

ANTI-AUTHORITY

DAILY REVOLT

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# RETURN FIRE

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INDIVIDUAL WILL

DE-CIVILISATION

**'Good Times & Bad'**

(“anti-cuts” & the misery of life  
under contemporary capitalism)

**'The Organised Minority Structure'**

(informal networks as an anarchist tool)

**Auschwitz-Disneyland**

(thoughts on symbolic estrangement in modernity)

**'Gender, Sexuality, Patriarchy & Domination'**

(identity is a root of oppression)

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(is autonomy via automated labour possible?)

**Wild Plants:**

Nettles & Cleavers

**Poems for Love, Loss & War**

...and more!

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**VOLUME 1, CHAPTER III**

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**SPRING 2013**

*We recognise that the conditions we live under, and the way we interact with them, are a constant social battle. Dignity striving against submission, autonomy striving against false dependence, individuality striving against conformity, interconnection striving against isolation, vitality striving against toxins, wildness striving against all control. This conflict has been fought hard over many centuries by conscious freedom-lovers everywhere against the police, bosses and social norms of the times; and so the inevitable rebellion doesn't come out of nowhere, it is part of a war that has been declared against us before our births... and before which we do not intend to remain passive.*



## 'GOOD TIMES & BAD'



The stuttering course of the capitalist economy, accompanied as ever by the alternating tales of disaster and reassurance that make it distortedly visible to the spectator, has now, in Britain, reached the stage of cuts in government spending. What choices do we have in the face of this turn of events? We are told there are just two: submit to the cuts in order to restore the health of the economy or fight them so as to preserve existing public services. These are the choices held out to us in newspaper articles, politicians' speeches, news programmes, management pep talks, advertisements and other pronouncements rained down on us by the dominant society. These are the choices we have taken up in our own thought and conversation. **But like all the rest of the choices that are made public by the dominant society, they happen to be false.**

The Coalition government and its allies tell us that the cuts are necessary. They promise us that things will eventually get better. They urge us to acquiesce. It has to be said that this is a course of inaction many of us are tempted to take. It is what we have done in previous economic crises and we have not done much to shake off the habit of resignation since. [...] Besides, it is so very easy to go on plodding through one's everyday life in the way one always has. **Families, friends, homes, jobs, cars, holidays, nights out, shopping, sport, there is always something clamouring for our attention; always something to swallow up our time and draw us down those all-too-**

**few (and all-too-deep) ruts that define our lives.** Our sense that there is nothing we can do to change things only makes this slide into submissive resignation easier. So too does our penchant for easing our isolated bitterness by blaming the whole sorry mess on immigrants, benefit claimants, civil servants, greedy bankers or some other scapegoat we have found dangled in front of us.

[...] **But is that enough?** Doesn't the recession tell us something rather terrible about our condition? Doesn't it clearly and cruelly demonstrate how very little control we have over our lives? The economy within which we work is no more under our direction when it is growing than when it is contracting. During good times and bad, we are subordinated to its dictates. Of course, we would like to believe that we are not unfree in our work because we exercise some choice as to which jobs we apply for and we have some discretion over what we do while we are at work. But a forced choice between wretched options is not liberty; and trapped as we are between intrusive monitoring by managers, vexing performance targets, a wider organization of work over which we have no say, and a global economy that does our bidding to roughly the same extent as the weather does, our prized autonomy in the workplace seems the most threadbare of illusions. **And what does the threat of redundancy tell us about our work? Our position has not suddenly changed.** Despite all those friendly chats with management, and the team work and camaraderie, we have all along been

disposable tools of our employers. All day and every day, we are nothing more than the means by which they realize their ends. When we can no longer perform that role, we are discarded as surplus to their requirements, which is what "redundant" means. The fact that our bosses may be reluctant to impose redundancies, preferring instead to retain surplus staff or introduce part-time working, takes nothing away from this analysis. We are merely being shown the same concern that a farmer displays for his prize livestock. He will put them down only when he has to.

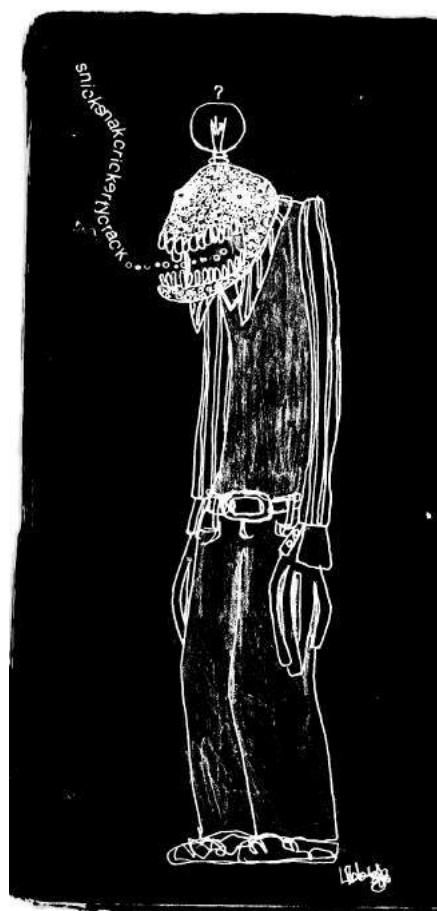
The economic crisis also reveals unhappy truths about other aspects of our lives. Perhaps we have grown used to a pleasant chat with someone who works at a business or office we frequent. When bankruptcy, restructuring or redundancy strikes, our acquaintance vanishes. We never see or hear of her [*sic*] again. For all the pleasantries that may have passed between us, the only real relation we had was that between a supplier of goods or services and a buyer. When that was gone, precisely nothing was left. We shared no other activity and decided nothing else together. It is the same with the vast majority of our connections with people. They are relations of exchange, mediated by commodities. **As we pass through the public world, who do we encounter but strangers hurrying by in separated indifference and the self-effaced, masquerading for wages? How often do we do anything more with those we meet than discuss and pay for commodities?**

But perhaps you will say that all that may be true about the wider world, but the real meaning and richness of our lives lies in our private worlds? *We know that work is shit. We know that politics, the economy and the environment are all going to the dogs. Nonetheless, you say, we can find some real happiness and fulfilment with our families, our friends and our leisure.* Unfortunately, we cannot separate our private existences from the alienated world in this way. Our families, friendships and leisure are not refuges that somehow exist apart from the dispiriting processes of capitalism. On the contrary, they have been created by and for capitalism and share the same alienation that bleeds through every other aspect of the capitalist world. We are creatures of capitalism. Our domestic worlds, our intimate lives and our free time have all been adapted to the needs

of capitalism. All have been shrivelled and shrunken down to the desperately narrow dimensions that the system permits. **The family, for instance, is merely the domestic unit that happens best to serve a society that isolates individuals from each other, separates them from the management of the society, and requires them to submit to the world order it presents to them.** In the soothing name of privacy, the family abandons history to its capitalist masters. In this jealously-defended isolation, we encourage children who have been reduced to dependence falsely to recognize themselves in the roles, the values, the pleasures, the activities and ultimately the jobs the society makes available. We mould them to accept and adhere to imposed and domineering collectives, starting with the family itself. For ourselves, we strive to find our greatest fulfilment within the small web of social relations and the tiny resources to which the family gives rise. **None of it goes smoothly, for it is never easy to force the living into shallow graves.** But we do our best. We temper our expectations of happiness. We create family occasions over and over again in which the unstated rule is that we profess our mutual love and contentment and convincingly play the happy family. We fiercely embrace a transcendental notion of love that hovers in disembodied abstraction above the resentment, division, abuse, punishment, incomprehension, blackmail, mediocrity and confinement that make up the actual lived experience of family life. In these and so many other ways, we would have ourselves believe that the image of familial contentment we have been given by our society is the defining reality of our lives.

Our friendships and leisure are hardly better. Of course, there are pleasures and adventures in our friendships, but they are much too small. **We share so little with our friends. We have too little at our disposal.** Through the work that we all do, we create the very world we live in. Everything around us is put there by us. But we do not create it for ourselves. We do not create it with our friends. When we come together, all we have are the paltry time and money left to us by work and the alien world our work has produced. We are reduced to chasing desultory diversions amongst the ruins. Our games are petty. We could build a very world with and for our desires. We end up going on vacation.

In public and private, we are colonized. We live by occupying the ideas of happiness, normality and the cool the commodity society brings to us, haunting its promises like ghosts roaming the corridors of a ruined mansion in search of a long dead love. We deny it, of course. We are our own men and women, we say. We pride ourselves on not believing the stupid claims of the adverts and the politicians, even as we spend each and every day living out the fundamental notion of consumable happiness that each advertisement and each politician conveys. **We are sure that we each have our own individual styles, even as those styles uncannily coalesce around a bare handful of models in each era. We are mistaken.** We can see this quite clearly when we look back at old photographs of



ourselves. We insisted on our irreducible individuality then too. Yet the records show that we were entirely of the time. No matter how absurd the fashions and tastes may have been, our hairstyles, clothes, houses, cars, reading habits, musical tastes, and ideas in general duly reflected them. When this comes to our attention, we laugh, perhaps, and feel a little embarrassed. But we learn nothing and take no action. We blame it all on the follies and gullibility of youth. We waive away the staggering truth that everything about us has been dominated from afar

without giving more than a moment's thought as to how this state of abjection came to be. We retreat into that amnesia and indifference which seems to be necessary if we are to go on as we are. We sift nostalgically through the snapshots of carefully-staged displays of spontaneous contentment we have taken at the many occasions that seem to have no other purpose than to allow such photographs to be taken. We create the ground for the next disaster by forgetting what is essential about the ones that have gone before.

