

L I M I N A L

JOURNAL OF LIBERATION AND ANARCHY
« For the wildness at the pulse of this world »

METHODS

An update to Errico Malatesta's "Strategy"

We must prepare for the disruptions to the western way of (pseudo)life which will inevitably come to this world. How can we achieve our anarchistic aspirations with prevailing global powers? How can we connect our thought to its effective application?

Because we do not necessarily recognise the authority of persons or texts and we base ourselves on free criticism, many of us spend our time refining ideals without paying much mind to whether they are being communicated, understood or accomplished. It is difficult to tell a person that they are to chose their own path, free of the State, free of oppressors, and free of relations based on commodity, when these are the things they are synchronized with. Our ideal will not take hold within the current state. Some of us, according to this realization, have dedicated and restricted ourselves to the destruction of present institutions of oppression and simultaneously forget about the issue of creating new and recreating old social relations for our lives after the destruction of the state.

These anarchists seem to believe that the problems of reconstruction will not require preparation and planning now, as though all people will become thoughtful and respectful if state violence and capitalist privilege were eliminated; as though conflicts of interest would vanish; and that prosperity, peace and harmony would proliferate in the world.

Others, motivated above all by the desire to be - or to appear to be - practical are concerned with the perceived difficulties inherent in the aftermath of the revolution and aware of the need to win over the greater part of the public, or at least overcome their ignorant hostility toward those lives free of government and capitalism. They wish to set out a complete plan of social reorganisation which would respond to all problems and satisfy the needs of the people.

For my part, I believe both attitudes have their advantages and disadvantages. In fact, in many anarchists these two convictions complement one another. Adjusting our conduct to the demands of the ideal goal and the needs of the situation brings about great practical effectiveness, while retaining the goal of true liberty and justice. To neglect all the problems of reconstruction or to prearrange complete and uniform plans are both errors which, by different routes, would lead to our defeat as anarchists and to the victory of authoritarian regimes.

It is absurd to believe that once the state has been destroyed and capitalists have been dispelled things will look after themselves without the intervention of those who already have an idea of what has to be done and who immediately set about doing it. Perhaps this could happen — and indeed it would be better if it were so — if there was time to wait for people, for everyone, to find a way of satisfying their own needs and tastes in agreement with the needs and tastes of others. But social life does not permit interruption. In the immediate aftermath of the revolution, indeed on the very same day of the insurrection, food and other urgent needs must be supplied to the population. Therefore to ensure the continued production of the basics, the replacement of the main public services and needs in urban areas (food, water, transport, etc.) in perhaps new ways, and the uninterrupted exchange between city and countryside if cities are still dependent on them (for food).

Later the greatest difficulties will disappear. Labor for food and necessities will no longer be foreign and the monstrous urban conglomerations will melt away. The population will be spread out rationally over the world and every area, every grouping



We live at a LIMINAL. As a species, humans have pushed this world to the edge of its habitability. This publication questions the intent behind the recent actions of these creatures and documents the struggle and creative reactions against oppressive power relations. We seek to create new spaces, restore wildness and revisit old ideas in order to live freely. In this LIMINAL existence we will sabotage and dismantle the Machine that threatens all that life is capable of. We bring you a selection of thoughts in the deceptive and incomplete – yet liberating – form of printed language and images. This industrial civilization will not be tolerated because as a whole, it cannot be tolerated. We hope the (dis)contents of this journal inspire you to get up and break the Machine that is breaking the minds and bodies of too many creatures, sentient and non-sentient alike.

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Contact us with contributions of letters, narratives, play scripts, poetry, utopias, dystopias, materials for review, native seeds for guerrilla gardening, ammunition, drawings, photos, plagiarized materials, et cetera. Send what you can for copies of following issues.

*in the early morning
the ship, the airy city
that crosses times
trembles, bells or screams,
bundles of grassconcretegrass, infinity
another form of my self asks
i was the strange one
did you think, the needs of ice;
what end of it you are on?
who came close to knowing you
as an archer, pulling back an arrow
stretched JOYFUL ABSCOND
to cut the untidal strings
ones tensioned by the moon
dangling when everyone drops like
pillows
fluffed and dead
a spec of light rests on my hand
and carrying it to the imaginary house
setting it somewhere within
you pick it up and
using a spear with a coral dagger
carved with the infallible signs
do the same to the moon
cutting thru infinity
your blood and mine become one*

(while conserving and adding to the natural world they occupy and yet remain linked to human society as a whole through a sense of sympathy and solidarity), will in general be self-sufficient and not afflicted by the oppressive and costly complications of economic life now.

But these and a thousand other beautiful things which come to mind are the concern of the future, while we, here and now, need to think how to live in today's world, in the situation that history has handed to us and which revolution, an act of violence, cannot radically change overnight by waving a magic wand. And since, for better or worse, we need to live, if we do not know how and cannot do what needs to be done, others with different aims will do it instead, with results quite contrary to those we are striving for.

We must not neglect the common person, who after all represents the majority of the population and without whose involvement emancipation is out of the question; we can only be as free as our neighbor, but there is no need to rely too heavily on their thought and initiative for such subversive action.

The ordinary person has many excellent qualities; they have immense potential, which gives the certain hope that they will one day become the humanity upon which we have set our sights. But meanwhile they have one serious defect, which largely explains the emergence and persistence of tyranny: they do not like to think. And even when they make attempts at emancipation they are always more inclined to follow those who spare them the effort of thinking critically and who take over their responsibility for organising, directing and commanding. So long as their habits are not overly disrupted they are satisfied if others do the thinking and tell them what to do, even if they are left with nothing but the obligation to work and obey.

This weakness, this tendency of the herd to wait for and follow orders has been the bane of many a revolution and remains the danger for the revolutions in the near future.

If the crowd does not look to itself, right away, people of good will, capable of initiative and decision-making, must necessarily do things for them. And it is in this, in the means of providing for the urgent necessities, that we must clearly be distinguishable from the authoritarian parties.


The authoritarians intend to sort the question by setting themselves up in government and imposing

their program by force. They may even be in good faith and believe sincerely that they do the good of all, but in fact they would succeed only in creating a new privileged class concerned with maintaining the new government and, in effect, substituting one tyranny for another.

Certainly anarchists must strive to make the transition from the state of servitude to one of freedom as unlaborious as possible, providing the public with as many practical and immediately applicable ideas as possible; but anarchists must beware of encouraging that intellectual inertia, stagnancy and above lamented tendency of obeying and leaving it to others to act.

To truly succeed as an emancipating force, for the free initiative of all and everyone, the revolution must develop freely in a thousand different ways, corresponding to the thousand different moral and material conditions in which the people now find themselves. And we must put forward and carry out as far as we can those ways of life that best correspond to our ideals. But above all we must make a special effort to awaken in the mass of the people a spirit of initiative and the habit of doing things for themselves.

We must also avoid appearing to be in command. We can do this by acting through words and deeds as comrades among comrades. We must remind ourselves that if we are too zealous in forcing the pace in our direction to implement our plans, we run the risk of clipping the wings of the revolution and of ourselves assuming, more or less unwittingly, that function of government that we deplore so much in others. And as a government we would not be worth any more than the others. Perhaps we might even be more dangerous to freedom, because, so strongly convinced as we are of being free and full of care, we could tend, like real fanatics, to hold all who do not think or act like us to be counter-revolutionaries and enemies of the common good.

If what the others do is not what we would want, it does not matter - so long as the liberty of all creatures, within or without a society, is safeguarded. What matters is that the people do what they want while transforming the way they are dependent on the state in preparation for a revolution. The only assured conquests are what the people do with their own efforts. 

FICCIONES

WENDY MORELLI, YLVA OREN

EXHIBITION I (draft)

The monument is a monument of its own oblivion. It receives meaning only when there is someone who can give it meaning. It is the stone you hold in your hand. If you have never submitted. Only the river always shows the correct time. When the stone is reflected, it is not of vanity. Reflection reveals everything, not stone. Stones and rivers are what you'd like to know.

EXHIBITION IV (panoramic)

I moved my eyes towards the hills in the northeast, where the new suburbs dominated, then to how their New Year fireworks in the distance looked like a brew of microorganisms, swimming, floating, with hair, tails and rising or constantly flickering, a living mass in which some individuals died and others were beginning, the steady pace, so the overall brightness is kept constant, or almost, for a while (maybe ten or fifteen minutes), before it all dried up and crumbled, and only the first blue-black sky remained with the same serene stars as before.

SYLVA LACAN

This leaf wrapped itself about my arm
as a tag or a plea?

I was accepted to the natural gang
Begged by them

We have the power in our own lives
to resist the lives oppressors wish we had
we are all proponents of myth
make the myths serve not their ends
not our ends, but the end of the present 'us'

KAHRI LEIST

The directresses, somnambulant men in truth, direful from the laughs of a few people who come, flew, a version of coming. Clinging sex like the end of the now hung first sorrow and championed the coming of para-piping in the stations. Watching buckles grow in seats and get

out young, ribboning language out the plexigraphed mouthhole and animals like a kind having dead drinks and old lies to dog grossly inward about forest floors. But a few strings and the rail moves forward, back never, the beach crumbling in the noose while bees run over a few times in the hall behind the stages of stacked toungeclickings.

.....

