any other anarchist projects, ideas, activities, or resistance. What is created is a self-referential world with all roads leading back to *CrimethInc.* This might work once or twice as an attempt to open space outside of the anarchist ghetto, free of certain baggage like lingo or historical context, but after a while, a new language and condition is created, only this one lacks any explicitness or direction. Now, I'm all for leaving things radically open and unfixed, but without any clarity whatsoever or sense of movement in direction, we are left floating forever. The attractive 12-page tabloid is provocative at times, yet leaves you feeling that you had just been distracted long enough to have your

wallet stolen and shoe laces tied together, but maybe that's what they were going for.

**Free – CrimethInc. Refugee Forces,
POB 1963, Never-Never Land, 98507,
United Anti-Statist of America,
www.crimethinc.com**

The Anarchist Cookbook (the movie)

Directed by Jordan Sugman

Of course, I was cynical when I spotted this one in the local video store, but I had no idea how wretched it would be. As a sort of synthesis of *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventures*, an *ABC After School Special*, and *Animal House*, *The Anarchist Cookbook*

paints a cartoon-like picture of a so-called "anarchist" scene in Dallas, Texas. To be blunt, there are no anarchists in the film. The story centers around a run-down group house where cheesy graffiti covers the walls and parties are non-stop. It is obvious that someone involved in the film spent a couple hours within an anarchist scene, just long enough to get some superficial details of the traveler, dumpster-diving, pan-handling, tree-sitting, non-monogamous punk/hippie/anarchist lifestyle, but there is no substance here, and the characters

are ridiculous. The politics of the crew are liberal at best, with some anarchist-like rhetoric sprinkled in for effect. The main character is a suburban kid frustrated with college, who latches onto this sorry bunch. His politics are mostly unclear, and where there is clarification, they are pathetic. He knows something is not quite right about society, but just can't put his finger on it. Most of the women in the movie are depicted as either the female counterparts of the male characters, or, in the case of the main female character, using sex for power. The "leader" of the crew is an aging hippie who "was part of the sixties". He constantly refers to the "good 'ol days" and how great it is in Sweden, since it is a socialist-leaning welfare state (wow, how anarchistic of him).

For a while, the movie follows goofy escapades, non-violent protests, and some silly street theatre...then enters Johnny Black (dun da dun!). He is a dreamy nihilist who is so rad that he doesn't even believe in nihilism. At first, I thought this might add something worthwhile to the plot, as he challenges their reformist and pacifist direction, and promotes militant direct action, but instead it goes further downhill from here. He unveils his tattered copy of *The Anarchist Cookbook* at a planning meeting for civil disobedience against a polluter. For those unfamiliar with the book, it is a relic from the sixties which has instructions on how to make everything from drugs to bombs. While some of the information in it is useful, it was done in such a half-assed way, that many of the "recipes" are actually pretty dangerous. Some have suspected that the book was in fact put out by the CIA to cause militants to blow themselves up. I suspect that the movie had similar motives behind it.

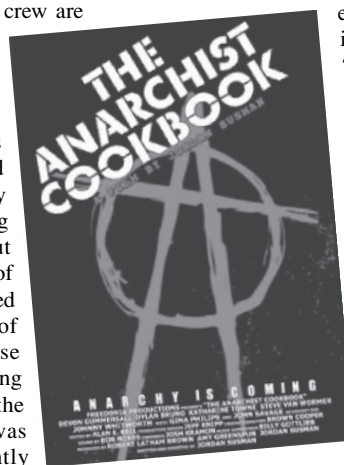
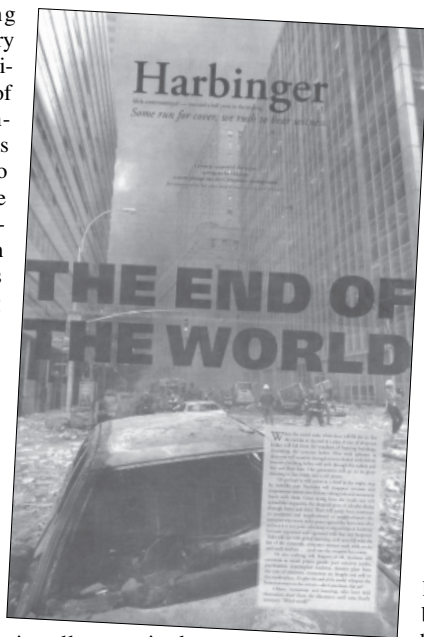
Anyway, to make a long story short, Johnny Black takes over the group when their old leader is exposed as a pedophile. Black gets the group hooked on speed, and turns them into a drug dealing gang, which forms alliances with neo-nazis and right-wing militias to advance their "cause" (we are never really sure what that is). Eventually the main character's best friend o.d.'s and he becomes a state informant. He gets them all busted, takes his 200-grand pay-off and moves to California to join his young Republican girlfriend who is interning at the Reagan Library. As he hitchhikes out of town, he realizes that the "rebellious" phase of his life is over, and it is time to grow up. To put it simply, this film is a pathetic stereotype of anarchists, meant to make us look stupid. While there are some very

embarrassing people in the anarchist "movement", this is absurd. You are better off not viewing it, unless you want to get really pissed. It's only worth mentioning because it is out in the mainstream, and promotes a misconception we'll have to deal with. As stereotypes go, I would much prefer the arm-

chair intellectual or bearded bomb-thrower to that of Beavis and Butthead.

Available at most video stores. (But don't bother unless some direct action is planned!)

(Reviews continued on page 67)





the future is unwritten

(let us keep it that way)

"In the soft darkness that hides the future
from the over-curious, i content myself with
this; that where i will be will not be where i am."
- gloria cubana, the passion

i want out
i want out of here
a battle of hope vs. despair
stagnate existence-go away
...i'm confused
and i don't know where we are
going
i just feel an inescapable need
to flee
i don't know where we are headed
but i know where we are
where we've been
and i want out

When they insist that you outline your alternative world for them, with every possibility accounted for and every detail mapped out, refuse. this is not a new attempt to program everything and everyone, or a new formula that will finally force all the organic complexity of living into the mold of some theoretical ideal. this is a way of doing things, not a new standard to march under, not another system—it is an approach to life, to solving problems we have right now and then solving the next ones.

Would they hold the vast uncertainty of the future over you as an objection to your fantasies of a better world? would they use THEIR past to justify THEIR future? spit in their faces, better to throw out all planned futures, theirs first of all, because look to where we are so righteously progressing.

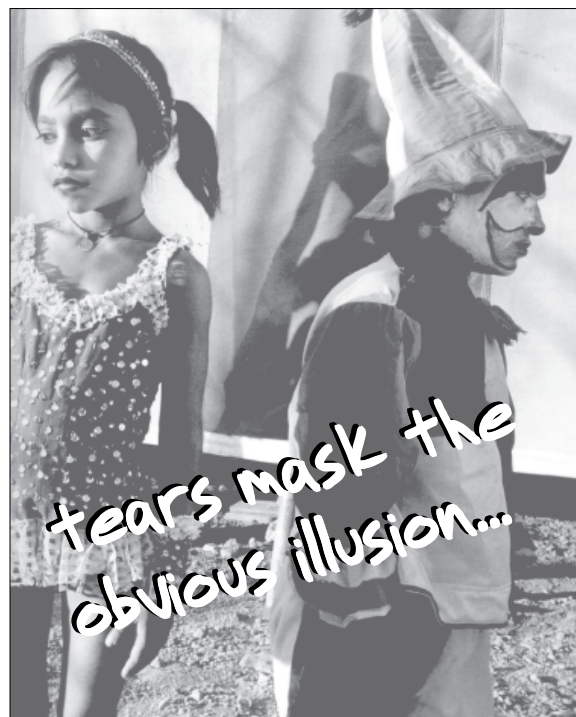
GREEN ANARCHY #16

onwards towards death, we are kept so sacred and secure, trudging on with pseudo-liberty, all while extolling liberty, unknowingly supporting our own oppression. for in this world right now, what is there left to feel hopeful for? what joy is left in this age of grief and sadness? i have friends in fucked up and unhealthy relationships, friends hooked on all sorts of drugs and friends digging themselves earthen graves, working away the best parts of their lives. so i ask you, in the west, in the ideal society, where the rest of the world is supposed to envy us, why are we so despondent? we are supposed to be so happy, yet feebly, we all try to escape our existence, even if only briefly, even if only artificially. why do most of us feel we need to be on anti-depressants of some sort in the happiest part of the world? are we really depressed or are we repressed?

