

we live in a dictatorship. a dictatorship of capital. everything about our existence is based around the extraction of surplus labor value and the reproduction of

social relations. the reproduction of the architecture of where we live. all social classes aid in this reproduction. the spectacle creates the illusion that the reverberation of the system's dialog is more real than actual experience. the ruling class maintains the power of the economic system through laws that protect it. as the contradiction deepens, the ruling class is in a position with the most to gain from the continuation of class society. our class is divided into those who want to break up

of the class and those who want to keep it. new workers. the system is possible because of the system's own internal contradictions. the tool of breaking down the system is making it fight itself. however, revolution is more than ever. occupy. loot. riot. and destroy.

we are not interested in 'improving the system,' we are working class. we are not interested in 'improving the system' and our material conditions. we are not interested in 'improving the system' over our own lives when we are slaves to survival. let us end the system. let us become what is needed. we are the system.

Wengleam

a little poison for the system

become what is needed. we are the system.

become what is needed. we are the system.

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become what is needed. we are the system.

become what is needed. we are the system.

Dedicated to all my detractors and all
haters. You know where to find me.
You know where to contact me.



Bring it motherfuckers.

What? You going to throw a fucking bean cupcake at me or some shit? Fuc...



Valorization. Attack. Vengeance.

When the pigs shot Alex in Greece; the neighborhood of Exarchia erupted. The commune responded with war when the police killed one of their own. The Greeks have their neighborhoods which they defend with violence. The autonomists had their squats, the Zapatistas their autonomous communities, Argentina, the occupied factories and community assemblies, for others, it is other forms. In short, these are places where people can practice communism and also make war. But where is our commune? Where comrade? Is it in the squat that will be gone in a month? The subcultural hang out? Dare not say that it is in the bike kitchen, the food not bombs serving spot, or at the park where you do Really Really Free Markets. No, we are mostly without communes. If we do have them, they are not in places where we can make war from; they are in places where we go to escape. This is problematic. For when we attempt to attack our enemies; where do we have to go? Where can we go to run from the police such as they do in Greece? Where is it that the police are already afraid to go? Where is there already a network; or set of relations that exist that are already in opposition to capital and authority? No, it is not in the 'structures' of North American anarchists. It is in the ghettos, reservations, trailer parks, neighborhoods, and barrios of the lumpen-poor and working class. Here, despite the contradictions, there exists space for the proletariat. Breathing room perhaps; but better yet: a possibility of *what could be for revolutionaries*. Here, there exists a proletarian fairground. Made possible because of the distance created between the people and the governing structures. We seek to exist within that for the purpose of fostering insurrection and waging social war. We seek, to make the *class as a whole our commune*. We are not looking into the proletarian communities with binoculars and misty eyes – we are already there and have been for our entire lives. When we speak of a war that must be won, we do so because we know the inten-

sity of the conflict that has been raging. Every point in our lives can act as a starting point of not only a conversation within the class, but also as the launch pad towards attack. In the eviction notice. The layoff letter. The trip to the hospital that will leave you in debt. The meager paycheck. Life in foster care. In the women's shelter. The mental hospital. The prison. The detention center. This is the reality.

Welcome to the third issue of *Vengeance*, an insurrectionary proletarian publication that started as a personal project and has now become an open invitation into ringing the death call for every leftist, liberal, and bourgeois element within the current scene and bringing into being a movement that makes total destroy on class society and abolishes our present conditions and the very things which make us working class in the first place. Class society is a totality; we do not compartmentalize patriarchy, white supremacy, colonialism, gender, etc, it is all a part of the same set of relations which must go down in flames.

Much has been said about *Vengeance* since I published the first issue in January of 2009. Some good, some bad. The question now though, since we are now here, some of us have found each other, and some of us recognize our experiences as similar, is: where do we go from here? Although I brought up some ideas in the first two issue, before we continue, I think we must make one thing clear before we proceed.

There is a difference between becoming clichés of ourselves and being true revolutionaries. Since *Vengeance* has come out, there has been an attempt by some people to 'out-crudo' me, which brings up some interesting questions as to what people really think about me and my ideas in the first place. I do think there is a lot to make fun of in the current anarchist movement. There certainly is a lot to laugh about. But, the purpose of *Vengeance* has always been to articulate firstly a working class voice in what is largely a middle class movement. *Vengeance* has always been about putting forth the importance of a strategic insurrectionary politic in the face of activist bullshit. These are important ideas, and shouldn't be overshadowed by placing more importance on the comedic and (I would contend) easy attack, on the activist, liberal, and middle class participants within anarchism. While in the start it was totally necessary, at this point in the game, spending more energy talking shit on those that are irrelevant than talking about what we actually want to see be happening is laziness on our part. By doing so, we become clichés and fail in articulating our ideas and



Prole- tarians - Hurry to Abol- ish Yourselves and Take Power

becoming the force that will give us power and also wipe away the bourgeois elements.

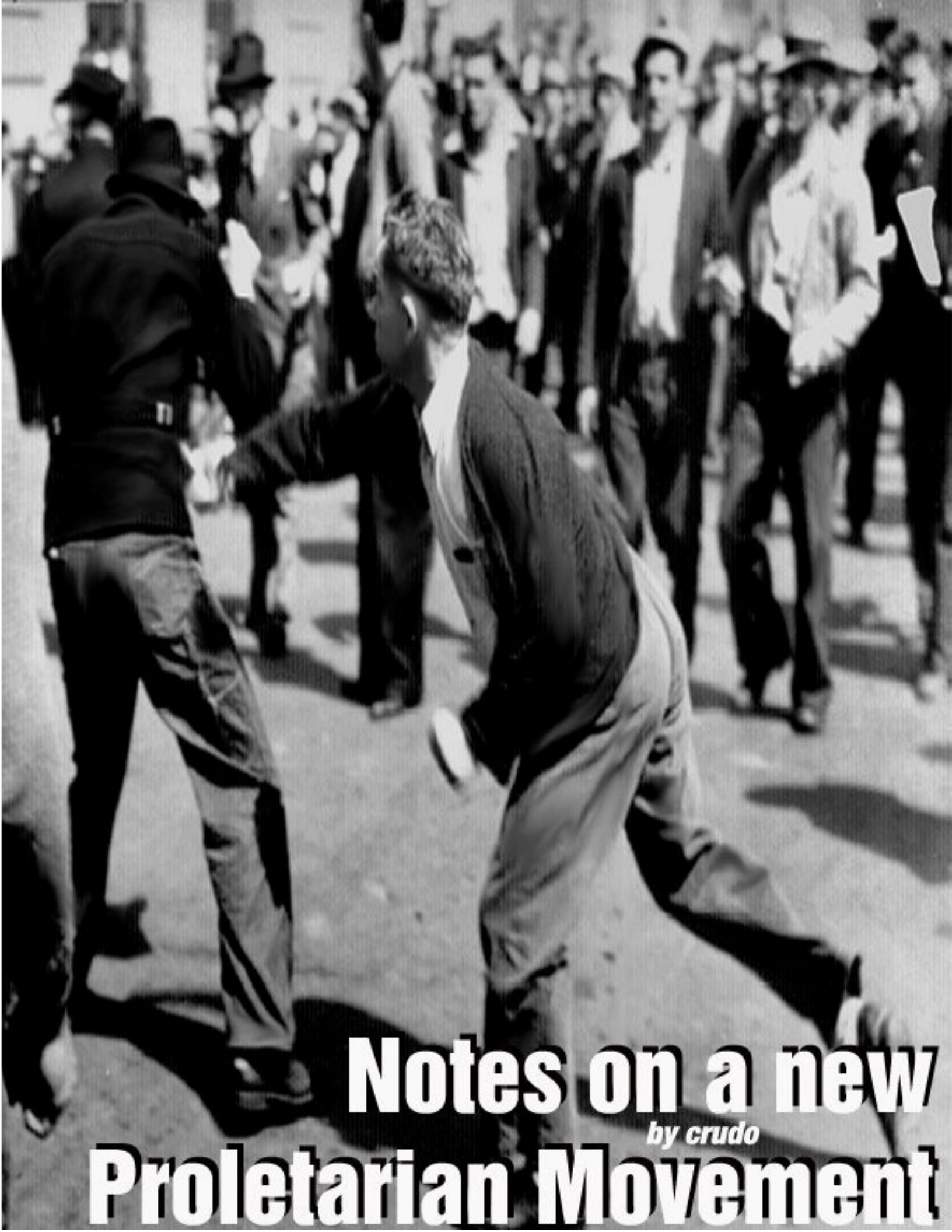
I write these words in the heat of the summer as I run my fingers through my freshly self-cut sweaty hair, noticing where I fucked up in my five minute hack job, getting shit everywhere in my decaying bathroom. Another month and another house that I moved into. Another day, and another week without work; eating and living on borrowed time and almost non-existent money, listening to my roommate make drastic phone calls as he prepares for court in the morning. Enjoy this issue. Read it. Discuss it. Email me. Think about working on something in the future. Remember – we need each other. We need to feel powerful. We need to feel good about ourselves now more than ever. Today is depressing, but what will tomorrow bring? It could be that tomorrow you will get arrested for selling weed. Tomorrow your dad will get evicted. All your friends will be out of work. Your boyfriend will overdose right before you come back to tell him you're positive. You won't be able to stop thinking about being assaulted. This is the reality that is our lives; all this is true – but tonight, and tomorrow, and forever, we will wage war and feel powerful. We are the fire to the plantation, the wildcat strike and the kidnapped boss, the rapist left castrated in the field that they will never understand. Our power lies not in a manifesto, either the Communist or Invisible Committee one; it lies in the relationships that we can create that

we can create that allows us to destroy theirs and create ours. We are the force that everyone knows must be constructed. We are the start of an association that breathes and survives together while choking them to death. We are the love and tenderness that allows us to conduct the violence that will remake our lives. Valorization. Attack. *Vengeance*.

