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# Digest of the Anarchist Tubes

complied from May 2017 volume 3, #6

# **ATUBES**

"It's gonna be May!"

- Justin Timberlake (N'SYNC)

In the continuing experiment of ATUBES, we've passed through the April showers and into the May flowers. The close reader will note, that there was no April 2017 ATUBES and that we have skipped a month,

but not to be lost, we take note,

mark the minute, and lay April to rest in the dark,

while May is given a window up north for the month.

This ATUBES includes texts of note from the month of May 2017.

- editor of ¬\\_(ATUBES)\_/¬

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#### in general:

From https://tinyurl.com/yc4jy2oy (in response to totw: your 12 point program) by Anonymous 5/08/2017

- 1. accept the significant irrelevance of pro-revolutionary (or anarchist, whatever you like) efforts in most of humanities comings and goings
- 2. accept the significant irrelevance of pro-revolutionary efforts to the functioning of capital
- 3. accept that what effect anarchists and their conscious efforts do have on the world may be thrown into the social order and may make it stronger
- 4. accept that individual existence is the most significant area of reality you can place your hands on
- 5. it is important to not be alone, it is good to be open to strangers and kind to the elderly
- 6. accept: the position of the anarchist is deeply conditioned by THIS world
- 7. remember: the old faith of the anarchist in the ability of real human beings in running their own lives means to accept their wretchedness, warts and all
- 8. remember: the creation myth of progress
- 9. remember: humanity freed from state & capital must oppose productive mobilization
- 10. the left continues to be the most important obstacle to consider
- 11. the idea of anti-politics was worthwhile, take it up again and prevent its weaponization into further politics (of any stripe)
- 12. truly, when flags and banners and websites bludgeon one to "do something" it is better to do: nothing temporally:
- 1-12: there is no "doing nothing," there is no choice but involve oneself in whatever humble capacity one can

## Hurrah for Anarchy: Mayday as Celebrated by the Anarchists

From Strangers in the Tangled Wilderness (posted on May 1st, 2017)

Mayday, to the anarchists, is a holiday of remembrance. Perhaps you've heard the communists and liberals say that it's a celebration of the eight-hour workday. I suppose it's that too. But for me, it's a holiday to remember when the State put anarchism itself on trial. In 1886, the line was drawn and the US radicals lost their innocence; the illusion of "free speech" and free association was shattered. Let that illusion never re-form.

Mayday is our holiday. Mayday is a celebration of anarchism, of our history of defiance. It has a lot to do with labor, but Mayday has nothing to do with electoral politics, with the American flag. "Labor day" was invented and implemented to distract people from the radical history of labor.

Mayday is also, of course, the celebration of Beltane — a religious and spiritual holiday that celebrates springtime. And for the past decade at least, it's the day of protest and action in response to the US treatment of immigrants. It's a big enough holiday to share, and anarchists are present in those movements as well.

Myself, on Mayday, I remember five people who were killed for being anarchists. Two Days of Massacres

In 1884, radical labor unions declared that, as of May 1st, 1886, the eight-hour workday would be enacted.

On May 3rd, 1886, un-armed striking workers of the McCormick Harvester factory in Chicago demonstrated against the scabs who stole their jobs, and the strikers were fired upon by police. At least four workers were killed and many more were wounded.

An emergency proclamation, in German and English, went throughout the city by the means of the anarchist press: "They killed the poor wretches because they, like you, had the courage to disobey the supreme will of your bosses. They killed them to show you 'Free American Citizens' that you must be satisfied with whatever your bosses condescend to allow you, or you will get killed. If you are men, if you are the sons of your grand sires, who have shed their blood to free you, then you will rise in your might, Hercules, and destroy the hideous monster that seeks to destroy you. To arms we call you, to arms." An emergency rally was called for the next day, and on May 4th, 3,000 gathered at Haymarket Square in Chicago.