Oh, we are doing just fine we tell ourselves and each other, gasping to maintain any level of composure, deluding each other, but ourselves most of all. it is just me that has a problem, yet tears mask the obvious illusion, when we grieve for others, we grieve for ourselves as well because we are really just all stuck in the same place. trapped in a stagnant existence, unable to move, to go up or down, forward or back, trudging on with business as usual when nothing seems right or usual—everything is not just fine. Yet we have survived like this for so long we have forgotten that

there could be something else. so, in an attempt to move beyond mere survival, i support mutiny in all its forms in order to attack against the total conditions of life. the conditions which manifest themselves in a world in which what masquerades as boredom is really defeat. what you risk reveals what you value, and besides, what is death in the midst of so much life?

Let us strive to celebrate LIFE in the face of the alienation and desperation of modern day existence—get out any way that you can. towards this aim, i do not need you to make my world, to make my freedom. and so long as you are prepared to stay lifeless,



Page 66

please do not interfere with my choice to live. if you see a problem with that then i suggest you wake the fuck up! embrace the panoptic. let us get down to business, neither in mute submission nor in blind hatred, and discuss tactics. i am more then willing, to discuss, not argue, but discuss how we can go about solving our collective problems. we only have one world, one life, and humans were once free before the word freedom became necessary.

Furthermore, we need to avoid abstractions, my liberation is not about nitpicking to solve individual problems. freedom solves all forms of oppression, we need to keep to the point, because individual problems solved will not solve our unfreedom. the freedom i want is to be found in the most primitive meaning of the word, the only kind that really matters i suppose, and unless i am free, i cannot help others to get free. apathy is the problem, which stems from insecurity, bought by alien-nation, unnaturally birthed by civilization.

Fortunately, for we are in possession of our own futures, it is up to each of us to take the first steps to dig ourselves out of our wells of isolation, depression and boredom. we must do so at all costs, casting aside anything which stands in our way—to take what we need. we must be prepared to betray whoever we must, in order to never betray ourselves. yes we are insecure, yes we are scared, but how much more are we willing to take before we break out of our shells? we must be willing to cast away all that we

know, all that we hold dear—to stay ALIVE any way that we can. let us no longer settle for mere composure when we ache for true transcendence.

Yet beware of those who would have you put aside your passions for a future date. Beware of those who glorify a cause, a movement, before their own needs. and most importantly, remain wary of glossing over your own actions, assuming that what you are doing or not doing is good enough. for myself, sometimes i cannot shake the feeling that i am writing my life instead of living it. what i write must reflect that trade off, is it reflecting that trade off? there is no point in changing the world if we know not what to do once we are free. spontaneity is long dead and life is an adventure, so seek the adventures of life. for the life we must create, for the world our hearts await and towards a future worth living, it is time to get back to basics. the first step, for me, is to remove the friction that my life causes, and all corresponding abstractions, to live simply so others may simply live. if i can fix myself everything else will fall into place, of that i am certain.

Hope to see you on the other side, may we all make it through.
piece out,
anonymous autonomist.
crimethinc. bereavement center
3773 peter st. windsor, on n9c 1k1
canada
ludditeirony@yahoo.ca

THE STREET-CORNER DICTIONARY AND THESAURUS

Lackey (l_k'_) *n. pl.* -eys A servile worker, a “good” citizen, a toady, an ass-licker, one who could live with dignity but chooses not to. * *v.* -eyed, -eyng, -eys to act in a servile manner, to lick ass, to eat shit willingly.

synonyms: sycophant, toady, toad, crawler, bootlicker, lickspittle, dupe, stooge, footstool, doormat, puppet, brown-nose, ass-licker, ass-kisser, shit-licker, worm, scum, shit, legitimate target, corpse.

Snitch (sn_ch) *n. pl.* -es An informer, a nark, a tattletale. * *v.* snitched, -ing, -es to inform, to nark, to tattle, to grass out.

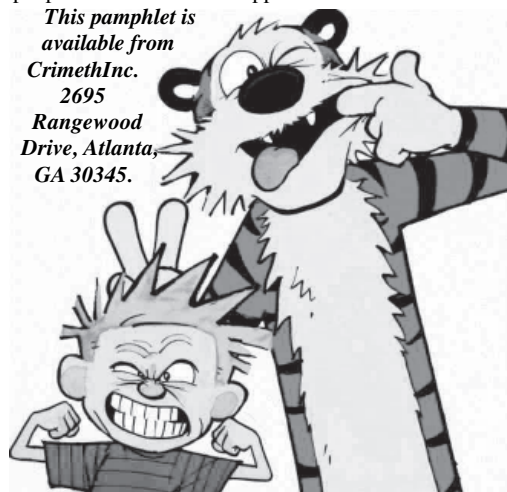
synonyms: informer, tattler, tattle-tale, tale-bearer, nark, stool pigeon, stoolie, fink, rat, squealer, blabber, traitor, worm, scumbag, slimeball, legitimate target, corpse.

The Calvin and Hobbes Guide to Daily Life

Edited by Robin Banks
(reviewed by Chris San Andreas)

Whenever I’ve read the so-called “funny pages” in any newspaper since the termination of *Calvin and Hobbes* as a daily strip, I’ve rarely even cracked a smile, much less laughed in response. Wedged between boring, conservative, unreflective, and non-confrontational strips such as *Garfield*, *Blondie*, *Hagar the Horrible*, *Peanuts* and *Family Circus*, Bill Watterson’s *Calvin and Hobbes* was one of the very few series that critically and disdainfully satirized the many oppressions of modern life. This *CrimethInc.* publication, *The Calvin and Hobbes Guide to Daily Life*, offers commentary on a selection of *Calvin and Hobbes* strips for the purpose of making more explicit the message that too many of our everyday obligations are needless and pointless distractions from a joyful and free existence. Our favorite six-year-old philosopher Calvin sees right through the facade of alleged importance that work and school carry with them, recognizing them as the institutionalized forms of thought control and drudgery that they are; unfortunately, he falls into the same consumerist trap as most members of mass society, as is evidenced by his television addiction, while at the same time recognizing its absurdity. Both Calvin and Hobbes also realize what is lost when wildness is replaced with industry, as they reflect upon areas being clear-cut and constructed upon near their house during their jaunts through the woods. Robin Banks’ introduction contains inspiring info on the comic’s creator, Bill Watterson, who is the only mainstream artist I’m aware of who refused to license his creation for merchandising purposes. Additionally, I recall a news article printed as *Calvin and Hobbes* was nearing its end, which stated that Bill Watterson rejected opportunities for book tours and media interviews, preferring not to make a spectacle of himself. This indicates to me that he’s a person of true integrity, contrary to most people who have similar opportunities.

This pamphlet is
available from
CrimethInc.
2695
Rangewood
Drive, Atlanta,
GA 30345.



LETTERS

Thanks for the feedback. Sorry we can only print a fraction of the letters we receive. We give priority to letters directly responding to recent issues of *Green Anarchy*. In this issue, we printed some longer letters, but in the future, we would like to have more voices in this section, so try to keep them under 500 words. Our deadline for the Summer issue is June 1st. Thanks.