Take care of each other,
crudo, August 2009

Contributors: Devin, adidas, Cody, and crudo. Special thanks goes to Tonya Blair for help with the cover. Interview with Harry Cleaver taken from the 'Work, Autonomy, Refusal,' from the Anarchist Zine Library website.

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Notes on a new Proletarian Movement

by crudo



"We are all involved in a class conflict which politics cannot contain. [Exploitation] doesn't happen in a vacuum; it happens because there is a capitalist economy based on property and the circulation of commodities..." - January 12th Communique in Solidarity with Oscar Grant Riots

"We're not really trying to contribute to a scene...our biggest interest is to make sure that...[the anarchist movement]...is responsive to the conditions that are urgent in our communities..." - Revolutionary Autonomous Communities (RAC) Member during Interview

1.) The class that is in the majority within anarchism will continue to pull in those of the same class to anarchism. The class that is the largest will be best suited to talking to those of the same class. The class composition of anarchism is directly related to the racial composition of anarchism. The class that holds control over what the anarchist movement produces: its newspapers, journals, and other media, will put forward ideas that largely are articulated class positions from that class.

2.) Proletarians within anarchism are the minority. We seek to reverse this. We desire anarchism to be made up largely of proletarians. We desire this because proletarians are the largest segment of society. Proletarians have more of a reason to destroy Capital. However, we are proletarians because of the conditions which are imposed upon us. We seek not to organize ourselves around an identity; only to face the reality of the project which is the destruction of class society and the abolition of ourselves (and all others) as a class, bringing into

being a world human community.

3.) The proletarian class is made up of those who survive by selling their labor power on the market. It is also made up of those who directly reproduce this system, (housewives, school kids, the homeless, those involved in black market capitalism), yet still own no amount of capital that would allow them exit outside of their class position.

4.) The middle class can be seen the class that acts as a grouping of social managers and specialists that are the intermediaries between the proletariat and the ruling class.

5.) The ruling class is made up of those military, political, and economic elites which direct, manage, and control the apparatus of politics, the economy, and the military.

6.) Proletarian culture is almost extinct. Currently, the Left is largely a middle class world in which class violence and confrontation is disdained and participation within the market and politics is championed. The middle class discourse that we hear throughout society claims that the roles of citizen and consumer offer the solution to all problems. The Spectacle shows us that working class people are stupid, oversexed, and quick to become intoxicated. Overall, we are told by this system that our lives of servitude are the direct result of our lifestyle. Moreover, we are not "political beings,"

instead, we held pick specialists which can lead us and make decisions for us while we work. This myth helps to reinforce the idea that only middle class specialists can guide the proletariat in ending our problems; which end with the proletariat becoming middle class. The proletariat is denied the reality of its existence, it's history, and thus cannot begin to build a material force that will abolish itself and all of class society.

7.) The proletariat in the United States is divided. The 'devil's bargain' of white supremacy in an effort to break up the unification of the class. It established a system in which whites come to a position of racial superiority over the rest of the class. White supremacy must be attacked if class consciousness is to lead to class recomposition that will attack and destroy Capital.

8.) Patriarchy and hetosexism divides the class. Middle class feminism and the GLBT movement seeks to integrate women, queers, and others into Capital and politics. The destruction of class society means the destruction of patriarchy and hetosexism. Class struggle cannot be separated from the struggle against patriarchy and other forms of oppression – if that is not so then it is not genuine class struggle.

9.) The current crisis has made clearer the class lines in this country and with it the possibility of creating greater class consciousness. Proletarian anarchists are in a much better position to get out their critique and ideas to other proletarians than middle class anarchists.

10.) Middle class anarchists should not be excluded from anarchism. Their class position and access to certain resources may prove useful. Our desire to 'proletarianize' anarchism is not a desire to drive them out; it is a desire to build a material force within the class in which we can abolish ourselves. Anarchism has served as a vehicle for the middle class for many years in doing just that; allowing them to abolish their class position. Either by dropping out, creating communities, or by doing work as traitors to their class. We wish to abolish ourselves as well; however not by dropping out, but by becoming the force that can intervene in the social war which is class society. While the activity of middle class anarchists has brought many proletarian anarchists into the fold, since we have come to the other side, we realize how many of us are left stuck in shit. We see class not simply as the reduction of economic oppression; we see class as the way to unite the exploited and excluded. Capital oppresses us in different ways; this leads to class decomposition. Generalized class struggle unites proletarians; within the recomposition of class war we can build the relationships which can bring down this world and create a new one.

Principles for a new proletarian anarchism:

1.) **Propaganda.** Much of the current literature that is produced by anarchism does not seek to talk to proletarians; it seeks to talk to other anarchists, many of whom are not proletarians. Proletarian anarchists must articulate their ideas to other proletarians. We must attack and critique the Left. We must give confidence to self-organized and insurrectionary elements within the class. This includes propaganda such as journals, papers, tabloids, online videos, blogs, graffiti and wheatpaste, and more in which we talk about local and global issues.

2.) **Presence.** We must be a constant presence within proletarian areas in our cities and towns. This means having our literature where people can get it. Having our graffiti and propaganda be visible to other proletarians. It means being a public material force that people know exists and they can come to. This visibility must be constant and build over a period of time.

3.) **Intervention.** Where there is fire, we must bring gasoline. We must base our practical activity within the tensions that exist within the class; pushing to generalize all struggles, fight the Left, promote and strengthen revolutionary elements, and fight against reactionary forces within the class.

4.) **Autonomy.** We must make the class our commune. Other proletarians must become our mafia. We already are in the land of "stop snitching," we are hoping to move towards the land of "permanent conflict with Capital while not snitching." We must build space from Capital; not under the assumption that such space will bring it down, but that it will make it easier to launch attacks.

5.) **Attack.** We must push towards conflict with class society; steering away from dialog and compromise with our enemies, or working in concert with class collaborators. We must build the conflictual nature of the class. We must build the ways in which we fight back against class society.

6.) **Solidarity.** When one within the class is attacked, we all are. This cuts across racial, gender, and sexual lines. Actions against segments of the class result in the decomposition of the larger class as well as hurt all of our material conditions. We must respond to attacks with attacks of our own. Solidarity is best expressed in action; in attack.

Our Relationship to the Commodity is Like This Son:

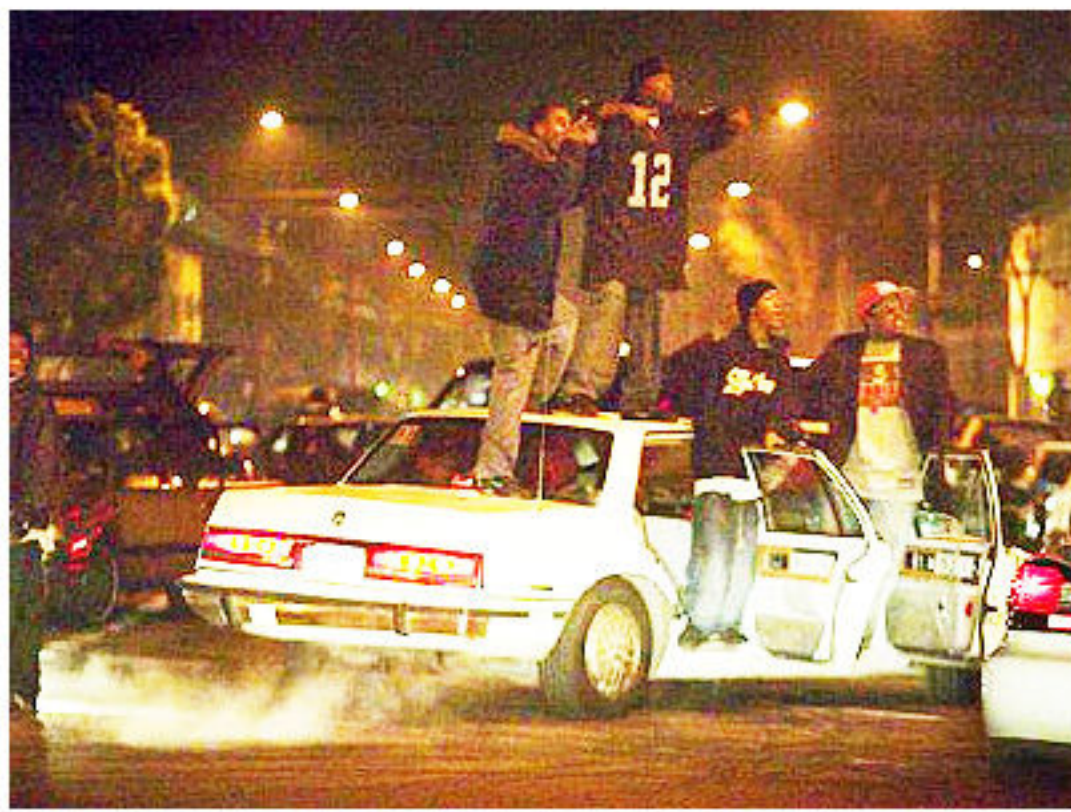
On My Need for Class Fellowship

by crudo

When I hang out with my friends, there is a certain dynamic that plays itself out. First off, we do all care about each other, regardless of whatever anyone who comes to Modesto and tells us that we're fucked up to each other says. We always generally ask how things are going on with each other, with work, (this is always important, because a break in work means bad shit), school (if that person is going to school), or just with life. Many times we ask each other how things are going on with our relationships – and we also talk about our political projects. One thing that is constant is that we are almost always together. Since we have a connection and we are tied down via work and other shit, we have to make the most out of being stuck in the Central Valley. We go out and take food because we cannot afford to pay for it. We appropriate clothes in groups because we cannot afford to pay for them. We organize and intervene in the tensions that directly affect us and our community. But what is always constant is the understanding of our relationship to the commodity form. We are always on the lookout for ways to gain paper. Always on the lookout for threats to our income. Always looking to come up on things. We did not become criminals out of just a hatred of capitalism, but the realization that the system has forced us to become them in order to get by.