The anarchists Albert Parsons, August Spies, and Samuel Fielden spoke to the peaceably assembled crowd. The Mayor himself stopped by and, noting the non-violent nature of the rally, continued on his way. By the end of Fielden's speech, two-thirds of the crowd had left and the rally was winding down. But then 180 police—led by the infamously violent Captain John Bonfield—marched into the rally and demanded the dispersal of the crowd. (This seems to still happen quite a bit.)

Someone threw a bomb into the police, killing one officer. The police opened fire and killed an unknown number of the rally's attendants. 7 more officers were killed, most by friendly fire, but it is possible that the crowd defended itself as well. And while most of the history of Mayday focuses exclusively on men fighting, men dying, men as heroes and villains and martyrs, it's known that the crowd there at Haymarket was composed of women and men alike, and that there were women militants as well as men.

#### The Trial

After the second massacre, the police went into a panic, rounding up hundreds of workers, raiding union halls, destroying houses and apartments. The State's attorney, Julius Grinnell, announced: "Make the raids first and look up the laws later!" The strikebreaking bosses donated money to the police to help with the efforts. It's come out since that the police bribed false witnesses, planted weapons, tortured and beat folk who didn't even know what socialism or anarchism were. Ten of the arrested were indicted, eight went to trial (William Seliger turned state's evidence, while Rudolph Schnaubelt was never caught and lived free for the rest of his days.)

The government never pretended that any of the arrested threw the bomb. Instead, it was anarchism itself they tried, explicitly. Seven were sentenced to death, one to fifteen years. Of the seven, five refused to sign a petition to the governor for clemency, because they refused to admit guilt and because they refused to plead to the State. Of those five, four were hanged, the fifth took his life in prison.

Read more https://tinyurl.com/ycrloggy

# **MAY DAY**

Here is a list of other May Day 2017 related material from the site:

## **TOTW:** May Day and other memories

From anarchist news dot org (posted on May 1st, 2017)

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/yag5jgdg

## The Next 100 Days: May Day and Worker Resistance Under Trump

From Black Rose Anarchist Federation (posted on May 1st, 2017)

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/yapqtwcp

## The May Days: Stories of Courage and Resistance

From CrimethInc. (posted on May 1st, 2017)

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/y8ot6zjn

## Of Mead And Molotov

From Gods and Radicals (posted on May 2nd, 2017)

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/yb5syr2l

## When the Riot Cops Attack: Repression and Solidarity in Portland's May Day

From Black Rose Anarchist Federation (posted May 3rd, 2017)

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/ydhr8joj

## The Spiders of Mutual Aid, Solidarity, and Direct Action

From CrimethInc. (posted May 3rd, 2017)

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/y7hkulze

# (Belated) May Day Feature: A Memo from the Office

From Running Wild (posted 3rd, 2017)

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/ybh7d9qc

# May Day 2017 in Paris: A Report from the Streets

From CrimethInc. (posted on May 4th, 2017)

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/yck3asnv

# Why Did Those Anarchists Destroy Downtown Olympia?

From It's Going Down (posted May 6th, 2017)

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/y8bfm7jd

### Retiring the poor old A-word

From The Match!, Issue No. 116, Summer 2017

From the Editor

About 68% of my life span has gone into the publication of this journal, up to now. That's not an easy figure to achieve, believe me. It means that The Match has been coming out for about 20% of the entire time that the USA has existed and about 1.6% of the time that the pyramids have stood. I hope it lasts a lot longer and I'm going to do my best to see that it does.

It's been an Anarchist journal all this time and that's how it's going to stay. But after this present issue, I'm dropping the word "Anarchist". It pains me to do it, but it's time. I'd hoped that prefacing the A-word with "ethical" would rehabilitate it enough, or distance this magazine enough from the unethical or nonethical version, but it hasn't, and considering how the milieu has changed, I'm embarrassed to use it anymore.

