

Green Anarchy

NO. 6 SUMMER 2001
\$2 USA, \$3 Can, \$4 EU
Free to Prisoners!



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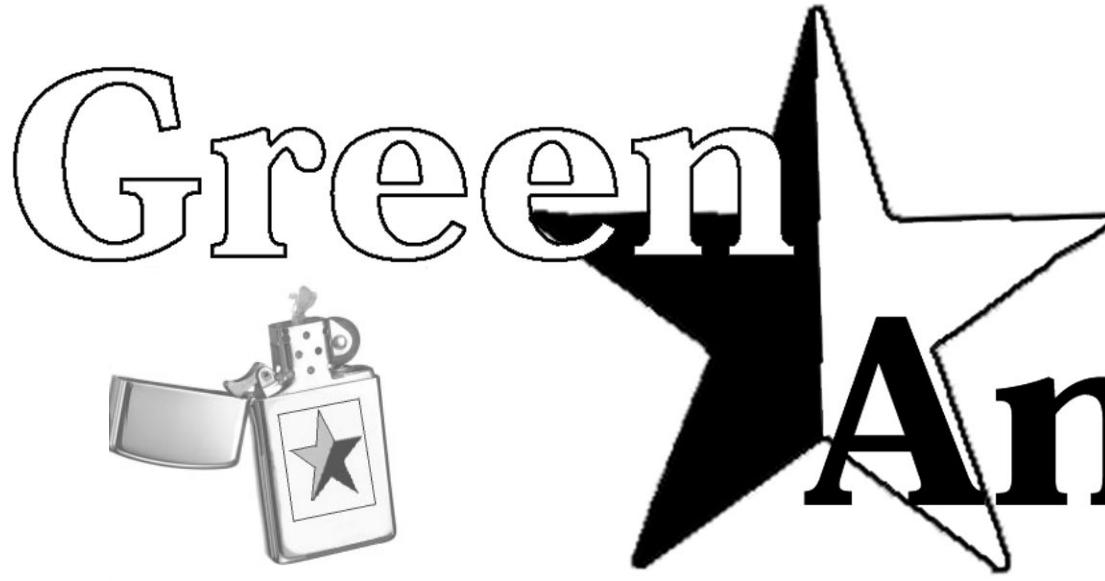
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Free to Prisoners!

Free Sentenced to 22 Years

Green Anarchy's Statement of Solidarity

So, they have taken one of our warriors. When we up the stakes in our fight to protect the Earth and all that is wild, we expect that some of us will not remain free for long, but it is a wake-up call when it hits home so hard. It is our responsibility to see to it that the struggle in which Free is a part of not only continues, but intensifies. Already in New York, the ALF and ELF have carried out acts of revolutionary solidarity with Free since his sentencing, and before his sentencing a group of Earth liberationists carried out an action in solidarity with Free and Critter here in Eugene, in which 36 Sport Utility Vehicles (SUVs) were torched at the same auto dealership Free admits to targeting one year earlier, amounting to \$1 million damage.

Here in Eugene, we have learned many lessons from these trying times:

- 1) There is a vital need for increased solidarity and security within and among ALL revolutionary communities.
- 2) Be assured that the state will mandate the harshest sentences to those who confront it in a direct and uncompromising manner.
- 3) Be equally assured that cooperation with law enforcement or any agents or agencies of the state will endanger you and other members of your community.

Most important to remember is that Free is in there for all of us, and he needs our unending and unlimited support. We all need to make sure that the actions Free took to protect life continue.



The following is a statement released by the Free and Critter Legal Defense Committee just after sentencing:

On June 11, 2001 Jeff "Free" Luers was sentenced to nearly 23 years on 11 charges ranging from Arson One to Attempted Criminal Mischief stemming from two incidents

last year in Eugene, Oregon. Free had admitted to criminal mischief regarding a truck fire at Romania Chevrolet last summer. At the sentencing he read a statement taking accountability for the Romania fire, and emphasizing the care he took to ensure no one would be injured.

He said: *"It cannot be said that I am unfeeling or uncaring. My heart is filled with love and compassion. I fight to protect life...all life. Not to take it. It's not an exaggeration to say that we're experiencing a period of extinction equal to that of the dinosaurs, 40,000 species go extinct each year, yet we continue to pollute and exploit the natural world... I will not ask this court to grant me leniency. All I ask is that you believe the sincerity of my words, and that you believe that my actions, whether or not you believe them to be misguided, stem from the love I have in my heart."*

The judge responded by saying that he "never doubted Free's sincerity." He stated that Free's political beliefs would not influence the sentencing, that he would be sentenced "solely on the severity of the crimes." Yet Free received a sentence harsher than that of many murderers and rapists. We are not so naive as to say we're surprised with the sentence, but an analogy I shared with Free on the phone after sentencing is that we've had someone with a clenched

fist standing in front of us for a year saying "I'm going to punch you." Even though we were expecting it, it still took our breath away. The judge made many comments during the trial that indicated he'd already decided the outcome. He was often seen completely ignoring the testimony, typing on his laptop instead of listening. An appeal is already underway.

Frustratingly, throughout the past year, Free had been forced to remain silent about his actions at Romania Chevrolet, due to the fact that the State insisted on linking the two incidents, Romania and Tyree Oil Company, together. The judge denied many motions to separate the two. Free has stated and maintains that he had no involvement in the attempted arson at Tyree Oil.

The Legal Defense Committee asks for your continuing support of Free and Critter and other Prisoners of War. Make no mistake... a war is being waged on the Earth and all its creatures. Do not participate in the State's campaign to marginalize and incapacitate those who take radical action in defense of the Earth. Failure to support our political prisoners is tantamount to sanctioning repression by the State.

Please write to Free (Jeffrey Luers) #13797671, 82911 Beach Access Rd, Umatilla, OR 97882 and Critter (Craig Marshall) #13797662, Oregon State Prison, 2605 State Street, Salem, OR 97310.

You can contact the Free and Critter Legal Defense Committee at POB 454 Willamette, Suite 205, Eugene, OR 97401. Checks and money orders to assist with Free's appeal can still be sent to FCLDF, c/o OUR Credit Union, PO Bo 1192, Eugene, OR 97440. Our website is www.efn.org/~eugpeace/freecritter.

Thanks to all our steadfast supporters. Your help has been inspiring and irreplaceable.

Howl for Free and Critter. Howl for all political prisoners. They will hear you.



Against Mass Society

Many people desire an existence free of coercive authority, where all are at liberty to shape their own lives as they choose for the sake of their own personal needs, values, and desires. For such freedom to be possible, no individual person can extend his or her sphere of control upon the lives of others without their choosing. Many who challenge oppression in the modern world strive toward their conception of a "free society" by attempting to merely reform the most powerful and coercive institutions of today, or to replace them with "directly democratic" governments, community-controlled municipalities, worker-owned industrial federations, etc. Those who prioritize the values of personal autonomy or uncontrolled and wild existence have reason to oppose and reject all large-scale organizations and societies on the grounds that they necessitate imperialism, slavery and hierarchy, regardless of the purposes they may be designed for.

Humans are naturally sociable, but are selective about who they wish to associate with. For companionship and mutual support, people naturally develop relationships with those they share an affinity with. However, only in recent times have people organized themselves in large-scale groupings composed of strangers who share little of relevance in common with each other. For over 99 percent of human history, humans lived within small and egalitarian extended family arrangements, while drawing their subsistence directly from the land. The foraging bands and shifting horticultural communities of past and present are known to have enjoyed extensive leisure time, and have rarely required more than two to four hours daily on average to satisfy subsistence needs. Famine and war are extremely rare in

these societies. Additionally, physical health, dental quality and the average life-span of small-scale communities are markedly higher than that of agricultural and early industrial societies. Leaders are temporary, and hold no power beyond their ability to persuade. While hunting/gathering and slash-and-burn gardening do indeed alter local environments and are sometimes wasteful, they have proven themselves to be ecologically stable adaptations. Foraging served humanity for three million years, while horticulture has been utilized in the Amazon basin for approximately 9,000 years. The small-scale cultures that remain today generally prefer their traditional way of life, and many are currently waging impressive political resistance against corporations and governments who wish to forcibly assimilate them so that their land and labor may be exploited. People rarely enter mass organizations without being coerced, as they lead to a decline of freedom and health.

The rise of civilization was made possible through compulsory mass production. When certain societies began to prioritize agricultural productivity as their highest value, they began to forcibly subject all life within reach of their cities to that purpose. Communities of people who wished to forage or garden on the land for subsistence would be mercilessly slaughtered or enslaved, and the ecosystems they inhabited would be converted to farmland to feed the cities. Those engaged in the full-time facilitation of crop and animal production would reside in the nearby countryside, while public officials, merchants, engineers, military personnel, servants, and prisoners would inhabit the cities. The task of creating a surplus to feed a growing

specialist class caused the duties of the food producers to intensify, while simultaneously creating the need for more land, both for agriculture and for the extraction of materials for construction and fuel. Humans were forced into servitude for the benefit of their culture's institutions of production as a prerequisite for continued survival, and non-human life would either be harnessed or eliminated for the sake of completing human projects. To occupy land, one would need to continuously pay tribute in the form of a tax or tithe (and more recently, in the form of rent or mortgage), hence requiring one to devote most of one's time and energy to a politically accepted mode of employment. Upon being required to satisfy the demands of landholders or employers in exchange for personal space and commodities, it becomes impossible for people to make their living through subsistence hunting or gardening. Although

... continued on page 5

Green Anarchy and Classical Anarchism

Having given this subject much thought, some of us have decided that it is important to provide a critique of what has dominated anarchist thought since its genesis: anthropocentrism, the world view in which humans (most often ruling civilized male humans) are the highest being. While anarchism seems to be inherently against domination, for most of its history it has been silent in many ways about the domination of women, animals, and nature. As this publication is entitled *Green Anarchy*, we believe it would be worth an editorial dealing with exactly how the *Green* contextualizes the *Anarchy*.

However relevant the classical anarchists were in their time, they are certainly not today for several reasons that will be discussed below. Without an in-depth analysis of their (Proudhon, Godwin, Bakunin, etc) approaches, a general summation can be made. For one, traditionally, anarchism has focused upon domination within human society. This approach operates as if humans were the only species on the planet, their liberation from the shackles of class oppression the only form of oppression to consider. As we are all aware today, with an immediacy perhaps unavailable at the time of the classical anarchists, the biosphere is collapsing at the hands of civilization. Anarchism, a struggle for human liberation, does not necessarily address this at all. For the anarchist vision to be carried to its end, no consideration of ecological sustainability is required. Classically, the existence of the state and human hierarchy is all that needs to be problematized. The environment is essentially viewed in the same manner by anarchists as by the rulers of civilization, a passive plain upon which to script human struggle and existence, either under states or not.

Western thinkers in industrial nations of the nineteenth century could not have been expected to have a holistic ecological awareness. At this point we should take from their historically contextualized writings whatever applies, and be willing to abandon all that is not applicable. It should be clear that a workerist utopia where nature is subservient to human progress is ecologically impossible and therefore irrelevant. It should be clear that an anarchist revolutionary program dishonestly offering a future for what is now six billion of us to trample the planet as autonomous sovereign beings is irrelevant and certainly not "green." It is not green in the context of ending domination of nature, beyond humans.

What anarchists must now consider is the fact that there is very little of nature left to live "harmoniously" within and the possibility that what nature there is left does not want us back, nor could it ever sustain us. Consider this: the only comparatively "biocentric" way humans have lived is as gatherer-hunters — and in some cases, shifting horticultural gardeners — which has been the mode of existence for 99 percent of our collective history. At the peak of the world population of our foraging ancestors, there were several million of us, with all global ecosystems intact and flourishing. Today there are six billion of us with a significant portion of nature destroyed. This reality, unaddressed by classical anarchists, is undeniable to us, and hence our resistance can no longer be based on the assumption that a viable subsistence base will always be there. It can no longer be assumed that we have eternity to do the impossible — the impossible being to create a utopian worker paradise for six billion people without hierarchy. What we also know now that the classical anarchists did not is that, historically and prehistorically, all societies of more than 100 to 500 people were based on rulership and authoritarianism. Eight hundred billion people experienced life on Earth prior to agriculture in a way that we would call anarchy.

It wasn't statelessness alone that allowed this mode of existence to persist for three million years or to flourish throughout the entire planet. It was much more. It encompassed techniques of extracting energy and nutrients from the

environment in a sustainable way, one that did not involve domestication and ecocide. Classical anarchism does not provide much insight with respect to population and sustainability issues as it assumes that nature will last forever, and that human struggle can reproduce itself into eternity. Anarchists traditionally thought as if we were not organisms, not animals, and not subject to the processes of the global biosphere and ecological communities. To escape this incomplete understanding of our species' role on the planet, it will necessitate an understanding of sustainable and free human existence that is based on the knowledge, history, successes, and failures of the past. The anarchist, pipe-dream utopia of a speculative, unholistic visionary future is of no relevance to our current struggle. Green Anarchy, in our belief, must take anarchism to a new level, with the incorporation of dimensions dealing with human subsistence strategies, how they have worked, and under what conditions.