We live in a totality of generalized class antagonisms. When jobs and hours get slashed we are affected. When school costs go up we are affected. Changes in police and store security or increases in surveillance are threats to us. We deal with not only what is done against us, but also what our parents and families go through. It's everything from your moms being threatened with losing her benefits at work to having your shit jacked for the third time. All of this, toppled with the ongoing daily pressures of just being a young person and dealing with shit, equates to huge amounts of stress. Stress makes people do lots of things, often times many of them bad. This is why me and my friends are always joking, always. Always fucking





around, always. Always on the lookout for a way to get up in the game, always. Always trying to get fucked up and escape, always. Middle class people often have a hard time understanding this – as well they should. The pressures that we face as proletarians are not things that they often can come to know; they are lived experiences that define our lives.

But I appreciate my friends because in them they represent truly the proletariat; or the conscious body of working class people who resist their material conditions. When we speak and joke it is crude and basic at times, but we grow and learn and change and create our own history based on our activity, not (just) the escalation of an acquired theory. It does not matter how many times you read the Call comrade; as you try to sift through all those complex words of doctors sons and daughters, the ideas won't leap off the page and come alive for you. If anything, what matters is if the ideas will resonate with your desire to actively do something, or perhaps give new meaning to the actions that you already are engaged in. Sure my friends and I are rough around the edges, but that roughness is a reflection of the realities of daily life. I still would much rather base our level of sophistication and seriousness upon our practical activity, than ever on our ability to explain why we do the things that must be done. Furthermore, it is this reality that gives my most prized relationships meaning; in the fact that there is a passion and a beauty in the struggle. When passion comes out of misery, I find it more exciting and genuine. When creation comes out of the crushing force and alienation of capital, I find it more inspiring. Harmonize all you want to, but your songs sound hallow to me. You can smear yourself with dirt, but I can still see your fucking face.

I was recently at a three day anarchist convergence in California. Throughout the days there was the usual barrage of workshops and tabling. I spent my time getting fucked up under the oppressive heat and getting my notes for my workshop ready. I left the convergence thinking I was going to have to agree with Barry Pateman, I don't know if I see a point, nor do I have a desire, to talk to 'anarchists' anymore. On my way to the car one night, I saw a collection cup out for the "Laid Off Teachers" fund on the front porch of a house. It reminded me of a conversation with a teacher I had had earlier in the day about her experiences in Oaxaca. There, she said she asked teachers there why they were striking and rioting and they told her because the state wanted to increase classroom size. I thought about that each time I sit down to work in front of a room of kids way over the size of 30.

Class fellowship is important to me. No, more than that, it is a requirement for my sanity and happiness. I desire a reminder of my relationship to the commodity and our struggle against it. I just don't like forgetting who I am or my lot in this piece of shit. I don't like pretending I'm outside of it or above it, or that I've dropped out of it. So it's not that I hate certain towns, or even that I hate certain people, I guess I just feel uncomfortable in comfortable places. I feel weird being around in cities full of people who probably would only talk or interact with me as a lawyer, judge, city council member, or a boss. More and more, I find that I cannot be around or have meaningful relationships with people from middle class backgrounds. I have a need for a true proletarian community – and it is a real one.

I Feel as if the World is Anew

by Cody

Almost as if I have lifted my head from a fish tank, and finally the light isn't being fragmented and displaced and bounced off of everything before it hits me. Not to say I've had a religious experience, but a reawakening.

Sometimes you just have those moments where everything makes sense, and I think life is just a continual journey to experience that again.

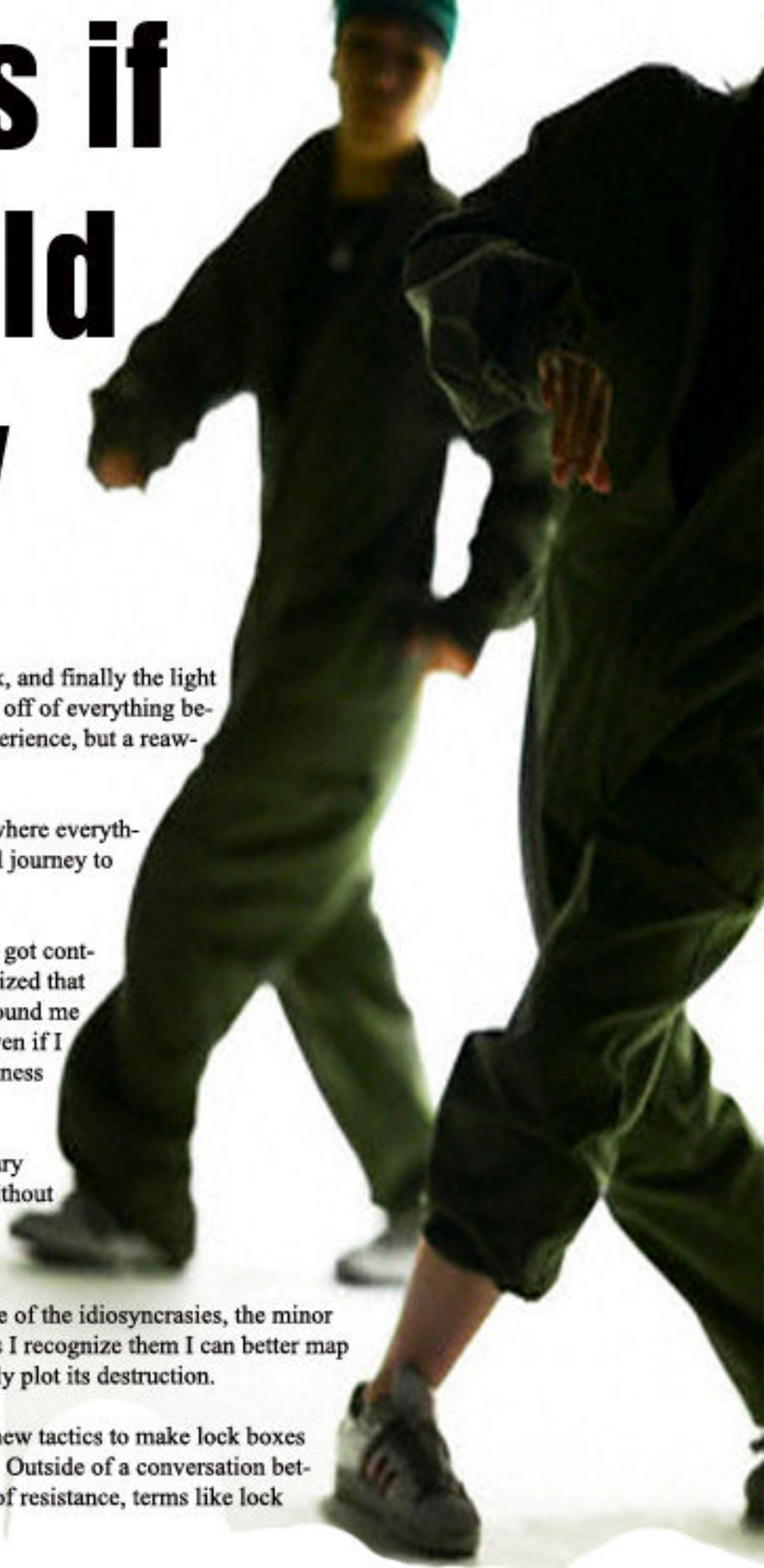
The other day I went to the eye doctor and got contacts, as I was fumbling trying to put them in I realized that I've spent so much time trying to see the world around me clearly, that I never took the time to realize that even if I had 20/20 vision, I still would never lose the fuzziness that perverts my vision.

I am an Anarchist and, away from all literary devices, that means that I cannot see this world without perversion, simply by virtue of this world being perverted.

The clone of reality looks different because of the idiosyncrasies, the minor minute holes in the fabric. Now I see those, and as I recognize them I can better map out the blueprint of this culture and can more easily plot its destruction.

My recent attempts have not been to find new tactics to make lock boxes harder to open, or strengthen the black bloc tactic. Outside of a conversation between two people experienced in this cluster fuck of resistance, terms like lock box or black bloc mean nothing.

What do they even mean to us?



The tactic is no longer the concern, we need the strategy. I've sat in too many five hour meetings, with too much silence and I've face palmed (the process of hitting your palm to your forehead) so many times that I'm starting to feel concussed.

The battles are in the streets. Not at your latest protest, or at the Republican National Convention or the Democratic National Convention, or the raw aisle at your local health food store, they are not at the G8 or the IMF.

Right now we are at the equivalent of soldiers who know how to fire their rifles, but cannot move as a unit. We need to be able to move as a unit to maximize our effectiveness. The neo-syndicalist technophiles and the salvationist preachers of "the collapse" that have perpetuated the archaic "red and green debate" for so many years are merely reactions to one another. Any collective working out of a platform or program has been demonized and seen as inherently bureaucratic, when in reality, unified strategic planning is necessary for many of our personal anarchist projects. The easy answer is that we have been conspiring with the wrong people. The activists will be forgotten, as they should. That which is not effective, is not worthy.