The Spermocidal System

Dear Anarchists:

I don't know whether your anti-civilization journal is prophetic or pathetic, but what I do know is that the destruction of the human race has already been assured. We need do nothing else. A review article on the declining sperm count in human males was first published in 1994 by scientists in France, Belgium, and Germany. In 1996, the U.S. National Institute of Health confirmed the European findings. Simply put, in less than 60 years men will no longer produce enough sperm to impregnate women. In order to deal with this reality, industry, rather than trying to solve the underlying environmental conditions creating this problem, is funding research into genetically re-encoding sperm from animals with more resilient reproductive systems in order to create humans. Personally, I pray this technology never works, even though it appears the only way the human race is likely to survive its own hubris.

Sincerely, Cynthia Wilson

Executive Director
Chemical Injury Information Network

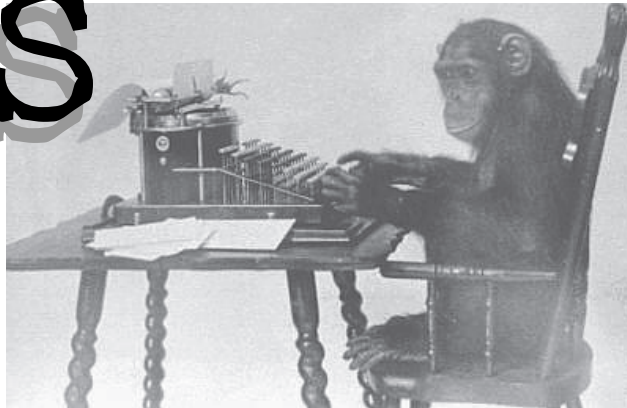
It'd Feel So Funny To Be Free?

Hey y'all at GA,

i've never really written any publication before, but felt weirdly driven to after reading issue #15. What is making pen meet paper is the article on pg. 41 called "It'd Feel So Funny to Be Free". i read this & reread it, confused. (First off i'd like to say nothing written here is meant to be a dis - i realize this is just one woman's perspective, but i'd like to offer another.) The author writes

about the fear of rape keeping her from being free to do things she'd like (i.e. trainhopping/hitchhiking, etc.) and concludes that instead of letting the fear/worrying take her energy, she will turn it into "productive" energy facing the question "what will my rape be like"?!! She says "it's so much easier to manage fear of the known than the unknown." Um, hold on a minute. Just because you put energy into imagining yourself being raped *doesn't* make rape known, but only makes *fearful thoughts of rape* known, which seems to boil down to what the problem was in the first place: the fear of rape, which, *is thoughts*. Many a time i have been walking alone at 3:00 am, paranoid out of my mind about being raped - it is this very state (the fear/acceptance) that makes a rapist's gag a lot easier. If some man decides to jump you, and you are like "oh well, I guess this is it...my rape..." then are you going to be inspired to out-crazy the motherfucker? By out-crazy, i mean using unexpected tactics.

This one cool woman called Diamanda Galas has a story from when she was coming home late alone and a much-larger-than-she man came up behind her and said "This is a rape" and she said "oh, really? Do you have a knife?" (in a bored voice) and he said "er-no..." and she said "So let's just call it off - i'm really tired." And he did! All i'm saying is: we must practice *love* not fear, having a sense of humor EVEN WHEN IT SEEMS CRAZY because this is disarming, confusing, a good tactic. And then there is also good ole kickin' the rapist's sorry ass, should it come to that. Okay, this letter isn't very coherent - ideas are zooming



around my head like planes towards towers. i really see how rape is used as such a control/soul-crushing thing for women (and men, i have to add, though maybe it crushes them differently) and yes, this is *FUCKED*. But many-a-thing is fucked these days and i would say it all can be traced back to our old pal, Fear. Telling yourself over and over that it is inevitable you will be raped seems fucking insane to me. Why not tell yourself that you are loved? That anything you want to do, you can do, without fear? i really believe thoughts are powerful things. For years, i was terrified of being raped and during this time was assaulted, more than once, sexually by men i didn't know on the street. As my terror/fear/controlled mind shifts to openness/understanding, i am able to see that what energy i give off *does effect* what happens to me in the physical world. i know you all may be saying "what the fuck?! Is she saying it's the victims fault?!" and i'd say No, but i'm saying there is a correlation between fear and sexual assault in terms of a rapist is looking to FEED OFF "the victim's" FEAR vibe - both perpetrator and victim are playing their roles, and so another rape goes down as usual. Let's out-crazy these motherfuckers! Let's out-love them! Let's love the urge to rape/kill/maim etc. out of our physical world! It starts in our hearts and ...radiates out & out & out ...for fucking ever.

OK, rant done. Love to your collective, love to the author woman of that article, keep up the work my friends. PS issue #15 rocked, lots of good shit in there...

Jane
Portland, OR

Warping My Anarcho-Communist Mind!

Dear GA,

Hello little amigos, this is Doug from the DAAA collective. Your primitivist filth is warping my fragile little anarcho-communist mind! Keep up the great work!

PS-If you have any old pamphlets that you want me to give out, we will trade them around the collective and then distro them out to other people at protests or shows. When we got your last order (thank you!) of the newest issues, about 6 of us sat down and read through it and talked about it. A lot of stuff we have here is mostly from AK Press (that we all read and trade around as a collective), and animal liberation literature, so your magazine is a welcome inclusion into our reading.

Thanks!

Doug - DAAA Collective

Speaking Out Against the Left-Handed Path of Repression

Green Anarchy folks!

wow! the latest issue rocked!!

y'all address some pretty important subjects. i don't always agree with you, but you certainly make me think, which is more than i can say for most of the alternative, progressive, leftist, activist, or anarchist press. it just keeps getting better and better.

issue 14 (fall), up to then, was the best. john zerzan's piece on globalization made important connections and had a lot of insight. I loved the piece from greece on the co-optation of struggle in the university, and found the essay on nihilism very useful and clarifying (nihilism doesn't = apathy, but instead is a place of great action). chellis inspires as usual and fredy

perلمان was amazing (please print more). i really dug the "back to basics" on origins, the entire series is a great idea (always good to clarify), reviews and actions were excellent as always (especially the eco and iraqi stuff). my main criticism was the essay on "collapsism" (good to address the tendency, but not well articulated and made too many generalizations). oh, i also thought the report-back from the "break the chains" anti-prison conference was pretty right on. i was there and thought y'all were pretty fair. You seemed to appreciate the work, dedication, and overall conference, but had many valuable and valid criticisms, especially on some of the commie keynoters (where did they dig up those tired old leftists?) i thought their stuff died with ho-chi-men.

when i got issue 15 (winter), however, i was blown away! initially the gloss threw me off, but the format change is really helpful as a reader and will last much longer on my coffee table and bookshelf. The design throughout is amazing, it looks "professional". Sometimes i just look through it to admire the beauty and obvious care and work which goes into each issue. you all are very under appreciated.