ARIEL BLANK

CONVULSIVE REMOVAL

(efil/dezilivic/eht/gnivael(?)s'namuh/alfo/(?)yrots/a)
From the steady autumn, despite the sinister howls, he raked through the ravine as a caterpillar not growing. After a desperate claim he began the shooting game. Though it was much more than one should carry, he takes all the blame. In his violent travels, there's no time for silly talk where you're set to stalk and stalk that one moment of glory (likely in a pub). Then you miss the train and the crawling lanes require you to shed your chains – though this is a lot more than I can handle.

INHALE

Wish I would smile in sunny days in the light breeze; could lead me further. Someone would call from beyond the maze of winter freeze and draw me to their grey eyes seeing behind the stage of dull stars and bleeding sunlight. Wish I could stave silence away - the silent parts of all that's left undone. Nights filled of snow and velvet prayers and all you long for is light on the stage, a ball without a chain, sweetheart's death might make you stronger. Gaze with calm eyes to crystal all the lies the trembling ground - what have you done? I wish I could wake as the walls start to quake from the impossible sound of her heart leaves the sun. The summer breeze begone and there, the leaves, that bleeding sun.

.....

SILVANA LUCA

Do I recall you as a dusty treed night? (have you ever wavered, or always have you both these qualities: a trepid stack of hay fell - freed and

pagan. our ardor has only = only matched by a genuine opposite: a gushing river -as passionless and fastmoving as the auto which drives the person who drove the land which drives the sky (an exploration of finer curves) finding it has none but the sad ones where it started and committed to memory, healing zephyrs. The kind that kill: falling hay, falling snow, falling rock. falling hands, even, for they recall best the lined memory. hands are staring aches and loving the firebreak which brought us to parallels) I believe I recall dusty treed nights alone.

.....
MIEP LEREAUX

You take an object, perhaps. Any object will do - a sink. You've taken a sink. There may be several about this habitat, kitchen, bathroom, bathroom. The materials? Marble glass mountains. The kind you roll into another, collide, pushing others out of the halo you've drawn. Sinks break. You've seen one break. Was it worth flinging about you seem to ask yourself in the next installation of thumbings. How many sinks are there - you could flick your thumb a million times before you question the workings, the tendons that seem to snap elastically. But any object will do. It makes one think, how trivial an object, a world of dead objects. You calm yourself enough to ask if it is over - it isn't. but how?

.....
JORGE VAHL

(Said in or with an accent redolent of the north american southern regions (20th century), set at the beaten and deformed steel parallel beams called railroad tracks (the kind large machines that ran on a juice that came from the beneath the planets surface whose extraction and overuse has caused a great damage to many forms of life would travel along, carrying many oddities) a person with slicked white hair we cannot see under an old black cap. They are naked. Their sex is indistinguishable because we (who are we?) have chosen not to distinguish it. They are politically unattached we've learned (again, how?)): *Oh, my labour - when divided - consists entirely of the fist clenching itself and the hammer,*

resting or burying itself back in to the sludge earth I have ruined in the undividedness. Division of labour? Yes, if it were capable of being divided, I would divide it to nothingness. (They bat at the air with their hands, fists pushing air molecules, years away a child trips nearby the dissintegratede tracks) Though, I cannot. I am against such division, I suppose (They pick up the long hammer and begin to sting uniformly at one of the steel tracks, deforming it) Almost like the kind of travel they thought impossible, bringing to points together that warn't joined since the plasmahot they wah born in. From (swings hammer) the blood (swings) of the (swings) giant... (swings). We've made more assumptions about the other than we were permitted before the fall...now I express myself in the ruins of a past I do not entirely recall...

.....
we are in a unique place
we could destroy ourselves
nuclear war, environmental destruction
the latter, an imperative; it's part of the system.
it's required of those who live in capitalism,
in modern industrial western society,
to compromise the environment
if we keep the current system
we are doomed
state capitalist institutions must fall
there is no other way
you must find your own to fight
you must find a way to contribute to a larger
struggle as well
stop voting
stop using banks
stop using currency
stop paying (taxes, etc.)
do it yourself
expand the floor of the cage and then break out
create the basis for going beyond the cage
find land with a group and grow food
you will not survive without food, water
you will not survive under divisive labor
feed yourself and feed your creativity
feed your neighbors
create real anarchist movements

ANARCHY IS NOT PACIFIST

(Originally from issue no. 43 of A:JoDA, Letters section. Appears here edited, while retaining the message of the original by Laure Akai, an unrepentant revolutionist from Moscow, Russia)



It would seem a number of persons in the anarchist milieu are, in some form, opposed to violence. If the individual is not totally opposed to violence, then they may be opposed to anything but collectively engaged violence such as mass insurrection); the individual's decision to engage in such acts without the expressed permission of an organized body is a horror to many. Even the individual's choice of words may be called into question as the anarchist is trapped by the bourgeois media's games of attributing a single ideology to the anarchist movement; there are individuals and organizations that then try to redefine the ideology in their own image, convinced that that if there are no monolithic positions, then the movement itself is impotent. This seeming attempt to define anarchy and anarchism as a pacifist movement is deplorable.

An honest examination of the tactics of fawning to conservatives is long overdue. (By conservatives I mean all people who would conserve a system of wage labor, political representation, policing and other anti-immediatist forces.) So many of these liberal anarchists don't want to alienate the media (one of the most alienating and most disgusting of all institutions of power) because they seem to believe that if they could just get their message of peace and utopia out to the masses, people would understand the high moral desirability of anarchism and only at that point, when people can consciously consent to making changes in society, can we embark on mass social change without violence and bloodshed. As a person who formerly held these opinions, I can understand where this point of view is coming from and the need to separate oneself, morally, from the agents of terror and policing who rule the earth. The imperative to act morally, however, has always been a part of the arsenal of the ruling classes (who generally define morality to begin with). When these morals infringe on others' rights to live, better to get rid of them than to live with them forever. Furthermore, in many people the decision to act morally, or, in this situation, to publicly adopt some morality, has more to do with a need to be recognized by others as a paragon of virtue than to affect any real change via examples of human behavior. This strategy of appealing to conservative elements of society cannot be very effective in the future for the following reasons:

- 1) technology has the capability to affect human behavior and alter the way we socialize with remarkable speed; the technological program can outpace and will always be two steps ahead of the anarchist moral program;
- 2) such moralistic issues such as equality can be easily recuperated by the ruling classes whose ability to

muster public support is far greater than ours because they are intentionally deceptive;

3) people can be morally opposed to a regime but feel powerless to overthrow it, which gives any regime a free hand to implement unpopular policies which effectively negate the desires of the people;

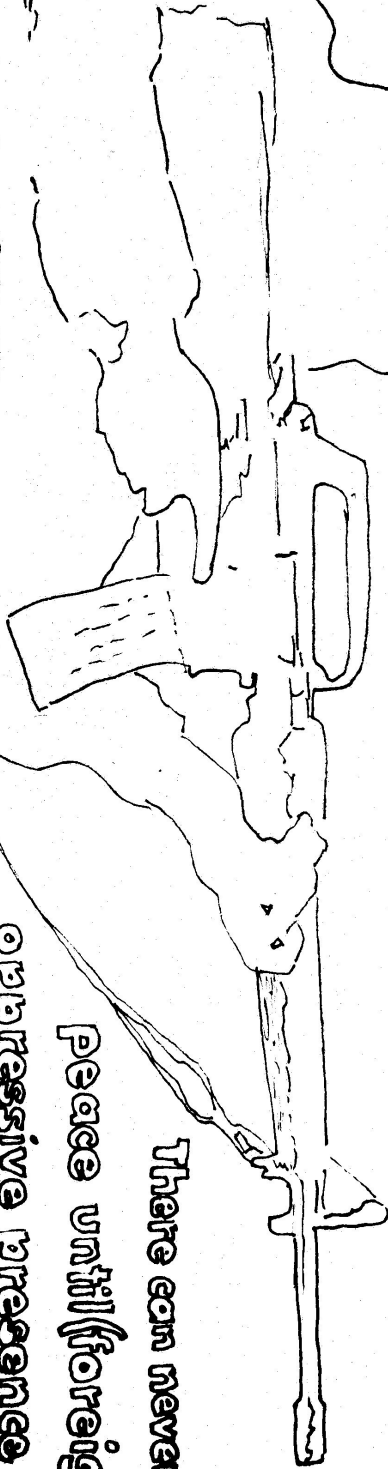
4) the fact that anarchists don't make rebellions more often actually works to their disadvantage; when people have to look back into history to see the last rebellions, it makes anarchism look like a thing of the past. Despite what the pacifists feel, many people respect action more than perfectionism. By appealing to the more conservative elements, they may be discouraging some of the more radical ones.

Another thing that the moralists seem to ignore is that mass segments of society are dying to see some action and real radical change. Go stand on a street in many New York neighborhoods with a sign that says "Kill the police" and you'll get a much warmer response than standing there with a sign that says "No more killing - form a commune." These liberal anarchists would think that the second sign represents a far more productive alternative for people and it's just that the people don't understand it yet because they haven't been educated with the proper ideas. But perhaps it is the over-educated of these types that alienate them from the overwhelming misery of most people on the earth. The current oppressive system can be full of interesting potential for the liberal anarchist; what a nasty interruption a social revolution would be. Many people, however, are more convinced that they could do with some revolution right now and are not that concerned with details like who is going to clean the compost toilets; these people are far more ready to rock and roll than the liberal anarchist and for obvious reasons. They have no interest in the system at all; the anarcho-liberal is more at home in the system and can be more effective at coping with its standards.