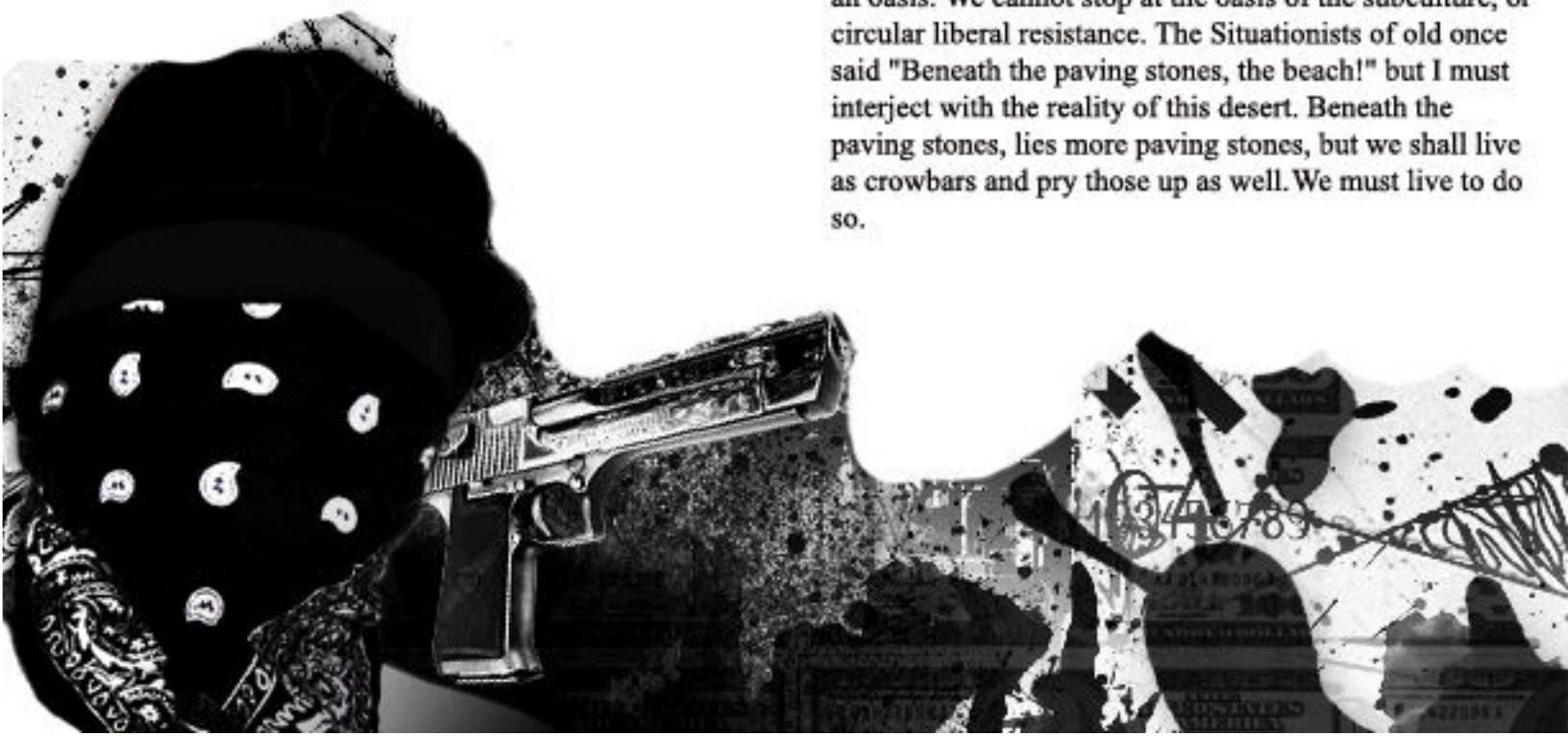
Our neighborhoods are our front lines, and we must know them like the backs of our hands. No workshop on polyamory will teach you that and no matter how many batches of kombucha you brew, you will not get better at strategic attack. I am not saying that intimate relationships, romantic or not, are useless or that talking about them is useless. Lets just try and consider what is strategically best at this moment. Dare I say, what will work.

The hatred that I feel has begun to coarse through my veins and I no longer yearn for the wooded spaces that I wished I could run off to for so many years up until now. I no longer yearn for the bohemian metropolis; I want to go home.

To that poor street, in that ghetto neighborhood with all of the ugliness and beauty that that brings with it. Wild space does not exist anymore, because our minds are not wild. The Spectacle does not merely mass produce anymore, but it produces masses. Nature no longer exists, it has been supplemented with Markets, and Markets now masquerade as Worlds, we no longer exist as animals, but as Citizens inside of Worlds.

We are all commodities, as such our resistance will be commodified. That is not to say that our attempts will be futile, but we must merely accept the circumstances of our battle. The systems of recuperation, exploitation, commodification and the whole myriad of attacks on our lives, can only be undone when the commodities revolt. Every bike co-op is commodified, every food not bombs chapter, every really really free market, every safe space and every heart and every mind.

Our project now must be to make commodification dangerous, to bring the level of strain in every social relationship to their natural apex. Social War is the only logical and reasonable outcome to the oppression that is faced. The strategy at hand is not a strategy we have dreamed up and expect people to follow, it is the evident and the inevitable. We cannot kid ourselves. We have found ourselves surrounded by a desert as it grows around us and deepens, and like any desert you can find an oasis. We cannot stop at the oasis of the subculture, or circular liberal resistance. The Situationists of old once said "Beneath the paving stones, the beach!" but I must interject with the reality of this desert. Beneath the paving stones, lies more paving stones, but we shall live as crowbars and pry those up as well. We must live to do so.





by addidas

we have sat through your meetings for what seems like 100 years.

For as long as I have been involved in the anarchist movement, and as far back as collective memory can show me, it has been an insignificant insular grouping of people dedicated to maintaining and promoting itself as a subculture. When people look at anarchists, they see a group of smelly kids who dress funny. Running around barefoot and dancing is seen as perfectly acceptable behavior in the movement, but if a group of normal-looking people from the neighborhood see these kids are dancing and came around **they** would receive the funny looks. This is an ass-backward way to operate, and it's not the only ridiculous thing we do. Anarchists have a certain way of confusing subcultural activities that are popular among anarchists as being related to anarchism and struggle. We see this when an overwhelming majority of anarchists refuse to shower. Perhaps we are more prone to being allergic to soap, or perhaps we are making a conscious effort to alienate everybody who doesn't give a shit about reading "Evasion". Other examples at best include bike collectives, silk screening/sewing workshops, punk shows, and dance parties. At worst they include praying to moon goddesses, magic, and other such insanity. What's even more ridiculous is that for these activities to be so popular and relevant to anarchists, one would assume that most anarchists who engage in these activities would come from working poor backgrounds where it would make sense to ride a bike to save money, to make your own clothes, etc. The truth is that anarchists almost overwhelmingly draw from a middle-class suburban background, and this is a large part of our total

failure to expand or gain any sort of foothold in the minds of the working and exploited class.

There is a very strong trend in American anarchism today that draws new people from the middle class, and thus moves the movement in a direction more suited to middle class thinking and mindsets. This is a large reason why we have had absolutely no organizing capabilities within actual exploited and working class communities and why student activism type actions are so popular. This is also problematic because it confuses low-level activism with actual **struggle**. Struggle is what those of us who are actually workers, exploited, and oppressed (actually oppressed, not what passes for oppression in the anarchist movement) deal with on a daily basis. Whether it is at work, where we are belittled and treated like children for 8 hours every **fucking** day, forced to take care of our families and children, under the constant threat of imprisonment, or otherwise. Instead of trying actively to challenge these situations and insert our movement directly into that nexus of exploitation, we take our actions down the easy path of activism.

When I say "activism" I'm talking about the vast majority of tactics and attitudes within anarchism today. We see ourselves as a group of elites, spending most of our time perfecting our speech patterns and fighting for the latest issue or against the newest "ism". The activist

separates themselves from struggle, engaging in mostly symbolic and irrelevant activities whose goals are not to directly engage who or what they are fighting for or against. Instead of simply being active segments of the working and exploited classes, we each become a specialist, someone who is trained in the art of activism.

It is my belief that for us to get out of this hole of irrelevance and failure we need to radically change our strategies and tactics. Clearly there are some of us in the anarchist movement who see what problems exist and are working towards changing them. We must continue to work hard and challenge the activist mindset of anarchists while presenting our own different view of the movement. By suppressing the middle class appeal of anarchism, and all of the alienating behaviors this appeal creates, we can attempt to connect with our comrades within the excluded classes who have been pushed away by these tendencies. Through this connection we can finally attempt to inject our anti-authoritarian ideals into the environments in which we are exploited and oppressed. For us to become a major social force capable of militant self-defense and confrontation with the state and capital we must once again draw our support and membership from the excluded lower classes.





Birds of the Cumming

Interview with Owen Storm

Tell us about yourself, your background, how you came to anarchism, and also the revolutionary projects that you now find yourself involved in.

I was born and raised in a small town in rural Wisconsin. I first got involved with anarchists who lived in the next town over. When I was seventeen I moved to Milwaukee because I was excited about things that were happening here. The biggest project I'm involved in here is the Cream City Collectives infoshop and social space.

Does being a proletarian change for you being a militant queer?

Being queer complicates the way we experience our role within capitalism. Queer bodies are often forced to sell their labor in ways that would be excluded from traditional marxist narratives of what it means to be a worker. This includes service workers and sex workers. These forms of exploitation problematize the often heteronormative and patriarchal ideas surrounding what is or isn't labor. Ultimately, the positions of queers and proles intertwine - we are the class that has no control over our bodies. This means different things in various situations. But the bosses that manage our time and the queerbashers that manage our gender are clearly all class-enemies.

Why does both the Spectacle and also the mainstream 'gay and lesbian' movement seem to only identify with the middle and upper classes, and never with working and poor people? Who benefits from such a narrative?

It is abundantly obvious that the politicians who lead the "lgbt community" are only interested in preserving power for the ruling class. Political campaigns for gay marriage, gays in the military and hate crime legislation, only reproduce the

capitalist institutions of marriage, military and the prison industrial complex.

And it goes much deeper than that. Representations of queers portray and capitalize on images of wealthy, affluent, white, able-bodied gays and lesbians. You only need to look as far as 'Will and Grace' or a copy of any LGBT magazine to see the way that queer bodies and desires are shaped by capital.

Within anarchism, there seems to be a coming clash (or a current clash) between 'activists' and 'hooligans.' Why do you think this is? What are the tensions that have given rise to this division?