Is this really enough? Is this all that we desire? Are we content to sit tight under the insults of government and economy in the hope that we may one day return to the slightly-more-affluent alienations of yesteryear? **Are we too scared, too timid, to take on the society whose very intimidating immobility testifies to how little it is ours and how little we are?** If the answer is yes, well so be it. But do not be surprised if you struggle to remember what you have been doing during all these years, as you drift with scant attention behind the disappointing person and disagreeable habits you have become. Do not be surprised if you one day find yourself staring at the exhaust pipe you have fed through the passenger window, wondering where it all went wrong. It always goes wrong, my friends, when it is rotten from the start.

Merely enduring the cuts is not the only option we are given. We are also presented with clamorous calls to defend our jobs and public services against the cuts. We are given to understand that something valuable is being taken from us. We are even sometimes told that the victories of past generations of working people are under threat. All this, I would suggest, is quite preposterous.

The rulers of society and their supporters were once quite candid about the ends they hoped to obtain from good conditions and services. In 1837, Leonard Horner, a factory inspector, said: *"Independently of all higher considerations, and to put the necessity of educating the children of the working classes on its lowest footing, it is loudly called for as a matter of police, to prevent a multitude of immoral and vicious beings, the offspring of ignorance, from growing up and around us, to be a pest and a nuisance to society; it is necessary to render the great body of the working class governable by reason."*

When speaking in the House of Commons on 17 February 1870 in favour of the Elementary Education Bill 1870, W. E. Foster argued that “the speedy provision of elementary education” would allow the state to secure “our industrial prosperity” and remove “that ignorance which we are all aware is pregnant with crime and misery, with misfortune to individuals and danger to the community”. Moreover, “if we are to hold our position among men of our own race or among the nations of the world we must make up the smallness of our numbers by increasing the intellectual force of the individual.”

A more modern note was struck in Winston Churchill’s explanation of the idea behind the introduction of unemployment insurance (one of the forerunners of modern social security benefits), as reported by the Daily Mail in 1909. In Churchill’s view, the purpose aimed at by the reform was: “to increase the stability of our institutions by giving the mass of industrial workers a direct interest in maintaining them. [...] [This] scheme [...] will help to remove the dangerous element of uncertainty from the existence of the industrial worker. It will give him an assurance that his home, got together through long years and with affectionate

*sacrifice, will not be broken up, sent bit by bit to the pawnshop, just because [...] he falls out of work. It will make him a better citizen, a more efficient worker, [and] a happier man.”*

The ends aimed at by modern public spending include similar objectives. But since these statements were made, the capitalist economy has grown in size and sophistication. The extension of a relentless consumer culture to the vast majority of the population has also become a key motor of its growth and its sole claim to legitimacy. The roles performed by public services have changed accordingly. **New environments, new abilities, new attitudes, and new levels of public health are now created, not just directly to meet the new needs of business and government but also as new incentives and new rewards for our submission.** For example, it is no longer enough to give the mass of the population an elementary education that merely instils “order, discipline, cleanliness, deference to authority, and the tolerance of boredom at work” (in the words of one historian). These remain important goals of the education system, but today’s education must go beyond them. It must now manufacture people who have the personalities, skills and willingness to do what is required of them

without being told (deceptively referred to as “initiative” and “the ability to work by oneself”) that modern service industries and high value businesses demand. It must now, by means of its organs of “higher” education, produce the specialised workers and the specialist knowledge that allow the dominant society to produce its technological and cultural commodities, to shape its world and the individuals who serve it, and to mystify everything. And, to bring all this about, it must help foster the misunderstanding that the new education and the work to which it leads constitute desirable opportunities for individuals and welcome progress for the society. No more noble purposes are served by contemporary education. **Indeed, no very different purpose is served by any of the public services.** Without exception, they are mechanisms for reproducing an alienated society. They seek to integrate the majority into a life of alienated labour and abundant consumption and disarm the minority left to a more meagre survival on the margins of society. They are an unrelenting assault on the possibility of authentic and self-controlled life. They always and everywhere damage or destroy us as individuals. There is nothing victorious in this. **In the very few instances where a public service or a legal right arose out of our struggles, it represented the defeat and not the victory of those struggles, the moment when the goal we pursued slipped out of our hands and became one more uncontrollable, external process pressing down on us.**

This is not to say that public services do not provide us with facilities that are valuable within the context of the existing society. Without doubt, central government, local authorities and the bodies they fund can and do supply services that allow separated individuals who have surrendered their powers of world-creation to persist more easily in that separation and surrender. But I come back to the question of whether this is enough for us. Are we content with libraries that allow us to while away our free time with a novel about a missing swimsuit model or the autobiography of an entertainer (the most commonly borrowed fiction and non-fiction library books)? Do we want no more than an opportunity to grind our way through 16 years of submissive study of falsified knowledge and emerge with a degree and a job in property development, renting, business, research, education, health or

“From religion, modern art, social relations, so-called “national culture”, traditions, to historic architecture, buildings, values and bourgeois morality, to the way we talk and connect with others, to the working day which is based on the Gregorian calendar - in a bid to extract the highest productivity of labour - to the chronological composition of popular festivals (victories of ruling class history), we understand that everything is influenced by the capitalist order, every corner of this is evident in the lack of ideals in this gray and dead society, from the largely evident submission (at gunpoint) of capitalist society. The impossibility of any socially cohesive mass uprising by the majority of the hegemonic system is established in sleeping consciousness, and it seems paramount to destroy authoritarian relationships and dismantle their values. You cannot physically escape the clutches of Capital and the State, as well as their police and slave society (because nothing is white or black, we don’t see only an evil system, but also the consent to it). The leftist alleged opposition-schemes reproduce the values imposed from above and make the wheel feeding back its failure of “praxis”. Sexual liberation is the sponsorship of multinational corporations and an alternative you find sold in large fashion chains. The mandarins of social harmony speak of self-perfection, seeking to put every person in their place in this rotten world, to understand, tolerate and humanise a political-economic organisation which is consistently violent, as is the State, using war for economic re-organisation... and who waives these basic pillars of civilisation, is sociologically defeated and locked in prisons.” - *The City of Bombs Will Burn Again*

social work (the most common graduate employments)? [...] Would it be cause for jubilation to have a social security system that paid enough to allow its recipients to participate fully in the time-wasting futility of seeking a worthwhile life through commodity consumption? Need I go on?

The call to defend jobs, education and public services is, in effect, propaganda in favour of the existing way of life, one of many eulogies of the dominant society that take the guise of dissent. [...] We are not obliged to confine ourselves to the false choices and tiny distinctions that the dominant society magnifies into fundamental conflicts and real progress. **No matter how urgent and profound the crisis for which they claim to be the remedy, pseudo-critiques that take for granted the fundamental features of our alienated world (such as alienated labour, alienated consumption and the state) serve only to dissipate our discontents, refine this society's depredations, and trap us just where we are.** If we are ever to escape our already-insufficient lives, we must, I think, point-blank refuse them.

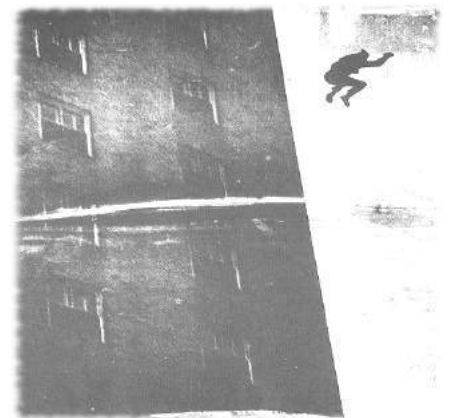
Those who sincerely participate in the anti-cuts movement out of a genuine disgust at what the government is doing may wish to consider the fate of one of its precursors, the anti-Poll Tax movement. The movement was successful. But what were the practical consequences? The movement itself, having obtained the only objective it had set itself and removed the only misery it had objected to, lost everything that held it together and disintegrated. Its participants returned to the isolation and alienation of a daily life that was very little changed. Everything they won drifted away from them. The Poll Tax was abolished and [Prime Minister] Margaret Thatcher deposed. But the Poll Tax was merely replaced by the Council Tax, another remote bureaucratic and legal procedure devised by central government, administered by local authorities, enforced by the courts and bailiffs, and completely out of the hands of ordinary people. Margaret Thatcher was also replaced, with John Major becoming the new leader of the Conservative Party. He proved more palatable to voters than the hopelessly unpopular Thatcher and led the party to victory in the General Election of 1992. The Conservatives remained in power until 1997. Capitalism has, alas, persisted for far longer. The fact

that one of its governments was forced to develop a fairer and therefore more acceptable form of local taxation has probably only helped it to endure.

[...] Our capacity to think and act by and for ourselves, to step beyond this society's cowering norms, is undernourished to the point of starvation. Well, we shall just have to create what we need. **We might begin by bringing to the practical project of revolution at least as much time, effort and passion as we have been want to lavish on our jobs, families, pastimes and vacations. We might also develop the habit of viewing and treating our enemies as enemies.** No part of this society is for our benefit, no part of it serves our best interests. Indeed, everything that this society allows might usefully be taken as a personal attack upon us. Its goods, its services, its visions of the good life, its models of deviance, its cities, its politics, its protests, its moralities, its high culture and cheap thrills, its gaudy fashions for young women and its drab uniforms for middle-aged men, its good jobs and shit work, everything that its media, its politicians, its domesticated critics, its teachers, its researches, its manuals, its managers, its celebrities extol to us, all of it, quite without exception, always and everywhere tends to confine and disfigure us, to make us into the kind of people that the separate economy and the separate power of that state needs in order to survive. So, a parent-teacher meeting, for example, is not an opportunity to help your child develop his or her knowledge, maturity and independence but an invitation to collaborate in the destructive process of implanting the falsified and tamed knowledge, the limited aspirations, and the acceptance of established authority and mores which contemporary capitalism expects of its producers and consumers. Equally, for the teacher, such a meeting is not part of an authentic vocation but is simply a facet of a process of alienation in which all of his or her time, thought and effort as a teacher is sucked into procedures and a curriculum imposed from above. Here and elsewhere across everyday life, the question is: what can we (parent, teacher, child) do to stop this expense of spirit in a waste of shame? **Perhaps we can see nothing we can do today. If so, the question renews itself tomorrow and the day after as a fresh challenge to our cunning and ingenuity, our ability to publicize our**

**discontent and seek out potential partners in the dance of revolution.** Does this sound like a dreary life of unbroken militancy in the service of a political cause or party? If it does, think again. There is no cause. There is no party. There is only the creative, enriching and entirely practical task of defeating by ourselves our own unhappiness and our own subordination, of overthrowing a social arrangement that is unfit for us as individuals and creating a better one by and for ourselves. We must develop a theory and practice that precisely prevents the emergence of ideas, procedures and leaders that dominate us.