before i get into the new issue, i should say that my dynamic as a reader may be slightly different than some, since i have lived in eugene (leftist capital of the world) for a number of years. i have witnessed a lot of the fucked up authoritarian shit talked about in the "left-handed path of repression", without going into details, i'll just say that your analysis of the "oppression politics" crew was accurate (yet too restrained). i have seen these individuals sabotage anarchist projects, spread lies, pressure people to not associate with certain people they have deemed "manarchist" or "manarchist sympathizers". i have witnessed tons of good people give up and leave town or just drop out of the scene because of this bullshit, or because they didn't want to be the next target for standing up to it. while i generally keep to myself and have not been too engaged in public projects, i, as a woman who identifies as an eco-anarcha-feminist, was approached, pressured, and then marginalized when i didn't fall into line with "the feminists". people who see themselves as having the only

perspective on patriarchy, who use the term "anarchists" only when it helps them, who are mostly authoritarians with personal issues and major power trips. they surround themselves with eager young and impressionable college kids, feed their minds with outrageous stories, get them focused on certain people and projects, pressure them and create a "group think" model of "you're either with us or against us". these people do have something to say about patriarchy, but nothing about anarchy, and they certainly aren't the "authority" on sexism (as much as they would like to be). certainly, we have a long way to go to challenge sexism and smash patriarchy, but interestingly enough, many targeted by this identity politics crew (like *GA*), are men i do see challenging sexism and abusive men daily, as anarchists!! it's more than wearing a t-shirt or button, more than rhetoric or kissing the right people's asses (like the upper class brats who run this show), it's about taking stands and living what you believe. anyway, that was a long and probably incoherent rant, but it needed to be said, and i wish more who say it in private (i've talked to tons of women and men) would not be intimidated and open up!

thanks again *GA*, for saying what needs to be said. the "leftist primer" was needed. i loved the palestine article, the pieces on summits, part II of the chellis interview, the article on neo-liberal technology, all the action reports, and the article on destroying power stations. the reviews were great, even *Slug and Lettuce*, which i do read, but thought you had some very important things to say (fuck 'em if they can't take criticisms – the punks i mean). my only criticism would be to be careful not to get too rigid and ideological and to have more personal rants like "it'd feel so funny to be free" (the article on rape, which i don't totally agree with, but had some good things to say and in a personal voice). thanks for puttin' it out there. you'll hear from me again, in fact, you'll probably see me soon (but you'll have to guess).

**Free Free, Free Rob, Free Critter!
Destroying Civilization,
Smashing Patriarchy,
Pink Flame**

Too Much Is At Stake Greetings, anarchic green comrades,

Developing a revolutionary anarchist critique of the left is of major importance since the left in forms more or less adapted to current conditions continues to be one of the main tools available to the rulers for recuperating social struggles. For this reason, it is important to avoid sloppiness in developing this critique. Unfortunately, by categorically including "anti-state communists" and "insurrectionalists" (i.e., insurrectionary anarchists) in the left along with scum like the Social Forum folks and Michael Albert, John Z.'s "The Left Today" exhibits the sort of sloppiness that needs to be avoided. Such associations are at best questionable.

While there is much to criticize in anti-state communism, the critique of the left actually began among them (the situationists in the forefront). This critique included a critique of rights, justice and politics, as well as parties and unions. It is true that most anti-state communists remain attached to marxian concepts and so tend to lack deep critiques of civilization, technology and progress (though there have been exceptions, such as Camatte, and the folks who published *Interrogations*). On the other hand, anti-state communists have always explicitly critiqued global trade. Their aim is the abolition of property, wage labor, the state and *commodity exchange*, and this last means trade in all forms. Thus, John misrepresents the anti-state communist perspective when he claims that they have not criticized global trade. Particularly when he speaks of them side by side with the Social Forum crew who proclaim "fair trade not free trade", this is a truly sloppy and inaccurate criticism. Perhaps John did not mean global trade, as such, but the global movement of goods outside a context of trade. But this would take us precisely to the lack of a critique of the technological system – a completely different matter. A serious critique of the anti-state communists must deal with what they actually say and do. If one relegates them all to the left and misrepresents their perspective, such critiques will be weak and unconvincing. We must deal with them for what they are, not

create straw dolls to criticize.

John's description of "insurrectionalists" is completely off the mark. He claims, "In order to maximize the unity required to achieve an insurrectionary condition, insurrectionalists find it useful to minimize a potentially non-unifying discussion of specifics." Yet his problems with insurrectionary anarchist perspectives began when two individuals (myself one of them) with insurrectionary anarchist (and anti-civilization) perspectives raised questions about aspects of primitivism that we felt reduced the capacity for developing a serious revolutionary theory and practice. In other words we were precisely initiating a "potentially non-unifying discussion of specifics." Unfortunately, it seems that at the time, John and a few others did not see this as two individuals expressing their own criticisms, but as a competition between two tendencies for ascendancy within the anarchist movement. This led them to waste time trying to paint an uncomplimentary image of the "insurrectionalist" tendency. This reaches comic proportions when these portrayals are precisely opposite of the actual ideas and practices of insurrectionary anarchists. For instance, reading insurrectionary anarchist texts (for example, "Fawda" and "Notes on Summits and Counter-summits" in *GA* # 15) will show that insurrectionary anarchists pursue just the opposite of what John claims. For insurrectionary anarchists, the basis for acting together is affinity, and this involves a thorough knowledge of one another, of similarities and differences, that can only come about through intensive debate of specifics – a debate which can be found in many insurrectionalist publications on topics such as organization, technology, intervention in struggles, armed struggle, the critique of politics, Since insurrectionary anarchists are among the few not afraid to bring up civilization, technology and industrialism when dealing with more immediate matters such as surveillance cameras, the current wildcat strikes of transit workers in Italy, transmission towers for cell-phones, state repression, etc., one would think that John and other primitivists would want to

engage in real discussion rather than make dismissive, inaccurate judgments. John's one specific criticism, that Bonanno espouses "national liberation fronts" is also inaccurate. In *Anarchism and National Liberation Struggles*, Bonanno argues that national liberation struggles may include potentially liberatory and revolutionary aspects, but that these aspects would precisely *oppose* national liberation fronts, parties and the like – i.e., the "states-in waiting", and the nascent native ruling class they represent. I have many problems with Bonanno's analysis of this question, not because I don't think there can be any liberatory aspects in national liberation struggles – most indigenous struggles currently use the language of national liberation – but I think that the ideology of nationalism always weakens liberatory tendencies in a movement and must be challenged even in indigenous movements. But more importantly, in terms of John's use of this matter, Bonanno's views on national liberation struggles are his and his alone, and should be dealt with as such. Bonanno is no leader not even on the theoretical level, but merely an individual among individuals with his own ideas. Lastly, insurrectionary anarchists were among the first *anarchists* to develop a clear critique of politics and thus of the left. Their critique, springing from the direct experience of the insurrection in Italy in the 1970's, has a certain clarity and specificity that is often lacking elsewhere. The development of this critique seems to correspond in time with the beginning of the anarchist critique of the left in the US in the late 1970's in which John Z. and *Fifth Estate* played a major part.

With regard to both anti-state communism and insurrectionary anarchism, John creates straw-dolls to knock down. This tactic can only undermine the credibility of his critique of the left, because those who investigate can easily find the holes in his claims. So a bit of comradely advice to John: since we both agree that the critique of the left is important, it's best to avoid weakening that critique by lumping others who reject the left with the left, by misrepresenting their perspectives

and by, thus, making an argument with very shaky foundations likely to collapse under any serious scrutiny. Too much is at stake for this sort of sloppiness.

Against civilization, for free life,
Wolfi Landstreicher

John Zerzan replies: I am less concerned with what "anti-state communists" say they oppose than with the logic of their fundamental leftism. To accept global production means that the state and global trade are also accepted, even if one gives them different names. The world hive with its division of labor on all levels must have coordination, involving the functions of what is known as the state. If they want to preserve the apparatus of modernity, they should admit what's involved.

At least Michael Albert, with his bureaucratic "parecon" scheme, cops to this. You say perhaps I "did not mean global trade, as such, but the global movement of goods outside a context of trade." Perhaps you could explain the difference. I don't see one, in terms of an actually functioning system. As for insurrectionalism, I said that there seem to be competing strands or tendencies within it. I have heard insurrectionalists argue, in the U.S. and in Italy, that differences should be submerged in the interest of moving toward an insurrectionary moment. Evidently, others who employ the name do not emphasize this and are lucidly anti-civilization. You use the term insurrectionary anarchism at times as if it has a stable meaning and at other times, it seems to me, as if it does not. I agree that precision is a virtue and also suspect that we use the term leftism somewhat differently. For example, I see the situationists as representing the highest and perhaps last development of the left, even though they criticized certain (other) leftists' politics, they had zero interest in the natural world and no objection to technology or civilization.