To be cheesy and quote 'the Coming Insurrection': "Everyone finds herself forced to take sides; to choose between anarchy and the fear of anarchy." The divide that is happening in the broader anarchist milieu is also happening among radical queers. I think that a lot of the tension is rooted in that a lot of people have confused radical queer struggle as a safe haven for the worst form of identity politics. They're really sorely mistaken. This isn't about sustaining identities, it is about destroying them.

Can you speak about the actions that occurred around the time of the Bash Back Conference and your disappointment with some of the people who responded to those actions?

At the Bash Back! Convergence, a dance-party train occupation. The temporary occupation was an absurd mix of dancing, making-out, and a cacophony of ridiculous chants and singing. This created a situation where people caused a lot of havoc, vandalizing the train and reclaiming it as a queered space. A spontaneous street march then erupted from the train. The march attacked luxury cars and pulled shit into the streets.

Someone within the march began pulling newspaper boxes out of the streets and back onto the sidewalk while yelling "this is a peaceful protest." After the newsboxes were removed, a police cruiser literally ran over someone's foot and officers began beating people with their telescoping batons. Four people were arrested.

The next day, all of the liberal, activist types went on a tirade to denounce the previous nights events.

A telling anecdote: Three white people stand up in a row, and denounce the occupation as racist, because there were people of color on the train. "There were people of color who actually live in Chicago were on that train! They are actually part of the community! That's racist! People were being rude!" Then, two female-bodied people of color who live in Chicago respond, saying that they find everyone disgusting. "Bash



Back! isn't about being polite, or nice. Bash Back! means challenging and destroying normalcy. This is going to be rude. It's going to be messy! If you aren't into this, then you're in the wrong place." Everyone is silent for a moment. Then the stack continues. They are ignored and more white activists continue to talk about how the action was racist and alienating to people of color. It continued as folks talked about all the "white dudes with passing privilege" who instigated the situation.

I'm really disgusted by people actions and sentiments that day, because of their complicity with the police and their silencing of all the bodies that weren't white, cisgendered and male.

Where would you like to see Bash Back go in the next several years, if the network is going to continue?

I would like to see groups of queer anarchists working to build autonomous power and get more conflictual. I'm really excited about the squat that BB! Memphis just opened for homeless queer/trans youth. I'm really excited about groups distributing free pepper-spray and teaching people to fight. I'm excited about queers kicking the shit out of queer bashers, and always about fighting in the streets. Whether people continue to organize under the name "Bash Back!" or not, I think that the network of wild-ass queers who hate everything is going to keep growing and building autonomous power.



Crew Strong

By Flapjack

Under the dark, not so starry night sky, muddled with excitement and dreams we hid from security, hopped fences, crawled, ran, and jumped through tall wet grass, navigated through areas only to be walked on by the privileged and made it ours. Next to the trees and the ponds, we sat excited with success and felt something new, we plotted, and joked and felt each other in a world that was different than the one on the other side of the fence.

We learned a lot about each other that night, and the many since then. Our nightly and daily efforts have become a healthy way in becoming a tight crew, mentally and physically. Putting ourselves in situations that create fear, stress, and testing the limits of each others abilities and welding our friendship at many different levels. I now know who can jump a fence the best, who can run the fastest, who's the quietest, who knows the land the best, and we help each other and we teach each other the skills needed in creating a strong crew that can do anything it wants to, fast, efficiently, and silently.

Alone we are strong, together we are deadly.

Each and everyday we are becoming stronger, faster and quieter. Without a trace we seek and strive for new playgrounds, finding them on land that you took from us, in buildings meant for human and animal exploitation and "private" gated communities. Hand signals and whistles are helping us get where we want, past your guard and on your roof, where we can view our town at different heights and views and angles. Together we create an imaginary war, we role

and we learn, We play games, we get serious. This isn't just for kicks, this world was been taken from us and its time we take it back, one mission at a time.

Hide and seek has never been so serious.

Looking back at that first night, we were rough. There was confusion and frustration, Some of us went in different directions, breaking our crew, making us weak and vulnerable. What we went through that first night was needed, and created what we have now. Each of us have a strong understanding of what we need to accomplish with each night and day 'missions'. We want to be able to sing and dance the night away, together, and also destroy the roots of capitalism.

Every one of us has the heart of a midnight bandit.

Midnight bandits, running and hiding in the dark, Sneaking through the streets for a bit of happiness and freedom. Escaping the heat of the summer, swimming under the stars in abandoned schools, and on the rooftops of fore-closed homes. Us midnight bandits, preparing for war. Ready to give our all to what we believe in. We know that our feelings are natural and real. Not force fed and beat into us. We strive for the end and we bring the beginning. We can still sneak into pools in the future, playing cops and robbers where in the end we laugh together and everyone gets wet. The war is HERE and we are the RESISTANCE, there are millions of us, maybe more. Millions of dream crazy Don Quixotes riding to insurrection, swim-

ing in your neighborhood high schools, clearing way for the stars, one streetlight at a time...

Tonight we go out again, together...and as one...

Understanding the way things work on the other side of the fence is something we enjoy, We love watching security drive by while we are hidden in bushes, dreaming under the stars about the end of the beginning and making a memories never to be forgotten. Tonight we go out again, together and as one.

**Together we
train. Together
we learn.
Together we
act. Together
we attack.**



The Problem With Hip Hop:

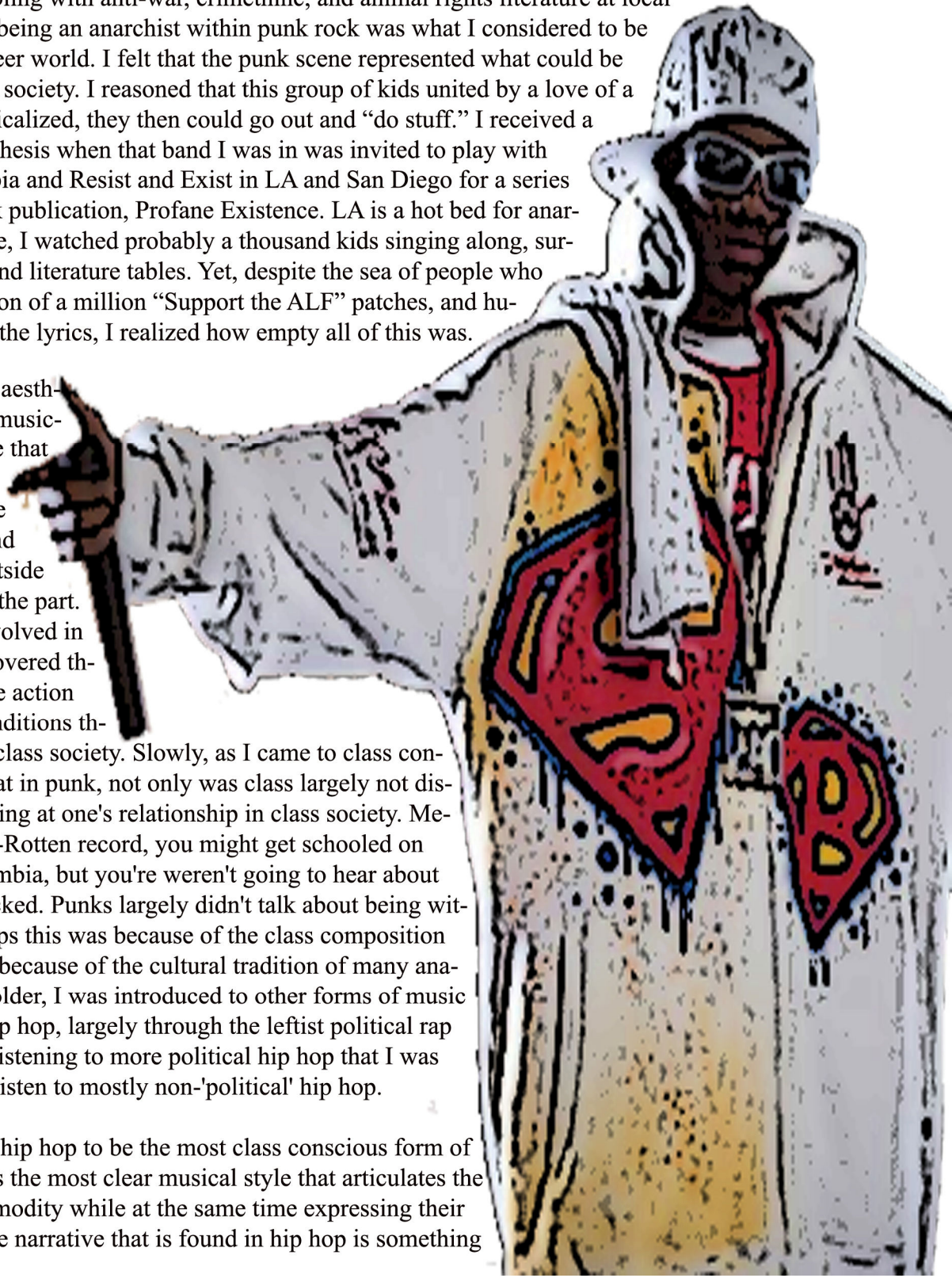
Patriarchy, Proletarians, and Revolutionary Culture

by crudo

Punk rock was the first style of music that really meant anything to me. That's not really true, I was into grunge and radio rap for a while, but punk was the first musical culture that I felt any real affinity with. After all, punk was what lead me to anarchism, and then to class consciousness. Around the same time that I was getting into anarchism, I was also playing in bands, setting up shows, and tabling with anti-war, crimethinc, and animal rights literature at local concerts. By the time I was 18, being an anarchist within punk rock was what I considered to be the best way to get towards a freer world. I felt that the punk scene represented what could be the 'revolutionary agent,' within society. I reasoned that this group of kids united by a love of a musical style could become radicalized, they then could go out and "do stuff." I received a rude awakening from this hypothesis when that band I was in was invited to play with some pretty big bands like Phobia and Resist and Exist in LA and San Diego for a series of benefits for the anarcho-punk publication, Profane Existence. LA is a hot bed for anarcho-punk and crust bands. There, I watched probably a thousand kids singing along, surrounded by anarchist banners, and literature tables. Yet, despite the sea of people who were "down," a ragged collection of a million "Support the ALF" patches, and hundreds who chanted along with the lyrics, I realized how empty all of this was.