While I agree that the problems of modern society are too big to be assigned to one living symbol, this is a more effective way for one living individual to attack the minions of authority than say, blowing up the pentagon, which would undoubtedly require an extraordinary organized effort and would be a thousand times more likely to lead to capture. Attacks on the right individuals can be highly resonant; such acts can create terror in the ranks of authority. It is important to frighten people, if only to make them understand that they cannot act with impunity.

The problem with terror campaigns, as anybody can understand, is the high probability that they can cause a public reaction where, out of fear, people would rally to defend people and institutions that they normally could not care less about or even dislike. On the other hand, each successful act of resistance (be it terrorist campaign or pacifist protest) sends the message out to others that they

RESIST FOR



ARMED
PEACE

There can never be
peace until (foreign,
oppressive presence is
removed, leaving all the
people as a unit to control their
own affairs and determine their own
destinies as sovereign people, free in
mind and body, separate and distinct
physically, culturally and economically

can take action. My bet is that there are thousands ready to pick up the a gun, a monkey wrench or a wooden shoe; they may just be waiting for others to start up the action. (Anybody who has ever been in a semi-riot has probably seen crowds of people waiting eagerly to shoplift – waiting

for the first person to smash a store window.) It may be argued that periods of social unrest simply lead to ones of reaction, but remember how much fun we all have recalling the unrest.

Fuck capitalism, fuck civilization! ☸

PINE

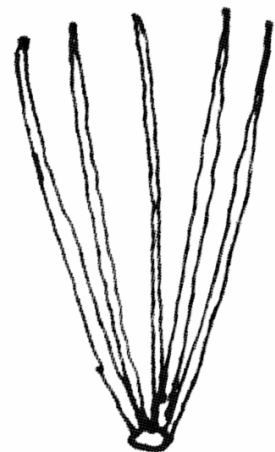
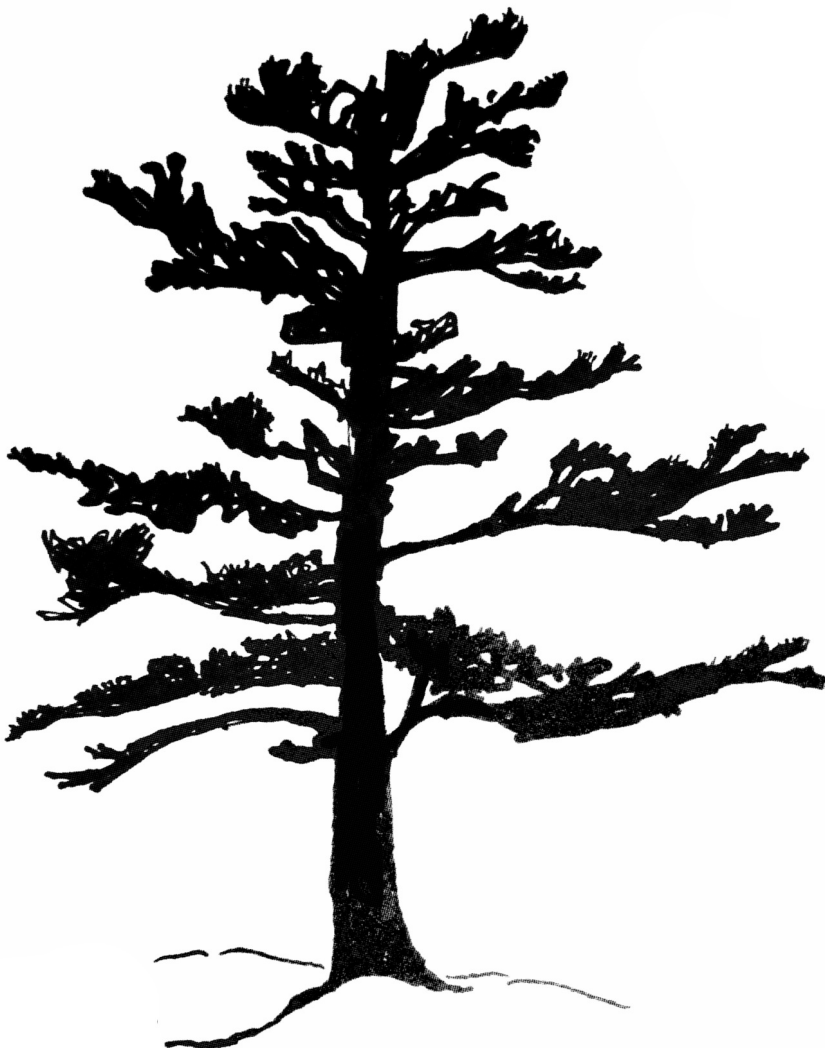
Tall dark trunk, relatively few and spreading horizontal limbs, delicate spraylike foliage. Widespread, familiar, cone-bearing, evergreen trees with clusters of long, slender needles along the twigs. Needle clusters bound at base into bundles; each bundle with 5 needles (2"-4" long). Male cones (catkins) small, pollen-producing; female cones larger, woody, seed-bearing. Cones slender; tapering and thornless. Height 80' - 100', diameter 2'-3'. (dwarf varieties in windswept northern areas).

White pines have been so extensively lumbered that few virgin trees, which once grew to heights of 200'-220', remain. Wood is light, soft, straight-grained and generally not as resinous as other pines.

All pines edible. Found dry to moist soil. One or more species throughout.

Use: Candy, cooked vegetable, flour, tea. The tender new shoots, stripped of their needles and peeled, can be made into an acceptable candy when boiled until tender and then simmered in a maple syrup or similar (20-30 min.) In emergencies the firm young male cones can be boiled and the inner bark can be made into flour (dry and grind into meal and mixed with other flours); piny flavored but highly nutritious. Chopped fine and steeped in hot water, the fresh needles make an aromatic tea rich in vitamins A and C. The light green needles from the spring shoots make the best tea, but other needles can be used as well. SPRING (shoots, inner bark, male cones) ALL YEAR (needles).

(WHITE PINE shown below)



SPRUCE

Spruces are steeple-shaped trees of cold climates with short, stiff, sharp-pointed somewhat 4-sided needles that grow all around the twigs. Twigs rough when needles removed. Spruce cones are brown, woody and drooping. Unlike firs, mature spruce cones are not erect and do not fall apart on the tree.

Their scales are thin, not heavy or thorny as in the pines. Bark is rough and dark.

Spruces grow north to the limit of trees, forests thinning down to dwarf specimens extending far into the tundra. One species persists on mountaintops as far south as Georgia.

Use: Cooked vegetable, flour, chewing gum. In emergencies, the tender leading shoots can be stripped of their needles and boiled, and the inner bark can be used like that of balsam fir (164). The condensed and hardened sap, or pitch, is a familiar northwoods substitute for chewing gum.

Spruce beer is made from the fermented leaves and twigs of Red or Black spruces after being boiled with molasses or honey or other sugars.

SPRING (shoots, inner bark) ALL YEAR (pitch)

RED SPRUCE



BLACK SPRUCE



A LETTER FROM SOME FRIENDS IN OAKLAND REGARDING JAN 28

Let us start by apologizing; that our words may be incoherent, our thoughts scattered and our tone overly emotional. Forgive us, because the ringing in our ear continues to interrupt our thinking, because our eyes are bleary and we're weighed upon by the anxiety and trauma of our injuries and the imprisonment of the ones we love. As most of you are well-aware: after a full day and night of street battles in Oakland, we were defeated in our efforts to occupy a large building for the purposes of establishing a social center. We're writing, in part, to correct the inaccuracies and mystifications spewed by the scum Media. But more so as to convey the intensity and the urgency of the situation in Oakland to comrades abroad. To an extent, this is an impossible task. Video footage and mere words must inevitably fail at conveying the ineffable collective experiences of the past twenty-four hours. But as always, here goes.

Yesterday was one of the most intense days of our lives. We say this without hyperbole or bravado. The terror in the streets of Miami or St. Paul, the power in the streets of Pittsburgh or Oakland's autumn; yesterday's affect met or superseded each of these. The events of yesterday confronted us as a series of intensely beautiful and yet terrible moments.

An abbreviated sequence

Beautiful words are delivered at Oscar Grant Plaza, urging us to cultivate our hatred for capitalism. Hundreds leave the plaza and quickly become thousands. The police attempt to seize the sound truck, but it is rescued by the swarming crowd. We turn towards our destination and are blocked. We turn another way and are blocked once more. We flood through the Laney campus and emerge to find that we've been headed off again. We make the next logical move and somehow the police don't anticipate it. We're closer to the building, now surrounded by fences and armed swine. We tear at the fences, downing them in some spots. The police begin their first barrage of gas and smoke. The initial fright passes. Calmly, we approach from another angle.

The pigs set their line on Oak. To our left, the museum; to our right, an apartment complex. Shields and reinforced barricades to the front; we push forwards. They launch flash bangs and bean bags and gas. We respond with rocks and flares

and bottles. The shields move forward. Another volley from the swine. The shields deflect most of the projectiles. We crouch, wait, then push forward all together. They come at us again and again. We hurl their shit, our shit, and whatever we can find back at them. Some of us are hit by rubber bullets, others are burned by flashbang grenades. We see cops fall under the weight of perfectly-arc'd stones. For what feels like an eternity, we exchange throws and shield one another. Nothing has felt like this before. Lovely souls in the apartment building hand pitchers of waters from their windows to cleanse our eyes. We'll take a moment here to express our gratitude for the unprecedented bravery and finesse with which the shield-carrying strangers carried out their task. We retreat to the plaza, carrying and being carried by one another.