I've never believed in majority rule in general, but in usages there's no alternative. If you're reading a manuscript written in Paris in the year 1100 it's no use frowning at how bad the fellow's Latin is if he wasn't writing Latin at all, but perfectly good Old French. Spanish, Portuguese, and Roumanian aren't ungrammatical or ignorant Latin either; they're whole new languages.

I don't know where they stopped being Latin, and I don't know where Anarchism stopped being what it was, but I do know that continuing to label this journal as Anarchist is the same as speaking an obsolete language that few understand anymore.

This isn't the first time this has happened either; 45 years ago we Anarchists were also known as "libertarians", but we had to abandon that one when the right-wing profit-and-contract-worshippers took it over, which illuminates the unavoidable fact that it's dangerous to use any label. Even if it doesn't change meaning naturally in the course of years, it can be made deliberately to do so - and if both processes operate all you can do eventually is bow and move out of the way.

In physics of course it's a principle that motion is relative, so some meteorite may for all we know be stopped in space when our planet runs into it, but from our frame of reference it is more convenient to ascribe to it the high velocity with which it shows up and plows into the ground. I'm pretty sure that the Match still stands for what it always has, and that it's other Anarchists that have moved, but I'd bet money that it will be no time at all before I hear them yelling that it's the other way around.

Basically, what I conceive this magazine as standing for is the basic desire of human beings and other sentient animals to be let alone, to be free of interference or infliction of pain or oppression or control. I regard the principle of government - authoritarianism - as an outrage. I don't want to be pushed around or censored or silenced, and I don't want to do these things to someone else. Defensive violence is justifiable, but it should never be more than a regrettable necessity. If people want to say something we object to, let them say it. Blast them with criticism and ridicule later, but don't try to shut them up; otherwise why shouldn't the same oppression be carried out against US with just as much justification?

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This, however, is not what I'm seeing in many other Anarchists anymore. There's a routine attitude now that if "we" (that is, some mob, of which I am not a part and will never be a part) decide that someone is objectionable, it's okay to keep him from speaking or being heard. It's okay to smash other people's property just because we feel contempt for them or their values.

I'm starting to see a large amount of this stuff. Here's a picture in the New York Times of Anarchists in action: faces masked, legs braced at extreme angles as they hurl big rocks at someone or something. Here's a slick magazine calling itself Anarchist (as well as a regular laundry-list of other politically-correct things) that carries an article gloatingly recommending a plan to shut down major highways by dropping off large containers in traffic lanes. People could be killed by that! They brag and snigger about macho escapades to sabotage braking systems on huge vehicles - again without apparent or perceptible concern for lives.

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/ybhgfcae

## **Building a Revolutionary Anarchism**

From Zabalaza Books, By Colin O'Malley (posted on May 11th, 2017)

This article speaks on the failures of the anarchist movement to grow, despite numerous social movements, and how models of anarchist political organisation point the way forward to overcome these pitfalls. Introduction

Two recent events have thrown critical challenges at the anarchist movement in the United States: the financial crisis that began in 2008 and the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement that sprung from that crisis in 2011. If the current political and economic outlook in this country is any indication, we should expect more frequent moments like these to arise. "Movement Moments" such as these are critical opportunities for revolutionaries of any variety, left or right. Acceptance of the status quo seems impossible.

OWS, in particular, presented an incredible opportunity for anarchism. It was largely propelled by anarchists, in many places sustained by anarchists, and certainly got many people talking about anarchism. In Mark Bray's recent work Translating Anarchy: The Anarchism of Occupy Wall Street, he looks at the influence of anarchism among organisers in OWS and found:

The interviews showed that 39% of OWS organisers self-identified as anarchists... I noticed that 30% of organisers who did not self-identify as anarchists (34% of all organisers didn't identify with any overarching label) listed anarchism as an influential element in their overall thought.