[...] But even the suggestion of an attack on the state terrifies the Left. We need not be so concerned. The state is not a friend. **The problem is not that the state is being attacked but that some part of it will be left standing.** [...] Perhaps now is the moment to wrest the project of individual and social emancipation away from our masters and set it loose for real[...] What do we really have to lose? The careering absurdity of our world is not worthy of us; and neither are the lives of loud satisfaction and quiet desperation we lead within it.



"Enough, enough, enough!  
As the poet transforms his lyre  
into a dagger! As the  
philosopher transforms his  
probe into a bomb! As the  
fisherman transforms his oar  
into a formidable axe. As the  
miner comes up from the  
unbearable caves of the dark  
mines armed with his shining  
iron. As the farmer transforms  
his fruitful spade into a war  
lance. As the labourer  
transforms his hammer into a  
scythe and cleaver. And  
forward, forward, forward."

- Towards the Creative Nothing

# 'THE ORGANISED MINORITY STRUCTURE'

## FROM INDIVIDUAL REALISATION TO ITS GIGANTIC GROWTH THROUGH COLLECTIVISATION

The meeting of the individuals that have realised that the modern way of life does not fulfil them is the first step for the growth of subversive action and the process of fermenting liberatory ideas and practices. This meeting is achieved via the creation of informal groups, collectives and affinity groups (at first between friends). In them the individuals, apart from going into action more organised, can also communicate their perceptions, reflections, refusals and wishes, their fears and their dreams.

“Contrary to what is often believed, affinity between comrades does not depend on sympathy or sentiment. To have affinity means to have knowledge of the other, to know how they think on social issues, and how they think they can intervene in the social clash. This deepening of knowledge between comrades is an aspect that is often neglected, impeding effective action.”

- *The Affinty Group*

These re-groupings, at least as we have experienced them, despite sincere intentions and often their effectiveness in the objectives they choose, have the negative element that, precisely because of this relaxed relation between individuals, in time they are weakened and finally dissolve with a portion of individuals that composed them turning disappointed to private life.

## THE WAGER FOR THE TRANSITION FROM THE FRIENDSHIP-GROUP TO THE ORGANISED MINORITY STRUCTURE

The transition from the friendship-group to the organised structure is not a question of utilising certain excessive and substantially empty words. *It lies within the very perception and organisation of our refusals.* It is the attempt to understand and experience the words responsibility, commitment, consistency, continuity, development, comradeship, devotion. Participation and organisation in a revolutionary structure has

requirements. Requirements that are obviously decided collectively from all those participating on the basis of respect for individuality but also on the common passion to fight. An entire world remains to be discovered, another remains to be demolished, not only by friends but by comrades and fellow-fighters.

Circles of self-education, practical knowledge, thoughts for the future of the struggle, setting up strategic plans that are judged as interesting to be utilised, moments of attack that are experienced and, in particular, duration of time. So the relations tighten and keep the door well shut to hierarchies, specialisations, the silence of the “shyest” in discussions. **Simultaneously, the common experiences, the progressive convergence of theories, and the henceforth-coordinated rhythms welcome the group to the significance of development but also fast diagnosis of conditions (internal-external) that result, making for more accurate intervention, correction or even self-critique.**

At this point it would not be pointless to mention the question of means. The bipolarisation of legal-illegal means should immediately be surpassed by every fighter, not however without careful choice. **It is not only that each case is judged differently, i.e. that the distribution of texts can be more effective in one case, while in another an explosive mechanism can “do the job better”.** This is obviously and in effect **leaving things to the mature judgement of those who know not to fetishise but also not to excommunicate.** [...] It engraved and engraves its own experiential spoken orbit, direct and accessible, not so much in order to be consolidated in the ever-so pliable social conscience (if in the end that even exists as a united piece), but in order to constitute/co-form, exclusively with those who fight, the revolutionary community and its own conscience.



**It was and is very much a component of a wider radical and multiform struggle, as well as a permanent provocation (invitation) for anyone interested, a perception of movement in the urban field, a way of life. It is a fact that it did not seek social acceptance but individual and collective complicity.**

It is of no interest to us even now, though we are not hostile, the criticism, the “understanding” or the applause of the couch-lovers, the progressives, those who do not fight (and we are not only referring to armed struggle at this point) and they are not the criterion for us to act, for us to live. Simultaneously, what we really anticipate is as much the critique as the co-formation of *common struggle*, those who in a thousand ways fight for and dream of the destruction of this world...

## WE ARE THE DEATH RATTLE OF THIS SOCIETY

The social body for us cannot be faced as something homogeneous and be characterised either as an ally or an enemy. It consists of various social groups that are composed of various individuals. The relations that are developed in its gut are permanently altered depending on the clashes, equilibriums and contradictions of each era but, simultaneously and diachronically, also altered models of deep alienation, imposition of force and the exercise of authority. *Finally the social body is nothing for us but a battlefield.* [...] And if therefore we claim that our struggle turns against this but also every society, obviously we do not mean that it targets all the individuals that compose it as candidate victims. Such a thing would be contradictory and an impasse because whether we like it or not we are a part of it as well. **It is simply that we believe that the existence of a mass human society itself creates institutions, hierarchies, specialisations, oppression, and the exploitation of nature.** We live inside it and we shape in its interior a powerful minority that conspires against every one of its expressions and undermines its perpetuation, organising again into fighting camps (based on characteristics of conscience) and applying in practice from now on the existence, collaboration, solidarity *and also the potential polemic* between small autonomous communities.

**The new urban guerrilla, of course, crossed and crosses its own trajectory, a trajectory that obviously recognises and overtakes its own errors and contradictions, something which happens in every healthy evolutionary course of a tendency and proposal of struggle.**

The self-criticism of those who compose that struggle, whether behind bars, or via the continuation of hostilities, constitutes for us a basic element in its advancement but also in its continuous readjustment based on the significance of permanent improvement, joy, acuteness. *The deep good intention of self-criticism challenges ideas in a tireless and exhaustive interrogation. The verdict, with the adequate strictness that suits attachment to the revolutionary case, decides unscrupulously on the rejection of the handlings which will stay from now on in the quiver of the opponent. It sails without delay from the sentimental anchorage, blows up the remains of the false consciousness without leaving traces, destroys unhesitatingly what disorients and also delays it.*

[...] **We are nothing but a small but proud minority of this tendency, and, having the conscience for the clarity of our choices and the surpassing of our own mistakes, we want to share the experiences of our journey.** Our small defeats and our big victories. Victories that cannot be measured in military terms (at least not only) but are an alloy of moments and experiences that we acquire as warriors of the revolution. **The damage (small or great) that we cause to the enemy, the happiness that we experience being 100% devoted to the struggle, the fear overcome during an attack, the smiles after it's done, the precious relations that birthed and continue to birth the organisations and**

groups that in these difficult times continue, those that now with audacity are springing up... *This list is still being written.*



[...] Communication, the co-ordination of action, the joint setting of issues, the exchange of critical opinions, mutual aid are the next step for the organisation of rebels, for the **qualitative** and **quantitative** upgrading of the struggle. The diversity in the perceptions and practices, the autonomy of each structure (as that of the individuals that compose it) should not though mean separate action, at least not continuously. On the contrary this diversity - if communicated, cultivated, connected in fertile terms - is wealth that is jointly shared by those who fight. What is in the first place necessary, is the conquest of the conscience of *common struggle*. Then collaborations, fermentations, co-sailing can spring up **(and we stress not necessarily)**. The exchange of theoretical disagreements but also the exchange of information of actions can greatly create the co-formation of common public speech resulting in a possibly greater and better-aimed approach as well as the co-formation of common objectives and setting issues, resulting in the greatest wound to the enemy. From now on individual development and awareness will be developed simultaneously as much with the collective as with the inter-collective. The horizontal-chaotic networks of multiform anarchist/revolutionary action are a feasible process, a necessary process in

"The struggle needs obligation, it needs dedication, discipline, the struggle for individual freedom as equal to that of the collective freedom. But what is wrong here is that many misunderstand these practices, confusing obligation with boredom, dedication with martyrdom and discipline with authoritarianism. The struggle doesn't need bitter people, ready to die for the cause without living their lives fighting, without living with passion... and it doesn't need temporary games, of fashion, of senseless acts. The struggle needs obligation and responsibility, obligation which is principally individual."

- *Autonomous Cells for Immediate Revolution / Praxedis G. Guerrero*

order to recompose as much as possible the lacerated community of refusal but also in order to signal in advance the end of every attempt at its hierarchical structuring.