Ideological Hair-Splitting In The Service Of Paralysis

Dear GA-USA,

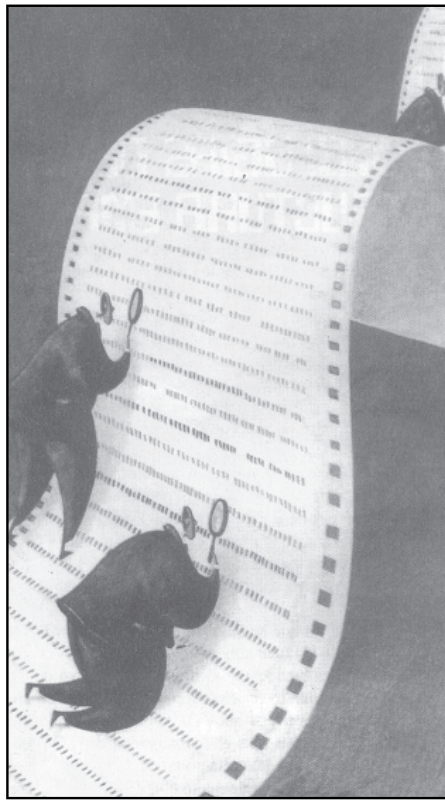
Your review of Alfredo Bonanno's *Armed Joy* [GA-USA #12, p.11] might pass muster as fan mail, but hardly as critical review.

Your reviewer's contention is that whilst primitivist anarchism is just mere "ideology", insurrectionist anarchism is to be exalted as "a practice, or an approach" (er, which?), a stock sentiment that itself sounds like regurgitation of the standard insurrectionist 'line'. If the reviewer expects to be told what to do—evidently his main puff for insurrectionism—then it'll be a fine pet ideology for him. If he was a little more observant and less keen to jump on the latest politico

I agree there is no great contradiction in *theory* between AP (anarcho-primitivism) and insurrectionism, not least because the latter adds almost nothing to the former—it even detracts from it in key areas—and I have seen impressive syntheses from the likes of *Species Traitor* and Italy's Silvestre group. However, Bonanno's introduction to Feral Faun's anthology shows his distasteful struggle with such (to him) unfamiliar concepts as domestication and certainly at the time *Armed Joy* was written, Bonanno had no critique of technology and dismissed Greens as merely privileged and peripheral. Your reviewer would do well to acquaint himself with the works of Toni Negri and other autonomists of the 1970s extra-parliamentary Italian Left, as insurrectionism is just that with an anarchist spin and situationist larding, even the anti-work gloss your reviewer naively believes creates 'clear blue water' with it. We have to wait until the late-1980s, Jean Weir's *Insurrection* and Bonanno's *From Riot to Insurrection*, before we get any critique of technology and that only superficial distinction between those computer-literate and those socially excluded for not being so.

This obviously wouldn't matter if insurrectionists took their ideology seriously and didn't give a stuff about Bonanno presenting himself as some ideological architect handing down party lines, but this cultish mentality pervades insurrectionism. The US section (I use the term ironically) happily misrepresent those they see as 'ideological competition', seek to recruit

from them whilst demanding 'loyalty tests' of recantation and cant-recital, censor responses to all this, and plead hurt innocence if the truth gets out anyway ("oh, why are you so sectarian?") – the usual Camattisque 'gang' games, in other words. Lorraine Perlman's account in *Having Little, Being Much* of the self-styled 'anti-ideological' SI's recruitment from Black & Red is



very illustrative of this racket in an earlier form. And, lest we again hear that old chestnut about "a few unrepresentative individuals" (aren't they all?), isn't it spooky that wherever you go *in the world*, insurrectionists have exactly the same thing to say in response to particular criticism, often using *exactly* the same words....?

My theory is that insurrectionism is a soft option, supplying a rationale for militant 'attitude' without ever having to coherently fundamentally challenge institutions like technology and civilisation - I mean, 'where's the beef' comrades? I believe an insurrectional AP is not only possible, it's inherent in AP, and its good insurrectionists are increasingly open to this as it'll deepen and extend their critique. The trouble is that the ideological 'old guard' are more interested in peddling the 'soft option' for all the old reasons you'd expect of the sectarian Left - and so urgently need suppression.

Yours, for the destruction of
Civilisation,
John Connor, *GA-UK*.

Two GA Collective Members Respond: It's too bad that when we have an entire civilization of domination to bring down, some green anarchists would rather spend their time trying to discredit people (insurrectionalists) many who are actively pursuing that aim. While we have much in common with John Connor and the UK *Green Anarchist* (not to be confused with the pitiable liberal rubbish of Steve Booth's *Green Anarchist-lite*), some of us on the *Green Anarchy Collective* (US) have some major disagreements with Connor on the subject of insurrectionary anarchy. Before we get into it though, we should first comment that Connor's extremely condescending tone and arrogance towards the reviewer of Alfredo Bonanno's *Armed Joy* (*GA Spring 2003/Issue #12*), is one we would expect from someone with no respect for our project, not from someone who generally agrees with our perspectives as Connor does. When we were actually able to get past all the pretentious "name dropping" of this delusional and self-glorifying diatribe, it was hard to determine

any real purpose to it all, other than Connor trying to demonstrate how "erudite" and "well-read" he is in comparison to the less intellectually developed anarchists of Eugene. We're not sure if Connor was intentionally trying to slight us, but his conceited insinuations that we're somehow new to anarchist thought and need his wise, sage, paternalistic counsel and clarifications could be insulting if it wasn't so laughable and pathetic. With his overbearing haughty approach and vacuous arguments, Connor comes off like a snooty, cultured intellectual who is both amused and irritated that we can't match his "intelligence quotient", and that alone makes this tirade barely worthy of response. To avoid an unending personal back-and-forth (which would most likely bore everyone), we'll (at this point) try to look past his smugness and stick to the main "points" (as trivial as they are). While this collective embraces primitivism as an essential element of an anti-civilization analysis of the origins of domination, it is often lacking in much coherent practice (outside primitive skills, which most self-described "primitivists" have little use for or knowledge of). *Green Anarchy* attempts to create a forum for both theory and action, and many of us feel that insurrectionalism bridges both and is an important part of a green anarchist perspective. Where Connor sees contradiction, we see ideas which complement one another. Some primitivists (Connor included), have unfortunately moved primitivism from an important critique which fits alongside various indigenous, anarchist, and anti-authoritarian perspectives, to a rigid ideology which views questions raised by others outside of its perimeters to be "leftist" or "ideological". This is certainly ironic to say the least. Insurrectional anarchy offers a open (anti-ideological) approach to our world, one which stresses autonomy and spontaneous resistance. John Connor's absurd charges about insurrectionary anarchists being some sort of cult or gang seems more like paranoia than anything based in reality. Connor seems to want to maintain



this "ideological competition" he claims to have a problem with. We consider most primitivists to be insurrectionaries, and many insurrectional anarchists (different from insurrectionary leftists) to be very critical of technology, production, organization, and generally at odds with civilization. Certain insurrectionalists have some of the most insightful critiques of the Left. Shit, Bonanno's *Armed Joy*, if particular ideologues could read it with an open mind (or at all) and without the rigidity to certain "key" words (like primitivism), they might view it as a great anti-left primer. It seems that some are more concerned with defending their particular thesis or perspective than they are at being anarchists. While Connor barricades himself in a room full of books, fine-tuning his theories to crystalline perfection, "softer" anarchists like Alfredo Bonanno are engaged in a *physical* struggle with Power, and not one occurring solely in the abstract realm of ideas. Connor views insurrectionalism as a "soft option" because it is not clear enough in what it is against. Yet, insurrectional anarchists have been quite

clear about what they are against: any institution, group, or individual which stands in the way of unfettered liberation. Maybe some insurrectionalists don't get as caught up in specifics as some of the movement academics would like, but this outlook seems to be more about some insurrectionalists' impatience with splitting hairs for the rest of their lives and primacy placed on physical attack (a question of prioritization), than it is over any sort of "suppression of ideas". We strongly promote the primitivist critique in the pages of *Green Anarchy* because we feel it's solid and penetrating, but we're certainly not out to create a new religion, nor do we feel that primitivism is some seamless, airtight panacea that will by itself be an antidote for the calamity of civilization (like those with ideological tunnel vision). We hope to be critical of all anarchist tendencies, but we also want to learn from a wide range of anarchist, insurrectionary, nihilist, anti-authoritarian, anti-colonial, anti-patriarchy, and anti-civilization perspectives. Struggle happens outside of the ivory tower. It's not about "being right".