It is no longer sufficient to assume that humans must first liberate themselves and that sustainability will come later. We have to assume that sustainability has already existed, and with universal contexts and patterns. Our first identity is Green, subsequently Anarchist. We are green first, because human freedom in a civilized wasteland is meaningless to us. Valuing our history and that of 3.5 billion years of the wild free chaos of life forces us to privilege that above a pipe-dream future for modern human society.

Like all other entities, from corporations to co-ops, "green" approaches to the future are integrated into the anarchism of our time. The depth of this coloration is what this paper questions. If "nature" is still viewed by anarchists as the passive backdrop to our fleeting struggles, we will never learn that freedom, liberation, and autonomy are contextual, and as organisms, this entails peaceful co-existence with

the biosphere. Unlike the classical anarchists, we don't have the privilege of minimal environmental awareness. If we make the claim that free humans can choose to live in harmony with nature, we'd better discover ten ecologically flourishing new planet Earths to move onto, or else start to question our assumption that this single planet can sustain us at our present population, whether socialist, anarchist, capitalist, or fascist.

While we in no way prescribe mass human genocide for the sake of ecological preservation, we recognize that civilized humanity itself is voluntarily (although maybe unintentionally) committing collective suicide through its own unsustainable behavior. The bulk of humanity has already chosen its own fate, and we don't consider ourselves obligated to rescue it from the impact of its own decisions. We do support those who swim upstream in resistance to civilization's persistent assault upon their autonomy and sanity — and we support those who fight in defense of wild living beings and places that haven't yet been destroyed.

The ecological impact of civilization is only one of many manifestations of domination. We intend to address in as much depth in future editorials and issues other manifestations of civilization's domination. Because the destruction of wild nature is inextricably linked to the destruction of human inner-nature and the erosion of egalitarian social relationships, it is also important to critique civilization on a social level. This must include analysis of alienation and hierarchy within the constructs of human society.

Anyway, these are some of our thoughts at the moment. Read on, and get ready to deconstruct all remnants of liberal and leftist pipe-dream illusions of an industrial-nation-state-mediated paradise on earth. Fight until the Earth is free! We strongly encourage feedback and submissions. Our deadline for our next issue is September 15th. We greatly appreciate all submissions on a Macintosh disc or via email to greenanarchy@tao.ca.

Hope your summer is incendiary!

Revolutionary Letter No. 19

By Diane Di Prima

If what you want is jobs

For everyone, you are still the enemy,

You have not thought thru, clearly

What that means

If what you want is housing,

Industry (G.E. on the Navaho reservation)

a car for everyone, garage, refrigerator,

TV, more plumbing, scientific

Freeways, you are still

The enemy, you have chosen

To sacrifice the planet for a few years of some

Science fiction utopia, if what you want

If what you want

Is clinics where the AMA

Can feed you pills to keep you weak, or sterile

Shoot germs into your kids, while Merck & Co

Grows richer

If you want

Free psychiatric help for everyone

So that the shrinks

Pimps for this decadence, can make

It flower for us, if you want

If you still want a piece

A small piece of suburbia, green lawn

Laid down by the square foot

Color TV, whose radiant energy

Kills brain cells, whose subliminal ads

Brainwash your children, have taken over

Your dreams

Degrees from universities which are nothing

More than slum landlords, festering sinks

Of lies, so you too can go forth

And lie to others on some greeny campus

THEN YOU ARE STILL

THE ENEMY, you are selling

Yourself short, remember

You can have what you ask for, ask for

everything

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE:

Here are GA's rates:

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Canada 5 Issue Subscription \$13

Europe 5 Issue Subscription \$18

Other countries: please contact us for prices via email or by post.



Send well concealed cash, postal money orders or checks made out to *Green Anarchy* and mail to **POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440**. Email us at greenanarchy@tao.ca with any questions or orders.

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We are actively seeking distributors of GA both in the US and abroad. Here are the prices:

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Quantity over 50 issues \$1.00 per issue

You sell it for \$2 per issue and make the extra money for yourself.

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Sending large quantities of *Green Anarchy* costs a lot of money and takes time. We ask that people pay the same rates as above but add extra money for postage. We will send packages out as cheap as possible (usually surface) unless specifically requested by you to send it air mail.

Please contact us about specific rates or if you are interested in trading zines via email or post if you have any questions.

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Letters

We got a lot of feedback from the last issue, which was the first one put out by the current collective. While some responses were critical, most were pretty supportive. Unfortunately, we could only print a few, due to our current size restraints. In the future, we would like to print more, so we ask that people keep them to approximately 300-500 words, anything longer, submit as an article. Thanks for the feedback.

GA,

This is an open letter to anyone who has ever considered themselves a supporter of, or has stated they were in solidarity with an imprisoned insurrectionary or saboteur. I'd like to start by saying that the truest form of solidarity that anyone has shown me is the continuing ELF/ALF actions and the anti-authoritarian/anti-capitalist actions (no, not holding signs) happening throughout the world. Only by continual actions like these will we ever be able to overcome this dominant system. Only by hitting corporations and government establishments where they "feel it" will they ever collapse and take this "whole stinking order" with them. Writing 'zines, or letters to congress people or judges has never changed anything, while destroying all of a corporations assets, on the other hand, will remove them from their position of power, and if we're really lucky maybe a CEO may commit suicide or better yet "go postal" after having "lost it all". Destroying these pricks where they live, now that's solidarity. Walking around holding signs is a weakness, a piss-poor excuse for solidarity and support, whose main function is to pacify the minds of those who are too comfortable to act out in anyway that will actually change anything. Writing letters to fallen comrades raises the spirits of those of us who are incarcerated, but when someone picks up a bomb, instead of a pen, is when my spirits really soar.

Comrades of an accused person should never, except by reprinting a statement *written by the accused*, claim innocence or guilt for them in any manner, because misrepresenting them will only destroy their future credibility and possibly take power away from any message the perpetrators were trying to convey. It is their and their attorney's job to deal with guilt or innocence. If someone chooses to be a supporter it is their duty to raise funds for retaining a competent lawyer, to make sure mistreatments of a prisoner be known, to spread the word that yet another comrade is being held hostage by the state, and *most importantly keep up the fight*. In no way am I saying not to write those that are locked up, because this indeed keep ones spirits up, but what I am saying is don't make this the only thing you do. *Revolt!*

Craig "Critter" Marshall

Your article "The EZLN is not anarchist" is seriously lacking in a couple of respects. First, the insinuation that the EZLN does not represent its indigenous base is not at all accurate. True, the EZLN regulars (perhaps a few hundred) do generally live away from the autonomous communities. This makes a lot of sense, considering the intense army presence in the Lacondón and Altos areas actively harassing the locals and looking for the comandancia. For the comandantes to live out in the open would be suicidal to themselves and to their base-supporters. Still, they are in constant contact and more and more are spending clandestine time in the communities. I assume you haven't spent any time in Chiapas, because if you had actually spoken with the indigenous people in resistance, you would have found that literally thousands of folks active in the offensive of 1994 have returned to their lives, but still consider themselves "irregular" forces of the EZLN. The reference to the comandantes and regulars as Maoists grasping for power and alienated from their supporters is pretty ridiculous and far from the truth. Second point, you are right about the Zaps not being anarchist. I don't think they have ever claimed to be. Still, they embrace ideals like autonomy and non-hierarchical/bottom-up decision making that many anarchists find inspiring and attractive. I have met anarchists each time I have been there who come to learn about a real people's struggle, not to impart one's own anarchist revolutionary project on the indigenous. That phrase flat-out stinks of imperialism and first-world egoism. And it is unrealistic to boot. The EZLN and its supporters have a lot to teach; they are living a real everyday struggle. You said pretty plainly that all social struggles cannot be expected to conform to some abstract anarchist ideal. I could not agree more. While I wholly embrace anarchist struggle and principles, anarchism is a political philosophy born in the west/north/first-world. It is not realistic to expect these indigenous people, who are struggling daily for their physical and cultural survival, to be sitting around with their noses buried in Kropotkin or Proudhon books. They have crafted a response to neoliberal capitalism that is appropriate for their situation and reality. For anarchists in the U.S. to somehow question their revolutionary

zeal is flat out silly and insulting. No matter how disconnected you are from "Super America," you still have access to some of the best squats, the biggest pockets of spare change, and the most resource rich libraries, infoshops, and dumpsters on the planet. To seriously challenge the tenets and methods of the EZLN's struggle from where we all sit is pretty damned ironic. Thanks to *GREEN ANARCHY* for an overall great newspaper with interesting and challenging views.

Keep on struggling,
lavar los platos

Dear *Green Anarchy*,

As Susan Faludi describes in her awesome book *Backlash*, those who defend the status quo of male domination rely on many tricks in order to undermine challenges to power. An effective tactic is to assign specious beliefs to those challenging power and then proceed to demolish these "claims" while never dealing with the issues raised. Wolfi Landstreicher employs this tactic effectively in "Stuck in the Mud of Ideology." More than this, Wolfi also uses another handy tool by focusing on the messengers rather than the message. It is easier to castigate the individuals who are bringing a complaint rather than question the oppressive behaviors complained about. While Wolfi probably doesn't view "Stuck" as backlash, I argue that it becomes so by sidestepping the issue of alienating, macho behavior and by re-framing the debate as one over "ideology," which, in regards to challenging male domination, is often applied erroneously to feminism.

ASSIGNING BELIEFS: In the first paragraph of "Stuck," Wolfi does exactly what he accuses the RBC of doing: he assigns belief and motivation of the RBC simply because they use the word "manarchy." The authors never claim that manarchy is an ideology, but Wolfi declares that it is, then proceeds to belittle them for it: "Such a pathetic way to go about justifying one's fearful avoidance of revolution." That this interpretation is divorced from anything said in the "Manarchy" piece clearly doesn't bother Wolfi, who is too busy setting up an ideological strawman to notice that the RBC defined manarchy perfectly: "acting macho, holier-than-thou, and elitist. Manarchy often results in exclusivity. Anarchism and direct action are powerful forces, yet we are still susceptible to taking on some of the oppressive cultural practices of the very system we are challenging." Ironically, Wolfi proves a part of their point of exclusivity by accusing the RBC of "fearful avoidance of revolution." Is Wolfi the expert on what entails revolution? Are revolutionary practices that perpetuate macho behavior revolutionary? The RBC's point seems to be that some anarchists that they've encountered exhibit the same traditional, oppressive behaviors as the people and systems we are fighting against. While Wolfi deftly deconstructs the RBC's critique of no compromise and calls for a means consistent with ends, he doesn't seem to realize that this is, in effect, what the RBC is arguing for as well: that anarchists can't achieve a non-hierarchical, non-dominating end while acting like hierarchical, dominating people. Macho behavior and elitism are aspects of this behavior, and can translate as arrogance: the typical attitude of those with privilege.

The RBC never claims that manarchy is an ideology, as Wolfi says it is, but that some anarchist men exhibit alienating, macho behavior which they describe as manarchy. The word is employed as a handy adjective to distill certain behaviors and actions for the purpose of identification.

Wolfi writes, "Intelligent anarchists carry out their revolt in accordance with their capabilities and do not judge those whose capabilities differ." That is exactly what the RBC is saying: they argue that they have come across men who do criticize others for not matching these men's capabilities. More, the RBC postulates that such behavior alienates those who cannot participate in revolutionary struggle as these more macho men do. Rather than focus on ways to build on the "intelligent anarchists" statement and expand the concept of revolutionary struggle to incorporate people who aren't militant street fighters, or focus on ways of eliminating macho behavior (real militant struggle should have no place for macho posturing), Wolfi homes in on the specific examples used and the generalizations the RBC makes of them. While it is important to critique extrapolations from a few incidences (though the RBC mentioned that these were only a few of many), Wolfi doesn't go beyond this critique to actually deal with the issue raised, or to wonder why this issue has been noticed and challenged in other scenes (including *EZLN*).

He finds it easier to move the focus from alienating, macho behavior onto dismissals of "empowerment" as some "self-help bullshit," to the author's "well-to-do" status, and to black bloc tactics. All these points are worth discussing, but Wolfi uses them to avoid discussion of alienating, macho behavior and, consequently, the effects these attitudes have on revolutionary struggle.

It is disheartening to see that Wolfi never really deals with the problems the RBC brings up. Rather, he shifts the problem onto them by declaring them "ideological" and attacking who they are as people. By doing this, Wolfi not only avoids dealing with the main issues introduced, but appears "right" by framing the debate in terms of ideology. Thus, most anarchists can agree with Wolfi, who never steps out of the bounds of accepted anarchist discourse, and never wonders whether macho behavior is a problem at all. Wolfi can have his opinion, of course, but I wish he had dealt with the ideas and arguments actually presented in "Manarchy" instead of muddling the picture with false accusations of ideology. In my opinion, Wolfi Landstreicher has already made up his mind and has no tolerance for those who would challenge male domination.