**About the authors:** on October 13th 2010, Giannis Skouloudis was arrested redhanded just after detonating an incendiary device composed of camping gas canisters along with petrol and a fuse amongst the vehicles in the parking lot of the D.E.I. (the Greek national electric company) in the centre of Thessaloniki, incinerating one van completely: which he openly took sole responsibility for. He was brought to the courthouse to be charged, where clashes broke out between comrades in solidarity outside and the cops (with injuries on both sides including to Giannis' mother, windows broken on the courthouse and a nearby police van). Immediately on the morning of his capture, four arrest warrants were issued for close friends and comrades of his: **Dimitris Fessas, Babis Tsilianidis, Socrates Tzifkas and Dimitris Dimsiadis**, accused of participating in a criminal organisation. They chose to go underground to continue the struggle, until on January 13th 2011 all four were arrested by an anti-terrorist unit house raid in Vyronas, Athens, on charges of 'anonymous terrorist organisation – aggravated gun possession', and Babis Tsilianidis is also accused of an armed robbery. The comrades refused to recognise the cops or judges authority or to enter a plea. During the unfortunately short period of the 'Vyronas 4' being in clandestinity, which they describe "*included to the absolute degree the sweetness that the conscious decisions of life and their militant applications can give to those who ignite them[...] to lead us to new ruptures with the existent...*", they published the pamphlet *Collaboration of Individuals for Achieving Negation* and the text that the above is drawn from, "*we read a lot, we learned more, we prepared with caution and dexterity new small and big stormings of the heavens... [i]n the effort of organising a guerrilla front.*" **Three of the four are now out of jail; Babis Tsilianidis was declared guilty of the robbery and sentenced to ten years and four months, no parole.**





# AUSCHWITZ-DISNEYLAND

*Translated from the French-language anti-civilisation journal La Mauvaise Herbe, Volume 11. no2*



absolute negation of the possibility of being here, now. **Here-and-now, is no longer here-and-now, it is just next door, out of reach, fenced off, it is a no-man's land that crosses the empire, it is**

I live in Auschwitz-Disneyland. I make sure that all my papers are in order,

I document my existence on social networks, I apply for grants and loans. I wear clothes that express who I am, I am a walking billboard, a name tag, I pick a style. I take a train, a subway, my car, *un Bixi*<sup>[1]</sup>, it's so convenient. I take a shower, I smell good, according to the ads this foaming gel makes me irresistible. Auschwitz-Disneyland is the countryside in the city, the city in the suburb, and the suburb in the countryside. Auschwitz-Disneyland is naked life in one's Sunday best, the hegemony giving itself the answer. In Auschwitz-Disneyland, "holidays make you free." In Auschwitz-Disneyland, we order at the drive-through, we studying by distance learning, and we shop online.

In Auschwitz-Disneyland, "water comes from the tap and food comes from the supermarket", food found in the skip also comes from the supermarket. Spectacular capital of Biopower and the bio-political Spectacle: Auschwitz-Disneyland is the name of the metropolis and that of the empire. Auschwitz-Disneyland is not synonymous with the Spectacle, but rather, that which the Spectacle prevents us from keeping our distance from. **Auschwitz-Disneyland is not civil war, but the denial of civil war to such a degree that it becomes a weapon.** Auschwitz-Disneyland does not call itself Auschwitz-Disneyland, it is called: Montréal, Burlington, Club Med, the University of Québec in Montréal, Athens, Amiens, Dix-Trente, Bagram, Oakland, Bois-des-Fillions, and I'm skipping some. The inhabitants of Auschwitz-Disneyland are citizens. In the aftermath of a riot, the citizens come out of their condominiums armed with brooms. *Living in Auschwitz-Disneyland is an anaesthetic experience, which deprives us of the beauty and possibility of sensory experience.*

I wouldn't know how to say exactly how this all started, if it was domestication, patriarchy, agriculture, the State, cities, symbolic culture. There is also this god from the desert, jealous and terrible liar whose promise is no stranger to the hegemony of Auschwitz-Disneyland. This god, who could not have been so hideously jealous and a horrible liar if he had really been alone, managed to convince his disciples that he was the only god and that nothing that links us to the here-and-now is of importance, that what mattered was elsewhere and he held the key for it. Although we are no longer as loyal to this tyrannical buffoon, *we continue to diligently follow his terrible promise.* Auschwitz-Disneyland is the objective incarnation of this promise, the

**subject to police surveillance at all times.**

When I try to escape Auschwitz-Disneyland is not to go elsewhere, *it is to rediscover the here-and-now.* I do not dig a tunnel, but a hiding place, a shelter.

**Auschwitz-Disneyland subjects the world to its empire through use of powerful tools such as reason, technique and grammar.** In a world whose ins and outs are contained in symbolic mediations, *do not underestimate the power of grammar.* Grammar shapes minds and stories, it also brings many prohibitions, of course it is not permissible to join the words "Auschwitz" and "Disneyland" with a hyphen, to try to give them one and the same meaning. In Auschwitz-Disneyland, resistance, like all counter-cultures, has developed a vocabulary of its own, but fails to overcome the enemy grammar; *the word "ecocide" will never hold weight against the concept of "economic growth".* The combination of a counter-cultural vocabulary with the authoritarian grammar of mass society can only lead to ridicule, we must see how easily the "New World Order", "Bilderberg" and "chemtrails" conspirators put an end to any political conversation. **Facing the risk of being confined to jargon, it is beneficial to talk through the force of rocks, paving stones, poles...**

Auschwitz-Disneyland is less the Apocalypse in motion, than the negation of this Apocalypse in the service of its expansion. The task falls on the best agents of the Apocalypse of denying the slightest trace of the latter, and to wipe out the unfortunates who had the audacity and recklessness to pronounce its name. It is perhaps no coincidence that Saint Peter became the head of the church by denying Christ three times. If this negation of the Apocalypse returns in the sphere of the spectacular, to specialists, in the private sphere we become all subcontractors. We prefer, most of the time, to deny our desire to end the domination, in favour of a trans-historical oppositional perspective and of 'counter-power'. In doing so, we deny the possibility of abolishing Auschwitz-Disneyland, by contenting ourselves with a space for demonstrations, a zone for free expression, a protest pen. We let go of the gun to better cling to the barricade.

This mutilated negativity first results in our inability to sustain ourselves without precarity, which also feeds our servitude. This constant management of subsistence denies the possibility of note-worthy experience, of bearing a relationship to the world which is not that of domination.

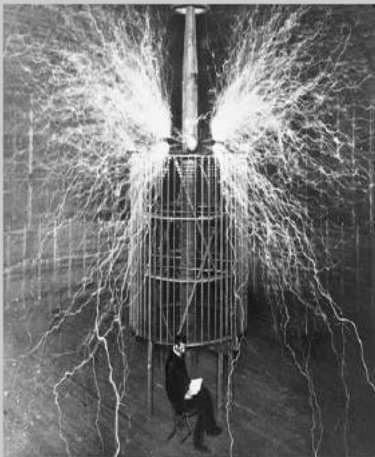
"The urban guerrilla of another time was one of hierarchy, martyrdom, and leninism. It claimed to be the vanguard of the coming revolution, while always maintaining a patronizing view toward others which inevitably led toward fantasies of centralized power. The new guerrilla avoids these pitfalls. [S]elf-sacrifice is rejected, along with orthodoxy and hierarchy in all its forms[...] instead[...] tightly-knit groups of friends in which specialization is leveled by generalization of skills and knowledge, and in which daily life and intimate relationships are not separated from the practice of revolt[...] an insurrectionist guerrilla with contempt for all leaders and vanguards[...] inextricably linked with the joy of life as it is with the urgency of our situation."

- Untorelli Press

"We believe that the concept of the anarchist urban guerrilla isn't a separate identity one assumes only while engaging in armed attack.

Rather, we feel it's a matter of merging each person's private and public life in the context of total liberation. We aren't anarchists only when we throw a molotov at a riot police van, carry out expropriations, or plant an explosive device. We're also anarchists when we talk to our friends, take care of our comrades, have fun, and fall in love. We aren't enlisted soldiers whose duty is revolution. We are guerrillas of pleasure who view the connection between rebellion and life as a prerequisite for taking action."

- The Sun Still Rises



**A century of industrialisation, continental genocide and four years of trench warfare eradicated everything up until the “possibility of experience.”** Then after that, it was relayed by the most horrible images, rats shown alternating with a hated minority; and during that time on other screens, a mouse wearing trousers, going to the restaurant with his girlfriend, driving a car. Since scrapping experience, progress, basing itself on images, has free reign, hiding the cost of what little is given to us, cultivating our dependence, promising us anything. In Auschwitz-Disneyland, progress maintains itself by combining its best gadgets, which form so many layers which capture us like kellophone. Auschwitz-Disneyland merges telecommunications, cybernetics and pornography, and gives us the internet.

**Auschwitz-Disneyland is also the triumph of sustainable development, humanitarian intervention and green capitalism.** Divided thought has multiplied to the point of constituting an inseparable heap. New animal torturers are the “finest minds” of cognitive science, and wise European scholars, well-intentioned, try to prove the innocuousness of new molecules that surround us. Where does the baby start and the bathwater finish? *The “banality of evil” is also the evil of banality.* The dreams of citizens reproduce sadness and the banality of their existence, their interaction is limited to an interface. Another world is possible, you want to laugh. **This world is impossible, its end is desirable, that will suffice.** Jokers put forward superficial slogans: *ecosocialism or barbarism.* If it's a matter of choice the answer is too easy, we are not fooled, the 250 known species which have become extinct today are not fooled. If it's a threat, we will respond with a roar, a fierce and wild roar, we will roar with all our strength, we will roar for the 250 known species which became extinct today.



**Auschwitz-Disneyland can provide free education, cover itself with windfarms, eat organic and drive electric cars, the “Princesses' Castle” and her thousands of hideous copies could be made of recycled cardboard, the horror would remain whole. To maintain itself, this world must keep us out of the here, far from the now, outside nature and alien to each other.**

Auschwitz-Disneyland only maintains itself by cultivating this estrangement within us towards others. We share a subway car, without letting it show; we don't look at anyone, we are voluntarily absorbed by some gadgets, some books, some music. When empty-handed, we pretend to be alone, to be somewhere else; we are in the habit. **We are mobilised against the presence of the body and against the possibility that it carries.**

Sometimes this mobilisation fails and the decorations get torn. There are all these cities and suburbs ablaze when the cops execute the “baddies”. There is Sobibor<sup>[2]</sup> where a dozen prisoners got the camp to revolt: killing the guards, destroying the cells, fleeing into the woods. There's also Woodstock '99<sup>[3]</sup>, Seattle<sup>[4]</sup> and there is Oka<sup>[5]</sup>.