People here were united in an aesthetic and for the enjoyment of a musical style. It was also telling to me that the people I met in the various activist groups and at places like the Che Cafe (a radical space and infoshop) largely came from outside of punk and often did not dress the part. As I became older and more involved in community based action, I discovered that people were motivated to take action against Capital based on the conditions that were imposed upon them by class society. Slowly, as I came to class consciousness, and I grew to see that in punk, not only was class largely not discussed; there was a lack of looking at one's relationship in class society. Meaning, that if you put on an Aus-Rotten record, you might get schooled on what the US was doing in Columbia, but you're weren't going to hear about the singer's work and why it sucked. Punks largely didn't talk about being without money or working – perhaps this was because of the class composition of punks, or perhaps it was just because of the cultural tradition of many anarcho-punk bands. As I became older, I was introduced to other forms of music that I was not before; namely hip hop, largely through the leftist political rap group, Dead Prez. Soon, I was listening to more political hip hop that I was political punk rock, and now, I listen to mostly non-'political' hip hop.

At this point in my life, I find hip hop to be the most class conscious form of music. By this I mean hip hop is the most clear musical style that articulates the singer's relationship to the commodity while at the same time expressing their struggle within that relation. The narrative that is found in hip hop is something



that I think all proletarians can appreciate and find resonance with, even if the image of the street hustler or an up and coming gangsta is far from your present reality. The idea that one can only beat the material conditions that are imposed upon our lives by taking risks, breaking the law, through the action of close and trusted friends (thus making the police, feds, and snitches enemies), and not hesitating to use violence to achieve such ends, is a fine narrative indeed. Because so much of hip hop is about the reality of life within poverty, ghettos, and being forced into certain situations (drugs, prisons, police brutality), it can act as a vehicle for creating class consciousness. When people understand what they go through is not their fault, but the product of a system that in fact benefits from exploitation, then they can make a better analysis of the current system and their place within it. The problem with hip hop however, is that much of it has created what I would refer to as a 'false class consciousness,' that has nothing to do with abolishing our present conditions and everything about class ascension. Meaning, the goal is not to abolish class, but to rise up from the bottom and get the fuck out.

Much of the substance of hip hop is also problematic: black market capitalism, prole on prole violence, and rampant sexism. Patriarchy is perhaps the most problematic aspect of this, and one of the biggest barriers holding hip hop back from being a truly class conscious form of music. This happens for several reasons; and probably the largest driving force is of course the music industry that demands that rappers keep turning out hits about empty sex and booty jams. But beyond that, the narrative of most hip hop starts off firstly with that of the individual; that individual largely always being a young male, as opposed to being any young proletarian or the collective body that is the class. This young male, in his attempt to appropriate material conditions (often through criminal means), also often sees female bodies as objects that he want to appropriate. Thus, women, like money, cars, jewels, etc, become commodities to be accumulated for the purpose of consumption. In fact, women are often seen not only as commodities, but as commodities that require the buying of even more commodities. Thus, hit after hit about buying women various objects for the purpose of acquiring them, or talking about how other males are broke, and thus less admirable suitors towards various female bodied people continues to be pumped out. It is no surprise that these songs are hits, as they reinforce the values of the culture and help to reinforce racial stereotypes of young men of color. Thus, as female bodied people are commodified into objects just like cars or jewels, it becomes necessary for them to be demonized or spoken of simply as "bitches" and "hoes." This is done for the sake of writing them and their agency off; thus justifying their position as commodities. Since much of hip hop has written off a whole section of the class, it thus cannot truly be a

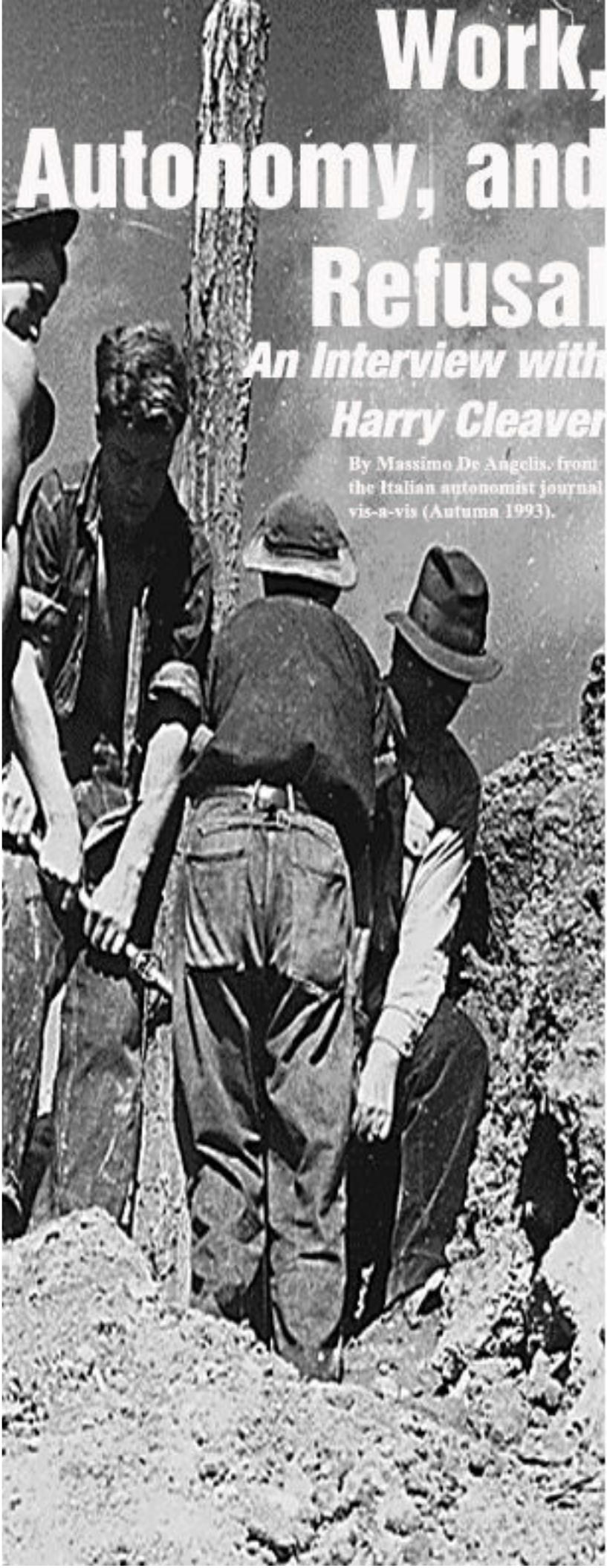
vehicle for class consciousness and thus cannot be revolutionary. There are several artists out there who attempt to fight this (for instance the Coup, "Pimps down, hoers up!") or 2pac (who although in some songs states that he is pro-choice and pro-woman, then goes on to state things like MOB, or Money of Bitches). This further plays itself off in hip hop culture, such as in the video, or on stage, or just in the sheer lack of female emcees singing and performing. In one of the latest Young Jeezy videos, "Put On," which includes references to the economic recession and housing foreclosure, and is an all together pretty class conscious video. The video is then shot to shit when Jeezy comes out flanked by three women who do nothing but dance around him in a provocative manner. Hip hop not only often lacks women's voices, it silences them. By denying women the opportunity to talk about their relationship to not only class society, but also their lives within the patriarchy, hip hop in essence further strengthens those systems of domination. Until hip hop sees women as active players in the own lives, able to articulate their own needs and desires not only as people but also as fellow proletarians, it will not be fully class conscious.

Hip hop is also further problematic, because it shapes and influences so much of proletarian and youth culture. Modern hip hop, while often antagonistic towards the police and aspects of the power structure, it does not question the nature of wage labor and commodity production. Since the late 60's and 1970's, the various nationalist and liberation movements that sought to organize and liberate the internal colonies in the ghettos and barrios of the United States were crushed by the US government. In the place of these groups and political parties such as the Black Panthers, self-defense crews formed into gangs. Political revolutionaries turned instead to drug trafficking. What was first seen as a movement to liberate communities, instead the focus became much more individualistic and concerned only for itself. Modern hip hop is a product of this class decomposition. The drive to accumulate material conditions and 'fuck everyone else,' shows this clearly. The influence of the drug game that has grown since the 1970's and has thus influenced hip hop has spread to every t-shirt, car sticker, and rap album in the English speaking world. With the dreams of the 60's crushed and nothing new to take its place, this new 'false consciousness' now parades around, offering no real opposition to Capital. While it may claim to be against snitches and the police, as long as this is only for the purpose of protecting the power and markets of the drug market, then it will only be the musical voice of underground capitalism.

At a time of great crisis, we do need proletarian

cultural forms like hip hop. While I have talked a lot of shit about it, truth be told, give a poor person a mike, and they'll in the end give you something good, at least part of the time. Still, for hip hop to be a way to explain actual conditions and thus create class consciousness on a mass scale, it will have to leave behind much of what has been a part of hip hop culture for so long in the past. It must come to terms and destroy its patriarchal language, themes, and ways of presenting itself. It must bring female bodied people into the picture and allow them to talk about their lives as proletarians on even footing. It must turn away from being an individualistic movement, and instead focus on destroying the things which create poverty in the first place. Many new class conscious and anarchist hip hop projects exist here in the US and in Europe, and for me are very exciting. Emcee Lynx, Drowning Dog, DJ Maletesta, Kenny Arkana, Loop-troop, and Sherman Austin are all creating great hip hop music that is both revolutionary, class conscious, and also banging. Hopefully this continues and artists like this will become bigger and more popular within the class. Please, let the beat drop.