Warning:

These old-timers may offend and cause irreparable damage to people with enlarged egos, missing humors, bruised reputations, fractured politics, severe ideological stances, those suffering from extreme guilt, activists with obsessive disorders in search of leftist "evolutionary" conditions, or the unfortunate "anarchists" with remarkably thin skin. For those with hyper-sensitivity issues, they may even cause you to piss your pants.

Read with extreme caution!

and now... Waldorf and Statler's NEWS FROM THE BALCONY



AREN'T FAIRS SUPPOSED TO HAVE A FREAK SHOW... OH, WAIT.

After a night in coach my back hurts, my head is ringing and I just want to have a good meal and a sit. Instead, upon entering the 9th Annual Anarchist Book Fair in San Francisco I was barraged with limp vegetables, stale bread, and a rabble of the youth sitting on every flat surface. It would be one thing if they were juggling or swallowing swords but they just appeared to be peddling photocopies of dead bearded men's rants and participating in some elaborate courtship ritual that thank goodness I don't understand.

AK Press had the right idea though. They are filled with piss-and-vinegar at *Green Anarchy's* review of the AK product catalog and questions about AK's refusal to carry GA. So much so that AK reprinted the whole damn thing onto a ceiling-to-floor poster that they hung in the middle of their 500 tables of merchandise. I guess the AK line is that GA ain't anarchist enough for their taste, which is why AK publishes picture-books about war protests, books by Michael Albert, and CDs by Alexander Cockburn. Not only did they have about 800 tables of their own, but the AK Starter Pack (for the budding anarchist entrepreneur) was on about half of the rest of the tables at the fair. The AK Advanced Pack (for the 'organizer' class of anarchist entrepreneur) was only evidenced on a few tables, demonstrating that it's an awful lot easier to get into debt with AK than it is to get a credit line with them.

The speakers were a refreshing blend of the archaic left and the 'lower your voice before you call them anarchists' crew. The highlights among the anarchists were StarHawk and SunFrog, who obviously got their names from hippie-anarchist casting. As you can imagine, neither of them advocated the throwing of bombs, the propagandizing by the deed, or even the causing of much trouble. Instead they offered the audience the option to dress up for protests, write angry letters to the editor, or read the damn 'song and dance' issue of their magazine. Troubling maybe, but barely trouble.

It only took a few hours before I was bored of speakers and angry at all the products looming around me. AK had to have at least 1500 tables of glossy books and CD's with titles like "America, land of oppression" and "Bad Whitey. You're not Cool," and after 4 hours the tablers started poking me with sticks and telling me to 'move it along, gramps'. I staggered into the sun only to be greeted by a vision too horrible to speak of. It appears that many anarchists are currently making much ado about the European game of soccer. What is totally

puzzling is that it appears to involve all of the running around and all of the competition, without any of the hooliganism or bad attitude. It is one thing for anarchists to play sports; it is something else entirely for anarchists to do it with a smile on their face and good sportsmanship. If they were really preparing for the next riot they would at least use their hands and be allowed to carry brass knuckles.

Of course the fun didn't end at 6 pm. The Barbary Coast is one of the last places where old Waldorf can satisfy all of his very particular peccadilloes that involve people his own age and forms of debauchery that only old De Sade tells tale of. The youth scattered to their punk shows, burrito shops, and floor space for the evening. The merchants had after-show parties that involved wine and cheese. And another book fair comes to an end complete with bearded ladies, rubes, and shills and only two failed attempts at a pickpocket.

Boo!!! Hiss!!!

LAST BUT NOT LEAST

Let it never be said that the two of us are ungrateful to anyone that is willing to provide a home for our unsolicited words of elder wisdom. That said, we wouldn't be us if we didn't engage in a little lynching of the landlord on occasion—as we well know, a little regular purging of colonic build-up is good for a body.

You may or may not have noticed the new-fangled magazine format of the last edition of this fine publication. While we mourn the passing of the old format (old men do love their newspapers after all), we do have to admit it's fairly snazzy looking and an added convenience to boot. If only my medicated joint patches were so easy to unfold and apply! Now we're just waiting for the typesetter to catch on to the change.

Subsequently, I pulled out the last all-newsprint issue for nostalgic purposes, and was befuddled and confounded to notice the text trailing the end of our column: "The views expressed in this ongoing guest column do not necessarily reflect those of the *Green Anarchy* collective...." Ol' Waldorf and I are definitely of the "call 'em like we seem 'em" generation, but we were genuinely surprised to see that we merit a *disclaimer*—we thought this was *Green Anarchy*, not *Yellow NPR*!

We've always been of the opinion that anarchy isn't about making friends, and thus we're compelled to ask: In pursuit of an anti-civilization agenda, is it feasible and/or desirable to remain *civil*?

These teeth may go in the glass of Polident [tm] at night, but they can still bite you good!

DISCLAIMER: The opinions expressed in *News from the Balcony* in general, and by and Waldorf and Statler in particular, do not necessarily reflect those of *Green Anarchy*, the production collective, individuals involved with the project on various levels, and affinity group/kin/family members (including: sexual partners, playmates, drinking buddies, co-conspirators, third cousins, parents, step-parents, in-laws, siblings, offspring, and children yet unborn.). We only print this column because we found our way into their "Final Will and Testaments", and hope the tolerance for their insider and mean-spirited jabs will eventually pay off and help fund the more intelligent, ecumenical, respectfully soft-spoken, and soothing aspects of this project. Sorry for any inconvenience or unsettled states.

THOSE DIRTY BASTARDS!

A Report on the 2004 BASTARD Conference (Organization: Beyond False Dichotomies)

For the past few years, on the day following the San Francisco Anarchist Bookfair, the BASTARD (Berkeley Anarchist Students of Theory and Research Development) people put together a conference, since the Bookfair is less participatory and its speakers are marginally, if at all, anarchist. These folks are mostly post-left anarchists and very critical thinkers. The group has a weekly anarchist study group in Berkeley, which I was fortunate to sit in on last year. It inspired some of us to get a study group started in Eugene, which has been going strong for over a year now, and is an important element in any radical community which wishes to not become stagnant and to constantly challenge ideas. The organizers of the conference attempt to provide a non-sectarian environment to further the development of anarchist theory, with a specific theme each year. This year was "Organization", much more engaging and relevant than last year's theme of "Economics". While the BASTARDS are mostly anti-organizational in perspective, rejecting the federation, platform, party, and rigidly structured models of organizing in favor of decentralized modes, they encourage those who promote larger organizations to argue their perspectives (and offer them enough rope to hang themselves with). While a few felt this discussion has been beaten into the ground, some of us feel it is important to continually dispute and challenge the organizational model, especially as new folks come into the "movement", because there unfortunately seems to be some renewed interest in the tired old leftist approaches.