Why does a lot of militant anarchist behavior mirror tough guy rhetoric and action? Because it is or because we are taught to associate anger and militancy with macho men? What are ways to militant without being macho? Why are many women's liberationist castigated as militant feminists? Are street protests a relatively safe (and ineffective) space to get all het up and wave your fists? Or are they something more? As to striking against the state, given our few numbers, aren't underground, guerilla style actions more effective? Is our talk around street protests and daily revolt honest and open or alienating and elitist? Are anarchists reaching out to oppressed groups in solidarity or know-it-all dominance? Are we truly committed to non-domination? What is revolutionary struggle? How many ways are there to participate in it? What is male privilege? How does it connect to racism, sexism, heterosexism, gender roles, ableism, and the state?

If there is no serious effort to understand and eliminate male domination, macho behavior, sexism, and male violence against wimmin, what does that say about our no compromising means to an end?

Ryan Mishap
P.O. Box 5841
Eugene, OR 97405

Editors' Note: This letter, "Ideological Constructs," is a response to the article, "Stuck in the Mud of Ideology" by Wolfi Landstreicher, which appeared in *Green Anarchy* #5. Wolfi's article was itself a response to an article called "Stick it to the Manarchy" by the Rock Block Collective (RBC) which had been published a few months earlier in several movement publications, including *The Insurgent*. Both articles, "Stuck in the Mud of Ideology" and "Stick it to the Manarchy," have generated a lot of controversy and debate, and anyone wishing to take part in the ongoing discussion that's occurring on the Internet over the issues raised by these articles should visit the following websites: www.venomousbutterfly.com (where "Stuck in the Mud of Ideology" is found) and www.infoshop.org (where the RBC missive can be found in the Opinions and Editorials archive).

Green Anarchy Comrades,

Thank you for putting me on your mailing list; yesterday I got *Green Anarchy* No. 5. I have to tell you that you put out a great zine. What you did in your article is something that should have been said a long time ago. ("EZLN is not Anarchist") Me as a Mexican Peace Punk Activist have been saying this for the longest time and have gotten in some serious debate over this, I do support the EZLN though. I will not deny it, I honestly think Subcomandante Marcos is trying to change the situation in Chiapas, but I don't consider him an anarchist at all. They don't even consider themselves anarchists. When I went to Mexico City to visit my father I saw a lot of Che t-shirts with the Zapatista name on the back. I think that this was a really good issue you touched. I also want to thank you for reviewing the Defiant zine. APLAN Yes, ABCF No! I also like that you hit issues that affect Wommin. I made copies for my girlfriend. She runs a feminist collective in Yale College.

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FEMINISM:

A Male Anarchist's Perspective

By Pendleton Vandiver

"I myself have never been able to find out what feminism is: I only know that people call me a feminist whenever I express sentiments that differentiate me from a doormat"

-Rebecca West, *The Clarion* 1913

Most people in the current anarchist milieu — female or male — would disagree, at least in principle, with most of the following statements: there are two immutable and natural categories under which all humans are classified: male and female. A male human being is a man, and a female human being is a woman. Women are inherently inferior to men. Men are smarter and stronger than women; women are more emotional and delicate. Women exist for the benefit of men. If a man demands sex from his wife, it is her duty to oblige him, whether she wants to or not. A man may force a woman to have sex with him, as long as he has a very good reason for making this demand. Humans are to be conceived of, in the universal sense, as male ("man"), and only referred to as female when one is speaking of particular individuals. Women are a form of property. To demand rights for women is tantamount to demanding rights for animals and just as absurd.

As ridiculous as most of these statements may seem, every one of them has been considered obvious and natural by most of the West at one point or another, and many are still more the rule than the exception to this day. If most of them seem a little strange, jarring, or just plain wrong, that is not because they contradict some vague notion of justice or common sense that we have all been born with. To the contrary, the change in attitude that allows most of us to claim a more enlightened, seemingly natural viewpoint, is actually the concrete result of an ongoing struggle which has claimed many reputations, relationships, and lives over the last 200 years and which, like all struggles for liberation, has been discredited, slandered, and marginalized since its inception. Although this struggle has been, and still is, strategically diverse and conceptually multifarious and hence hard to define, it is not hard to name: I am, of course, referring to feminism.

Feminism has changed our culture to the point where it is at least a common idea that women are fully human. If most people today claim to agree with this idea, this is not because society is becoming more benevolent, or evolving naturally into a more egalitarian state of affairs. Those who hold power do not simply decide to grant equal status to those who do not; rather, they only yield power when they are forced to. Women, like every other oppressed group, have had to take everything they have gotten, through an arduous process of struggle. To deny this struggle is to perpetuate a myth similar to that of the happy slave. Yet this is precisely what we do when we speak of feminism as somehow perpetuating a gender divide, or hindering our progress away from identity politics. Feminism did not create the conflict between genders: patriarchal society did. It is important not to forget that the aforementioned idea that women are fully human is not common sense but absolutely, emphatically, a feminist notion. To pay lip-service to women's liberation while denying the historical struggle of women to achieve this for themselves is paternalistic and insulting.

Not only has Western society overtly relegated women to a subhuman role throughout its history, but, until recently, most liberatory movements have as well. This has often been partially unconscious, as a reflection of the mores of the dominant culture. Just as often, however, this has been fully conscious and intentional (cf. Stokely Charmichael's famous quote that the "only position" for women in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC] was "prone"). Either way, people who purported to be working for the emancipation of all humans were really just working for the emancipation of "man," which until quite recently, is exactly how it was usually phrased. Women who complained about this state of affairs were (and are) condescendingly told to wait until the more important struggle was won before they demanded their own liberation. This has been true of abolition, civil rights, the anti-war movement, the New Left, the anti-nuke movement, radical environmentalism and, obviously, anarchism. Women have been criticized for pursuing feminist aims as if these were wrong-headed, counterrevolutionary, or unimportant. Anarchists did not simply wake up one morning with more enlightened views of women, nor did patriarchy suddenly reveal itself as "just another form of domination."

Feminist theory and practice brought to light the oppression of women that often manifested itself in otherwise revolutionary milieus.

This is not to say that all feminists were/are not anarchists, or all anarchists were/are not feminists. But feminism is often criticized within the anarchist milieu, from several different angles. I will try to discuss the most common criticisms I have heard voiced, both publicly and privately, in anarchist circles. It has been suggested that feminism is essentialist. It has also been suggested that feminism, in keeping with its essentialist views, is a philosophy that asserts the superiority, in one way or another, of women to men. Finally, the charge has been made that feminism perpetuates gender categories, whereas the revolutionary task is to move beyond gender altogether. In other words,

sex, whereas how one dresses, and the social role one fills, pertains to gender.

This is a distinction that some feminists still make, but others have questioned the use of supposedly pre-cultural categories like sex altogether. Colette Guillamin has suggested that sex (as well as race) is an arbitrary system of "marks" that has no natural status at all, but simply serves the interests of those who hold power. Although various physical differences exist between people, it is politically determined which ones are chosen as important or definitive. Although people are divided into supposedly natural categories on the basis of these marks, there is nothing natural about any category; categories are purely conceptual.

Building on the work of Beauvoir and Guillamin, among others, Monique Wittig has argued that the feminist goal is to eliminate sex and/or gender as a category entirely. Like the proletariat in Marx's philosophy, women are to constitute themselves as a class for the sake of overthrowing the system that allows classes to exist. One is not born a woman, except in the same sense that one is born a proletarian: being a woman denotes a social position, and certain social practices, rather than an essence or true identity. The ultimate political goal of a woman, for Wittig, is to not be one. More recently, Judith Butler has predicated an entire theory of gender based on the radical rejection of essence.

Of course, there have been a number of feminists who, disturbed by what they saw as an assimilationist tendency in feminism, asserted a more positive notion of femininity that was, at times, undoubtedly essentialist. Susan Brownmiller, in her important book *Against Our Wills*, suggested that men may be genetically predisposed to rape, a notion that has been echoed by Andrea Dworkin. Marxist feminists like Shulamite Firestone sought the material basis of gender oppression in the female reproductive role, and several feminist theorists — Nancy Chodorow, Sherry Ortner, and Juliet Mitchell among others — have examined the role of motherhood in creating oppressive gender roles. "Woman-identified" feminists like Mary Daly embraced certain traditional notions of femininity and sought to give them a positive spin.

Although woman-identified feminists have, at times, taken essentialist positions, this brand of feminism has redressed some of the imbalances of that strain of feminist thought that rejects femininity altogether as a slave-identity. This has always been the dichotomy that has troubled feminist thinkers: either to assert a strong feminine identity and risk legitimizing traditional roles and providing fodder to those who employ the idea of a natural difference in order to oppress women, or to reject the role and the identity women have been given, and risk eliminating the very ground of a feminist critique. The task of contemporary feminism is to find a balance between viewpoints that risk, on the one hand, essentialism, and on the other the elimination of women as the subject of political struggle altogether.

The goal of feminism, then, is the liberation of women, but what that exactly means is open to dispute. For some feminists, this means that women and men will coexist equally; for others, that we will no longer see people as women and men. Feminism provides a rich panorama of views on gender problems. One thing all feminists can agree on, though, is that gender problems exist. Whether as a result of natural differences or cultural construction, people are oppressed on the basis of gender. To go beyond gender, this situation needs to be redressed; gender cannot simply be declared defunct. Feminism can perhaps be best defined as the attempt to get beyond the state of affairs where people are oppressed because of gender. Thus, it is not possible to go beyond gender without feminism; the charge that feminism itself perpetuates gender categories is patently absurd.

Since anarchy is opposed to all forms of domination, anarchy without feminism is not anarchy at all. Since anarchy declares itself opposed to all archy, all rulership, true anarchy is by definition opposed to patriarchy, i.e. it is, by definition, feminist. But it is not enough to declare oneself opposed to all domination; one needs to try to understand domination in order to oppose it. Feminist authors should be read by all anarchists who consider themselves opposed to patriarchy. Feminist critiques are certainly just as relevant as books about government oppression.

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feminism is accused of being a kind of identity politics that perpetuates harmful and divisive societal roles that ultimately oppress everyone.

The one thing that all of these allegations have in common is that they posit a single, more or less univocal entity named "feminism." However, anyone who studies feminism soon learns that there has always been a fair amount of diversity within feminist theory, and this has never been more true than it is now. No single set of ideas about sex and gender represents feminism; rather, feminism is a loose category that encompasses just about all forms of thought and action which are explicitly concerned with the liberation of women.

Although feminism has often been accused of essentialism, the critique of essentialism is particularly strong within feminism, and has been for quite some time. Essentialism is the idea that there is an unchanging substance or essence that constitutes the true identity of people and things. In this view, a woman is somehow truly, deep in her core, identifiable as a woman; being a woman is not simply the result of different attributes and behaviors. This is seen as a politically backward stance by many, because it implies that people are limited to certain capabilities and behaviors that are somehow dictated by their nature.

When we examine the range of ideas that has emerged from second wave (post-1963 or so) feminism, however, a different picture comes into focus. Probably the most famous quote from *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir's seminal 1940s work, is the following: "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman." The book goes on to argue that gender is a social category, which individuals can reject. The influence of *The Second Sex* was enormous, and Beauvoir wasn't the only feminist to question the naturalness of the category of gender. Many feminist writers began to draw a distinction between sex and gender, asserting that the former describes the physical body, while the latter is a cultural category. For instance, having a penis pertains to

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Ward Churchill's excellent *Agents of Repression* is considered essential reading by many anarchists, even though Churchill is not an anarchist. Many feminist works, on the other hand, are neglected, even by those who pay lip service to feminism. Yet, while FBI repression is a real threat to anarchists, the way we inhabit our gender-roles must be dealt with every day of our lives. Thus, feminist literature is more relevant to the daily fight against oppression than much of the literature that anarchists read regularly.

If anarchism needs feminism, feminism certainly needs anarchism as well. The failure of some radical feminist theorists to address domination beyond the narrow framework of women being victimized by men has prevented them from developing an adequate critique of oppression. As a prominent anarchist writer has correctly pointed out, a political agenda based on asking men to give up their privilege (as if that were even possible) is absurd. Feminists like Irigaray, MacKinnon and Dworkin advocate legislative reforms, without criticizing the oppressive nature of the state. Female separatism (particularly as enunciated by Marilyn Frye) is a practical, and perhaps necessary, strategy, but only within the framework of a larger society that is assumed to be stratified on the basis of gender. Feminism is truly radical when it seeks to eliminate the conditions that make gender oppression inevitable.