A drone flies over a piece of desert, preparing to launch a missile at a truck; we will say that it was carrying some “militants”. A landlord's association decides to analyse the DNA of dog shit that stains their lawns to find and punish those “guilty”. A counterfeit Mickey Mouse gets on stage with a neophyte dictator for the greatest “joy” of children. An Italian atomic energy official gets kneecapped<sup>[6]</sup>. **The war is already here, we know which side to choose. All that's left is to “desert with arms”, to desert with a friend, with at least one friend, a friend, a stranger, a stranger who became a friend, with two friends, five friends.** Deserting doesn't necessarily imply going elsewhere, “arms” are not just useful for fighting; deserting implies creating a new relationship to the world, exploring “here” and experimenting “now”, noting the location of enemy devices, making a plan, plans, finding yourself, finding a friend, two friends, five friends. Together we will survive, heal, and of course fight, we will also experiment with this new grammar, *better yet this language without grammar*, which will put an end once and for all to “Auschwitz-Disneyland.”

1. ed. - *Similar to the 'Boris Bikes' cycle hire scheme.*

2. ed. - *Sobibór was a Nazi German extermination camp in Poland.*

3. ed. - *The 1999 Woodstock festival near New York ended with rioting.*

4. ed. - *Seattle hosted the 1999 World Trade Organisation summit, with big protests and much property damage.*

5. ed. - *The 1990 'Oka Crisis' was a 78-day armed stand-off between the Canadian military and Kanestake indigenous protectors of traditional habitat to be turned into a golf course. Other tribes set up blockades and downed power-lines in solidarity.*

6. ed. - *See Rebels Behind Bars; 'We Refuse to Reduce Our Desires...'*

“Invitations were made. To dance together. Coming from different parts, maybe the same as always. Invitations to the ones who never stopped and don't wish to stop, in the face of all the attacks against the rebels who know no authorities. Invitations for a new effort, for a new storm on the heavens. Invitations that arrived at different places, and that are being replied to. We too desire to dance. With you. And you. And also with you. As long as we can; as long as we have any breath left; as long as we desire to dance together. Because it never worried us to dance alone, but we want to dance with you and want you to dance with us, comrades. In this dancing that we started when we felt that our freedom is impossible in this context. As long as we don't destroy the existent, opening up infinite possibilities. Because anarchy... we don't see it as a future goal, but as something we want to live here and now. Because we see it not as a new society, not as a new state, not as one big union, not as a new equilibrium... anarchy is not order..



We see it as moments we live and moments that we want to live, time and time again. As free individuals. With each other, with whom we want and with whom wants us. Because the most beautiful dances are those which take us to a chaos... of people and exaggerated actions... and emotions... The best dancers in the world dance without rules. They follow the music they have in their hearts. Anarchy is not order. And so we dance; and yes, on the ruins of this society. Every time we can. As long as we have any strength left. Because the attack was never a whim, but a necessity. The destruction was never something secondary, but the inevitable step for us to dance in the unknown. For brief moments. In tension. To those who claim to build alternatives in this rotten world, good luck. We'll be elsewhere, trying to destroy, everything. Including your alternatives. And then... we'll see. Each one of us will decide. We go on searching for comrades, in this marvelous rebellion for the freedom of each one of us. Nothing is granted, and that's what makes us move. It's the certainty of that which we don't want that makes us take a step, “even though the time is uncertain”... The goal is not far away, it is already in the way we try to reach it. As free individuals. The invitations were made. We accept them, and reach out our hands.”

- *When Shall We Begin This Dance?*

# 'GENDER, SEXUALITY, PATRIARCHY, & DOMINATION'

It is common practice in many anarchist circles to pay lip service to a critique of the institutions of patriarchy and heterosexuality and to make at least some (often vague and half-hearted) effort to reject gender roles. Frequently, however, the analysis that is put forth is weak and superficial... [...] There is little attempt made to examine what is at the root of gender, sexuality, patriarchy, and domination or to discuss what tactical measures can be taken to dismantle them.

Heterosexuality is a patriarchal system that sets up rigid guidelines and power relations for individuals to interact within. **Heterosexuality exists within this society as an institution, a social contract, and as well, as an identity category that is used to shape individual experience into a single, collective, and homogenous classification.** Discourses such as queer theory often describe heterosexuality as being violent, dominating, and repressive. However, such discourses generally present this as being somehow unique to the system of heterosexuality while describing alternative systems, such as homosexuality, as being inherently liberatory. This argument overlooks the nature of categorization upon which heterosexuality and homosexuality are both based.

**All institutions, social contracts, and classifications are based on denying our individual desires in order to engage in predetermined interactions with others.** Any time a label or definition is applied to human existence there is the necessity of creating set boundaries where certain behaviors fit within the category created

and certain others do not. This defining of lived experience creates limits on what is acceptable and then pushes individuals to try and live by these limits. These limits rule our lives. They destroy our ability to make our own decisions and to relate to the world in a subjective, spontaneous manner.

In addition, for categories such as heterosexuality, which are deemed as particularly important to those who wish to uphold the civilized ideals upon which this society is based, there is an overt external policing of boundaries that takes place. The policing of heterosexuality comes in both legal and extralegal forms. Legally parameters are set up wherein "rights" and "privileges" are given to those who fit within the created category while these same legal "rights" are withheld from those outside of the boundaries of the category. This can be clearly seen in the debate over homosexual marriage. Traditionally legal marriage has been set aside as something that only a biological female and a biological male can enter into together. Once married the two partners are awarded certain "privileges" such as being able to will each other property after their death, the ability to visit each other if they are hospitalized, the ability to share health insurance coverage, and legal recognition of their control of their children should they have any. **This type of policing is supposed to both keep in tact both the moral fiber of the society as well the patriarchal ideas of property, ownership, and power upon which the society is based.**

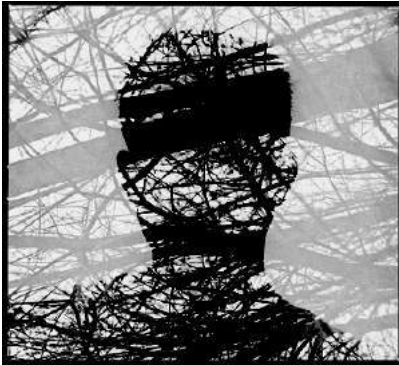
Another form of policing that is used is more violent and spontaneous and can, at

times, be both overt and subtle. This type of policing can be called homophobia (meant here as the hatred and/or fear of Gay Lesbian Transgender Intersex and Queer (GLBTIQ) peoples) and heterosexism (meant here as the often unchallenged belief that heterosexuality is the preferred form of human interactions and which often works to hide, ignore, or deny the existence of other ways for humans to relate). These forms of policing can be seen in hurled insults coming from strangers, in bursts of physical violence, and in families who refuse to acknowledge their children once they come out as queer. This violent behavior is directed at those who exist beyond the confines of heterosexuality. **It occurs when individuals internalize the dominant ideals of this society and take it upon themselves to see that these ideals are upheld and enforced.** There are many reasons that this happens but it seems that this behavior is often generated by fear as well as from a redirecting of the oppression of heterosexuality that the individuals themselves feel. The later is often used by those who feel limited by heterosexuality but lash out at others instead of trying to dismantle heterosexuality or challenge the power it has over them. They feel that they must constantly prove that they have successfully internalized heterosexual ideals by patrolling others' behavior and thus affirming their own correctness.

Heterosexuality is precipitated on the necessity of rigid social roles. It is a social relationship that relies upon otherness, difference, binaries, and polarities. On the most basic level it centers upon the oppositional categories of male and

"When feminists proclaimed "the personal is the political" they conveniently ignored the fact that politics require *de-personalization*; de-uniqueing and de-individualizing, massified roles with near verbatim scripts. I insist, the personal can only be the *anti-political* — ungoverned and ungovernable unique humans whose liberation can have no interceptors, interpreters, or redirectors. [...] A dominant and dominating force fixing us in our proper place is the elevation of a mass — identifiable, controllable, and homo-non-genius — above all. [...] The roots of our subjugation are deep and tangled; each strand feeds and supports itself and the structure it is inseparable from. Clipping one will not destroy the whole; roots are both regenerative and cooperative. This is why some anarchists and other radicals declare the whole-tangled-mess our enemy. [...] This powerful enemy includes a mindset requiring controlled, predictable (despite acknowledging its impossibility), identifiable order according to a Mass-ter plan. But it is perhaps, first and foremost, the loss of the unique individual, alienated from self and others, masked in a divisive pseudo-libertarian-unity. We are unified only in our misery, guilt, and blame — wasting away in our too often self-selected, segregated, readily-identified roles — in reality, easily monitored cells. [...] We've got to destroy this stage/platform before it gets kicked out from under nearly dangling feet and noosed and hoodied heads. And I want to lay my naked and wounded being on the newly exposed dirt alongside the sensual, raging, gentleness of a tribe of free lovers of life while I still can." - *Only a Tsunami Will Do*

female. In order for heterosexuality to exist there must be a clearly defined female just as there must be a clearly defined male and these two sites of identity must be defined against one another. The male individual is male because he is not female, just as the female is defined as such because she is not male.



**Defining one's self in relation to an other is reactionary and requires a distancing from one's own subjective experience. In order to define one's self in opposition to something else, one must repress one's individual desires and experiences and concentrate instead on channeling them into a rigidly pre-fabricated set of behaviors and perceptions. It is also necessary to objectify those that one sets one's self in opposition to, turning wild, free, spontaneous, and fluid individuals into characters who are predictable in their opposition and difference to one's self.**

To some degree identifying with either of the set categories of gender means objectifying one's self. In order to call one's self male or female, you must reduce all of the myriad ways that you behave and experience the world into a single, clearly defined, way of being. Identifying as male or female also means identifying with a repressive system that tries to limit who we are, what we can or can't do, and how we interact with others. In order for a stable category of "woman" to exist it must be defined in opposition to "man" and this opposition creates precisely the power dynamics that anarchists attempt to critique and destroy.