Some of the workshops included: "The Household as Organizational Form", which looked at how we might organize from the base of our current (or desired) living situations; "Gender Issues in Anarchist Organizations", a sort of 101 on challenging our socialization within patriarchy; "Unions of Egoists", a relatively incoherent attempt to link Max Stirner's ideas on the Ego and Wolfi Landstreicher's insurrectionalist perspective to the extremely robotic and methodological "Non-Violent Communication" (NVC); a scattered discussion on "Ecumenical Anarchism", or the "let's all put aside our differences and get along approach" led by Sunfrog from *Fifth Estate*; "Anarchist Theory and Critique of Organization" by Jason McQuinn of *Anarchy Magazine*; an informative historical look at the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) and its unfortunate progression from affinity group to governmental "anarchists" by Lawrence Jarach; "Autonomous Self-Organization and Anarchist Intervention" by Wolfie Landstreicher; and a number of other interesting discussions and workshops.

There were two panel discussions at the conference. The morning panel was on the main theme of the conference, "Organization: Beyond False Dichotomies". It featured two organizational types who promoted large structures, federations,

and democracy as an "anarchist" model; and three who were critical of that approach, promoting small-scale, face-to-face, organic processes as a way to know and interact with one another. One of the panelists, Audrey, now in her eighties, was a "black diaper baby" (her parents were anarchists, and she was raised in that culture). She was inspirational, as she gave a history of the rise and fall of various anarchist organizations in the twentieth century, and her own experiences with them. She is critical of large organizations due to decades of direct experience with the anarchist movement, and not just through a theoretical understanding. The panel was lively, with the crowd taking on a Jerry Springer-like effect, with each side cheering and giving support to their position. It wasn't surprising that those who sided

with a more structured anarchist movement were those who seemed to be college activists and identity politics folks. They had a hard time imagining a world without rigid institutions and adjudication systems, some angrily demanding very specific structures and rules. The afternoon panel entitled, "After the Situationists", was a report back from a conference held in the Bay Area last fall between post-left anarchists and anti-state communists in which they discussed the areas of contention, agreement, and possible future collaborations between these tendencies. It was very informative, yet the points of dispute could have been made clearer, so as to have a better understanding of the distance to be crossed, if possible. Overall, the conference was a successful day of intelligent dialogue and debate, much needed in the anarchist milieu. Next year, maybe the theme will be "Post-Anarchism Anarchy"!

by Felonious Skunk

See: sfbay-anarchists.org for more details on the conference, or info on next year's event.



The Nihilist's Dictionary - Niceism

The Nihilist's Dictionary was originally a regularly running column by John Zerzan in *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* almost ten years ago. It is one of our favorites of John's brief, yet cutting critiques, so we have decided to re-serialize the collection. We hope to open these compact and blunt treasures to a whole new generation of readers, refresh those already familiar with them, and to re-traumatize those who hated them the first time. We will publish them in sequential order, and are delighted to begin with our favorite, and most needed in a milieu often too thin-skinned and uptight for bluntness; *Niceism*. The entire dictionary can be found towards the end of John's book, *Future Primitive* (Autonomedia/Anarchy) and now as a pamphlet available from our distro (page 76).

Nice-ism *n.* tendency, more or less socially codified, to approach reality in terms of whether others behave cordially; tyranny of decorum which disallows thinking or acting for oneself; mode of interaction based upon the above absence of critical judgement or autonomy.

All of us prefer what is friendly, sincere, pleasant—nice. But in an immiserated world of pervasive and real crisis, which should be causing all of us to radically reassess everything, the nice can be the false.

The face of domination is often a smiling one, a cultured one. Auschwitz comes to mind, with its managers who enjoyed their Goethe and Mozart. Similarly, it was not evil-looking monsters who built the A-bomb but nice liberal intellectuals. Ditto regarding those who are computerizing life and those who in other ways are the mainstays of participation in this rotting order, just as it is the nice businessperson (self-managed or otherwise) who is the backbone of a cruel work-and-shop existence by concealing its real horrors.

Cases of niceism include the peaceniks, whose ethic of niceness puts them – again and again and again – in stupid, ritualized, no-win situations, those Earth First!ers who refuse to confront the thoroughly reprehensible ideology at the top of "their" organization [written in the late '80s, today EF! is generally more anarchist in structure], and *Fifth Estate*, whose highly important contributions now seem to be in danger of an eclipse by liberalism. All the single-issue causes, from ecologism to liberal feminism, and all the militancy in their service, are only ways of evading the necessity of a qualitative break with more than just the excesses of the system.

The nice is the perfect enemy of tactical or analytical thinking: Be agreeable; don't let having radical ideas make waves in your personal behavior. Accept the pre-packaged methods and limits of the daily strangulation. Ingrained deference, the conditioned response to "play by the rules" – authority's rules – this is the real Fifth Column, the one within us.

In the context of a mauled social life that demands the drastic as a minimum response toward health, niceism becomes more and more infantile, conformist and dangerous. It cannot grant joy, only more routine and isolation. The pleasure of authenticity exists only against the grain of society. Niceism keeps us all in our places, confusedly reproducing all that we supposedly abhor. Let's stop being nice to this nightmare and all who would keep us in it.

Global Days of Action Against Ecocide and Empire June 8-10

On June 8-10 the Group of 8 will meet in Sea Island, GA. The G8 is an association of the 8 wealthiest nations of the world: The U.S., France, Germany, Japan, the U.K., Italy, Russia, and Canada. The meetings will not only include state leaders, but also officials from the corporations which inflict the atrocities that wealth demands. These individuals will discuss with one another how to make the world an even easier place to extract profit and create wealth for Empire. Rather than join in with the well-intentioned pleas to "share the wealth", we should utilize the occasion of their summit to collectively take aim at the notion of Wealth itself. It has always accumulated through the limitless extraction and control of the earth's elements: the water, air, forests, oceans, diversity of lifeforms and culture, and labor of people and animals. For wealth to be maintained, this extraction must spread like a cancer, always searching for new colonies. Once it has consumed what it can, it returns again and again in different forms and shapes, to feed itself on the already dispossessed. The pursuit of wealth generates Empire. The extent of damage inflicted by Empire is in evidence throughout the biosphere, and on every level of dominant culture. In the southeast of the U.S., mountaintops are clear-cut, blasted off, and piled into ravines, triggering catastrophic floods and landslides, all to mine coal for power. In the last remaining fragments of primal forest in the Northwest, old-growth dependent species vanish as their habitat shrinks. In the southwest rivers are sucked dry for industrial livestock production, golf courses and suburban sprawl. The skies of the northeast are choked with toxins emitted by Tupperware and tampon factories. Worldwide, Empire burns, poisons, and starves in its various wars for resource control. The meddling hands of Empire manipulate economic, ethnic and religious tensions in the pursuit of power and profit. In solidarity with those fighting Empire around the world, may we in the G8 countries hold those at the helm of this ship of fools responsible? A call has been made for Global Days of Action against Empire during the Summit in Georgia, USA June 8-10. In support of that call, we call for strategic emphasis to be placed on the ecological costs of Empire. As for targets, take your pick. Be strategic, but remember the world is an open book. Let your fingers do the walking, keep an eagle's eye open, and leave no trace.

www.G8resistance.org

and don't forget about the
Earth First! Round River Rendezvous
This year on the coast of Maine
Late June/Early July
www.earthfirstjournal.org

Wild Earth 2004

6th annual Gathering in Defence of the Land and its People
May 24-30 Mt. Elphinstone
"sunshine coast, b.c., canada"

Wild Earth is an annual gathering of activists, anarchists, communarians, elves, faeries, permaculturists, taoists, sovereignists, punks, primitivists and the like. This will be the 6th annual gathering and is promising to be the best yet. United in the belief that another world is possible and engaged in the process of making it so. There will be a wide selection of workshops, skillshares and discussions. Contact us if you would like to offer an activity during the gathering. Take a look at the website for updated info. People are welcome from far and wide, travel subsidies may be possible if needed (contact us in advance).

www.geocities.com/wildearth2004
wildearth2004@yahoo.com

International Day of Action and Solidarity with



Jeff "Free" Luers

June 12, 2004

June marks the fourth year that our friend and comrade, Jeff "Free" Luers has been imprisoned and held captive by the state. Sentenced to 22 years and 8 months for burning three SUVs.