These Movement Moments don't present themselves every day. It is essential for us to critically examine what our movement has gained, what it has lost, and what it needs to be stronger the next time that a Movement Moment happens. So, given the early influence of anarchism to OWS organisers, what was gained? In some places it seems that anti-foreclosure direct action groups have grown, in others the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) has seen growth in membership, and in general there is certainly a feeling that anarchist ideas are increasingly a part of the dialogue in many social justice movements. None are explicitly anarchist gains, though.

While the direct action anti-foreclosure movement and the IWW obviously have some internal anarchist influence, neither is expressly anarchist and both often actively avoid a strong connection to anarchists.

Bray concludes that Occupy Wall Street was a missed opportunity by anarchists:

When I step back to evaluate the tangible political outcome for the anarchist movement after months spent before a world spotlight with thousands of eager new people beating the doors down to get involved, I get the sinking feeling that to some extent we too "glided through these events like ectoplasm through a mist." We didn't even have any competing leftist formations. The field of political influence was left open to us and we didn't get as much out of it as we should have.

Bray credits a lack of organisation as a key piece of this missed opportunity:

A lot of new organisers were inspired by the anarchist ethos and it would have been useful for anarchist organisers to be able to say, "Oh, you're interested in anarchism? Come to our discussion Thursday evening about 'anarchist perspectives on organising';" or "Maybe you'd be interested in joining our anarchist organisation/collective."

Of course, the simple conclusion that anarchists should build, or even have, organisation isn't a new or comprehensive idea. But, looking to anarchists in South America, we see more clearly the concept of organising as anarchists and the role of an explicitly anarchist organisation. Given the success that anarchists have had in South America, it's certainly worth considering their methods and applying those that make sense in our context.

### **Building a Revolutionary Anarchism Speaking Tour**

I chose to co-ordinate the Building a Revolutionary Anarchism Speaking Tour to help us take full advantage of these Movement Moments to build the popularity and influence of anarchism in the US. Originally expected to be only three or four stops, the final tour included seventeen stops throughout the entire US over most of the summer of 2013. I found that many others share a frustration with the lack of progress made by organised anarchism during these Movement Moments, and that many others are hunting for new ideas about effectively organising while also maintaining their ideals as anarchists. The timing was perfect. *Read more: https://tinyurl.com/ycn3ax2d* 

#### What is an Anarchist? Am I an Anarchist?

From Anarkismo, By Wayne Price (posted on May 11th, 2017)

"Anarchism" is a very broad and uncertain term. Probably most of the public think that anarchists are for breaking windows and blowing things up, unaware that many anarchists are absolute pacifists. Meanwhile, those who identify themselves as anarchists sometimes define anarchism as their particular school of thought. They regard other anarchists as not really anarchists at all.

Taking me as an example: In my years of trying to work out a particular anarchist perspective, I have repeatedly been told that I am no sort of anarchist or that what I advocate is not genuine anarchism.

- (1) Most recently I have been informed that what I advocate is not anarchism, because I am for democracy. I have called anarchism "extreme democracy", or "democracy without the state." Others have informed me that "anarchy" means "no rule" while "demo-cracy" means "rule of the people;" therefore they are supposedly incompatible. And anyway, isn't "democracy" the ideological cover for U.S. imperialism?
- (2) I have been called a "Marxist," because I think that there are aspects of Marx's Marxism which can be useful for anarchists—in particular, Marx's political economy. (It is also noted that before I was an anarchist I had been a Marxist, of an unorthodox, dissenting, Trotskyist variety.)
- (3) I have been denounced for accepting technology and civilization, which are regarded as inherently oppressive and statist, and therefore un-anarchist.
- (4) I believe that revolutionary anarchists who agree with each other should voluntarily organize themselves into democratic federations. This would make them more effective in participating in broader movements and organizations, such as unions, community groups, and other associations. This is sometimes called "neo-platformism" or "especificismo" or "dual-organizationalism." But this view has been denounced as equivalent to Leninist vanguardism, and definitely un-anarchist.