Anarchism and feminism clearly need one another. It is all well and good to say that once the primary source of oppression (whatever that is) is removed, all other oppressions will wither away, but what evidence is there for that? And how does that keep us from oppressing one another now, while we're waiting for this great revolution? Conversely, it is important to recognize that the oppression of women is not the only oppression. Arguments about which forms of oppression are more important, or more primary, are unresolvable and silly. The value, and the danger, of anarchism is this; it seeks to eliminate all forms of domination. This goal is valuable because it does not lose sight of the forest for the trees, getting caught up in distracting reformist battles and forgetting its trajectory toward total liberation. But it is also dangerous because anarchism continually runs the risk of ignoring real-life situations in favor of abstractions, and underemphasizing or dismissing movements that seek to address specific issues. Let's have an anarchist feminism and a feminist anarchism!

The GA Collective is hoping to include more anarcha-feminist and eco-feminist perspectives in the future, as we believe it essential to broaden the traditional anarchist critique of the state into a critique of patriarchy itself, of which the state is just one manifestation. We welcome and encourage articles, essays, and poetry written by anti-authoritarian wimmin and radical feminists, and would love to receive anarcha-feminist zines for review or trade.

Women and the Spectacle

It is difficult to consume people who put up a fight, who resist the cannibalizing of their bodies, their minds, their daily lives. A few people manage to resist, but most don't resist effectively, because they can't. It is hard to locate our tormentor, because it is so pervasive, so familiar. We have known it all our lives. It is our culture.

Situationists characterize our culture as a *spectacle*. The spectacle treats us all as passive spectators of what we are told are our lives. And the culture-as-spectacle covers everything: we are born into it, socialized by it, go to school in it, work and relax and relate to other people in it. Even when we rebel against it, the rebellion is often defined by the spectacle. Would anyone care to estimate the number of sensitive, alienated adolescent males who a generation ago molded their behavior on James Dean in *Rebel Without A Cause*? I'm talking about a *movie*, whose capitalist producers and whose star made a great deal of money from this Spectacular.

Rebellious acts, then, tend to be acts of *opposition* to the spectacle, but seldom are so different that they *transcend* the spectacle. Women have a set of behaviors that show dissatisfaction by being the opposite of what is expected. At the same time these acts are clichés of rebellion, and thus are almost prescribed safety valves that don't alter the theater of our lives. What is a rebellious women supposed to do? We can name all the behaviors -- they appear in every newspaper, on prime time television, on the best-seller lists, in popular magazines -- and, of course, in everyday life. In a setting that values perfection housekeeping, she can be a slob; in a subculture that values large families, she can refuse to have children. Other predictable insurrections? She can defy the sexual double standard for married women by having an affair (or several); she can drink; or use what is termed "locker room" language; or have a nervous breakdown; or -- if she is an adolescent -- she can "act out" (a revealing phrase!) by running away from home and having sex with a lot of men.

Any of these things may make an individual woman's life more tolerable (often, they make it less so); and all of them are guaranteed to make conservatives rant that society is crumbling. But these kinds of scripted insurrections haven't made it crumble yet, and, by themselves they aren't likely to. Anything less than a direct attack upon all the conditions of our lives is not enough.

When women talk about changing destructive sex role socialization of females, they pick one of these possible solutions: 1) girls should be socialized more or less like boys to be independent, competitive, aggressive, and so forth. In short, it is a man's world, so a woman who wants

to fit in has to be "one of the boys," 2) we should glorify the female role, and realize that what we have called weakness is really strength. We should be proud that we are maternal, nurturant, sensitive, emotional, and so on; 3) the only healthy person is an androgynous person: we must eradicate the artificial division of humanity into "masculine" and "feminine," and help both sexes become a mix of the best traits of each.

Within these three models, personal solutions to problems of sexist oppression cover a wide range. Stay single; live communally (with men and women, or with women only). Don't have children; don't have male children; have any kind of children you want, but get parent and worker-controlled child care. Get a job; get a better job; push for affirmative action. Be an informed consumer; file a lawsuit; learn Karate; take assertiveness training. Develop the lesbian within you. Develop your proletarian identity. All of these make sense in particular situations, for particular women. But all of them are partial solutions to much broader problems and none of them necessarily requires seeing the world in a qualitatively different way.

So, we move from the particular to more general solutions. Destroy capitalism. End patriarchy. Smash heterosexism. All are obviously essential tasks in the building of a new and truly human world. Marxists, other socialists, social anarchists, feminists -- all would agree. But what the socialists, and even some feminists, leave out is this: we must smash all forms of domination. That's not just a slogan, and it is the hardest task of all. It means that we have to see through the spectacle, destroy the stage sets, know that there are other ways of doing things. It means that we have to do more than react in programmed rebellions -- we must act. And our actions will be collectively taken, when each person acts autonomously. Does that seem contradictory? It isn't -- but it will be very difficult to do. The individual cannot change anything very much; for that reason, we have to work together. But that work must be without leaders as we know them, and without delegating any control over what we do and what we want to build.

Can the socialists do that? Or the matriarchs? Or the spirituality-trippers? You know the answer to that. Work with them when it makes sense to do so, but give up nothing. Concede nothing to them, or to anyone else: The past leads to us if we force it to. Otherwise it contains us in its asylum with no gates. We make history or it makes us.

This article was respectfully reprinted from "Reinventing Anarchy, Again" an excellent anthology edited by Howard J. Ehrlich, which is available from AK Press.

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Against Mass Society (continued from page one)

small-scale self-sufficient communities would resist or flee the intrusion of military and commercial forces, those that failed would be assimilated. Subsequently, they would quickly forget their cultural practices, causing them to become dependent upon their oppressors for survival.

Capitalism is civilization's current dominant manifestation. The capitalist economy is controlled mainly by state-chartered corporations; these organizations are owned by stockholders who are free to make business decisions without being held personally accountable for the consequences. Legally, corporations enjoy the status of individuals, and thus an injured party can only target the assets of the company in a court case, not the possessions or property of the individual shareholders. Those employed by corporations are legally required to pursue profit above all other possible concerns (e.g., ecological sustainability, worker safety, community health, etc.), and can be fired, sued, or prosecuted if they do otherwise. As a technologically advanced form of civilization, capitalism encroaches upon and utilizes even greater territory, causing further reduction of the space available for life to freely flourish for its own sake. Like civilization, capitalism conscripts both human and non-human life into servitude if regarded as useful, and disposes of it if regarded as otherwise. Under capitalism, most people spend the majority of each conscious day (typically eight to twelve hours) engaged in meaningless, monotonous, regimented, and often physically and mentally injurious labor to obtain basic necessities. Privileged individuals also tend to work intensively and extensively, but typically for the purpose of either responding to social pressure or satisfying an addiction to commodified goods and services. Because of the dullness, alienation, and disempowerment that characterizes the average daily experience, our culture exhibits high rates of depression, mental illness, suicide,

drug addiction, and dysfunctional and abusive relationships, along with numerous vicarious modes of existence (e.g., through television, movies, pornography, video games, etc.).

Civilization, not capitalism per se, was the genesis of systemic authoritarianism, compulsory servitude and social isolation. Hence, an attack upon capitalism that fails to target civilization can never abolish the institutionalized coercion that fuels society. To attempt to collectivize industry for the purpose of democratizing it is to fail to recognize that all large-scale organizations adopt a direction and form that is independent of the intentions of the members. If an association is too large for a face-to-face relationship between members to be possible, it becomes necessary to delegate decision-making responsibilities to representatives and specialists in order to achieve the organization's goals. Even if delegates are elected by consensus or by majority vote, the group's members cannot supervise every action of the delegates unless the organization is small enough for everybody to monitor each other on a regular basis. Delegated leaders or specialists cannot be held accountable to mandates, nor can they be recalled for irresponsible or coercive behavior, unless held subject to frequent supervision by a broad cross-section of the group. Such is impossible in an economy based upon a highly stratified division of labor where no given individual can focus upon or even view the actions of the rest. Additionally, elected delegates are allotted more time and resources to prepare and present a case for their objectives, and are thus more likely to gain further power through deception and manipulation. Even if the group at large determines all policies and procedures (which is itself impossible when specialized knowledge is required), and delegates are only assigned the duties of enforcing them, they will still act independently when they disagree with the rules and are confident that they can

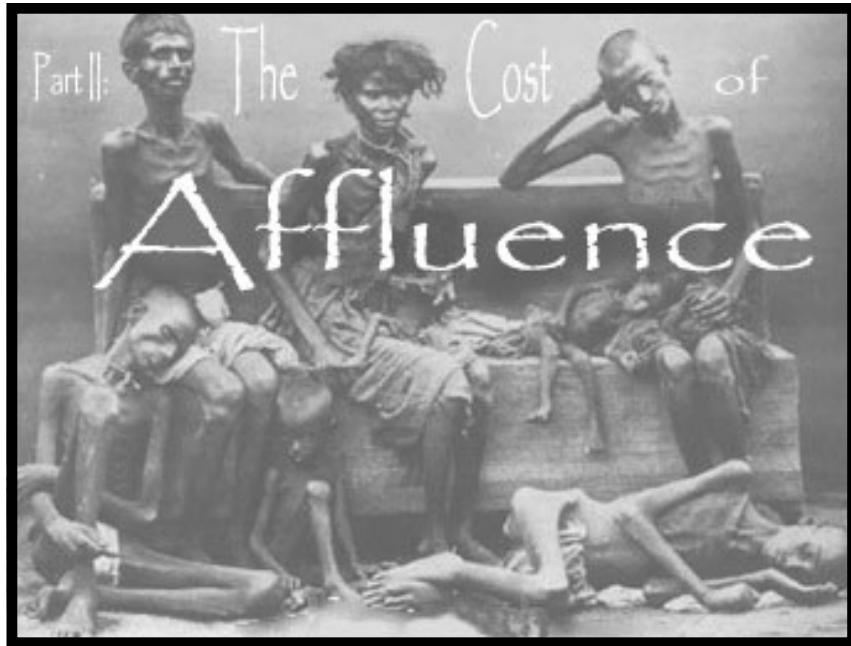
escape punishment for ignoring them. Democracy is necessarily representative, not direct, when practiced on a large scale -- it is incapable of creating organization without hierarchy and control.

Because mass organizations must increase production to maintain their existence and to expand, they tend to imperialistically extend their scope of influence. Because cities and industries rely upon outside inputs, they aim to seize the surrounding areas for agricultural and industrial use, rendering it inhospitable to both non-human ecosystems and self-sufficient human communities. This area will expand in relation to any increase in population or specialization of labor that the city experiences. One could argue that industrial production could be maintained and yet scaled down, leaving ecosystems and non-industrial peoples some room to co-exist. Firstly, this proposal invites the question of why civilization should determine its own boundaries, instead of the victims of its predation. Secondly, there are no historical examples of production economies that do not expand, mainly because they must expand after depleting the resources available to them at any given time.

The structural complexity and hierarchy of civilization must be refused, along with the political and ecological imperialism that it propagates across the globe. Hierarchical institutions, territorial expansion, and the mechanization of life are all required for the administration and process of mass production to occur. Only small communities of self-sufficient individuals can coexist with other beings, human or not, without imposing their authority upon them.

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"Against Mass Society" is included in the pamphlet *Our Enemy Civilization*, a new anthology of essays against modern life. To receive this pamphlet, send \$2 to OEC, PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440.



The name U'wa means "the thinking people" because of the fact that for thousands of years they have avoided conflict with neighboring tribes with the use of communication. Today, 5,000 U'wa exist in the cloud forests of the Colombian Andes. They were once a tribe of around 20,000 which occupied territory from southern Venezuela all the way into northeastern Colombia, an expanse of approximately three million acres. The Colombian government has since seized 85 percent of the U'wa tribe's traditional land. In 2000, only about 247,700 acres were officially recognized by the Colombian government (Rainforest Action Network 2000).

At the time of the arrival of Conquistadors in Columbia, the U'wa migrated far into the hills to avoid being enslaved and forced to dig for gold. When they were found by the conquistadors, according to the oral history of the tribe, they committed mass suicide in an effort to die with dignity and avoid the fate of the tribes that had been enslaved. According to myth, thousands of tribespeople committed collective suicide by walking off of a 1,400-foot cliff. The U'wa say that so many people were piled in the river below that its course was changed forever (RAN 2000).

After the Spaniards abandoned the area, the remaining U'wa lived unaffected by civilization until the 1940s and 50s when roads were built that allowed for the settlement of displaced Colombian nationals during Colombian civil conflict. The settlers brought diseases that lowered the defenses of the indigenous population, making them more susceptible to cooperation with the medicine-offering Western missionaries (RAN 2000).