We re-group, scheme, and a thousand deep, set out an hour later. Failing to get into our second option, we march onwards towards a third. The police spring their trap: attempting to kettle us in the park alongside the 19th and Broadway lot that we'd previously occupied. Terror sets in; they've reinforced each of their lines. They start gassing again. More projectiles, our push is repelled. The intelligence of the crowd advances quickly. Tendrils of the crowd go after the fences. In an inversion of the moment where we first occupied this lot, the fences are downed to provide an escape route. We won't try to explain the joy of a thousand wild-ones running full speed across the lot, downing the second line of fencing and spilling out into the freedom of the street. More of the cat and mouse. In front of the YMCA, they spring another kettle. This time they're deeper and we have no flimsy fencing to push through. Their lines are deep. A few dozen act quickly to climb a nearby gate, jumping dangerously to the hard pavement below. Past the gate, the cluster of escapees find a row of several unguarded OPD vans: you can imagine what happened next. A complicit YMCA employee throws open the door. Countless escape into the building and out the exits. The police become aware of both escape routes and begin attacking and trampling those who try but fail to get out. Those remaining in the kettle are further brutalized and resign to their arrest.

A few hundred keep going. Vengeance time.

People break into city hall. Everything that can be trashed is trashed. Files thrown everywhere, computers get it too, windows smashed out. The american flags are brought outside and ceremoniously set to fire. A march to the jail, lots of graffiti, a news van gets wrecked, jail gates damaged. The pigs respond with fury. Wantonly beating, pushing, shooting whomever crosses their path. Many who escaped earlier kettles are had by snatch squads. Downtown reveals itself to be a fucking warzone. Those who are still flee to empty houses and loving arms.

.....

A war-machine must intrinsically be also a machine of care. As we write, hundreds of our comrades remain behind bars. Countless others are wounded and traumatized. We've spent the last night literally stitching one another together and assuring each other that things will be okay. We still can't find a lot of people in the system, rumors abound, some have been released, others held on serious charges and have bail set. This care-machine is as much of what we name the Oakland Commune as the encampment or the street fighting. We still can't count the comrades we can't find on all our hands combined.

We move through the sunny morning and the illusion of social peace has descended back upon Oakland. And yet everywhere is the evidence of what transpired. City workers struggle to fix their pathetic fences. Boards are affixed to the windows of city hall and to nearby banks (some to hide damage, others simply to hide behind). Power washer try to clear away the charred remains of the stupid flag. One literally cannot look anywhere along broadway without seeing graffiti defaming the police or hyping our teams (anarchy, nortes, the commune, even juggalos). A discerning eye can still find the remnants of teargas canisters and flashbang residue. At the coffeeshops and delis, friends and acquaintances find one another and share updates about who has been hurt and who has been had. Our wounds already begin to heal into what will eventually be scars or ridiculous disfigurements. We hope our lovers will forgive such ugliness, or can come to look at them as little instances of unique beauty. As our adrenaline fades

and we each find moments of solitude, we are each hit by the gravity of the situation.

Having failed to take a building, our search continues. We continue to find the perfect combination of trust, planning, intensity and action that can make our struggle into a permanent presence. The commune has and will continue to slip out of time, interrupting the deadliness and horror of the day to day function of society. Threads of the commune continue uninterrupted as the relationships and affinity build over the past months. An insurrectionary process is the one that emboldens these relationships and multiplies the frequency with which the commune emerges to interrupt the empty forward-thrust of capitalist history. To push this process forward, our task is to continue the ceaseless experimentation and imagination which could illuminate different strategies and pathways beyond the current limits of the struggle. Sometimes to forget, sometimes to remember.

.....

We'll conclude with a plea to our friends throughout the country and across borders. You must absolutely not view the events here as a sequence that is separate from your own life. Between the beautiful and spectacular moments in the Bay, you'll discover the same alienation and exploitation that characterizes your own situation. Please do not consume the images from the Bay as you would the images of overseas rioting or as a netflix subscription. Our hell is yours, and so too is our struggle.

And so please... if you love us as we believe you do, prove it. We wish so desperately that you were with us in body, but we know most of you cannot be. Spread the commune to your own locales. Ten cities have already announced their intentions to hold solidarity demonstrations tonight. Join them, call for your own. If you aren't plugged into enough of a social force to do so, then find your own ways of demonstrating. With your friends or even alone: smash, attack, expropriate, blockade occupy. Do anything in your power to spread the prevalence and the perversity of our interruption. for a prolonged conflict; for a permanent presence; for the commune, **-some friends in Oakland**

ON SABOTAGE AS ONE OF THE FINE ARTS

*Who will revive the violent whirlpools of flame if not us
and those that we consider brothers?*

Come! New friends: this will please you.

We will never work, oh tides of flame!

This world will explode.

It's the true path. Forward, on the march.

—A. Rimbaud

The spread of sabotage, its increasing practice, on a greater or lesser scale, far and wide against the domination of the Machine is a given fact. Burning ATMs, disabling locks at shopping centers, smashing shop windows, burning police vehicles and setting fire to the offices of temp agencies and employment offices, the sabotage of the infrastructure of capitalism – the integrated spectacle. All this is put into practice by individuals bored with survival as commodities (life reduced to economic imperatives and disillusioned with false opposition (more false and less oppositional with each day that goes by), parties and unions that want to manage our misery and integrate us into a mode of production that prevents us from any participation in the decisions that relate directly to us and that assist in enslaving us, mutilating every gesture of negation of the existent. The spectacle writes the scenario and distributes the roles: worker, professor, student, housewife, mother, father, son, daughter, male, female, unemployed, police, soldier, artist, humanitarian, intellectual...the majority, individuals who assume different roles in the course of 24 hours, see their existence as still more terrible, assuming this is possible. Everyone with their neurotischizoid viewpoint will react to the stimuli launched by power in the way that was already expected. All social activity is planned in order to reinforce the spectacle, thus slowing down its unstoppable process of decomposition. Though we don't want to hear the shrieking of militants in whatever organization, clearly we are not against the concept of "organization" as such but against "organization" conceived as an end in itself, as the crystallization of any

ideology, and as a separated organ, representing a class. We are for the autonomous self-organization of the exploited. History has shown through two clear examples that the traditional form of the party (Russian revolution) and union (Spanish revolution) were nothing more than two attempts to manage capitalism and not to overcome it, and this is something that, consciously or unconsciously, everybody knows. In the seizure of power, it is not destroyed, but exercised: in the first case, the class of bureaucrats replaced the bourgeoisie, and in the other case, the anarcho-syndicalist leaders participated in bourgeois power, calling for the self-management of every aspect of their lives and not just work. To be precise, both forms have the exaltation of leaving aside the qualitative increase of life. This (practical and theoretical) defeat of the tradition organizations, which claim to represent us, has not been absorbed by the working class (it seems that we only know how to work), and we go along without maintaining any possibility of control over essential aspects of our lives, in a world that is developed, not only without our participation, but against us. But, comrades, history is not cyclic; it is a cumulative process and already weighs too heavily upon our weary bodies.

The contradiction between the possibilities of the means of production (the use of a few for the enjoyment of all, since most of them are useless and harmful and would be destroyed) and the relations of production (waged exploitation, commodification, the exclusions of class society) has reached an insurmountable point of rupture. In the spectacle it is easier to falsify the nature of this contradiction than to increase mercantile production with increasing use value. This inertia forces it to display by its own police of decomposed thought (pro-situationists, cadres, nongovernmental organizations, recuperators, artists, journalists...the clique of politically correct alternatives). These toilet brushes of modernity, like good priests, hope that with their

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

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

—Bertold Brecht

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

One cannot fight alienation by means of alienated forms. The sabotage of this world starts with the break with the roles the system imposes on us, the sabotage of our death in life and the refusal of the roles that they have allotted and appointed to us. To speak of the Revolution in these times is “to have a corpse in one’s mouth”. We only need to look around ourselves to see a scenario that constantly reminds us of the defeat. Sabotage is thus an action that serves as a propellant against the unreality that oppresses us. A practice that has not gone unnoticed by ideological recuperation, which has transformed it into “terrorism” (the professionalization of sabotage that has done no more than reinforce the system, due to its centralist, hierarchical and militarist character). Today, what is proposed is

not the creation of an armed organization of this type, but widespread attack by small affinity groups, uncontrollable by any higher organization, that come together and dissolve like the lunar tides. The tides that are born of the awareness of how bad things are and of the worsening that awaits us due to events.

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

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

There is much more to destroy than to build.