I am not including every topic on which I have had disagreements with other anarchists. For example, I have had polemics with anarchists who advocate a gradualist, non-revolutionary, approach to achieving our common goal. None of them have challenged my right to call myself an anarchist, nor have I challenged them. For example, I reviewed the book Black Flame, which gave an overview of revolutionary class struggle anarchism. I wrote that it was an exceptional book—except for its denial that those who shared the goals of anarchism, but did not accept revolution or class struggle, were really anarchists. While I agreed with the book's class perspective, I thought this denial of others' anarchist bona fides was sectarian and narrow-minded (see Price 2009a).

In responding to challenges to my anarchism, I must admit to ambivalence. I am proud to be part of a tradition of struggle against capitalism and the state and all oppression. I am proud to "stand on the shoulders of giants" (which hopefully permits us to see further than they did). I am glad that I do not have to reinvent the wheel in terms of radical theory or practice.

At the same time, I do not much care about labels. I do not care whether I am genuinely an orthodox anarchist. I do not know what an "orthodox anarchist" would look like. I would be just as happy calling myself a "revolutionary libertarian socialist" or "anti-authoritarian socialist." This goes two ways. It is why I see no point in denying that, say, "anarchist-primitivists" are anarchists; instead I prefer to argue that they are wrong about their goals and their strategy. There are, however, some limits to my pluralistic tolerance: I do not accept as anarchists people who are against the state but for capitalism (self-labeled "anarcho-capitalists"). And I certainly do not accept fascists as anarchists (so-called "national anarchists")!

#### In Defense of Democratic Anarchism

It is true that imperialist-capitalist states use "democracy" as ideological cover. They use a good concept—self-rule by the people—to rationalize their authoritarian, exploitative system. But there are limits: they do not claim that their economic system is democratic! To demand that the capitalist economy be turned into a democratically self-managed system is a direct challenge to capitalism!

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/yb7xzanq

## Now: The Invisible Committee (1)

From Autonomies, translation (posted on May 13th, 2017)

Tomorrow is cancelled

All the reasons for carrying out a revolution are present. None is missing. The sinking of politics, the arrogance of the powerful, the reign of the false, the vulgarity of the wealthy, the cataclysms of industry, rampant poverty, naked exploitation, ecological apocalypse – we are spared nothing, not even that of being informed. "Climate: 2016 breaks the record of heat", tells us Le Monde on its first page, as almost every year nowadays. All the reasons are united, but it is not reasons that make revolutions, it is bodies. And the bodies are all in front of screens.

We can watch a presidential campaign sink to the depths. The transformation of the "most important moment of French political life" into a grand game of massacre doesn't render the soap opera anymore captivating. Koh-Lanta [French version of the U.S. "reality" show Survivor] could not be imagined with such characters, nor with such vertiginous twists, such cruel trials, such general humiliation. The spectacle of politics survives as the spectacle of its decomposition. The incredulity reaches to the very landscapes of filth. The National Front, this political negation of politics, this negation of politics on the terrain of the political, logically occupies the "centre" of the smoking ruins of this political game. Humanity witnesses, bewitched, at its own sinking, like at a first class spectacle. It is so much taken that it does not feel the water lapping at its legs. In the end, it will transform everything into a buoy. It is the destiny of the shipwrecked to transform everything that they touch into a buoy.

This world is no longer to be commented on, criticised, denounced. We live surrounded by a fog of commentaries and of commentaries on commentaries, of criticisms and of criticisms of criticisms, of revelations that trigger nothing, except revelations about revelations. And this fog takes away from us any hold on the world. There is nothing to criticise in Donald Trump. The worst that one can say about him, he has already absorbed, incorporated. He embodies it. He wears as a necklace all of the grievances that one could ever imagine holding against him. He is his own caricature, and he is proud. Even the creators of South Park throw in the towel: "It is very complicated now that satire has become reality. We really did try to laugh at what was happening but we couldn't keep up. What was happening was much funnier than anything that we could imagine. We therefore decided to give up, to let them play their comedy, and we would play our own." We live in a world that has established itself beyond all justification. Here, criticism can do nothing, no more than satire. They remain without effect. To stick to the denunciation of discrimination, injustice, and wait to harvest the fruits, is to be mistaken about our epoch. The leftists who believe that we can still raise something by working the lever of guilty conscience are very much mistaken. They may very well go into public to scratch at their wounds and make audible their complaints believing that this will excite sympathy, they will arouse nothing more than disdain and the desire to destroy them. "Victim" has become an insult in all quarters of the world.