Oil exploration has occurred since then in territories outside that of the U'wa; they have only recently been directly affected. In 2000 Occidental Oil planned to extract 1.5 billion barrels of oil from the fields below U'wa land. Their plan to drill has been halted by global resistance and outcry. The U'wa have been aware of the existence of oil for millennia. For them it represents something far different from what it has come to mean for industrialized nations. To the U'wa, oil is one of the five cosmological elements that make up their universe. These include earth, sky, water, mountains and oil. In their mythology, oil is the blood of the earth. It is called Ruiria, and it sustains life on Earth, which is the mother of life. To the U'wa, the extraction of the blood of the mother is a desecration that can only lead to the death of their people (RAN 2000). The U'wa have promised to commit collective suicide once again if the oil project currently proposed occurs. They would take death over the acceptance of the loss of their sacred land and culture (RAN 2000).

It is clear that in this case the resource being targeted is oil. Though slavery—in the typical sense—is not imminent, as it was 500 years ago for these people, the same threat exists in the form of assimilation into civilization and the wage slavery that would inevitably follow their being forced into cities. Here the cost of creating the affluent society would mean, for the U'wa, the abandonment of all they hold sacred: their land, their traditions, their ability to live as they have for millennia. These are the costs being incurred so first world consumers can continue in their path of waste.

The reasons oil is being extracted from the region are much more complex than those that brought explorers here in the first place to seek gold. Five hundred years ago, the sole purpose was the bolstering of the economic power of individual nations and the elites within them; now every endeavor is tied to a world-wide economic network of debt and investment. The recent protests against the World Bank and International Monetary Fund in Washington, DC shed light on this system. Now there are several layers of interests that are involved in the creation of the affluent society. The pressure to exploit the people and resources of Columbia

is many times greater under the institutions and corporations of modern capitalism than it was in a time when Europe was only beginning to shed its backwater marginality by betting on the riches of the New World (Ponting 1993 c: 117). What oil drilling in Columbia represents today is profit for the government, for the oil companies, for the markets into which the oil flows, and for the investors that fund not only the "development" of the country, but the projects themselves. I will discuss some of the details of this system in a moment, but first, a brief overview of oil drilling in Columbia and the effects it has had.

Since 1984, Occidental Oil has been operating in Colombia (outside of U'wa territory). In 2000 it claimed that there are approximately 1.5 billion

barrels of oil to which it must have access. Because U'wa land is legally protected, Occidental Oil is basing their interpretation of U'wa land on a narrow definition that excludes the protection of their greater traditional land. As mentioned above, the pressure to start extracting oil from this territory is great.

Right now oil is Columbia's largest export commodity, generating one fourth of its official export revenue. Colombia is the fourth largest and fastest growing oil exporter in South America; in 1995, Columbia increased its oil output by 30 percent. The United States is the largest importer of Colombian oil and, of all of the oil exported, the U.S. takes about 260,000 barrels a day (RAN 2000).

The reasons for these developments are not solely based on Columbia's voluntary expansion of oil extraction. Rather, what's pushing these advancements is Columbia's need to satisfy debts to the United States and international financial institutions. International financial institutions (IFIs) are organizations such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These organizations are publicly funded, and though quite powerful, they pale in comparison to private financial institutions. One such private institution involved in Columbia's oil economy is Citigroup.

Citigroup is the world's third largest financial institution. To put this into scope, a comparison can be made between the currency exchange of public versus private financial institutions. International financial institutions (IFIs) are organizations such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These organizations are publicly funded, and though quite powerful, they pale in comparison to private financial institutions. One such private institution involved in Columbia's oil economy is Citigroup.

The strength of these lending institutions exerted over small "developing" countries forces them to accelerate already unsustainable industrial practices. The real losers in this equation are the indigenous cultures and ecosystems that stand in the way. The real costs of creating the affluent society are incurred at this level.

Perhaps this might be a good time to address the concept of the affluent society again. It is clear that ecosystems and cultures are destroyed to create affluence for some. It is important to consider exactly who the affluent of the world now are. To an extent, all first world consumers should consider themselves the beneficiaries of the affluent society, but really, the affluence is funneling straight into the hands of monstrous global corporations and financial institutions. Though, as first world consumers, we may feel helpless in this situation, we can do a lot to protect the rest of the world from the costs of the affluence that exists in our countries. Consumers can, at the very least, boycott Occidental Oil, or if so inclined, take direct action, violent or non-violent. They can also organize awareness and opposition to drilling on U'wa land. What must be learned is that our affluence does not come cheap for the rest of the world on whose back we stand, blind to the costs we create.

It is the same old story of conquest. The differences between

what's going on today and what occurred 500 years ago are few. Though the methodology of the expansion of resource extraction may involve less outright bloodshed, it has only become more efficient as technological advancements have allowed for the expedient extraction and transport of raw materials from anywhere in the world. Though the names of economic systems have changed from colonialism, to imperialism, to neo-liberalism, the underlying paradigm has remained unchanged. In essence, what guides these endeavors is the deep-rooted belief that all of the universe, living and nonliving, is at the disposal of not only mankind, but the masters of mankind, the white capitalists. Christianity need no longer be the intellectual justification for genocide, rather all that is required now is the "bottom-line" defense. We all are expected to accept the notion that corporations have no obligation to be moral or ethical; their only obligation is to make money for shareholders. The bottom line equals profit.

The motivation for inflicting costs to create affluence is not new. Again the motivation is the same: power and profit. All that has changed is the methodology and the expression of ideology. The fact is, that though the conquest of indigenous cultures, to create civilized affluence, is no longer guided by outwardly racist religious doctrines, the blatant disparity in worth and rights between the "civilized" and the "savage" is as present as ever. First peoples are still viewed as valueless obstacles to be managed and overcome in order to secure the resources they negligently refuse to exploit. The logic of industrialization and corporate globalization is rooted in Aristotle's Great Chain of Being. To states and corporations, indigenous people are impoverished savages who are stuck at the lower end of the spectrum of cultural evolution. Implicit to this logic is the assumption that civilizations — more specifically, modern industrial capitalist societies — are superior to all other "less developed" societies. This "View from Olympus" has been at the heart of the ideological framework that has justified the subjugation of simple societies for all of history (Hubbard: 2000).

Until this ideology is recognized, questioned, and destroyed, the affluent societies will continue to expand, exploit, and conquer. Furthermore, the rapidly diminishing indigenous peoples and ecosystems of the planet will continually suffer the costs incurred. Without the mobilization of a

movement to end the intensification and further expansion of natural resource exploitation, we can reasonably expect to lose forever all cultures that have evolved free of civilized and material affluence.

As awareness of the costs of first world lifestyle and consumption has become more inescapable, movements have arisen. However, at this point in history, reforms will simply continue sustaining an inherently destructive and unsustainable system. Movements of the future must attack the systemic and ideological foundations of civilization itself, as well as the costs that its ever-changing, symptomatic leaders, nations, and corporations incur upon the earth.

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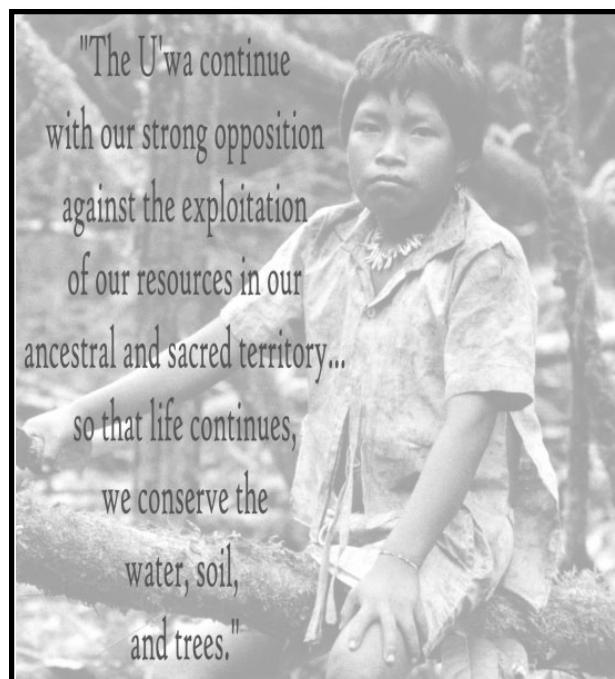
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RESISTING WESTERN PENETRATION

(Notes on the Zapatista Army of National Liberation: EZLN)

A month ago, my compañera Janine and I were having breakfast while discussing the situation of the Zapatistas in México and we had a realization: Anarchy is a western response to western systems, and the Zapatista movement is the current indigenous response to western penetration. In effect, when people grow up in a rotten system that absorbs everything, there is no other way for emancipation than smashing the legal-political structure that justifies control and repression: i.e. the state, the ideology and its ramifications. But when people are born outside of that rotten system, they try to keep themselves outside and not get contaminated by its rottenness. This seems to be an act of common sense: people try to not get sick. This impulse is either instinctive or a conscious act. But it is real.

The Zapatista guerrilla movement is a conscious response organized in the form of resistance to western “civilized” penetration in the region of Chiapas and the Chiapaneco people’s everyday life. The movement broke through the media suppression in 1994 when a group of armed indigenous people, wearing balaclavas, assaulted the small town of San Cristóbal de las Casas. This occurred the morning after New Year’s Eve (maybe emulating the example of Cuban Revolution; the assault of La Havana also happened the morning after New Year’s Eve, in 1959.) Beyond the tremendous impact on the media that the balaclava of Zapatista spokesman Marcos had, there was a tactic of survival. The paramilitary — composed mainly at the time of ranchers and land owners and supported by the Army — were harassing, repressing and murdering anyone who was involved in any particular activity of protest against genocide and ecocide. Balaclavas and “paliacates” (bandannas) were a way to not be identified by the paramilitary in the first place, but with the development of the fight they became the symbol of Zapatista struggle. There was another emblematic aspect of that first assault on San Cristóbal de las Casas. January 1, 1994 was exactly the same day that Mexico became a member of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement). Thus, that day a guerrilla group of masked and armed people appeared in the southern part of Mexico to combat *neoliberalismo* just at a moment of bankruptcy of ideological resistance, postmodern justifications of the commodification process, and new tactics of imperialist aggression in Latin America.

Seven years later, the Zapatistas have managed to survive and to not be wiped out by the Mexican army, nor by the American army. The Pentagon has plans to install 12,000 American soldiers in Guatemala. Carlos Fazio thinks that the militarization and paramilitarization of the states of Chiapas, Oaxaca and Guerrero, plus this provision of the Pentagon, are part of the “Plan Puebla-Panamá” (PPP). This plan is part of the national security interests of the US and its tactics of re-establishing geographically and strategically the role of the Pentagon in Latin America before the increasing popular discontent against neoliberal politics (www.lainsignia.org/2001/marzo/ibe_113.htm). This plan is the antithesis of the San Andrés accords and it is a further step towards uprooting indigenous peoples from their communal ways and orienting them towards an individualistic monetarised economy. For the World Bank, Chiapas is an experimental field to invest in biotechnology and monoculture. In the 1.9 million hectares of the Lacandon rainforest, partly controlled by the Zapatistas, there is 25 percent of the surface water of Mexico (which generates 45 percent of its hydroelectric power), more than half of the species of Mexican tropical trees, 3,500 plant species, 114 of mammals, and 345 birds. Oil reserves are equally located under key areas of Zapatista influence, as are plans for further hydroelectric dams and privatization of water supplies (www.ainfos.ca/01/feb/ainfos00480.html).

Between February and March of 2001, the Zapatista comandancia marched from Chiapas to Mexico City, following the route of the revolutionary Emiliano Zapata, to demand the ratification of the San Andrés accords signed between the EZLN (Zapatista Army of National Liberation) and the Mexican government in 1996. The march culminated in the Zócalo, the main square of Mexico City. In the Zócalo and its surroundings were approximately 200,000 people (four times more than the number of people who gathered in Seattle in November of 1999) to receive the Zapatista caravan. The means that the Zapatistas planned to use in order to achieve their goal — the ratification of the San Andrés accords — were the mobilization of the whole country and

the support of international groups of anti-authoritarian and radical people, like the Italian anarchists, social rebels from South America, and North American activists. The three points of the San Andrés accords were: 1) to release all political prisoners, 2) to dismantle seven military bases located in Chiapas, and 3) to recognize indigenous rights. The government released political prisoners and dismantled the seven military bases, but it did not pass a law to constitutionally compromise itself to respect the autonomy

alienation, environmental and social destruction, and domestication. The maquilas and the freeway will bring paid enslavement and repression to the region. In Juárez City, for example, on the border with the US, people have to live in shanty towns, with cubicles and cardboard houses, and work from eight to twelve hours a day to make between US \$0.75 and US \$1 an hour. They buy TVs, and radio-stereos and other plastic articles of consumption. They suffer alienation. In four years, 260 women have been

raped and murdered. Indeed, western penetration is a generalized form of social and ecological rape. If the Plan Puebla-Panamá succeeds, it will bring to Chiapas and Central America all the industrial consequences that produce death in people, flora, fauna, and soil. DuPont, Pulsar, Monsanto, Novartis and Diversa are companies expecting to install sweatshops and monoculture factories of transgenic products. This imperialistic penetration will displace local farmers and indigenous communities from their land to cities like Juárez City. However, as long as the Zapatistas keep fighting this plan — which is the materialization of the state and capital, the institutions by which civilization controls our existence — soldiers and paramilitary won’t be able to guard the state sovereignty and the rich interests in the area.