The oppressive nature of heterosexual interactions, however, is not inherent in the interactions themselves. Despite the

theories of some lesbian feminists, there is nothing inherently oppressive that occurs when female-bodied persons engage in erotic interactions with male-bodied persons. **Authoritarianism and domination does not evolve out of our bodies, it is created through domestication, objectification, self-repression, and the violent oppression that occurs in civilization.** [...] One need not identify with any part of heterosexuality or any set category in order to have a relationship with another individual. It is more than possible to move beyond scripted modes of interacting and to live outside of the character roles that society sets out.

Identities and communities that are often seen as liberatory, such as those that fall within the acronym GLBTIQ, can be just as constraining and oppressive as those that fit within the dominant understanding of heterosexuality. GLBTIQ identities in many ways uphold the same system that they supposedly are fighting against. Writer, Pat Califia, argues that, "To the extent that homosexuality is based on being able to make distinctions between two sexes, albeit for the purpose of choosing the 'wrong' one, gay people, too, have an investment in maintaining a dual-sex system."<sup>[1]</sup> Homosexuality, as it is constructed as one person's sexual desire for another person of the same gender, does nothing to interrupt the rigid idea of gender categories. In fact, the category of homosexuality requires stable gender categories for its existence and is therefore still based upon limiting one's experience to fit within a repressive social category.

[...] Although it is important to deconstruct set categories of identity it is hard to deny that there are occasions when these categories can help create healing spaces and relationships. [...] [H]istorically there is a measurable difference between the experiences of those who have been called male and those who have been called female. To not acknowledge that people with certain (perceived or real) attributes, identities, or bodies have faced incredible violence, humiliation, and limitations on their freedom because of these attributes is to rewrite history in a problematic and negligible way. **Because of the violence caused by patriarchy that has been disproportionately unleashed upon those perceived to be female and those perceived to be GLBTIQ<sup>[2]</sup>, individuals facing violence often desire to create**

**safe spaces along lines of identity. I would like to suggest, however, that the healing that can come from women's only spaces is created by shared experiences and not by shared identities.**

[...] Human existence is ever changing, expanding and shrinking as individuals take into account new experiences. **To allow for this, to refuse to perpetuate pre-fabricated patterns for behavior or identity, is to begin to challenge the hold that power structures have over us.** As D. Travis Scott states, "Polymorphous desire and the fluid, non-fixed identities they entail do not allow for the power hierarchies many wish to erect and maintain...I don't want to be identified, named, pinned down, understood. Those are all the first steps toward manipulation and control."<sup>[3]</sup> Once something is fixed in time and space it is much easier for it to be controlled. When things are not concretely defined, when they are not linear but are slippery and full of complexities, it gets much harder to institute hierarchies because there are infinite possibilities which cannot easily be classified and assigned value. Allowing for infinite possibility in our interactions with one another means opening up our capacity for immeasurable emotion and experience. It also means beginning to attack the socialized fears and behaviors that have been put upon us by civilization.

Beyond refusing to allow one's self to be determined and controlled by this society there are many ways one can actively work to dismantle patriarchy. Patriarchy is held in place by an internalizing of various ideals as well as through overt and subtle threats of violence and ostracization if one defies the set behaviors and power structures that the system creates. **Patriarchy relies upon people not only personally perpetuating the society's ideals but also passing them on to future generations. Because of this, how one relates to children becomes quite important.** It is beneficial for those who spend time with children to encourage them to live out their desires and to diffuse the sexual socialization that they may have received. On a personal level, it is also important to begin to truly listen to our desires and act on them. Socialization has taken from many of us our ability to know what is right for us. It can be beneficial to form relationships that cut across gender, being open to creating sensual relationships with many bodied/sexed people. Challenging the

dominant idea of sexual acts as something that centers on vaginal penetration by a penis can be liberatory for the persons involved and it can also begin to tear through the social fabric that confines us. Having intimate relationships that exist outside of the constructs of normative sexuality can challenge our own socialized behaviors and ideas and these experiences can also lessen the control that heterosexuality and patriarchy have on our lives.

There are also many ways of fighting the external manifestations of heterosexuality and patriarchy. This can come in the form of confronting rapists, misogynists, and homophobes, learning self-defense, helping loved ones heal from domestic/intimate abuse, or engaging in direct action against patriarchal institutions that define, manage, and control our existence.

1. Pat Califia, *Public Sex: The Culture of Radical Sex*

2. This is also used against socialized males in the expectations of masculinity that are set up by the culture: emotional repression, discouragement of intimacy, and encouragement of tough and aggressive behavior. The policing of these ideals often comes about in forms of violence similar to those used against peoples considered to be queer. This is because when a man does not fully live up to masculine ideals he is seen as violating the institution of heterosexuality and is thus brought down to the status of queers.

3. D. Travers Scott, *Pomosexuals*

"[W]e find identity politics a monolithic and restrictive way to understand the world. We are our identities but we are never just one identity, we are a complexity of them. And identities do not line up in a straightforward ABC of oppression... [t]his just falls into binaries that we are attempting to escape from, or creates more." - *The Poverty of Privilege Politics*

## 'IT'S ALL JUST TEARDROPS IN THE RAIN'

[extracted from Stephen M. Waite Sr.'s 2005 letter to the now-defunct journal *Green Anarchy*]

Fellow travellers,

[...] I have been a prisoner of the STATE(s) for the past thirty-one years. Even served a bit in Salem. I have this "thing" about blind authority.

[...] I'm slaving in the Clinton prison garment factory sewing T-shirts, THOUSANDS of the fuckers, for forty-five cents per hr. Up till recently I sent most of what I made, (about twenty a week) home to help my Ma pay for her meds-n-such. They gave me a death-bed visit, cost me eighteen-hundred, but at least I got to kiss her good-by before she shuffled off this mortal coil.

She worked forty friggin years for the same factory, hardly missed a damned day, then when she retired because of her health, the Feds took just about every fuckin dime of her retirement funds, some shit about taxes...**No,...I ain't got a lot-a-love for a civilization that feeds off, sucks the life from and drains away what spirit remains until some minimum wage system-drone empties the bed-pan from beneath the lingering bio-mass that once had been a good hearted human.**

Yea, I'm a cynic. Once worked death row in Florida State prison for a couple years. Used to set up and chat with folks like Bundy, Long, Sheppard, you know the type, ones born without anything inside. Look into their eyes and see eternity...**I see the same bottomless fuckin pit when I look into the eye-sockets of these drone-shit-eaters who stumble past this cage I'm in every day to count the name-less, numbered bodies.**

[...] I'm figuring maybe [*I've got*] a few years left. I'm celling around guys who've been existing in these cages, some for thirty-five, forty years. The real walkin-dead.

Talked with one last week while in the yard. He told a couple of others how he planned on checking out. I listened to his plan with a jaundiced ear, that is, till he went through with it. Seems he wanted company. **No big pre-amble, no wild, last Hurrah...he just stepped out of line, snatched a pencil from his pocket, and stuck a shit-eater in the throat.** They beat him down. As they dragged what was left of a man down the cement steps, his skull making dull thumpity-thumps on the stone, I actually saw a grin on his dead face. **Now THAT'S what I call an anarchist.**

[...] There's a line in a flic I recently saw, *Blade Runner*, I think it was...this robot has this guy on a roof top in the rain, he's diein, this robot..and he tells this shit eater fuckin cop that; "it's all just teardrops in the rain." I know what he meant. That's all we become eventually, just a quiet puff of air as what once was a life expires into the nether.

Don't think I'm snivilin, or griping, you'd have it wrong if so...no, I just wanted to stuff this in a bottle and toss it into the sea of nothingness. There's this tattoo I always liked. You might of seen it? In the background there's this screaming eagle, hawk, whatever...it's wings are spread wide, talons so sharp they glint, it's beak wide open in a scream...in the foreground, his back to you, stands this small mouse. He's all fucked up, ratty, busted tail, natted fur, cut, twisted back...but his right paws



extended high above his head, his heads tipped back watching what's gunna be his death commin at him. His broken-twisted paw held high, and his middle finger sticks straight up in a last, "FUCK YOU."

The caption beneath reads; "The Last Act of Defiance."

**Like that seventy-one year old con who stuck that shit eater with a pencil...THAT'S what I thought of as I faced the wall with twenty others, feet spread, hands pressed against it above my head.**

**I'm thinkin...that ain't a bad way to go.**

I had a shit eater bark at me the other day over some bullshit. I told him as I walked off..."Ya know? Ya don't even see the kindness around you."

"What the fuck are you jabberin about?" he barked.

"Man, it's these guys you treat like shit that let you go home alive."

I'm figuring that nobody'll ever read this past a couple lines, but ya know, it don't matter cuz it's all just teardrops anyway.

# 'THE LOSS OF COMPETENCE'

**"THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF THE CAPITALIST TOTALITY ... CANNOT BE OVERTHROWN BY MEANS OF WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT OF PRODUCTION FOR 'NEED'."**

The loss of competence from individual life has a continuing impact beyond the individual scale. Men [*sic*], who as individuals serve machines, tend to reproduce machinic logics in their social life – the interactions of social life tends always to replicate the underlying relations of productive forms. That is to say, the men [*sic*] who serve machines in producing their material conditions also tend to mutually reduce each other to a quantity of facilitating nodes in multiple networked relations (the compulsive 'feeding the fire' mentality of internet networking as an example).

[...] **The autonomy of the individual is defined by their competencies, i.e. the emergent capacity to withdraw their labour from the community and live by their own efforts.** However, we should ordinarily expect this capacity of fully competent individuals to be rarely acted on... the competent individual, in their social interactions, is supplied from an almost infinite store of metaphors, lessons, experiences, images and stories by which they can enrich their discourse with the Other and thus actively seek out its company. The intercourses between competent men [*sic*], defined by mutual regard, strongly contrasts with the passive aggressions of those who are socialised, dependent on and de-individualised by 'the authority of steam' [*ed. - industrial work*].