There is a social use of language. No one believes it any longer. Its price has fallen to zero. From which comes the inflationary bubble in global jabber. Everything that is social is deceitful; everyone knows it from now on. It is not only those who govern, the advertisers and the public personalities who "engage in communication". It is every entrepreneur of the self that this society aims to make of each of us, persistent practitioners of the art of "public relations". Having become an instrument of communication, language is no longer its own reality, but an instrument in the service of operating on the real, to obtain effects according to different conscious strategies. Words are no longer put into circulation except to travesty things. Everything sails under false flags. Usurpation has become universal. One does not retreat before any paradox. The state of emergency is the state of law. War is made in the name of peace. Bosses "offer jobs". Security cameras are "apparatuses of video protection". The executioners/torturers complain that they are persecuted. Traitors protest their sincerity and their fidelity. Mediocrities are cited everywhere as examples. There is the real practice on the one hand, and on the other, the discourse, which is an implacable counterpoint, with the perversion of all concepts, the universal deceit of oneself and of others. Everywhere, it is exclusively a question of preserving or extending interests. In return, the world is peopled by the silent. Certain among them explode in acts of madness closer and closer to each other by date.

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/ybf2ja5y

## There's Nothing Anarchist about Eco-Fascism: A Condemnation of ITS

From It's Going Down, By Scott Campbell (posted on May 12th, 2017)

Some things shouldn't have to be said, but as is too often the case in this disaster of a world, that which should be most obvious often gets subsumed to the exigencies of politics, ideologies, money, emotion, or internet clicks. The purpose of this piece is to condemn the recent acts of eco-extremists in Mexico and those who cheer them on from abroad.

This critique does not aspire to alter the behavior of Individualists Tending Toward the Wild (ITS), Individualities Tending Toward the Wild (ITS), Wild Reaction (RS), Indiscriminate Group Tending Toward the Wild (GITS), Eco-extremist Mafia, or whatever they will change their name to tomorrow. Like any other deluded, sociopathic tyrant, these individuals have declared themselves above reproach, critique, reason, or accountability. They have appointed themselves judge, jury, and executioner; the guardians and enforcers of Truth using a romanticized past to justify their actions. As absolutist authoritarians, they have constructed a theoretical framework that, while ever-shifting and inconsistent, somehow always ends with a justification for why they get to hold a knife to the throats of all of humankind. In short, they think and act like the State.

There was a discussion about ITS on an IGD podcast from last December. For those unfamiliar, ITS and its spawn of affiliated acronyms publicly emerged in 2011 as an anti-civilization grouping that blew things up and tried to kill people they didn't like, primarily university research scientists. In early statements, they spoke of favorably of anarchism and revolution. Over the course of just a few years and various groupings and splittings, they adopted a firm stance of rejection and reaction. They disavowed anarchism, revolution, leftism, or anything related to the social or human. They proudly adopted the mantle of eco-terrorism and proclaimed their disgust for the likes of John Zerzan or Ted Kaczynski, who they previously praised. *Read more: https://tinyurl.com/yd8fpg99* 

#### On the IGD PSA

From Atassa (posted on May 13th, 2017)

Estimado Sr. Scott Campbell:

So since we have been given the spotlight in your fatwa on It's Going Down, noting the obvious sin of our utter lack of anarchism, I felt I might as well respond on behalf of the Atassa project. Not that we aim to convince anyone of anything, far from it. Those who have accepted the Message of Bakunin (Peace Be Upon Him) and somehow don't know that something that doesn't claim to be anarchism isn't anarchism will be relieved of their ignorance by your words. So we are sorry we have lost all of those confused readers and their generous donations to our Patreon... wait a second, we don't have a Patreon, that's someone else. Never mind.