Social struggle is not only a matter of ends but also of means. Neither one is more important than the other, but both have to align in order for people to have a coherent vision of what they want and how to fight for it. I believe that the Zapatistas have that vision. The Zapatista struggle is a fight against the neoliberal model and the global standardization of human life through the corporate agenda. Domestication is based on standardization, and that is an innate practice of civilization. The ultimate goal of the Zapatistas is to fight civilization. Indigenous people of Chiapas want their autonomy back. It is painful for them to adopt the western lifestyle. They called themselves Zapatistas and they fought the western penetration in their territory. Their tactics went from assaulting a city to marching to the capital. Anarchism fights western systems in another territory. Its means are diverse. In indigenous territory, western modernity materializes itself in the form of an army with “civilizing” tanks and soldiers. I remember seeing the tanks drive around. I was being controlled by the military check points when my compañera & I went to Chiapas two years ago. I remember also seeing the national guard deployed in Seattle when the mayor declared the state of emergency and imposed a curfew. Any victory against the state and capital is a victory for autonomy and freedom. It is a victory against civilization. When the state becomes deterritorialized, the henchmen of the rotten system have to step back and abandon the occupied territories, leaving people alone. That is what the Mexican army had to do when the government dismantled the seven military bases.

This was also a victory for indigenous people across the hemisphere. Indigenous people are rising up in Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, northern Argentina and now in Chile, with the renaissance of Mapuche resistance. Someday, indigenous people from all reservations will march together with Black and Chicano people from the ghettos and anti-authoritarian folks across the United States to Washington, DC, to end imperialism. There are multiple means to work to that end but certainly sectarianism and solipsism are none of those. Radical people who fight against western repression in the western world must avoid the standardizing practice of what they are fighting against: uniformity, homogenization, categorization. To accuse the EZLN of reformism while sitting at a computer in the US is a tremendous irresponsibility.

If anarchism fights for individual autonomy it must also fight for the total unfolding of anti-authoritarian peculiarities. Trying to standardize anti-authoritarian practices under one flag or one label is nothing but totalitarianism. It can drive any honest radical movement to reproduce the system. We have to understand that both anarchism and indigenous movements fight against the “civilized” order and its practice of standardization. That is the ultimate end. The ways to achieve this end depends on the means that each one chooses, which should never include sectarian judgments or standardizing practices. The instrumental logic of these practices has nothing to do with anarchism. On the contrary, it reproduces and perpetuates the western rationale and its colonizing expansion.

Eugene, Oregon, June 18th 2001
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Green Anarchy #6



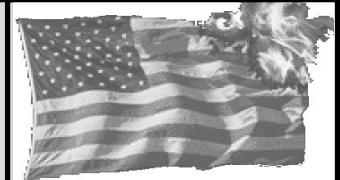
of indigenous population of the southeast of Mexico. Of course, this would go against the interests of the Plan Puebla-Panamá. The Congress voted for a legal packet called “indigenous rights” that instead recognizes and legalizes private property in Chiapas and defends the privileges that land owners and ranchers — some of whom are also members of the paramilitary — had already taken by force.

When the 24 comandantes, among them subcomandante Marcos, found out what the legal packet of “indigenous rights” was, they decided to go back to Chiapas and continue the military struggle — but this time, they went back with the whole country mobilized, a strong network of international attention and support, and seven military bases dismantled. That was a victory over the state and capital: the tools that the system uses to perpetuate civilization through itself. The name they give to that “civilizing” process is “modernization.” What the EZLN is actually resisting is the action of modernization — in other words, the action of western penetration in the southeast of México.

In the fifth issue of *Green Anarchy* somebody accused the EZLN of being a reformist movement with a reformist agenda, which is the EZLN capitulation of the war against “the state and capital... the institutions by which civilization controls our existence.” When I read this statement, I was reminded how important it is to avoid sectarianism. A sect always has a strong rhetoric and a strong tendency to isolate itself and misunderstand reality. Perhaps it is the effect of alienation. What the EZLN is actually doing is resisting the penetration of the state and capital in the region of Chiapas. This penetration is carried out through the Plan Puebla-Panamá. The people who run the US want to accelerate this plan in order to pass the FTAA (Free Trade Area for the Americas). Vicente Fox and George Bush — the Mexican and the American spokesmen of transnational corporations, and both ranchers as well — have an agreement to carry out the Plan Puebla-Panama as soon as possible. This plan entails the construction of a railroad and a high-tech freeway from Puebla (south of Mexico City) to Panama. On either side of the railroad there will be sweatshops called maquilas running along both sides of the freeways. Of course, the plan for this “modern” form of penetration is also to impose a concrete highway in the middle of the jungle from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean. This will destroy the ecosystem and will increase slavery practices, forcing native people to sweat labor in the maquilas which already exist in the northern part of Mexico along the border.

We already know what industrialization means: poverty,

Thoughts on Subversion From Two Yippie Elders



Stew Albert and Judy Gumbo were founding Yippies, activists in support of the Black Panther Party and militant participants in the anti-war movement of the Sixties. Judy was an early feminist. They are both portrayed in the video/dvd version of "Steal This Movie.", A bio-pic based on the life and times of Yippie Abbie Hoffman. Judy and Stew live in Portland Oregon, where they continue to be active in the good fight.

You are invited to visit Stew's "Yippie Reading Room" web site at "<http://hometown.aol.com/stewa/stew.html>

Stew, for the benefit of our readers, could you give us a quick synopsis of your background in radical politics and describe what led you to become a founding member of the Youth International Party:

I started marching and protesting against the Vietnam War in 1964. In 1965 I joined the Berkeley based Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) and was involved in marches, demonstrations and at least one riot. The group was beginning to lose energy in 1966 and was knocked out for good by an unsolved right-wing bombing of its headquarters. But it provided an example and a militant model for the national student based antiwar movement.

The Black Panthers started out in Berkeley and Oakland and I was an early supporter of this organization. I worked to create alliances between the Panthers and the Yippies. I was involved in a number of major protests against the war and racism, including the Pentagon sit-in and the 1968 Chicago riots.

Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, myself and others started the Yippies because we believed that the passions and ideas of young rebels, hippies and anarchists were not being represented by the old Left and pacifist leadership of the peace movement. We looked out at the crowds at peace demonstrations and they were mostly wild looking and young and then we looked at the speakers platform and everyone was mostly middle aged and middle class. It didn't make sense.

I know from my readings on the Sixties Counterculture that many Yippies considered themselves "psychedelic anarchists" and the anarchist influence is obvious in books like "Do It" and "Revolution For The Hell Of It" but I was wondering if you could clarify for us just where the Yippie movement was coming from politically and what its relationship to anarchism was. What was it that made the Yippies different from the rest of the New Left and what were your long term goals as a movement?

We called ourselves Yippies, in part because we didn't want to use any of the preexisting labels. But it's true that our views and actions were more anarchistic than anything else. We certainly were not interested in reforming the state bureaucracy. We wanted to replace the State with Community. Abbie Hoffman said that the Yippies were creating a Woodstock Nation that opposed and sought the destruction of the Pig Empire. I used the term "Soulful Socialism" - to juxtapose us to Marxism-Leninism or what was called "Scientific Socialism." In our style and tactics we were influenced by the Surrealists, especially when we threw money at stock exchange brokers, or when we ran a pig (Pegasus) for president. We were also influenced by the Dutch based Provo anarchist movement.

We American Yippies did run into some trouble with French anarchists, because they thought we were too pro-Castro and Ho Chi Minh but we felt that these guys might not be perfect, but because of their positive achievements and the enemies they made, we thought they

were very worthy of support. So we weren't perfect anarchists but I've never been perfect at anything.

When we talked up in Portland in January, you commented on how interesting it was to you that so many younger anarchists were deeply immersed in the study of anthropology, while many of the radicals of your era were focused on studying psychology and the workings of the human mind. This was fascinating to me, as I consider an understanding of group psychology absolutely essential to subverting the dominant paradigm. Could you explain to us how your knowledge of psychology benefited you as a revolutionary and maybe give us some examples of how it was utilized by the Yippie movement?

By 1967 we realized the war wasn't going to go away nor the boring oppressive bureaucratic conformist society that spawned that brutal imperial adventure. We started thinking about how we could broaden our influence. Change people. Win them over. We knew the media was screwing us. Misrepresenting us when they were not ignoring us completely. We started thinking up ways of

both getting around the media and using it. We started our own weekly newspapers all over the country. It was called the underground press. But we were determined to get people's attention by any and all means including TV and the mainstream press. We knew that if we just lectured people about morality, if we tried to make them feel guilty, we knew they would ignore us. After all they had their parents and teachers to make them feel guilty. Why did they need us? We also knew that America was becoming an entertainment based society and that if our tactics were boring and repetitive we would turn people off. So we took on the techniques of what would someday be called performance art — and also a little from Brecht and Artaud -- mostly we wanted to do surprising things that made people pay attention. We wanted to touch people's emotions but also their sense of humor. We wanted to put out a message that the best and most worthwhile time in America could be found in the rebel movement. And we wanted to create events that were so visually interesting that CBS would be forced to put us on the 7 o'clock news. So running a pig for President and getting arrested with that Pig. The Chicago police threw us all in a police wagon, Phil Ochs, Jerry Rubin, me and others and also our candidate Pegasus. The images went out all over the global village via TV and all over the world people were laughing at the American election and the police. And thinking we were a great bunch who they would like to emulate. And many did.

Many revolutionaries active during the 1960's and 70's (including yourself) felt the full iron heel of fascism in the form of the F.B.I.'s Counter-intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). In fact, your generation were the ones who first exposed COINTELPRO to the larger public and you were also the first to analyze the Grand Jury system and to develop effective strategies for dealing with it, and other forms of state repression. What sort of security advice do you have for younger activists who might not yet be familiar with the history of state repression in this country?

The first thing would be to become familiar with the history of American repression — the home grown Iron Heel. There are plenty of books — there's lots to read. The FBI files are very important to read - and there is lots of good stuff to search out on the web. I think the first thing is, to grasp a truth about the American system. It only tolerates freedom — when freedom is not a threat to its rulers. That was true in Chile when the US overthrew a legally elected socialist government

and imposed a violent dictatorship. It's true now in Columbia where labor leaders are being murdered and it becomes true here in America to the extent that we radicals are being effective. The last presidential election ended in what some call a velvet coup. I'm sure that if there was a strong national movement against the coup — the velvet would have been taken off - and the iron heel would be its replacement. So we have to understand the system without illusions.

I think that those who are full time involved in fighting against global capitalism need to take security more seriously. To protect their homes and offices and selves and yet it's important to do this without being paranoid — if protection is over done it will frighten people away. So a balance must be struck. And look, some stuff seems improperly categorized — like people tell me that wearing bandannas protects them. But the truth is (the way the police work) wearing a bandanna may keep your face out of the papers, and it's great revolutionary theater for sure, but who do you think will become a candidate for being followed home? Or to a bar? Or wherever. Its better to learn how to find electronic bugs or develop mail drops or learn how to lose a tail or like the Panther's to learn enough law to protect yourself, a little bit, against the law. That can help you. But bandannas? They are a great way to express Zapatista solidarity but I don't think they give any protection.

How were issues of gender inequality, male privilege, and patriarchy approached by the Yippie movement? Where if anywhere along the continuum of priorities of the movement was women's oppression situated? How willing were men to listen to women about these issues, and further educate themselves on women's history and subjugated role in society?

From Judy Gumbo Albert: What's interesting about what we called the women's liberation movement is the myth that's come down from 30 years ago, and the reality. Everyone experienced their own sixties but what comes down today as historical facts are predominately tales of sexism, oppression, patriarchy (although we didn't call it that back then) and even rape. It's true that Eldridge Cleaver glorified rape as an insurrectionary act in his book "Soul On Ice". It's also true we were asked to make coffee, roll joints and do menial tasks. But to believe only that the sixties was patriarchal and oppressive to women is to buy into a myth — a partial totality. For the Yippie women — myself, Anita Hoffman, Nancy K., Genie Plamondon, Robin Morgan and many others the experience of being leaders, movers, shakers, speakers, rioters, revolutionaries, guerrilla theatrical performers and producers, writers, editors, flower children, anarchists and sexually liberated beings was as much if not more part of our experience as sexism and patriarchy. Plus, we were not wimps. When Yippie women came up against sexism, we fought back. We took the term "women's liberation" from the liberation movements that surrounded us — black people, Vietnamese. We knew that women had to be free and formed our own liberation movement. Freedom, in Janis Joplin's words was just another word for nuthin left to loose.