What is this competency that may be set against proletarianised deskilling? It seems to be the ability to use tools and knowledge in numerous environments where a positive reciprocal relation between self and setting becomes possible. A list of competences now follows: knowing the most common wildlife species (birds, amphibians, reptiles, insects, trees, fungi) and their habitats, types of soil/rock etc. Knowing the major star constellations. Recognising cloud formations and likely imminent weather conditions; orienting oneself to the cardinal directions and to the particulars of a landscape; wild swimming; tree climbing.

"The Luddites and we are separated by an epoch, at times exhilarating for our side, during which the poor, gravitating *en masse* from the fields to the factories and the struggle against wage labour, came to believe – like many a millenarian movement before them – that the only problem was to burn down the castle, to expropriate the expropriators, that the world would promptly change its foundation if the economy were set right-side-up, if the means of production and their technical supports which "belonged to all", were simply reappropriated: selection and reassessment of their use could safely be left for later. Aside from the fact that it is happily no longer possible to bask in the messianic illusion of an ineluctable shift from the reign of necessity to the reign of freedom, we have also had to come to terms with the liberation in human beings of extremist tendencies toward submission as soon as totalitarian systems, well enough equipped ideologically and technically, could neutralise the old conditions of exploitation and domination which still allowed for humanising tendencies. [...] The last historical opportunities to take such avenues become fewer when, the better to erase their memory, the superlatively well equipped totalitarianism of the democracy of commodities prepares to colonise not just the body and the mind, but the most intimate reaches of all life."

- *Biotechnology Public and Private*

Knowing how to survive a night comfortably in the countryside; knowing how to make a campfire[...]; practical carpentry skills; basic cooking; how to build a waterproof shelter. Knowing how to understand other people's opinions and interests and respond to them in a non-aggressive way.

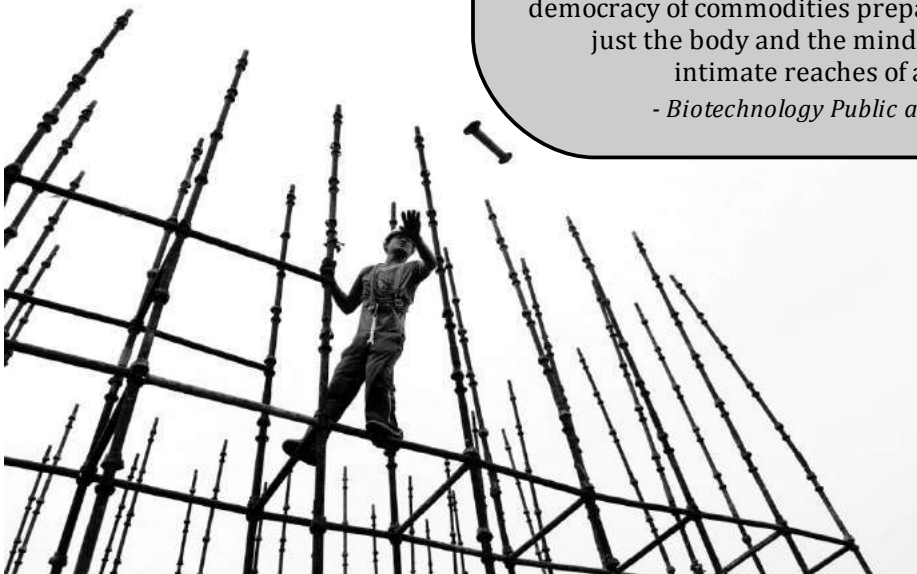
To this very basic list one might add competences in sewing, writing, drawing and so on. **None of these are significant in themselves, and the principles of them all may be learnt in less than a few hours but that is not the point.** And nor is it the point that these competences are now superfluous, that we are 'freed' from learning them and that we have learnt new skills that realise other aspects of our being – the ability to use a keyboard or how to drive (i.e. competences applied in relation

to machinery) do not engage the fullness of existence that, for example, a simple night in a forest does. It seems, from a materialist and historical perspective, that different orders of skills are mutually exclusive as they are so tied into the mode of generalised social production... there are many exceptions, but generally speaking, most 'free time' activity, for most of us in the West presently is now mediated through screens.

[...] **And yet, this is not to say that we**

**might change the world by reskilling.**

Competence, and its absence, is an outcome, an expression, an indication of the underlying structure of society[...]  
**However, it is certain that those who have become personally competent will not accept unskilled, production-line employment in factories unless they are forced to by poverty.** Factory work requires a violent *preparation* of the workforce, a process of desensitisation and dehumanisation.



[T]he automated nature of capitalist production, and the effects that automatic procedures have on decision-making (i.e. it is difficult to decide against that which has already been decided on further up the line) means that it is highly unlikely that workers might ever be in the position to give orders to the machines on which they are employed. In all historical examples of 'self-management', the *necessities* of production have required the re-instigation of the entire capitalist cycle as the optimal environment for their operation. [...] **Even where 'production for need' has suppressed production for profit, the economy itself, and in spite of decisions made against it, has hitherto dictated the necessity of a return to full capitalism.** [...] Decision-making does appear within industrialised society, but that decision-making function itself does not decide where or when it should be applied. We may not choose the points in the productive cycle where we are not to be recuperated, where we are not to be abased - in fact, this has been decided in advance of our individual appearance on the scene. There is absolutely no historical evidence that any capital-intensive technology could function within a non-capitalised society without it reintroducing, as a latent or secondary effect, the relationship-dynamics of commodity production.

[...] This is a sketched indication of the intolerability of such work to intelligent and sensitised individuals, who 'naturally' want more from their waking hours than to exist as machine parts and thus gravitate away from such work where the opportunity presents itself.



"Political situations have been changing in high speed over the last few years. What was efficient at the end of the 19th century, can hardly be applied to the first half of the 20th century, what was happening in the '60s (of the last century) is almost impossible to apply to the '70s, and especially to the '80s...

This process was accelerated by the arrogant capitalist ramage (which is developing and progressing at a speed impossible to follow), and the development of (especially informatic) technology, has made the theories and practices used in the '70s and '80s hardly applicable to the '90s, so relying on them now, at the beginning of the 21st century, makes almost no sense."

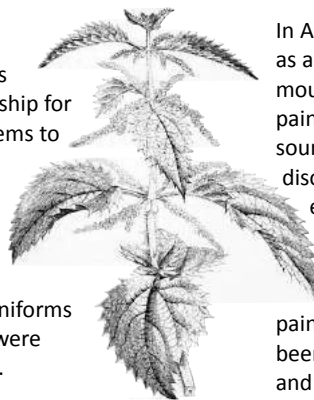
- Terra Incognita

## WILD PLANTS - Nettles & Cleavers

As spring arrives, there are many plants growing wild here in the U.K. that have nutritional or medicinal applications. Here we include some basic information and pictures: you can find more details and directions for use in herb books or, if you're lucky, a friend who wants to share their knowledge and foraging experience.

### Nettles

Humans and nettles have had a relationship for millennia; there seems to be evidence that in the Neolithic era, the nettle's stem was used to make strings (more recently, German uniforms in World War One were made from nettle!).



Don't be put off by the sting – if worried use gloves or otherwise cover your hands in some way to touch the plant. Nettles are bursting with different properties, filled with vitamin A, C and E, iron, calcium and minerals. When dried, nettles are 40% protein. It is an anti-inflammatory: fresh leaves placed on the skin, and especially on the kidney area (a practice named urticaria) induces a stinging and burning sensation, with the effect of easing more profound rheumatic pains and arthritis. Nettle helps strengthen the immune system, annihilating the predisposition towards colds, as well as treating anemia and fatigue (especially in women), exhaustion and other effects of stress. It also helps the excretion of wastes through the kidneys, and breaks down kidney stones and gravel in the bladder.

Nettle tea cures diseases and inflammations of the urinary system, and has a slight laxative effect. Nettle tea can also be of great help to those who suffer from diabetes, because it leads to the decrease of blood sugar and, implicitly, of the glycemic level. Stinging nettle is beneficial during pregnancy due to its rich mineral value and

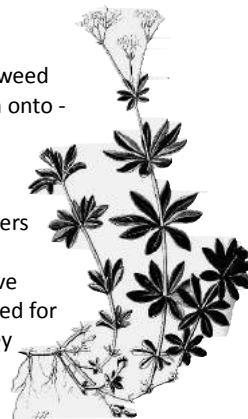
vitamin K, which guards against excessive bleeding. It is also a good supplement to strengthen the foetus. It is used during labour to ease the pains, and will increase milk production in lactating women. Stinging nettle is often recommended for pre-menstrual discomfort because of its toxin-ridding activity.

In Australia nettles have been used for years as a treatment for asthma - it also treats mouth and throat infections, relieves the pain of burns and scalds, and is a natural source for protection against cardiovascular disorders and immune deficiency. Applied externally and taken internally, stinging nettle tea is helpful for acne and eczema. Warts rubbed with the freshly expressed juice disappear without any pain being produced. Stinging nettle has been found to treat Alzheimer's disease, and help improve short-term memory and elevate the mood. The seeds are also good for expelling worms and other parasites. Eating nettles may also offer you relief from seasonal allergies.

Nettles are best when gathered early in the season, February through to April, depending on your location. Young plants, up to six inches tall, may be used whole. When picking older plants, use only the young, tender leaves. The stinging component is neutralised by heat (cooking or drying). Dry nettles at a low temperature. For even drying, separate leaves and stems. Nettles will dry in 8-12 hours.

### Cleavers

Also known as catchweed (because it will catch onto - "cleave" - whatever brushes by) and goosegrass (because geese love it!). Cleavers are an appetite suppressant, and have traditionally been used for obesity. As a tea, they make a valuable lymphatic tonic (the lymph system is the body's mechanism to wash tissues of toxins, passing them back into the bloodstream to be cleansed by the liver and kidneys). This cleansing action makes cleavers useful in treating conditions like psoriasis and arthritis, which benefit from purifying the blood. Externally, a tea can be used to treat skin disorders, cuts and scrapes. Cleavers is a coffee relative, and its seeds if roasted are used as a coffee substitute, and the young leaves can be eaten like spinach.