Work, Autonomy, and Refusal

An Interview with
Harry Cleaver

By Massimo De Angelis, from
the Italian autonomist journal
vis-a-vis (Autumn 1993).

What is the political importance of your formulation of capitalism as a system based on the boundless imposition of work?

Most traditional Marxisms have defined capitalism more in terms of form than of substance. That is to say they have almost all focused on what they have seen as the specific form through which capital exploits workers: the wage form. Thus the familiar definition of the working class as the waged proletariat. Thus the central focus on exploitation. Thus the political goal: abolition of the wages system. This focus on the wage form derived from the associated theoretical understanding that labor, or work, was not only a natural given in all human society, and the most fundamental defining characteristic of human beings, but that the overthrow of capitalism would involve the generalization of the work relationship: socialism and communism would be one-class societies where everyone worked—without exploitation and with personal and collective fulfillment.

What I have been arguing for some time now, is that we get a totally different vision, a different reading of Marxist theory and a different politics of the overthrow and replacement of capitalism, when we focus in on the substance of the social relationships of capitalism: work. Capitalism is not just a social system which exploits people through work, such that we can think about ending the exploitation and keeping the work, it is a social system which tendentially subordinates all of life to work and by so doing alienates those it forces to work and prevents them from developing their own paths of self-realization. The subordination of life to work means not only are we forced to work long hours—such long hours that we have little energy left over for other activities—but that those other activities tend to be reduced to the mere recreation of life as labor power, i.e., the willingness and ability to work.

For example, for those who are waged during each day of our usual working week (Monday through Friday for many) we not only find most of our waking hours taken up by working directly for capital on the job, but we also find that much of our supposedly "free" time, or "leisure" time is taken up preparing for work, getting to work, getting home from work, recuperating from work, doing what is necessary so that we can go to work the next day, and so on. For those who are not waged, e.g. the unwaged in the home (usually housewives but often children and sometimes men), "leisure" time turns out to be mostly dedicated to house "work", which in turn is not just the crafting and reproduction of domestic life but involves the work of turning children into workers and reproducing workers as workers. In other words, women have children but then they (along with husbands sometimes) must rear them to

take orders, to curb their desires and spontaneity and to learn to do as they are told (the same work that teachers undertake in schools). Children, thus, are not left free to discover life on their own but are put to work, the work of turning themselves into workers as well as that of reproducing their parents as such. Similarly, women qua housewives do not merely work for/with their husbands, their work reproduces their husbands as labor power on a daily and weekly basis through feeding them, cleaning their clothes, maintaining their environment, providing sexual and psychological services that make it possible for them to return to work each day without shooting the boss, or themselves. Parallel analyses can be made of the "free" time on weekends and vacations. In short, what I'm arguing is not merely that capital has extended its mechanisms of domination beyond the factory (as the critical theorists have long argued) but that what those mechanisms involve is the imposition of work, including the imposition of the work of reproducing life as work.

Now these are arguments which were originally developed by women in the feminist movement and which came to have a Marxist articulation in the work of those like Mariarosa Della Costa in Italy and Selma James in the United States (both of whom I would include among "autonomist Marxists"). These arguments were subsequently elaborated vis-a-vis other forms of unwaged work such as schoolwork and the work of peasants in such a way as to generalize the understanding of how capital seeks to turn all of life into work for its own reproduction, how it seeks to convert all of society into one big "social factory" or social workhouse.

What is the role here of class autonomy?

The recognition of how capital has sought to impose work outside waged work must be accompanied by the same working class understanding of its rule in waged work: namely that imposition always involves struggle. Just as workers resist the imposition of work inside the factory or office, via slowdowns, strikes, sabotage and detournement, so too do the unwaged resist the reduction of their lives to work. It is at this point that autonomist theory gets beyond the dead end of critical theory. Instead of becoming fixated with capitalist hegemony, with the thoroughness and completeness of capitalist domination, we must recognize and then articulate the power of people to struggle against their reduction to mere worker. Precisely because capital seeks to intervene and shape all of life, all of life rebels, each nook and cranny of life becomes a site of insurgency against this subordination. Housewives go on strike in the home or march out of it collectively into the streets. Students take over classes and schools or create "free universities" of liberated learning opportunities outside the institutions. Peasants

refuse to subordinate their production (and thus their work) to the market and collaborate to build networks of mutual aid. The "unemployed" refuse to look for waged jobs. "Culture" becomes a terrain of the most fierce class struggle between liberation and recuperation/instrumentalization. And so on.

What the recognition of all this means, is not only that the class struggle is omnipresent but that the struggles of the waged and the unwaged are inherently related through the common refusal of work, i.e., the refusal of the reduction of life to work, and the struggle for alternative ways of being. Thus the Old Left definition of the working class as the waged proletariat is obsolete not only because capital has integrated the unwaged into its self-reproduction, but because the struggles of the unwaged complement those of the waged.

Yet at the same time, the struggles for alternative ways of being that escape the reduction of life to work are diverse. Unlike the older Marxist notions of replacing capitalism with some kind of homogenous socialism, we must recognize communism as a diversity of alternatives. Revolution involves explosion, the escape from reductionism, rather than the substitution of one unified plan for another. Here is the importance of the autonomy of the struggles of different sectors of the class.

The refusal of work leads us necessarily to talk about the constitutive practices beyond capital. In your work you use the category of self-valorization first introduced by Negri some years ago. What do you mean by self-valorization?

Toni Negri took a relatively obscure term which had been used by Marx (but by few of his followers) to talk about the self-reproduction of capital and gave it a new meaning: the self-development of the working class. There are problems with this term--the self-valorization of the working class is not homologous with that of capital--and he might have chosen some other but this one serves well enough. The point was to focus attention on the existence of autonomy in the self-development of workers vis-a-vis capital. For too long the development of the working class had been seen by Marxists as derivative of the development of capital. Earlier autonomist Marxists, especially Mario Tronti, had reminded us that for Marx capital (dead labor) was essentially a constraint on the working class (living labor), not the other way around. The living, inventive force in labor is the imagination and self-activity of workers, not capital. Yet, as the struggles of the mass workers took the form of the refusal

of work, there developed a tendency to overlook this essentially creative self-activity. At the same time, in Italy in the late 1960s and 1970s that creative self-activity exploded throughout the social factory in a myriad of social, cultural and political innovations. Negri's term of "self-valorization" gave a name to the positive content of that explosion and refocused our attention on the ways in which workers not only struggle against capital but for a diverse variety of new ways of being. It provided a point of departure for rethinking not only the content of working class struggle but also some fundamental issues such as the nature of revolution and of the "transition" to post capitalist society. As Negri pointed out so well in his lectures on the Grundrisse published as Marx beyond Marx, the creation of communism is not something that comes later but is something which is repeatedly launched by current developments of new forms of working class self-activity. Marx had said this before of course and so had some other, earlier, autonomist Marxists (e.g. C.L.R. James and his comrades in the 1950s) but Negri's theoretical work brought the idea back into the light in a thoroughly grounded theoretical fashion.

How has the idea of self-valorization influenced the development of a political agenda?

One result of this refocusing of attention on what I would call the positive content of workers struggles, was a shift in political agenda for many of us. Along with our attempts to understand how working class power had created and sustained the crisis for capitalism in the 1970s and 1980s, we also began to explore the historical processes of self-valorization that had also been an integral part of the the crisis for capital and that might provide the point of departure for the elaboration of communism in the present. Whereas Negri's work has remained primarily theoretical and his limited empirical work restricted to a few cutting edge industries, others have pursued the exploration of self-valorization from the re-examination of the urban cultural revolutions of the late 1960s and 1970s in the North to the study of the rural/urban communal struggles of peasants and indigenous peoples in the South. Whereas Negri's focus has increasingly been on self-valorization in labor, other explorations and studies of both work and non-work activities have borne rich fruit and have provided a wealth of understanding about the diverse experiences of creative struggles that have persisted through the crisis, uncaptured or unharnessed and undestroyed by capitalist repression or cooptation.

How do you see the relationship between the refusal of work and self-valorization?

Earlier I said that the only reasonable point of departure for the elaboration of working class political strategy is an

understanding of our own power. What the concept of self-valorization does is to draw our attention not only to our power to limit and constrain capital's domination over us, but also to our abilities and creativity in elaborating alternatives. Just as the concept of the "refusal of work" helps us to understand how a wide variety of social struggles undermined capitalist accumulation and threw it into crisis, so too does the concept of self-valorization help us to understand how our ability to elaborate and defend new ways of being not only against but beyond capital is the other side of the crisis.

The power of refusal is the power to carve out times and spaces relatively free of the capitalist imposition of work. (I say "relatively free" because such times and spaces are always limited and scarred by capitalist power.) The power of self-valorization is the power to fill those spaces with alternative activities and new forms of sociality--to elaborate the communist future in the present.

This perspective allows us to recognize and to understand within a Marxist theoretical and political framework the creativity and imagination at work within the so-called "new social movements" that many traditional Marxists and many post-Marxist, post-modernists, have seen or claimed as beyond the purview of Marxist theory. But such new social movements have always been movements against the constraints of the capitalist social factory--whether they have articulated their ideas as such or not--and are new primarily in their strength and their imagination. For example, the women's and gay movements have not merely refused the subordination of life to work but have initiated a wide variety of experiments in developing new kinds of gender and family relationships, new kinds of personal and social relations among men and women, among men and among women. The Green movement, in a parallel fashion, has not only attacked the capitalist exploitation of all of nature but has also explored a wide variety of alternative kinds of relationships between humans and the rest of the earth. In their development these movements have overlapped and influenced each other just as they have also sought inspiration in a wide variety of alternative cultural practices, e.g. those of indigenous peoples or those of pre-capitalist European history. Please note, I am not saying that just because we can grasp the character of these movements in Marxist terms, that they are not subject to analysis and political critique. Just as more familiar moments of working struggle, such as trade union activity, can, must and has been subjected to the most intense scrutiny and critique, so too with these movements. Not only creativity is

fruitful, not all innovation automatically undermines capital and helps free us for more interesting ways of being. There is much that is destructive in the political spaces of these movements--not least of which is the rejection by some of the Marxist analysis of capitalism and their blindness to the nature of the enemy arrayed against them. So too with some forms of "identity politics" which through a dogmatic over-insistence on difference cut off any possibility of political dialog and political action. Post-structuralist linguistic theory has provided some with a convenient excuse to avoid the difficulties of organization. But, as a rule, it comes naturally to Marxists to see such limits and carry out such critique. What interests me more, at this point in history, is the other side: the importance of being able to discern the positive content of such struggles in such a way as to be able to think about how the social forces they embody may contribute to building communism.