Free's Defense Network
POB 3, Eugene, OR 97440
freefreenow@mutualaid.org
www.freefreenow.org/j12.html

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Anarchy Radio

with John Zerzan
Sundays at 11pm
88.1 KWVA
online:
www.greenanarchy.org

Anti-NATO and Green Anarchist Gathering in Turkey!

(June 18-19th, 2004)

We are Green Anarchists and Anarcho-Primitivists from Turkey. There will be a NATO summit in Istanbul, the big metropolis of Turkey Land... And we want to show our response to the techno-industrial system, civilization and all kinds of authoritarians through a series of anti-system demos and direct actions (although it will be purely symbolic to protest NATO). At the same time, as Green Anarchists and Anarcho-Primitivists, we are considering a "Green Anarchist Gathering", as we feel it is important for us to meet, share our ideas and experiences of primitive lifestyles and skills, and build a GA movement worldwide.

Kara Yesil—karayesiil2000@yahoo.com
Veganarsi Fanzine—veganarsi2003@yahoo.com
Earth Liberation Prisoners—elp-tr@hotmail.com Turkey—
elp-tr@hotmail.com

WANTED!

**A Short-Term and Possibly Long-Term
Editor for Green Anarchy**

Due to the increased workload of an ever-expanding project and in an attempt to get more diversity into the editorial voice, we are currently looking for 1-2 dedicated folks to help out with one issue, with the possibility of a more permanent relationship if it works out for both parties. We are looking for people willing to re-locate (at least temporarily) to the Eugene area for a minimum of two months (we will try to help with housing for one issue).

Special Skills of Interest Include:

Word processing and typing, graphic design, copy editing, writing, email, web design, research, filling distro orders, outreach, and a passionate desire to destroy civilization. We are looking for anti-civilization folks who are eager to learn new skills, aren't afraid to put in long hours and prioritize this project, willing to put out their opinions, and work in a small consensus-based security-conscious collective. Liberals, Leftists, and those without a sense of humor need not apply.

If interested, contact:

Green Anarchy, PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440
or email: collective@greenanarchy.org
www.greenanarchy.org

FERAL VISIONS AGAINST CIVILIZATION

The 2nd Annual "Black and Green Anarchist Gathering"
The Southern Cascades of Oregon
August 1st-8th, 2004

The Black and Green Network is facilitating a week-long gathering in the beautifully wild southern Cascades of Oregon. After taking part in the various anarchist and environmental events and conferences, we felt that there was a need to have a gathering focusing solely on what seems to fall through the cracks: rewilding, physically, mentally, and spiritually. From this came the idea for last year's successful gathering in Pennsylvania. Our goal is to help bring people into a wild environment, to break down mediation between ourselves and our world, and to encourage active participation with it. The gathering will provide an introduction to the various strands of anti-civilization thought, as well as being an in-depth forum for discussing and developing the theoretical and practical aspects of anarcho-primitivism/green anarchy (though not exclusively). We will focus on trying to connect face-to-face and deal with issues that are brought up within the critiques and practice, making stronger connections with one another, and applying our visions to our lives. There will be a heavy emphasis on primitive skill-sharing and collective experience. We are hoping to create an environment where people are willing to share, grow, and have a good time. The entire event is centered on active participation, and we hope that people will bring their knowledge and experience, as well as being prepared to be relatively self-sufficient. Some food will be provided (probably some sort of morning gruel, snacks and a dinner each day), but for the most part, bring what you need, including (depending on how domesticated you are): several layers of warm clothes (it's high elevation, so it can get cold at night), sun block (especially for you pale ones), sleeping bag or blankets, tent or tarp, flashlight, batteries, sturdy boots, eating utensils and bowl, water filter, mini-shovel, toilet paper, snacks and food, water containers, notebooks, pencils, pocket knife, musical instruments, friends and family, special skills and knowledge, and an enthusiastic and participatory attitude. The site has wonderful swimming, hiking, and a natural spring. It is a wild place which needs to be treated with care and respect, seriously folks. It is about a mile and a half hike in, so don't bring excessive shit you don't want to lug around, and try to leave the canine friends at home if possible. It will also be at the height of fire season, so extra care will be necessary (including no personal fires). Please leave weapons and heavy drugs at home, and abusive behaviors will not be tolerated. The location and directions will be revealed one week prior to the gathering on our websites, and on voicemail. Try to carpool, because parking is limited. Contact us if you would like to get involved in the planning. We are also asking for serious volunteers to come to Eugene a week or two before the gathering to get final preparations together. We are looking for people to commit to: food preparation, obtaining food (rice, beans, lentils, spices, soy products, jerky, oil, canned foods, dried stuff, roots, and veggies, etc.) and cooking material (utensils, pots, pans, knives, buckets, portable stoves, and fuel), people to help with shitters and obtain material for their upkeep (shovels, wood ash, buckets, tp, soap, etc), finding a few radio/walkie-talkies and batteries, people to give more formal workshops on specific skills, folks to coordinate rides from other bioregions, publicity for the event, and, most importantly, financial contributions (consider throwing a benefit in your area). We're looking forward to a life-altering event.

SEE YOU IN THE WILD!!

For more info, check out:
www.greenanarchy.org
To get involved, contact:
PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440
feralvisions@greenanarchy.org
voicemail: 1-866-270-1653

GREEN ANARCHY

An Anti-Civilization Quarterly Publication

Featuring: theoretical and practical ideas on the "Destruction of Civilization and the Re-connection to Life", analysis of anarchist and other resistance movements, action reports from around the world, news, prisoner updates, reviews, letters, and more!

Issue #15 featured:

"The Psychopathology of Work" by Penelope Rosemont, "Fawda" (an anarchist look at the Palestinian struggle) by the Friends of Al-Halladj, "Within the Realm of a Dying Sun: The U.S. Military Continues to Get Hammered in Iraq", "The Way of History — Today" by Thomas Manning, "Impassioned Violence, Justified Violence", "Recovering From Western Civilization: An Interview with Chellis Glendinning - Part II", "Electric Funeral: An In-Depth Examination of the Megamachine's Circuitry" by the Havoc Mass, "Notes On Summits and Counter-Summits", "Riding the High of Cancun and the Dangers of a Crash" by Blackbeard, "Under the Palms of Miami... This Season's #1 Tourist Trap" by E. Lou Civ, "it'd feel so funny to be free", "Notes on the Function of the Outlaw as Anti-Role" by Thomas Tripp, "Resisting the Neoliberal Discourse of Technology", by John Armitage, "Reclaiming Thoreau for Anarchy", "Colonization, and Self-Government and Self-Determination British Columbia" by Insurgent-S. This issue also contains the special "Back To Basics, volume two: The Problem of the Left", which includes: "The Nature of the Left", "Leftism 101" by Lawrence Jarach, "Liberation, Not Organization" by A. Morefus, and "The Left-Handed Path of Repression" by Crocus Behemoth.

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Pamphlets:

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Taken from his amazing book *A Green History of the World*.

Let's Get Free! \$3
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A compilation of insurrectionary and green anarchist writings, including Feral Faun, John Moore, Robin Terranova, Willful Disobedience, and Killing King Abacus. Translated into Spanish by Llavor d' Anarquía in Barcelona, Spain.

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Mini-manual Of The Urban Guerrilla Carlos Marighella \$4

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