# POEMS FOR LOVE, LOSS & WAR

## Blake's Ghost

*On August 7 2011, cops shot dead an unarmed black man in London, one of countless murders by the police. The murder of Mark Duggan, together with widespread fury at the social conditions of many people as the poor get poorer and the rich get richer, fuelled five days of rioting across England.*

it was the usual situation

Blake had been here before  
when he had watched the fiery coition  
lick wordlessly at Newgate's door  
now it was carpet shops, clothes outlets and the odd electrical store  
broken glass, cardboard boxes and anti-theft tags on the floor

Blake sang with pride and joy  
feeling that ferocious feral feeling he had felt before  
all those centuries ago when, almost still a boy,  
he had joined the long-awaited insurrection of the poor  
he was dead now, of course, but as 'progress' turned about-face  
his ghost became sandwiched in the narrowing of time

and he was sucked rudely out of sleep  
by the dream of wanton plunder at the core  
still stilling the conscience of the sheep  
that let the rich and vicious destroy their own and nature's store  
Blake found himself drawn forth by recollection,  
the wheels of history turning always in the same mud,  
giving merely the impression of movement

Blake loved the August flames  
as he had once loved those that battered Newgate's shore  
his ghostly hand lit fires from Salford to the Thames  
and he cried out, with the others, for more, O more!  
And no more too. No more poverty, politicians, bankers,  
no more cops  
let's just press on until the thing itself collapses, til it stops

Blake felt right at home  
as he pulled Nike trainers on over ancient leather shoe  
noting that the style was different, the accents strange in tone  
and round black robots in the sky watched your every move  
but the people still sang strong their loss of innocence,  
their songs of experience  
and they had not, he saw, forgotten how to set fires at the enemy

four months later, Newgate is full once more  
the herd clamouring for morality in hell  
when there is none in heaven  
and the poor are plundered yet again in the Autumn speech,  
a month before  
the bankers collect their Christmas reward  
for pious observation of the Seven  
Blake turns in for the night, but he keeps one ear cocked and hoping  
because he knows that riots like to dream out in the open  
-V.Q.

*[ed. - William Blake was a visionary libertarian poet in Britain, fiercely anti-racist and anti-slavery. During the Gordon Riots of 1780, led by African-Americans at the time of the war between Britain and rebel colonists there and during which rioters systematically destroyed every prison in London, he took part in the burning of the newly-completed Newgate Jail (a mob attacked the prison gates with shovels and pickaxes, set the building ablaze, and released the 300 prisoners inside. Blake was reportedly in the front rank during this attack). He also wrote against wars and the blighting effects of the industrial revolution.]*



## the field


...and suddenly you are in the middle of a sea of green  
impenetrable, two hands higher than you,  
and the only way through  
is to cut a new path  
you look at the ferns that have grown so fast  
against the inevitability of death  
seeds pop under your feet, brown and indolent,  
you try to move the ferns aside gently  
not breaking anything  
but that way is too slow  
and the sun is dying as you stand immobile and panicked  
in the midst of the field  
you have seen the wild boar tracks  
buried at the feet of chamomile and fireweed  
know that this field of pear trees and fern  
of boar skat and sheep hollows is full of danger  
and you realise  
it is not possible to get out by increments  
it is not possible to create new paths without destruction  
you must choose a destination and go for it,  
standing on tip-toe and catching a breath of the horizon,  
you must gather your strength and put aside your fear  
of sudden animal faces in the ferns  
you must take stock and remember the way,  
for the ferns are so high you cannot see where you are headed,  
and although you want to sink down on your knees  
and give up in the face of the impossible task,  
although you wish you had never entered this field  
and although you wish someone would appear to save you  
from this folly  
there is only one way out  
and that is the one you make,  
breaking each fern, treading bravely  
through the scuffed-up earth where the horned boar eat,  
finding the easy paths that were made before you,  
and where those paths cease, destroying what stands in your way,  
setting down with each step the memory of freedom  
-V.Q.





## We'll Meet

### Again One Day



You left  
with your  
head held  
high,  
the same way  
as you came,  
the same way  
I met you, as  
always.  
I envy you.  
- What is  
death?  
- It's like total  
darkness,  
which with  
time you're  
getting used to and it does not bother you anymore.  
And you left us behind,  
with our remorse and our guilt  
and our misery and our doubts,  
to find excuses so that we get by,  
another day,  
and another day  
and another day.  
I envy you.  
Cause you are ok, you're always ok.  
I need you.  
To show me what dignity means,  
to show me not to fear,  
to show me not to compromise.  
I need you next to me in the streets and on my way.  
And to talk, to talk to me.  
And to listen, to hear me.  
So I can steal a bit of power from your truth,  
a bit of courage from your freedom  
a bit of faith from your values.  
They say you are a terrorist.  
It is true. You are terrorizing our fear, our comfort, our false  
appearance, our apathy, our empty gaze, our diminished libido,  
us getting used to the ugliness, our muzzle, our blinders, our  
handcuffs, the chains that prevent us from becoming dangerous.  
There's something we need to discuss.  
Some say they choose not to act because they fear for their  
petty life. They say they love their life.  
Others choose to act for exactly the same reason.  
The say they love their life and cannot tolerate  
their life being wasted.  
Tell me, can they both be right?  
They can't.

*"To the comrade and friend that walked away from this life with  
his head held high on this day, exactly two years ago."*

- Venceremos

*[ed. - The anarchist Lambros Foundas, member of the urban  
guerrilla group Revolutionary Struggle, was killed by the Greek  
police during a shoot-out in Athens on March 10th 2010 on the  
eve of a general strike while he was stealing a car to use in a  
Revolutionary Struggle action. This poem is for him.]*

## 'The Freedom I Breathe Today'

Today I know that it is hard  
to break these bridges down,  
but I know that it is possible.  
It is like a conquest of yourself and  
of your abilities;  
a conquest that, step by step, strengthens your certainty  
and trust in what you think, in what you want to be possible,  
in what you create with determination and enthusiasm.  
The freedom I breathe today  
comes from this silence  
and restlessness of being away from my habits.  
- *(by an anonymous fugitive)*

## Behind the Walled Bodies

Today I am stretching out my hands through these walls,  
condemned to retain dying emptiness,  
to crack identities smelling of mud,  
to tear out stellar ideologies written on the skin.

Today, I am tattooing on the wall  
the liberated, rebel, subversive and insurrectionary thoughts,  
smells, sounds, and I am finishing the unfinished murals  
in the streets which have not been completed.

And, today, I am lighting, we are lighting a thousand bonfires,  
I rise up, we rise up a thousand times.  
I strike, build chimeric tunnels, and tomorrow  
I will set, we will set fire to the bars.

Because no sentence will be a life sentence,  
and no "high security" prison exists for the dreams of the crickets  
and the hopes of the cicada.

Because these subversive and walled ovules  
will give birth to the next BARRICADE!

*[ed. - This poem is by the anarchist Claudia López. She was  
fatally shot in the back by police on September 11th 1998 in the  
La Pincoya barrio of Santiago, Chile, during clashes marking the  
25th anniversary of the fascist coup of Pinochet.]*



### 'Ozymandias'

I met a traveller from an antique land  
Who said: Two vast and trunkless legs of stone  
Stand in the desert... Near them, on the sand,  
Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown,  
And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command,  
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read  
Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,  
The hand that mocked them, and the heart that fed:

And on the pedestal these words appear:

'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings:  
Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!  
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay  
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare  
The lone and level sands stretch far away.

- from Ozymandias, by Percy Bysshe Shelley



### Revolutionary Letter #4

Left to themselves people  
grow their hair.  
Left to themselves they  
take off their shoes.  
Left to themselves they make love  
sleep easily  
share blankets, dope, & children  
they are not lazy or afraid  
they plant seeds, they smile, they  
speak to one another. The word  
coming into its own: touch of love  
on the brain, the ear.

We return with the sea, the tides  
we return as often as leaves, as numerous  
as grass, gentle, insistent, we remember,  
the way,  
our babes toddle barefoot  
thru the cities of the universe

- Diane di Prima



### 'Towards the Unattainable Goal'

An epic of love, ours  
To play around the fire that makes superhuman efforts  
to burn us;  
To fly like a butterfly around the flames;  
To create danger;  
To run down the most dangerous cliffs  
in order to train our muscles;  
To create with strength;  
And we always run with the same fervour, rhythm;  
To act.  
Beyond all criticism.  
Beyond 'morals'.  
Beyond life.  
For life.  
And we are just beginning.  
Thus will we go towards the unattainable goal:  
By creating,  
Conquering.  
Loving.



[ed. - This poem is by Severino di Giovanni and most likely written as part of correspondence with his adored lover America Josefina 'Fina' Scarfó. Severino was put to death by firing squad in Argentina on February 1st 1931, to his cry of "Viva l'anarchia!" ("Long live anarchy!"), following his capture due to being seriously injured in a gun battle with the police. Two other anarchists were killed in the firefight, and Paulino Scarfó was also executed a few hours after Severino.]

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**Anarchist Library** (catalogue of  
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**Anarchist News** (North America)  
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**Anarchy Radio** (streaming and  
downloadable hour of global news and  
anti-civilisation analysis, every Tuesday)  
[www.johnzerzan.net/radio](http://www.johnzerzan.net/radio)

**Bite Back** (global earth/animal liberation)  
[www.directaction.info](http://www.directaction.info)

**Black Blog** (Russia & Ukraine)  
[www.blackblog.info/main-page](http://www.blackblog.info/main-page)

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**Voice of Rebel** (Japan)  
[www.voiceofrebel.wordpress.com](http://www.voiceofrebel.wordpress.com)

**War on Society** (the Americas & global)  
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**'The Loss of Competence'**

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