So the bottom line, the question of organization. By putting working class autonomy at the center of Marxist theory, which as you say must also be considered as autonomy vis-a-vis the party and the autonomy of each section of the working class vis-a-vis each other, you tend to hint at the question of organization in terms of the circulation of struggle. What do you mean by this? To what extent do you think this circulation can or must be organized circulation?

We have to stop thinking about the organization of struggle in terms of the creation of particular organizations, e.g. institutions which always become bureaucratized and resist needed changes. Instead, we need to think about the issue of working class organization in its most basic sense: the elaboration of cooperation among people in struggle.

We know that the working class is, and always has been, diverse. The class composition is complex. Capital rules by division and conquest so there is always a wage/income hierarchy and a pattern of power relationships among sectors of the class. Some workers have more resources than others; some have more space, or more time, for struggle; some dominate others, and so on. "Division" means the capitalist management of intra-class antagonisms among sectors of the class as a means to minimize the dangers of inter-class antagonism exploding. Moreover, the diversity of the class also takes the form of diversity in self-valorization. In the language of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, the "lines of flight" of self-valorization take off in many different directions.

Once we reject the notion that those "lines of flight" can or should be harmonized into a unified project of socialism and once we reject the notion that various sectors of the

class should subordinate their struggles to meet their own needs and desires to the struggles of others (e.g. as women have often been told to do), then we are both recognizing and accepting that "the" class struggle is, inevitably, made up of a myriad separate struggles moving in many directions with only one element necessarily in common: the rejection of capitalist domination. Capital knows this; its political strategy is to manage this diversity in such a manner that the irrepressible turmoil doesn't get out of hand and is harnessed to fuel its own development. Our political strategy must be the reverse: that intra-class antagonisms fuel inter-class antagonism in such a manner as to become unmanageable and that diverse projects of self-valorization find ways to avoid being constrained and harnessed within capital by becoming complementary or at least mutually supportive. Between us and capital the maximization of antagonism, among ourselves the elaboration of a politics of difference that minimizes or eliminates antagonism.

The difficulty is that there is no short-cut, no magic formula, no simple "unite and fight", not through a particular organizational form, not through an ideology, not even through Marxism (because Marxism provides an antagonistic understanding of capitalist domination but no formula for post-capitalist ways of being). What we want is for our different struggles, against capital, and for alternative forms of self-valorization, to be complementary and mutually reinforcing. The problem is in finding ways of achieving this.

When we turn from the struggle against capital to the struggles for a diversity of projects of self-valorization we have a more difficult problem: how to develop a politics of difference without antagonism. Clearly, given that antagonisms already exist, the development of such a politics must pass through antagonisms to get rid of them; they will not just instantaneously disappear because we will them to. This is unavoidable even as we develop approaches to diversity based minimally on live and let live and preferably on mutual enrichment across differences. For example, as women have struggled to elaborate new more satisfying kinds of gender relationships, they have had to pass through many kinds of antagonistic relationships with men (and with each other). Not only has the construction of such new relationships involved the destruction of old ones--a destruction often perceived by men (with some elements of truth) as being at their expense--but the creative moments in this process have been experimental and often productive of new, unexpected kinds of antagonisms. Where women have elaborated lesbian relationships among themselves exclusive of men, it has obviously been a difficult and on-going

process to develop complementary and non-antagonistic forms of struggle between those women and heterosexual men. It has obviously been somewhat easier, but by no means simple, to work out complementary struggles between lesbian women and homosexual men. The complex dynamics of these relationships are evolving before our eyes in the struggles around AIDS, against discrimination and for the freedom to develop new kinds of sexual, gender and family relations. What such experience teaches, I think, is that the forms of organization which work best are those which facilitate the circulation of struggle among groups, i.e., which enhance the complementarity of their efforts, and those forms must change and adapt to the changing patterns of struggle.

You seem here to be going beyond the old dichotomy between "organization" and "spontaneity".

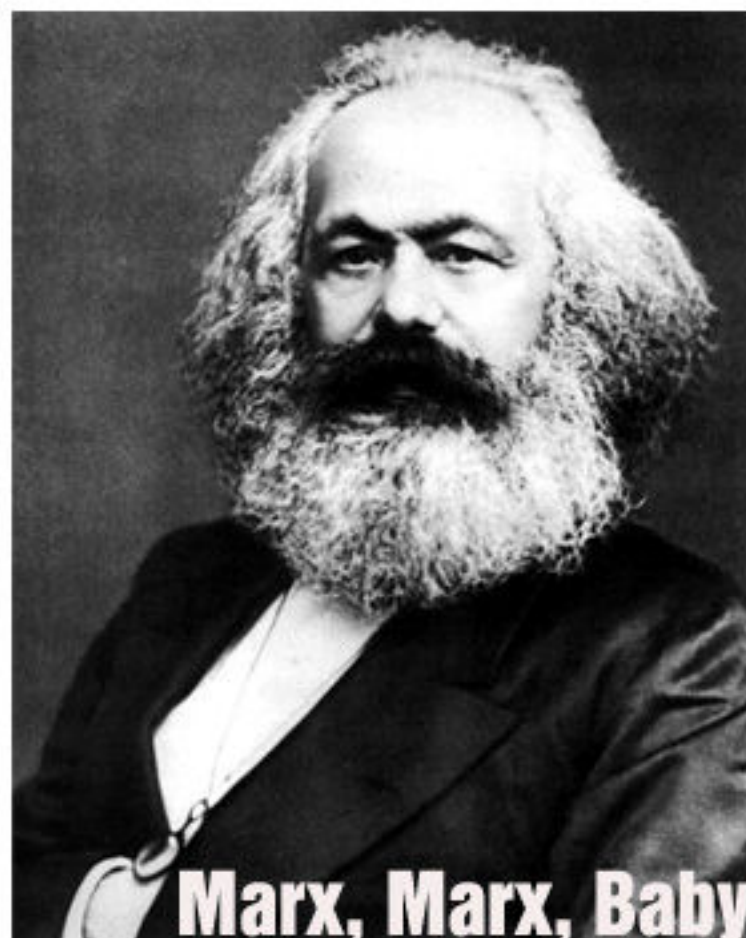
The old dichotomy between organization and spontaneity is a false one. Even when some collective event occurs "spontaneously", i.e., not planned by anyone in advance, the people making the event happen organize themselves to accomplish it. Capital with its essence in command, authority and domination can only conceive of organization from the top down, by some kind of "leadership" and can see only chaos in any other kind of order. We, on the other hand, need to be able to perceive and appreciate a wide variety of kinds of organization while always evaluating their appropriateness critically. Much of the best of the "bottom-up" history developed over the last thirty years has involved the discovery and making visible of the such organization in popular movements.

So, circulation of struggles as organization-form. But organised by whom?

The general answer to your general question "organized by whom?" is "organized by themselves", internal organisation by any self-defined group of people in struggle. Yet, at the same time, because of the the diversity involved, any "internal" organization, however managed, must also involve the collective organization of the relationships with other groups, other sectors of the class, the organization of the circulation of struggle. The question "How can we build our own power--to refuse work or to self-valorize in our own way?" becomes "How can be link up with others so that our efforts are mutually reinforcing?" All kinds of internally rigid formulae have survived within small enough groups, but the story of much of the Left has been that such groups have, in part by their own rigidity, cut themselves off, and remained isolated from other. As a result they have stagnated and remained irrelevant to larger social movements where more flexible and adapted forms of organization have facilitated the circulation of struggle among diverse groups.

All this is true at every level. Everywhere that organi-

zation fails to achieve the circulation of struggle, it fails, whether in a tiny groupescule in a single city or in a region or nation. The strength of relatively small groups such as the Palestinians, or the black freedom movements in Southern Africa, or the revolutionaries in Nicaragua or El Salvador, etc., has always been, in large part, due to their ability to build networks of alliance to circulate their struggles beyond their specific locales to other groups in other parts of the world. Which is precisely why in every case capital's strategy has been to cut them off, with trade and financial boycotts or travel restrictions, to isolate them--so that they can be destroyed. We cannot overemphasize the importance of this experience and must not fail to draw the necessary lesson: it is only through the ever wider circulation of struggle that we can ever hope to achieve the power necessary to destroy the manifold sinews of capitalist domination and to replace them with new social relationships more to our liking. Today, when the class confrontation is global, our circulation of our own struggles must be organized throughout the world, through every linkage possible. If we understand what is required, we have only to find the means. It is a process which is already underway; it always is. The political problems are: first, the assessment of what is working and what is not; which forms of organization are facilitating the circulation of struggle and which are hindering it and second, building on those which are working and abandoning or changing those which are not.



To those that sell their labor power against their will. To those that then pay for a place to live, food to eat, and water to drink. For those that sell their bodies and their time. For those that waste their lives for the lives of others. For those that live in shit and breath shit. For those that desire a different life. For complete agency and control over their lives. We are the start of a push towards the total destruction of all that is supposed to be set in stone. We are the start of a new way of being. Of living.