So there's no point in dwelling on this. Neither are we expecting fair treatment here. In this journal, in print and online, we discuss eco-extremism, and eco-extremists are proud enemies of the human race who have an insatiable animus delendi (drive to destroy). We don't carry out eco-extremist action, and we aren't cheerleaders for it. We have an indirect affinity for it and that is it. So we don't expect fair treatment from IGD, or the anarcho-primitivists, or the press, or the authorities, or anyone else for that matter. You should hate the eco-extremists, and us by extension. We are worse than Hitler. We are worse than eco-fascists. Nevertheless, we aim to show your inconsistencies just in case you think we have no reply. On the other hand, we won't spend a lot of time on this, because why bother, really?

They have appointed themselves judge, jury, and executioner; the guardians and enforcers of Truth using a romanticized past to justify their actions. As absolutist authoritarians, they have constructed a theoretical framework that, while ever-shifting and inconsistent, somehow always ends with a justification for why they get to hold a knife to the throats of all of humankind. In short, they think and act like the State.

Again, with the ever-elusive anarchist morality: the insincere application of the Golden Rule. You anarchists are always punching supposed Nazis, trying to doxx people, dreaming of killing cops and bankers, etc. To the average normal person, you're just as bad as the eco-extremist.

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/ydc4q8ez

## Introduction to a book by anarchists from Aleppo

From Bordered by Silence (posted on May 17th, 2017)

Translated from Tamaroud

The following discussion seeks to reflect the current situation of Syrian individuals who are trying as hard as they can to free themselves from patterns of collective hypocrisy and over-optimistic thinking. Our experiment was still just newly born when it developed the problem of being unable to clearly distinguish the latent authoritarian power in society and in the state, to draw back the curtains that have concealed it. At the start of the revolution, in small gatherings of friends, we predicted that if the struggle lasted longer than a month, then the country would descend into civil war – this wasn't just an intellectual exercise, as it's our current reality.

Revolutionary theory, or even theory in general (any attempt at analysis, extrapolation, or critique) is seen as an aberration when it's produced by a "normal" individual. Theory remains the exclusive domain of a supposedly "elite" political and cultural class in Syria, with its long and documented history of struggle and imprisonment. This class has in the past organized itself into clubs, parties, or groups (such as the Damascus Declaration, the Attasi Club, or civil society groups)...

The vast majority of the people who were trying with all their strength to break free of their imposed social position (such as class, religion, or family) still stayed within the cultural bounds drawn out by the elite. When we're able to do away with thoughts about free enterprise and consider important questions like the meaning of life and of freedom, we'll be able to replace the reactionary mindset that waits for solutions from those few creative hands with a passionate mentality that seizes the knowledge necessary to escape from the prison of the Baathist system.

Concerning the state of discussion among those involved in the struggle at large, the debate plays out between various inherited ideas, such that each individual becomes the ambassador of some ideology or another (Islamism, Communism, Arabism, Nationalism, and so on). After the victory of Islamism, it became the only ideology opposing a modified Baathism nationally. The debate among those various other defeated ideologies continues until the present day, about the exclusion practiced by the Islamists and how they bear sole responsibility for the failure of the revolution and how we would certainly have succeeded were it not for them.

There's a genuine desire to find the idea, course of action, or obstacle that's responsible for the current situation and its consequences. But this impulse is incorrect, in that it claims that there was a revolution on the way to getting from from and destroying a system of servitude, and that a sudden disruption of this path produced the situation we have now and we're still paying its high price.