How did the guys take it? Not well — at least at first. Every Yippie relationship, including Stew's and mine, broke up in the height of the women's movement. After all, how could I love a sexist oppressor? Did Stew change his behavior? You bet. Did I? Absolutely. We were lucky because we both came to understand that behavior had to change — both the sexist oppressor and the victimized oppressed. And that both our behaviors affected each other. (We were reading Fanon's the "Wretched of the Earth" at the time.) Eventually Stew & I we were able to re-build our relationship — which isn't true of any of the other Yippie relationships from that time.

What is most important about that period that we women learned to do things that we never had access to before — from repairing VW engines to controlling our reproductive lives, to conquering our fear of facing down the pigs. We learned to be leaders and to stand up from the core of our being for what we believed in. I know for a fact that the commitment to feminist self-determination that we learned from being part of the Yippies stayed with all of us Yippie women as we proceeded down the rest of our lives — each in our different way.

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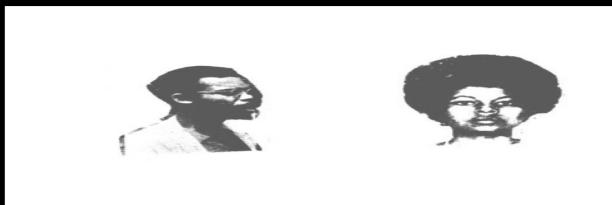
To what extent did an ecological agenda manifest within the Yippie movement? What was the nature of the discourse on matters such as the (un)sustainability of industrial civilization, the relative ecological harmony of "primitive societies", population growth, the culturally constructed historic role of modern civilized humans(men)as the owners and destroyers of the earth?

The first time that I started paying attention to ecological issues was when I started reading articles in the underground press by a Yippie named Keith Lampe. He called his articles, "Earth Read Out," and in some ways they helped start the ecology movement. The Yippies were around only in the early days of green politics. We were very active in creating People's Park in Berkeley in 1969. We took over some abandoned land and put down, grass, flowers and trees - it became a massive community event. But Governor Ronald Reagan called out the police and the National Guard and they shot up Berkeley. They killed and they maimed and they built a fence around the park. Many who were involved in creating the park never heard the word "ecology," But that's what the park was about.

The Yippies did not think industrial society was sustainable. We were into postindustrial thinking. We looked toward a computer-based decentralization of society. Perhaps we romanticized computers. We were sometimes called neoprimitives, because we wanted to combine high-tech with much more simple forms of living.

Leading up to and during the late 60s, could you explain the role and influence of "do-it-yourself" publications including flyers, newspapers, pamphlets, etc. and how the distribution of such propaganda affected and instigated radical action? What forms of propaganda did you find most effective? What production methods proved the most tenable considering limited funding?

I wonder about the practical relevance of this question, since we didn't have the benefit of web pages and the Internet - and in a way the game has changed or maybe it hasn't? When it comes to effective propaganda — nothing has changed. If you don't have lively layout that conveys energy and some joy you will cut down on your readership. And your language has to have life in it. No clichés and anything becomes a cliché if you repeat it enough. Humorous images, surrealistic juxtapositions are always great. And here's another thing to remember about propaganda. It should stimulate critical thought but not try to provide all the answers. It should leave room for the readers to fill in some answers of their own. And you should have a big ear, willing to listen and reflect what people say. If your propaganda is really good, even our enemies will reluctantly enjoy it, when that happens you know you're having an impact. You know your enemies children will soon be joining your ranks.



Reprinted below is an interesting Black Liberation Army (BLA) communiqué from the mid-seventies critiquing technology from the perspective of the Black colony here in North Amerika. In this communiqué, the BLA discuss the way in which the ruling class utilize technology to oppress and exploit New Afrikans and advocate the use of revolutionary violence to dismantle this technological web of domination.

View From The Armed Front: The Dialectic of Revolutionary Violence, Law And Reformism

Our recognition of the economical contradictions of capital in no way obscures the social and political realities that now confront us and our struggle for Black Liberation. To the contrary, it enhances and deepens our perspective and clarifies the dialectical role of armed struggle in our liberation process.

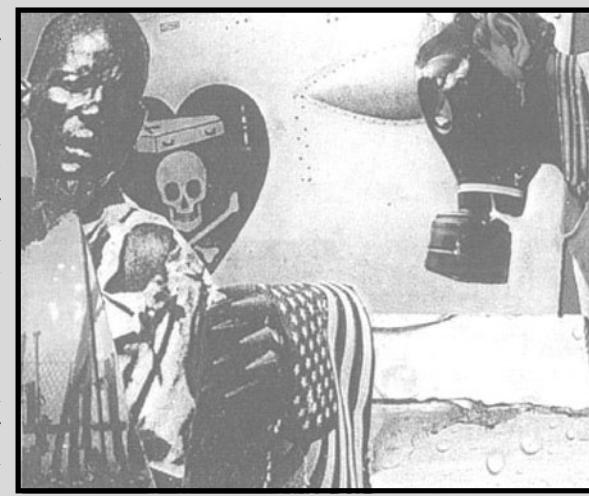
We have begun to recognize and analyze those forces in a modern technologically advanced society that set our particular struggle apart from other Third World peoples struggles, as well as the common factors all oppressed peoples share as a result of U.S. and western imperialism. One such factor that sets our struggle apart from other struggles is the profound influence of organized technology on our consciousness, social relationships and behavior. People who live in the technologically advanced societies of the west have been programmed to perceive their needs as being one and the same as the technology that created these artificial needs. Because the masses of working people do not control this technology it has been consistently used to manipulate their whole lives. We are told what to buy, what to eat, whom to hate, and what to love by rulers and controllers of an exploitative system. Technology in the context of Capitalism is the ultimate means by which the masses are programmed out of the need for real freedom. A whole social value system has evolved to support our dependence on corporate-state technological control. We no longer know what freedom is or what self determination is. We perceive the value of competition as being in the natural order of human relationships, instead of contrary to the fact that humans are a social animal more attuned to

co-operation than competition. We must create in the course of destroying our system of oppression, whole new value concepts, concepts that exist in dialectical opposition to the values that buttress our oppression. Even more than this, we must create a new need within ourselves for freedom, so that we can harness technology in our behalf. As it stands now, Black people cannot even conceive of real freedom, we are afraid of real liberation because we have been programmed to be afraid by racist class oppression. Technology has immensely aided in reinforcing our fear of the dominant ruling circles. We must break this social psychosis.

The BLA has undertaken armed struggle as a means by which the social psychosis of fear, awe, and love of everything white people define as being of value, is purged from our peoples minds. Our historical experience in North America has shown us that we as a people have always suffered while the racist ruling circles have never suffered. We have seen throughout our history, pain, blood, rape, exploitation, poverty, our families torn asunder by a cruel and brutal culture, our youth murdered and socially crippled, our women degraded, our lives ever at the mercy

of the cold American dream machine. We realize that the results of this historical experience has caused Black people to fear America's capacity for racist violence, and on the other hand, has reinforced the racist ruling circles in their attitudes of arrogance and confidence. The fact that the majority of whites who are equally oppressed and exploited do not really understand who their real enemy is, does not deter us from doing what must be done to break not only our peoples mental chains, but theirs

as well. We therefore, will illustrate in the only terms that the ruling classes understand, the terms of blood - their blood. America must learn that Black people are not the eternal sufferers, the universal prisoners, the only ones who can feel pain. Revolutionary violence is, therefore, not a tactic of struggle, but a strategy. A Strategy designed to drive the capitalist system further into crisis, while at the same time forcing all those responsible for oppression to realize that they too can bleed, they too can feel our pain. As it stands now, the powerful do not believe they can hurt and therefore, find concession to our demands for liberation ridiculous. Our social/psychotic fear of the racists ruling circles must be purged also, and only by developing our capacity to fight our enemy will this unreasonable and reactionary fear be eradicated from our social psyche. Revolutionary violence is not so much a cleansing process as it is a necessary ingredient in creating a psychological frame of mind amongst the ruling classes that our liberation must be granted.



It's Time to Disorganize!

If there's anything that the failures of the left prove, particularly the unions (from the UAW, AFL-CIO, to the IWW), it's that any "revolutionary" theory that doesn't question the key elements of civilization is going to do nothing more than shift the social order to a slightly "modified" version. That is if they work at all. We can no longer look to any kind of reform for an end to the death machine that is civilization. It has long been an embedded idea in "revolutionary" strands that success requires organization. The age-old calls of the Wobblies, "It's time to organize!" are ringing hollow as the leftist milieu grinds them into the pages of dead social movements in radical history. What has our past of "organization" brought us? We can say that it has brought us some success because those at the top of the newly created social hierarchies tell us we have. Organization pushes us back into the same top-down hierarchies that we are trying to revolt against and erase. What will this bring us? Goodbye old boss, hello to the new, any difference? Maybe there'll be a mild greening (or Redding more likely), but it's still the same social order, which generally is unquestioning of destructive civilized lifestyles. But even in the short run they offer little more than pushing forward new leaders to tell us how and when to act out and how and when we've won. It's getting us nowhere. Little, lefty reformist games comprised of a lot of talk and no action. "Consensus" meetings held behind closed doors by chosen or predetermined delegates will lay out the guidelines of how much reform the masses will stand behind. We have no choice in the matter and don't realize the two-faced realities

of those disposing of empty rhetoric. It has not and will not get us anywhere.

If we do truly desire an end to the civilized social order, we can only do so by enacting insurgency and revolt by means that keep no aspect of the current social order, or push for a system that mirrors this. The only hope we have is for spontaneous acts of revolt to come from the passions and rage of individuals. No top down orders or "plans for action" can wake the insurgent drowned out by the totality of civilized thought.

The only true and successful revolution will not be brought about by predetermined games of give, give, borrow, silent marches and banners, and especially new hierarchies. It will come from the hearts of those who bear the blows of civilization (which is all of us, including non-humans). Those whose dreams are shattered, those who will never live autonomously, unrestrained from the totality of the civilized concrete cages we are born into. Those who have been shut off at birth from their birthright to flourish as individuals and a community, and from the community of Nature that would offer them more love than we can conceive in our current downtrodden state. The failures of all hierarchies are becoming clearer daily. The constant collapse of the social order from its overbearing weight will draw more to find their catalyzing points, and thus to their own revolts. Insurgency is rising, and civilization is falling. Give it the final shove by using your own words and actions. Breaking the spell of civilized order is the only way to finish off Leviathan, and everyday is bringing us closer.

By Kevin Tucker

The author can be reached c/o Coalition Against Civilization, POB 835, Greensberg, PA 15601; coalitionagainstcivilization@hotmail.com; www.emote.org/CAC.

The Coalition Against Civilization has recently published a powerful 29-page essay by Kevin Tucker called "The Disgust Of Daily Life", which examines the disease of civilization in a very personalized, detailed manner. We strongly encourage our readers to order a copy from the CAC or from the GA distro.

"The search for cures is part of the unquestioning ideology of civilization. A cure presumes one is needed..."



**fuck civilization
... walk away**

DIRECT ACTION NEWS

Anti-Genetix Actions

May 17, 2001

Activists Destroy GE Crops at Research Facility in Brentwood, CA

Communiqué:

In the early morning of May 16th, 2001 a group dedicated to the right to good food, untainted by genetic engineering, occupied and acted against one DNA Plant Technology research facility. This research location is located outside of Brentwood CA on Balfour Road, 1/2 mile east of Highway 4. We prevented further steps in transgenic crop experiments, within this entity, from occurring this season. Transgenic strawberry, tomato, and onion plants were uprooted and destroyed.

This is not the first time that people have taken direct action against transgenic strawberry experiments: the first anti-GE action in the US took place less than a mile from the DNAP facility. Night time gardeners targeted GenTech's Frostban strawberry, setting the stage for more than 50 anti-GE actions to date.

DNA Plant Technology Holdings was recently acquired by ELM, a multinational bioengineering corporation that also owns Seminis Vegetable Seeds, the largest distributor of fruit and vegetable seeds in the world. DNAP is currently growing more than 15,000 acres of genetically engineered field crops in Mexico and the US, mostly without the public's knowledge. DNA has more than 50 patents for such technologies as promoters, gene introduction, selectable markers, and plant regeneration. One gene silencing technology, trademarked Transswitch, allows agribusinessmen to switch genes on and off at will, for example the gene responsible for ethylene production in tomatoes. The Flavr Savr tomato utilizes this technology to create a tomato with a shelf life of two to three weeks. Like most applications of genetic engineering, this trait benefits neither the workers who grow the tomato nor the people who buy these pale-pink, plastic-wrapped, nutritionally zapped tomatoes.