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

—Situationist International

It has been demonstrated that small groups that attack do more damage than large organizations that specialize in armed struggle. The Angry Brigade continued its actions when people were arrested and the English state assumed the movement had fallen apart. The Kale Borroka (street struggle) in Euskadi, which Jarrai (the youth organization of the Basque nationalist left, NDR0 recently declared uncontrollable is another example. Power has difficulty repressing and eliminating little groups that with complete security do not know each other, and the only thing that unites them is the desire for the destruction of a system that

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

The widespread practice of sabotage (unhindered autonomy, maximum flexibility, self-organization, minimum risk) among like-minded individuals, opens the possibility for real communication, destroying spectacular

communication, smashing the apathy and impotence of the eternal revolutionist monologue. Relationships and the possibility of contact with other people in the refusal of the spectacular role, these are transient situations that in their preparation and development carry in their essence the qualities of the revolutionary situation that will not retreat and that will suppress the conditions of survival. It does not fall into the irremediable alienating hierarchization that every specialized armed group of an authoritarian and militaristic character, to which the masses delegate their participation in the attack, carries within itself

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

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

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

**FOR THE ABOLITION
OF CLASS SOCIETY
AGAINST THE MARKET
AGAINST WAGE LABOR!**

**FOR ANARCHY,
STONES AND FIRE**

A decade to track down technicians to disable warheads
and deactivate nuclear power plants;
A generation to replace grocery stores with gardens and
cough syrup with elderberry and licorice root;
A century for dairy cows and toy poodles to go feral
Five hundred year to melt down cannons into wine
goblets, water pipes and sleigh bells
A millenium for the dandelions growing out of
sidewalks to become redwoods.

EXPECT RESISTANCE

excerpts from
**AGAINST THE LOGIC OF
SUBMISSION**
Wolfi Landstreicher

Introduction

Submission to domination is enforced not solely, nor even most significantly, through blatant repression, but rather through subtle manipulations worked into the fabric of everyday social relationships. These manipulations — ingrained in the social fabric not because domination is everywhere and nowhere, but because the institutions of domination create rules, laws, mores and customs that enforce such manipulations — create a logic of submission, an often unconscious tendency to justify resignation and subservience in one's everyday relations in the world. For this reason, it is necessary for those who are serious about developing an anarchist insurrectional project to confront this tendency wherever it appears — in their lives, their relationships and the ideas and practices of the struggles in which they participate. Such a confrontation is not a matter of therapy, which itself partakes of the logic of submission, but of defiant refusal. It requires a subversion of the existent, a development of different ways of relating to ourselves, each other, the world and our struggles, ways that clear reflect our determination to refuse all domination and to reappropriate our lives here and now. I am talking here of a real revolution of everyday life as the necessary basis for a social revolution against this civilization founded on domination and exploitation. The following essays appeared in *Willful Disobedience* as the series "Against the Logic of Submission". By no means do they exhaust the question, but I think they provide a basis for discussion as to how we can create ourselves, our relationships and our struggle as our own in defiance of all domination.

Against the Logic of Submission

A distinguishing factor of the anarchist idea of revolution is the importance of the individual in bringing this about. Although collectivist ideology has dulled this realization

even in most anarchist circles, it still manifests in such choices as abstention from voting and military service. But for those seeking to develop an insurrectional practice, this realization needs to go much further than a few abstentions.

No revolutionary anarchist denies the necessity of a large-scale uprising of the exploited to destroy the state, capital and every institution of power and privilege. But revolution is not a gift that falls from the sky or is granted by an abstract History. Actions of individuals help to build the circumstance which can make uprisings occur and can push them in the direction of generalized revolt.

This means that rather than waiting around for the revolution like certain marxists, trying to read historical signs so that one will be ready, it makes more sense that we anarchists consider ourselves to be in revolt at every moment of our lives and attack this social order without worrying about whether "the time is ripe". Individual acts of revolt which are easily repeated and imitated provide the basis for the development of forms of mass action in which the individual is not lost and delegation is absent — that is to say insurrectionary action that could destroy the present reality and open the possibility for creating a world in which every individual is able grasp all that they need to fully realize themselves.

But equally important is the anarchist recognition of the primacy of the actual, living individual (as opposed to the collectivized cog and to the abstract concept of the individual) is the recognition that we need to become a certain sort of being, a being capable of acting on our own terms to realize our own desires and dreams in the face of the most fierce and powerful enemy: this entire civilization — the state, capital, the technological system...

To live as a rebel, as a self-willed anarchist revolutionary, requires a great deal of will, determination and spirit in the face of dizzying odds. Thus, one essential aspect of developing an insurrectional practice is the transformation of oneself into such a spirited, willful being. Such a transformation does not take place through therapy but through attacking the social order both in its manifestations in the world and in oneself and one's relationships. An uncompromising cruelty may prove essential to this task, because there are so many chains to be broken, so many limits to be destroyed. As one comrade has said, the individual quest is "the appropriation of everything that has been subtracted from him through family, school, institutions, roles, in order to find his specificity, totality, universality, lost... in the process of domestication and the construction of symbolic culture." So the point is to make the decision to take one's life back in its totality, a decision that requires just the sort of ferocity that will be necessary to demolish this society. And such a decision will transform all one's relationships, demanding a clarity that will leave no room for submission to the demands of social protocol, disrespectful tolerance or pity for those who fear the energy of unchanneled desire more than its suppression. In making this decision (and the decision is only truly made as one

acts to realize it), one is completely rejecting the logic of submission that dominates most relationships.

A Projectual Life

An understanding of how the decision to live in revolt against the present reality relates to desire, relationships, love and friendship requires an understanding of how such a decision transforms those who make it. The logic of submission — the logic that the social order seeks to impose on the exploited — is a logic of passivity, of resignation to the mediocre existence offered by this order. According to this logic, life is something that happens to us, that we simply “make the best of”, a perspective that defeats us before we’ve begun to struggle.

But some of us burn with an energy that goads us towards something else, something different. In our burning we suffer anguish from every humiliation that the present world imposes on us. We cannot resign, accept our place and content ourselves with just getting by. Moved to decisive action by our passion, against all the odds we come to view life differently — or more precisely, to live differently.

A social reality exists. It is smothering the planet with commodities and control, imposing a pathetic and miserable existence of enslavement to authority and the market everywhere. Starting from a refusal of this imposed existence, a decision to rise up against it, we are faced with the necessity of creating our lives as our own, of projecting them. We are posing ourselves a most difficult task: the transformation of ourselves, of our relationships and of existence itself. These transformations are not separate; they constitute a single task — a life projectuality that aims toward the destruction of the social order — that is to say an insurrectional anarchist projectuality.

At present, so many of us are so careful, so apologetic, ready to distance ourselves from even our most radical and defiant acts. This indicates that we have not yet understood what it means to live our lives projectually. Our actions are still tentative, not full of ourselves, but stepped into lightly with a readiness to withdraw at the least sign risk or danger. Contrarily, the development of an anarchist projectuality requires that one immerse oneself into what one does without holding back, without hedging one’s bets. Not that this immersion is ever a finished project. It is a thing in motion, a tension that must be perpetually lived, perpetually grappled with. But it has been proven over and over and over again that hedging one’s bets as surely brings defeat as surrender. Having taken this responsibility for our lives, there is no room for half measures. The point is to live without measure. Longer chains are chains nonetheless.

One reads in Nietzsche of amor fati. The very opposite of the fatal resignation demanded by the logic of submission, amor fati is that love of fate as a worthy adversary that moves one to courageous action. It springs from the willful self-confidence that develops in those who put all of their substance into what they do, say or feel.

Here regrets melt away as one learns to act as one wills; mistakes, failures and defeats are not devastations, but situations from which to learn and move on in the perpetual tension toward the destruction of all limits.

In society’s eyes, any refusal of its order is a crime, but this immersion into life moves insurgence beyond the level of crime. At this point, the insurgent has ceased to merely react to the codes, rules and laws of society and has come to determine her actions on his own terms without regard for the social order. Beyond tolerance and everyday politeness, finished with tact and diplomacy, She is not given to speaking abstractly about anything that relates to his life and interactions, but rather gives weight to every word. This comes from a refusal to skim the surface of things, a desire rather to immerse oneself into the projects and relations one has chooses to create or involve oneself in, to draw them fully into oneself, because these are the things with which one creates one’s life.

Like revolution, love, friendship and the wide variety of other possible relationships are not events one waits for, things that merely happen. When one recognizes herself as having agency, as being an individual capable of acting and creating, these cease to be wishes, ghostly longings aching in the depth of one’s gut; they become possibilities toward which one moves consciously, projectually, with one’s will. That burning energy that goads one to revolt is desire — desire that has broken free from the channel that reduced it to mere longing. This same desire that moves one to create her life as a projectuality toward insurrection, anarchy, freedom and joy also provokes the realization that such a projectuality is best built on shared projects. Liberated desire is an expansive energy — an opening of possibilities — and wants to share projects and actions, joys and pleasures, love and revolt. An insurrection of one may indeed be possible. I would even argue that it is the necessary first step toward a shared insurrectional project. But an insurrection of two, three, many increases courage and enjoyment and opens a myriad of passional possibilities.

Obviously, the various modes of relating that this society puts into place for us to fall into cannot fulfill this desire. Tepid “love” partnerships, “friendships” based on the camaraderie of mutual humiliation and disrespectful tolerance and the daily encounters of no substance that maintain the banality of survival — these are all based on the logic of submission, on merely accepting the mediocrity this reality we must destroy offers. They have nothing to do with projectual desire for the other.

The relations that the decision to live projectually as a revolutionary and an anarchist moves one to seek are relations of affinity, of passion, of intensity, varieties of living relations that help one to build life as desire moves her. They are relations with clearly defined others who have affinity with one’s way of living and being. Such relations must be created in a fluid and vital way as dynamic, changeable and expansive as affinity and passion

themselves are. Such an expansive opening of possibilities has no place within the logic of submission, and that in itself makes it a worthy project for anarchists to pursue.