There was no real attempt to dismantle dominations, to expose them (for example, the tyranny of the family, the policing of gender and sexuality, metaphysical domination, etc). It was the opposite, as revolutionary forces formed an alliance with these structures to confront the greater evil of the state security system and its institutions.

At the peak of the revolutionary movement's momentum and courage, it was able to fully overturn regional systems of governance. "Talk about power" – when we didn't fear to face bullets or any possible threat that the state's security forces could throw at us. But all of this sacrifice was in vain, because of the lack of serious work on building a revolutionary culture, such that the revolutionary movement was plagued by a horrible pattern of encouraging tradition.

It became that most of the cultural work in support of the revolution served just to produce excuses, and not just for the revolutionary movement, but even for the small groups that had begun to carry out disgusting massacres in its name (such as, for example, the justifications for many acts of kidnapping or sectarian murder or theft: "it's not done by the government or the rich, but by the people"). This intellectual position is based on a claim that the will of the people is unquestionable, but it in fact it only serves their own interests and seeks to do away with the existing authority only to install themselves in its place.

Fundamentally, the experience and analysis that we gained through our encounters cannot be separated from the fact of being on the losing side. So many of our problems were linked to the lack of solutions or hypotheses, with the full weight of the situation bearing down on our imaginations.

Read more: https://tinyurl.com/y7kxr7p9

## The Deportation Machine Case: Trial date set for four comrades on June 23 2017 in Paris

From Bordered by Silence (posted on May 31st, 2017)

After seven and a half years of pre-trial hearings and thousands of pages of disclosure, after fifteen people had their homes searched, were arrested, followed, eavesdropped on, filmed, interrogated, incarcerated, placed on house arrest, and kept under various bail conditions for seven years, the state and the justice system will finally take only four people to trial on June 23 2017 in Paris. The most serious charges served only to justify the intensity of the repression, since they were dropped, leaving only the more limited charges (graffiti, light property destruction, refusing to give DNA and personal information, etc). Let's take this occasion to all show our solidarity against borders and against all forms of imprisonment, while refusing the categories of "guilty" and "innocent" imposed by the powerful and while rejecting the Justice system.

In June 2008, hunger strikes, clashes with the cops, and episodes of more or less intense struggle had already been breaking out in the Vincennes Immigrant Detention Centre (IDC) for some time when Salem Souli died of a heart attack. On June 22 2008, the next day, a general revolt broke out in the IDC, which was burned to the ground, and the undocumented people were evacuated. Ten were accused in a trial that was decided in advance, where they were given between eight months and three years in prison, before appeals. In solidarity with the accused, a very large number of offensive actions occurred throughout France (and elsewhere), which included numerous sabotages of ATMs of banks that hand over undocumented people to the pigs. Two waves of searches were carried out on February 15 and June 8 2010 against ten or so comrades, including Dan, Olivier, and Camille who were locked up in January 2011 for between a week and three months, and then later François for a week.

The importance of this case, commonly referred to as that of "the Deportation Machine", carried out in part by the Anti-Terrorism section of the Criminal Brigade, lies mostly in the scale of the judicial and police resources put to work on the basis of evidence brought together in order to confirm the state's invention of the "francilien anarcho-autonomous movement" (the famous MAAF) [1]. It also allowed them to keep several comrades under the threat of their ongoing pre-trial hearings and subject them to increased surveillance by the intelligence services. But its most important for trying to put an end to the autonomous forms of struggle that were developing between the struggles inside and outside the IDCs, especially in Vincennes, at that time the largest prison for foreigners in Europe. Like in the other cases of the past ten years in France (the one called "Bad Intentions", the one called "Chambery", the one called "Tarnac") [2], it also allowed the state to classify our struggles, attacks, and desires within the useful term "terrorism" in order to constitute for a time an internal enemy isolated from other forms of social conflict and, once thus categorized, at the mercy of the mechanisms of control, surveillance, and repression that go with it.

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