Now DNAP is moving into so-called "second wave" research which is trying to incorporate drugs into the tissues of food plants. But our resistance is rooted deep in the land, and as long as they attempt to develop these alterations to our food, our resistance will continue. Researching this company and its facilities, we discovered an unusual level of secrecy surrounding its operations. DNA Plant Holdings was conspicuously absent from tax assessors listings, had no posted signs of any sort in this otherwise neighborly agricultural community, and otherwise went to great lengths to conceal the nefarious nature of their business. We unearthed a report for DNAP stockholders that boasted of the site's remoteness and inaccessibility to public view. Seminis, also owned by ELM, has been a frequent target of anti-biotechnology actions, and the DNAP report reflected this paranoia. They even reassured the stockholders that the test plots were protected by security guards against 'fauna trespassers'.

In recent years, more and more Americans are becoming fed up with corporate secrecy and lack of accountability for the changes they make in communities, human health, and the environment. The backlash against the WTO was one sign of this dissatisfaction, and ongoing anti-biotechnology test plot sabotage actions are another. Upset by what we were learning of the health and environmental ramifications of Roundup Ready technology and of the business practices of Seminis and DNAP in particular, we rounded up our favorite animal friends and decided to take action in spite of their boasted security measures.

On a dark night we slipped through the open field surrounding the experimental facility. Working less than 50 feet from a brightly-lit house equipped with motion sensor/security light apparently aimed at the DNAP fields, we entered the 1-acre strawberry test plot. True to Roundup Ready test protocol, the plants were enveloped in a dense carpet of weeds, ready for application of the poisonous herbicide. We removed an acre of the enormous, leathery Frankenplants to a short new life- in plastic bags full of bleach to prevent any possibility of survival and replanting.

We next proceeded to one of the two greenhouses of DNAP's tomato experiments. We took a walk right through the walls, found a 1/4 acre of 4-foot tall fruiting tomatoes and dispatched them to their rightful dwelling place in hell. We invalidated the year's experiment in less than 10 minutes, and caused some uncounted amount of economic damage.

Safely outside on DNAP's poisoned earth, we turned our

attention to a half acre test plot of mature onion plants that deserved to share the tomatoes' and strawberries' fate. Our frenzy of uprooting took down another experiment in 5 minutes. A good night's work lying in shreds behind us, we melted into the night the way we had come.

May 26, 2001

Belgium: Aventis Crop Silenced

An Aventis owned genetically modified winter oilseed canola rape farm located in the district of Velzeke (Eastern Flanders, Belgium) was destroyed during this week-end. This action is to be seen as a trial to strike a blow to the current GMO's invasion creeping from our fields to the daily food. As a matter of fact, despite all reassuring governmental and agro-transnational statements, we can draw a more and more accurate picture of GE consequences. Health damages are firmly known today (allergies, increased antibiotic resistance,...). Spreading GMO's also results in irreversible environmental havoc: biodiversity loss, a much greater pesticides consumption, insects and weeds resistance's, gene transfer (horizontally as well as vertically) to other species.... It all combines with a perverse enslavement mechanism providing for an ever growing farmers dependence on GE seeds producing corporations. Farmers are led to buy "improved" seeds and adapted herbicides to the same company, hence strengthening their total subjection. Facing those threats we necessarily have ourselves to put into practice the precautionary principle, opposed to profit making obsessed structures.

June 7, 2001

Activists cast vote in GM field at Munlochy

The first votes of election day were cast not in a ballot box, but in a field of Genetically Manipulated (GM) Oilseed Rape Canola.

In the early hours of Election Day, campaigners cut an 'X' shaped swathe through the controversial GM crop currently growing at Munlochy on the Black Isle, Inverness.

The GM trial has been vociferously opposed by the local community from the start.

"People have very real and reasonable fears about the effects of GM on the environment, Scottish biodiversity, and, of course, on human health. The Government has ignored these arguments and sided with transnational corporations, who are only out to make big bucks, over the interests of their people."

One of the campaigners responsible for the action said: "Our action sends a clear message that GM is not welcome in Scotland - nor are any politicians or companies who support it."

Local organic farmer Donnie Macleod said, "Those people that carried out this action are simply echoing the opinion of the vast majority of the local community. I hope this means that no more fields of contamination are planted in the Highlands."

June 15, 2001

Anti-GE group targets Seminis

Begin Communiqué:

To Whom It May Concern at the Genetix Alert Press Office,

We came across your business on the internet. Can your service help get news out about what's happening here in Idaho:

There's a company called Seminis Vegetable Seeds in Filer and we would pass its research center everyday. We started wondering what kind of research they were doing. There is a lot of agriculture around here but everything is bigger and bigger companies who don't say what's being grown or how.

A bunch of us around here doing farming and trucking crops decided to find out anything we could about Seminis. And then the information we got made us take things into our own hands and go out into their field one night and rip out their pea plants. The night was June 10 and we yanked out over 20 small plots of peas. It must have been thousands of plants. These peas weren't normal. They had their genes changed to make the plants stay alive when sprayed with glyphosate herbicide. That's like the brand Roundup for people who don't know.

The internet was how we looked up a lot of information. You can get Addresses there and find out businesses have going on. We did a search and find Seminis's web site. We also went to the USDA, that's the US Dept. of Agriculture, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service [APHIS] web site: <http://www.aphis.usda.gov/biotechnology/permits.html>.

They do permitting for gene-modification research. If you click on "How Can I Check on an Application to Import, Move, or Field Test or a Petition to Deregulate? (Biotechnology Database)" you can find records about who's testing what kind of altered plants. We found Seminis's permit # 01-065-01N # 321 for peas, saw the peas in their field and it went from there.

These gene-altered plants can cross-breed with regular plants and we don't know what they will do to people, animals, the soil, or anything. It was really easy work to take them out of the picture and didn't take very long, once we got used to the dark and relaxed into the work.

We hope this story will be interesting to people, especially people wondering what's going on right down the road from them. Why don't we take things into our own hands at this point and take out these crops?

Seminis's place is right on Highway 30, at the 2300 Rd. corner, next to The highschool.

June 18, 2001

ELF Claims Responsibility For Action Against Genetic Engineering At University Of Idaho

Communiqué:

"Biotech Out of Our Community!"

ELF claims attack on University of Idaho Biotech Building

The University of Idaho Biotechnology building, currently under construction, was targeted in the early hours of the morning on June 10th by a cell of the Earth Liberation Front calling themselves the Night Action Kids. Survey stakes were removed and the exterior of the new building painted with such sentiments as 'NO GE!' and 'Go Organic'.

This is the second action against the Biotechnology building. The first of which individuals entered the building and caused an unknown amount of damage.

An anonymous ELF Night Action Kid compares research in Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology to the scientific studies which lead to the creation of the nuclear bomb. 'Biotechnological research may be intended for good ends by the scientist, as was nuclear research, but in our free enterprise police state society it will be used almost solely for greed and control. With Genetic Engineering we are creating another bomb.'

Monsanto and other large corporations are patenting seeds and forcing farmers to sign contracts that they will continue buying these GE, and many times pesticide resistant, seeds from the same corporation year after year, effectively taking control over our food sources. Genetically Engineered food on our grocery store shelves is not labeled as such, so the individual does not know what he or she is eating. Genetically Engineered fish are escaping into the wild populations with the chance of killing off the entire species. Genetic testing for predisposition to certain diseases, such as cancer, may soon keep you and your children from getting insurance or a job.

'GE corporations and their supporters have claimed that we [anti-GE activists] are using scare tactics to further our viewpoint. The fact is that Biotechnology and Genetic Engineering are scary prospects when placed in the hands of large corporations who care only about profits and not about the health and safety of the people, or the effects they are having on the environment. Through the University of Idaho Biotechnology Program we are teaching our children to work in a field which is developing faster than its effects, both physically and ethically, can be monitored and has the potential for causing catastrophic harm to all humans and the planet,' claims another Night Action Kid, who continues, 'Get Biotech out of Moscow! It is not wanted in our community.'"

June 25th 2001

Activists eliminate field tests

This is a translation of a report by the Dutch action-magazine Ravage (<http://www.antenna.nl/ravage>)

Amsterdam - In the night of Sunday to Monday June 25 activists calling themselves "Razende Hazen" (Enraged Hares) have sabotaged two field tests of Genetically engineered sugar beets in Brabant, the south of The Netherlands. They made up a test of 'Roundup-Ready' sugar beets by agro-multinational Monsanto."We removed the green of the plants, making the test uncompletable," says the group in a statement delivered to Ravage.

"The purpose of this action is to directly stop the spreading of genetically modified organisms (GMO's) in our environment and food," state the Hares. The Roundup-Ready beets have been genetically altered to be able to

With Dynamite and Molotov's, Anarcha-Feminists Stage Insurrection in Bolivia

(July 2, 2001) Small debtors have been calling for a solution to their credit problems for 95 days. At ten o'clock this morning some of them took over government buildings. Among them were members of the anarchist-feminist group Mujeres Creando (Women's Initiative), whom the government named as responsible for the action.

About a hundred activists occupied the office of the Defensoria del Pueblo (People's Defense). Several dozen also occupied the office of the Catholic archbishop. But the most striking event occurred at the banking supervisory agency, where a thousand debtors occupied offices and detained 94 of the institution's functionaries.

One group of activists passed unnoticed by security guards, went into the banking authority building and took some of its employees as hostages. Groups were also able to enter the bishop's office and the Defensor'a before they were noticed.

Once inside the banking agency, activists sprayed the entrance hall with gasoline near the door of the superintendent's office. From the top floor of the building they threw sticks of dynamite into a plaza in order to prevent the police from entering. Groups of plainclothes cops attempted to retake the building.

Top-level functionaries of the banking authority were tied up in their offices and bundles of dynamite were tied to their bodies to prevent any kind of police intervention. The activists wore dozens of dynamite sticks around their bodies and some carried old military firearms.

At least a dozen activists positioned themselves on the balconies of the fifth floor of the banking authority's building and gave speeches using bullhorns.

"We are here because nobody is listening to us. These people are showing the typical hard-heartedness of bankers. We are here because we cannot pay our debts." Their words echoed loudly from their fifth floor position, accompanied by insults and songs directed against the bankers.

Carrying a bullhorn, Molotov cocktails and sticks of dynamite, the small debtors walked around the building's balconies, setting off more than an explosion in the plaza Isabel la Católica in order to make their demands heard.

One woman protester used a bullhorn to communicate her complaint to the police surrounding the place: "For the poor there is no relief, no justice. They have taken everything from us, leaving us sticks of dynamite to eat. Because only the deal-makers have rights, we have been here, living in the street, in the cold of night, with scarcely one meal a day, for more than 90 days. And nobody will listen to us."

Representing the debtors at a press conference, another woman declared, "We cannot leave while there is no dialogue to solve our problem, and if no solution is found, we are determined to commit suicide right in front of them—because we cannot put up with this situation any longer."

This protest movement includes 12,000 workers and unemployed people

who have borrowed small sums of money and have been abused by the private banks' usurious practices. Today they are demanding total cancellation of their debts, an end to the suits against them and an end to the impounding of their meager goods. For three months thousands of debtors have been coming to La Paz from all parts of Bolivia to stage daily protests. These had pacifist beginnings but later became more radical, going as far as attempting to burn banks. During the conflict, because of the misery and desperation surrounding them, more than six debtors have committed suicide. Many have been forced to give up all their belongings and live in the street. Meanwhile, the government favors the rich by pardoning their debts and granting them immense sums of money.

In the middle of the night, attempts were begun to free the 94 functionaries still held in the banking authority building. This involved a six-person committee for assuring their safety, including the anarchist Julieta P., as well as some low types such as the rightwing legislator F. Kieffer, a former paramilitary operative. While the negotiations continued the building remained closed. Included in the talks were debtors (headed by the anarchist Marla Galindo Mujeres Creando group) and representatives of the private banks, senior Catholic clergymen, the Defensora del Pueblo (People's Defense), and members of Derechos Humanos (human Rights).

There has been a ban on cameras and bringing in food or drink. The building is constantly surrounded by a cordon of police. According to unofficial reports, sharpshooters have been positioned in the area and specially trained commando units have been brought in.

The Bolivian government is openly fascist. The genocidal President-General Banzer has had many social fighters murdered during the four years of his regime. We denounce the human rights clowns, the reactionary Catholic Church and the Bank vultures as makers of a smoke screen to divert attention to the negotiating table while the government prepares its dogs to execute a bloodbath.

The activity of the small debtors is by nature anti-capitalist, because it de-legitimizes private property and directly attacks profits. It utilizes direct action and self-organization.

The Bolivian state has been called the most corrupt in the Americas. Inequality verges on the sordid. Hunger, massacres and unemployment rule. The intensity of the class struggle is making the exploited more radical in their struggles. Twelve days ago Aymara farmers blocked highways in the Altiplano region to demand an end to neo-liberalism. The state responded by murdering two of them. The answer was dynamite attacks on power-line towers.

We call on the anarchist movement in particular and anti-capitalists in general to protest at Bolivian embassies, to spread word of our struggles in order to stop a genocide in the making.

Violence is justifiable, insurrection is indispensable

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