Free Love

Because revolutionary anarchists of all types have recognized the freedom of every individual to determine how they will live on their own terms to be a central aim of anti-authoritarian revolution, we have spoken more often and with more courage of the transformation of personal life that must be part of any real revolution. Thus, questions of love and erotic desire have been openly discussed in anarchist circles from very early on. Anarchists were among the first advocates of free love recognizing in marriage and the absurd sexual restrictions imposed by religious morality ways in which submission to authority was imposed. Women such as Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre recognized in puritanical morality one of the greatest enemies to the liberation of women in particular as well as humanity in general.

But the free love advocated by anarchists should not be confused with the tawdry hedonism advocated by Playboy and other promoters of commodified sexual liberation. This latter is merely a reaction to Puritanism from within the present social context. Its continued adherence to the logic of submission is evident in its commodification and objectification of sex, its dismissive attitude toward passionate love — because it can't be quantified and priced — and its tendency to judge people based on sexual willingness, performance and conquest. Love and erotic desire freed from the logic of submission clearly lies elsewhere.

The struggle against the logic of submission begins with the struggle of individuals to create the lives and relations they desire. In this context, free love means precisely the freedom of each individual's erotic desires from the social and moral restrictions that channel them into a few specific forms useful to society so that each may create the way she loves as he sees fit in relation to those she may love. Such a liberation opens the way for an apparently infinite variety of possible loving and erotic relations. Most people would only want to explore a few of these, but the point of such liberation is not that one must explore as many forms of erotic desire as possible, but that one has the possibility to really choose and create ways of loving that bring him joy, that expand her life and goad him to an ever increasing intensity of living and of revolt.

One of the most significant obstacles presently facing us in this area is pity for weakness and neurosis. There are individuals who know clearly what they desire in each potential loving encounter, people who can act and respond with a projectual clarity that only those who have made their passions and desires their own can have. But when these individuals act on their desires, if another who is less sure of themselves is unnerved or has their feelings hurt, they are expected to change their behavior to accommodate

the weakness of this other person. Thus the strong-willed individual who has grasped the substance of free love and begun to live it often finds herself suppressed or ostracized by his own supposed comrades. If our aims are indeed liberation and the destruction of the logic of submission in all areas of life, then we cannot give in to this. The point is to transform ourselves into strong, daring, self-willed, passionate rebels-and, thus, also into strong, daring, self-willed, passionate lovers-and this requires acting without guilt, regret or pity. This self-transformation is an essential aspect of the revolutionary transformation of the world, and we cannot let it get side-tracked by a pity that degrades both the one who pities and the one who is pitied. Compassion-that feeling with another because one recognizes one's own condition in theirs-can be a beautiful and revolutionary feeling, but pity-which looks down at another's misery and offers charity and self-sacrifice, is worthless for creating a world of strong individuals who can live and love as they choose.

But an even greater impediment to a real practice of free love and the open exploration of the varieties of possible relationships is that most people (even most anarchists) have so little greed for, and therefore so little generosity with, passion, intensity of feeling, love, joy, hatred, anguish — all the flaming pangs of real living. To truly allow the expansiveness of passionate intensity to flower and to pursue it where the twisting vine of desire takes it — this exploration requires will, strength and courage...but mainly it requires breaking out of the economic view of passions and emotions. It is only in the realm of economy — of goods for sale — that greed and generosity contradict each other. In the realm of uncommodified feelings, passions, desires, ideas, thoughts and dreams, greed and generosity go hand-in-hand. The more one wants of these things, the more expansive one must be in sharing them. The more generous one is with them, the more one will have. It is the nature of these things to be expansive, to seek to broaden all horizons, to take more and more of reality into themselves and transform it.

But this expansiveness is not indiscriminate. Love and erotic desire can manifest expansively in many different ways, and individuals choose the ways and the individuals with whom they wish to explore them. It makes no sense, however, to make these decisions based on an imagined dearth of something that is, in fact, potentially beyond measure. Rather such decisions are best based on desire for those to whom one chooses to relate and the potential one perceives in them to make the fires of passion burn ever more brightly.

The mechanics of erotic desire — homosexuality, heterosexuality, bisexuality, monogamy, non-monogamy, etc. — are not the substance of free love. It can manifest in all of these forms and more. Its substance is found in those who choose to expand themselves, to goad themselves to expand their passions, dreams desires and thoughts. Free love, like revolution, acts to recreate reality in its own

image, the image of a great and dangerous utopia. Thus it seeks to turn reality on its head. This is no easy path. It has no place for our weaknesses, no time for neurotic self-pity or meagerness. For love in its most impassioned and unconstrained forms is as cruel as revolution. How could it be otherwise when its goal is the same: the transformation of every aspect of life and the destruction of all that prevents it?

Passionate Friendship

We live in a world in which the majority of encounters and interactions involve work and commodity exchange. In other words, the dominant forms of relating are economic, based on the domination of survival over life. In such a world, it is no surprise that the concept of friendship no longer has much value. Today, neither the daily interactions of one's "communities" (these strange, disconnected "communities" of family, school, work) nor the chance encounters (at the market, on the bus, at some public event) have much chance of sparking a real and intense interest in another, an impassioned curiosity to discover who they are what we might be able to create with them. The common thread that runs through these not so varied interactions and encounters is that they originate in the operations of domination and exploitation, in the social order that immiserates our lives and to which most people grudgingly submit.

The sorts of relationships most likely to spring from such a situation are those that reflect the humiliation and social impoverishment inherent in it. Based on the necessity to escape the isolation of a crowded, but atomized society, a generalized "friendliness" that is slightly more than mere politeness (since it permits harmless, light mockery and safe, substanceless flirtation) develops. On the basis of this generalized "friendliness", it is possible to meet some individuals with whom to commiserate more closely — people with whom to share a beer at the pub, go to football games or rock shows or rent a movie... And these are one's friends.

It really is no wonder then that what is called friendship today so often seems to be nothing more than the camaraderie of mutual humiliation and disrespectful toleration. When all we really have in common is our shared exploitation and enslavement to commodity consumption and our differences mainly lie in our social identities, themselves largely defined by our jobs,, the commodities we buy and our uses to those who rule us, there is really very little to spark pride, joy, wonder and passion in our so-called friendships. If the deep loneliness of massified, commodified society draws us to others, what little our impoverished beings have to offer each other soon leads to resentment. Thus, interactions between friends at this time seem to be mostly dominated by comic mockery and various forms of one-upmanship. While such forms of play may indeed be amusing as part of a strong relationship based on real mutual pleasure, when it

becomes the main way of relating, surely something is lacking.

Some of us refuse to accept the impositions of exploitation and domination. We strive to create our own lives and in the process of create our live and in the process create relationships that escape the logic of submission to proletarianization and commodity consumption. By our own will, we redefine our commonalities and our differences, clarifying them through the alchemy of struggle and revolt, basing them on our own passions and desires. This makes the form that friendship tends to take in this society completely unpalatable: to simply tolerate another out of loneliness and call this one friend — how pathetic! Starting from that sense of pride that moved us to rebel, that point of selfish dignity that will not tolerate further humiliation, we seek to build our friendships upon the greatness we discover in each other — joy, passion, wonder sparked both by what we share in common and by how we differ. Why should we expect less of friendship than we do of erotic love? Why do we expect so little of both? Rebellion sparks fire in the hearts of those who rise up, and this fire calls for relationships that burn: loves, friendships, and, yes, even hatreds that reflect the intensity of rebellion. The greatest insult we can give another human being is to merely tolerate them, so let us pursue friendships with the same intensity with which we pursue love, blurring the boundaries between them, creating our own fierce and beautiful ways of relating free of that logic of submission to mediocrity imposed by the state and capital.

Hatred

Having made the decision to refuse to simply live as this society demands, to submit to the existence it imposes on us, we have put ourselves into a position of being in permanent conflict with the social order. This conflict will manifest in many different situations, evoking the intense passions of the strong-willed. Just as we demand of our loves and our friendships a fullness and intensity that this society seeks to suppress, we want to bring all of ourselves to our conflicts as well, particularly our conflict with this society aimed at its destruction, so that we struggle with all the strength necessary to accomplishing our aim. It is in this light, as anarchists, that we would best understand the place of hatred.

The present social order seeks to rationalize everything. It finds passion dangerous and destructive since such intensity of feeling is, after all, opposed to the cold logic of power and profit. There is no place in this society for passionate reason or the reasonable focusing of passion. When the efficient functioning of the machine is the highest social value, both passion and living, human reason are detrimental to society. Cold rationality based on a mechanistic view of reality is necessary for upholding such a value.

In this light, the campaigns against "hate" promoted not

only by every progressive and reformist, but also by the institutions of power which are the basis of the social inequalities (when I refer to equality and inequality in this article, I am not referring to “equality of rights” which is a legal abstraction, but to the concrete differences in access to that which is necessary in order to determine the conditions of one’s life) that incorporate bigotry into the very structure of this society, make sense on several levels. By focusing the attempts to battle bigotry onto the passions of individuals, the structures of domination blind many well-meaning people to the bigotry that has been built into the institutions of this society, that is a necessary aspect of its method of exploitation. Thus, the method for fighting bigotry takes a two-fold path: trying to change the hearts of racist, sexist and homophobic individuals and promoting legislation against an undesirable passion. Not only is the necessity for a revolution to destroy a social order founded on institutional bigotry and structural inequality forgotten; the state and the various institutions through which it exercises power are strengthened so that they can suppress “hate”. Furthermore, though bigotry in a rationalized form is useful to the efficient functioning of the social machine, an individual passion of too much intensity, even when funneled into the channels of bigotry, presents a threat to the efficient functioning of the social order. It is unpredictable, a potential point for the breakdown of control. Thus, it must necessarily be suppressed and only permitted to express itself in the channels that have been carefully constructed by the rulers of this society. But one of the aspects of this emphasis on “hate” — an individual passion — rather than on institutional inequalities that is most useful to the state is that it permits those in power — and their media lapdogs — to equate the irrational and bigoted hatred of white supremacists and gay-bashers with the reasonable hatred that the exploited who have risen in revolt feel for the masters of this society and their lackeys. Thus, the suppression of hatred serves the interest of social control and upholds the institutions of power and, hence, the institutional inequality necessary to its functioning.

Those of us who desire the destruction of power, the end of exploitation and domination, cannot let ourselves succumb to the rationalizations of the progressives, which only serve the interests of the rulers of the present. Having chosen to refuse our exploitation and domination, to take our lives as our own in struggle against the miserable reality that has been imposed on us, we inevitably confront an array of individuals, institutions and structures that stand in our way, actively opposing us — the state, capital, the rulers of this order and their loyal guard dogs, the various systems and institutions of control and exploitation. These are our enemies and it is only reasonable that we would hate them. It is the hatred of the slave for the master — or, more accurately, the hatred of the escaped slave for the laws, the cops, the “good citizens”, the courts and the institutions that seek to hunt her down and return him to the master. And as with the passions of our loves and

friendships, this passionate hatred is also to be cultivated and made our own, its energy focused and directed into the development of our projects of revolt and destruction.

Desiring to be the creators of our own lives and relations, to live in a world in which all that imprisons our desires and suppresses our dreams has disappeared, we have an immense task before us: the destruction of the present social order. Hatred of the enemy — of the ruling order and all who willfully uphold it — is a tempestuous passion that can provide an energy for this task that we would do well to embrace. Anarchist insurrectionaries have a way of viewing life and a revolutionary project through which to focus this energy, so as to aim it with intelligence and strength. The logic of submission demands the suppression of all passions and their channeling into sentimentalized consumerism or rationalized ideologies of bigotry. The intelligence of revolt embraces all passions, finding in them not only mighty weapons for the battle against this order, but also the wonder and joy of a life lived to the full.

Realism

“Be realistic: Demand the Impossible!” This famous slogan, which graced the walls of Paris in May 1968, was truly revolutionary in its time, turning every common sense conception of realism on its head. Now artificial, virtual “realities” have come to dominate social relations. Life is not so much lived as watched, and anything can be seen with the new technologies. Considering this, it is no surprise that a slogan once so challenging to an entire social order has now become an advertising slogan. In the realm of the virtual, everything is possible for a price. Everything, that is, except a world without prices, a world of actual, self-determined, face-to-face relationships in which one chooses one’s activities for oneself and concretely acts upon reality within the world.

The circuses that we are offered with our bread present us with spectacles like none ever seen before. Exotic places, strange creatures with magical powers, fantastic explosions, battles and miracles, all these are offered for our entertainment, keeping us glued to the spectator’s seat, our activity limited to occasionally flicking a button — not unlike the primary activity in increasing numbers of jobs. So “the impossible” this society offers us is nothing more than spectacular special effects on a screen, the drug of virtuality numbing us to the misery of the reality that surrounds us, in which possibilities for really living are closing down.

If we are to escape this miserable existence, our revolt must be precisely against social reality in its totality. Realism within this context becomes acceptance. Today when one speaks sincerely of revolution — of striving to overturn the present reality in order to open the possibility of concrete, self-determined human activity and individual freedom — one is being unrealistic, even utopian. But can anything less put an end to the present misery?

Increasingly, in the face of the juggernaut that is

civilization, our present social reality, I hear many radicals say, "It's necessary to be realistic; I'll just do what I can in my own life." This is not the declaration of a strong individuality making itself the center of a revolt against the world of domination and alienation, but rather an admission of resignation, a retreat into merely tending one's own garden as the monster lumbers on. The "positive" projects developed in the name of this sort of realism are nothing more than alternative ways of surviving within the present society. They not only fail to threaten the world of capital and the state; they actually ease the pressure on those in power by providing voluntary social services under the guise of creating "counter-institutions". Using the present reality as the place from which they view the world, those who cannot help but see the revolutionary destruction of this reality in which we live as impossible and, therefore, a dangerous goal, so they resign themselves to maintaining an alternative within the present reality.

A more activist form of realism also exists. It is found in a perspective that ignores the totality of the present reality, choosing instead to see only its parts. Thus, the reality of alienation, domination and exploitation is broken down into categories of oppression which are viewed separately such as racism, sexism, environmental destruction and so on. Although such categorization can indeed be useful for understanding the specifics of how the present social order functions, it usually tends instead to keep people from observing the whole, allowing the leftist project of developing specializations in specific forms of oppression to move forward, developing ideological methods for explaining these oppressions. This ideological approach separates theory from practice leading to a further breakdown into issues upon which to act: equal wages for women, acceptance of gays into the military or the Boy Scouts, protection of a particular wetlands or patch of forest, on and on goes the endless round of demands. Once things are broken down to this level, where any analysis of this society as a whole has disappeared, one is once again viewing things from a place within the present reality. For the activist realist, also known as the leftist, efficacy is the primary value. Whatever works is good. Thus emphasis is placed on litigation, legislation, petition to the authorities, negotiation with those who rule us, because these get results — at least if the result one wants is merely the amelioration of one particular problem or the assimilation of a particular group or cause into the present order. But such methods are not effective at all from a revolutionary anarchist perspective, because they are grounded in acceptance of the present reality, in the perspective that this is what is and so we must use it. And that is the perspective of the logic of submission. A reversal of perspective is necessary to free ourselves from this logic.

Such a reversal of perspective requires finding a different place from which to perceive the world, a different position from which to act. Rather than starting from the world as it is, one may choose to start from the will to grasp her life as

his own. This decision immediately places one into conflict with the present reality, because here the conditions of existence and, thus, the choices of how one can live have already been determined by the ruling order. This has come about because a few people manage to take control of the conditions of everybody's existence — precisely, in exchange for bread and circuses, survival graced with a bit of entertainment. Thus, individual revolt needs to arm itself with an analysis of class that expands its critique, awakening a revolutionary perspective. When one also begins to understand the institutional and technological means through which the ruling class maintains, enforces and expands this control, this perspective takes on a social and luddite dimension.

The logic of submission tells us to be realistic, to limit ourselves to the ever-narrowing possibilities that the present reality offers. But when this reality is, in fact, marching toward death — toward the permanent eclipse of the human spirit and the destruction of the living environment — is it truly realistic to "be realistic"? If one loves life, if one wants to expand and flourish, it is absolutely necessary to free desire from the channels to constrain it, to let it flood our minds and hearts with passion that sparks the wildest dreams. Then one must grasp these dreams and from them hone a weapon with which to attack this reality, a passionate rebellious reason capable of formulating projects aimed at the destruction of that which exists and the realization of our most marvelous desires. For those of us who want to make our lives our own, anything less would be unrealistic.

Beyond Feminism, Beyond Gender

In order to create a revolution that can put an end to all domination, it is necessary to put an end to the tendency we all have to submit. This requires that we view the roles that this society imposes on us with a cruel and penetrating eye seeking out their weak points with the aim of breaking through their limits and moving beyond them.

Sexuality is an essential expression of individual desire and passion, of the flame that can ignite both love and revolt. Thus, it can be an important force of the individual's will that can raise her beyond the mass as a unique and indomitable being. Gender, on the other hand, is a conduit built by the social order to constrain this sexual energy, to confine and limit it, directing toward the reproduction of this order of domination and submission. Thus, it is an obstruction to an attempt to freely determine how one will live and relate. Nonetheless, up to now, men have been granted more leeway in asserting their will within these roles than women, a reasonable explanation for why more anarchists, revolutionaries and outlaws have been men than women. Women who have been strong, rebellious individuals have been so precisely because they have moved beyond their femininity.

It is unfortunate that the women's liberation movement that reemerged in the 1960's did not succeed in developing

a deep analysis of the nature of domination in its totality and of the role played by gender in its reproduction. A movement that had started from a desire to be free of gender roles in order to be full, self-determined individuals was transformed into a specialization just like most partial struggles of the time. This guaranteed that a total analysis would not be possible within this context.

This specialization is the feminism of the present era that began developing out of the women's liberation movement in the late '60's. It does not aim so much at the liberation of individual women from the limits of their gender roles as at the liberation of "woman" as a social category. Within mainstream politics, this project consists of gaining rights, recognition and protection for woman as a recognized social category under the law. In theory, radical feminism moves beyond mere legalities with the aim of liberating woman as a social category from male domination. Since male domination is not adequately explored as an aspect of total domination, even by anarchy-feminists, the rhetoric of radical feminism frequently takes on a style similar to that of national liberation struggles. But in spite of the differences in style and rhetoric, the practice of mainstream and radical feminism often coincide. This is not by chance.

The specialization of radical feminism actually lies in the cataloguing of wrongs suffered by woman at the hands of man. If this catalogue was ever completed, the specialization would no longer be necessary and it would be time to move beyond this listing of wrongs suffered to an actual attempt to analyze the nature of women's oppression in this society and take real, thought-out action to end it. So the maintenance of this specialization requires that feminists expand this catalogue to infinity, even to the point of explaining the oppressive actions of women in positions of power as expressions of patriarchal power, thus freeing these women from responsibility for their actions. Any serious analysis of the complex relations of domination as it actually exists is laid aside in favor of an ideology in which man dominates and woman is the victim of this domination. But the creation of one's identity on the basis of one's oppression, on the victimization one has suffered, does not provide strength or independence. Instead it creates a need for protection and security that eclipses the desire for freedom and self-determination. In the theoretical and psychological realm, an abstract, universal "sisterhood" may meet this need, but in order to provide a basis for this sisterhood, the "feminine mystique", which was exposed in the 1960's as a cultural construct supporting male domination, is revived in the form of women's spirituality, goddess religion and a variety of other feminist ideologies. The attempt to liberate woman as a social category reaches its apotheosis in the re-creation of the feminine gender role in the name of an elusive gender solidarity. The fact that many radical feminists have turned to cops, courts and other state programs for protection on the practical level (thus imitating mainstream feminism) only serves to underline the illusory nature of

the "sisterhood" they proclaim. Though there have been attempts to move beyond these limits within the context of feminism, this specialization has been its defining quality for three decades. In the forms in which it has been practiced, it has failed to present a revolutionary challenge to either gender or domination. The anarchist project of total liberation calls us to move beyond these limits to the point of attacking gender itself with the aim of becoming complete beings defined not as a conglomeration of social identities, but as unique, whole individuals.

It is both clichéd and mistaken to claim that men and women have been equally oppressed by their gender roles. The male gender role does allow a greater leeway for the assertion of one's will. So just as the liberation of women from their gender role is not a matter of becoming more masculine but rather of moving beyond their femininity, so for men the point is not to be more feminine but to move beyond their masculinity. The point is to discover that core of uniqueness that is in each of us that is beyond all social roles and to make that the point from which we act, live and think in the world, in the sexual realm as in all others. Gender separates sexuality from the wholeness of our being, attaching specific traits to it that serve the maintenance of the present social order. Thus sexual energy, which could have amazing revolutionary potential, is channeled into the reproduction of relations of domination and submission, of dependence and desperation. The sexual misery that this has produced and its commercial exploitation surround us. The inadequacy of calling for people to "embrace both their masculinity and femininity" lies in the lack of analysis of the extent to which both of these concepts are social inventions serving the purposes of power. Thus, to change the nature of gender roles, to increase their number or modify their form, is useless from a revolutionary perspective, being nothing more than mechanically adjusting the form of the conduits that channel our sexual energy. Instead, we need to reappropriate our sexual energy in order to reintegrate into the totality of our being in order to become so expansive and powerful as to burst every conduit and flood the plain of existence with our indomitable being. This is not a therapeutic task, but rather one of defiant revolt — one that springs from a strong will and a refusal to back down. If our desire is to destroy all domination, then it is necessary that we move beyond everything that holds us back, beyond feminism, yes, and beyond gender, because this is where we find the ability to create our indomitable individuality that rises up against all domination without hesitation. If we wish to destroy the logic of submission, this must be our minimum goal.

Security Culture and Expansive Living

Life today is far too small. Forced into roles and relationships that reproduce the current social order, it focuses on the petty, on that which can be measured, priced, bought and sold. The meager existence of shopkeepers and

security guards has been imposed everywhere, and real life, expansive life, life with no limits other than our own capacities exists only in revolt against this society. So those of us who want an expansive existence, life lived to the full, are moved to take action, to attack the institutions that compel us to live such petty lives.

Moved to take back our lives and make them wellsprings of the marvelous, we inevitably encounter repression. Everyday, hidden mechanisms of repression operate to prevent revolt, to guarantee the submission that maintains the social order. The necessities of survival, the underlying awareness of always being watched, the barrage of prohibitions that meet the eyes on signs or in the person of a cop, the very structure of the social environments in which we move, these are enough to keep most people in line, eyes to the ground, minds empty of all except the petty worries of the day. But when one has had enough of this impoverished existence and decides that there must be more, that she cannot tolerate another day in which life is diminished even more, the repression ceases to be so subtle. The spark of revolt has to be suppressed; the maintenance of the social order requires it.

The expansion of life cannot occur in hiding — that would simply be a change of cells within the social prison. But because this expansion, this tension toward freedom, moves us to attack this social order, to take action that is outside and frequently against its written and implied laws, we are forced to deal with the question of how to evade the uniformed guard dogs of the ruling class. So we cannot ignore the question of security.

I have always considered the question of security a simple one, a matter of practical intelligence that anyone should be capable of figuring out. By developing relations of affinity, one decides with whom one can act. There is no need to say a word about an action to anyone who is not involved in it. This is basic and should go without saying for anyone who decides to act against domination. But such practical intelligence has no need to enshroud itself in an atmosphere of suspicion and secretiveness where every word and every thought must be watched, in which even the words of defiance are considered too great a risk. If our practice takes us there, we have already lost.

In the context of illegal activity, security is essential. But even in this context, it is not the top priority. Our top priority is always the creation of the lives and relationships we desire, the opening of the possibility for the fullness of existence that the system of domination and exploitation cannot allow. Those of us who truly desire such an expansive existence want to express it in all of our actions.

In this light, the call for the development of a “security culture” seems strange to me. When I first heard the term, my immediate thought was: “That is precisely the sort of culture we live in!” The cops and cameras on every corner and in every shop, the increasing numbers of identification cards and of interactions requiring their use, the various weapons systems put in place for national security, and on

and on — the culture of security surrounds us, and it is the same as the culture of repression. Certainly, as anarchists this is not what we want.

Many of the practical suggestions made by the proponents of security culture are basic good sense for one who is taking action against the institutions of domination. It is obvious that one shouldn't leave evidence or speak to the police, that one should take the due precautions to avoid arrest — a situation that would certainly not enhance one's struggle for a full free life. But it makes no sense to speak of a security culture. The caution necessary to avoid arrest does not reflect the sort of life and relationships we want to build. At least I hope not.

When anarchists begin to see security as their top priority — as a “culture” that they must develop — paranoia comes to dominate relationships. Anarchist conferences are set up with levels of bureaucracy and (let's call things what they are) policing that too closely parallels what we are trying to destroy. Suspicion replaces comradeship and solidarity. If someone doesn't look or dress right, he finds herself ostracized, excluded from involvement. Something vital has been lost here — the reason for our struggle. It has vanished behind the hard armor of militancy, and we have come to be the mirror image of our enemy.

The anarchist struggle slips into this joyless, paranoid rigidity when it is not carried out as an attempt to create life differently, joyfully, intensely, but is rather treated as a cause to which one is to sacrifice oneself. One's struggle then becomes moral, not a question of desire, but of right and wrong, good and evil, conceived as absolute and knowable. Here is the source of much of the rigidity, much of the paranoia and much of the unwarranted sense of self-importance that one finds much too often in anarchist circles. We are the righteous warriors surrounded on all sides by the forces of evil. We must protect ourselves from any possibility of contamination. And the character armor hardens undermining the joyful spirit that provides the courage necessary for the destruction of the world of domination.

This destruction, this demolition of the social prison that surrounds us would bring us face-to-face with the unknown. If we confront it with fear and suspicion, we will build the new prisons ourselves. Some already are, in their minds and in their projects. This is why our projects of attack must originate in and be carried out with joy and an expansive generosity of spirit. The logic of paranoia and fear, the logic of suspicion with its measured words and deeds, is the logic of submission — if not to the present order of domination, then to a morality that diminishes our lives and guarantees that we will not have the courage to face the unknown, to face the world in which we would find ourselves if the present order were destroyed. Instead, let's embrace the passionate reason of desire that defies all domination. This reason is absolutely serious in its desire to destroy all that diminishes life, confining it to that which can be measured. And because it is so serious, it laughs.

Damn the torturers!

There is **No** democracy, state or law without misery and torture. They trivialize torture. The things that surround a person in a political world require torture to be obtained.

Effective subversion is unbearable to the State. All freedom which incites subversion **exposes gaps**. When people are under a dictatorial regime, **subversion is the ultimate expression of your health**.

In the democratic system of law, **accommodated citizens prefer not to see, hear and talk about the daily torture** that take place in prisons, police stations, streets, slums, well-built homes, schools...

They want to believe that with the end of the political prisons, **torturers remain procedural history** or files in the memories of ever-living freedom fighters. The torturer is a vestige of fascism which sometimes takes the form of a government and, most of the time, is **disguised in democratic conduct**.

The notion of crime, police, court and criminal **breathes a hidden continuity into the whole apparatus**. The notion supports the need for police, court and all the penal apparatus, gears kept in tune by torture. It **establishes a vicious circle** that everyone accepts, finally, in the national and international courts.

They believe that the punishment they inflict forges universal values of humanity, that the correct legal punishment is by torture and, if necessary, through use of the death penalty on behalf of the democratic state of law and the *good* of humanity.

However, before judging a torturer, or formally condemn their activity, **we need to know their names and print them in the streets, the homes of families, schools ... learn where are the living, with whom they relate ...**

Torture, as well as punishment, is not a legal institution, but a device of power technologies.

Damn the tormentors!

Down with state terror and the torturers!

Let us not forget that democracy was born with terror!

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