



# **SPINDRIFT 2024**

#### **EDITORIAL**

Feet On The Ground!

Elisha Moon Williams

Anarchism in the Mainstream

Zosia Brom

British Anarchism in Decline/Renewal

Jon Bigger

Anarchism's Least Wanted:

Sonja Lavelle

It All Goes Or It All Stays The Same

Iggy

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# Editorial.

From the first edition in 2021, Spindrift's mission has been to present pieces from across the Anarchist spectrum to discuss the issues facing contemporary Anarchist organising. From this issue onwards, each piece contained within, and the cover, is being commissioned with the funds provided by the subscribers to Organise Magazine, which Spindrift now shares a platform with.

Theory isn't dead. It's vital that we never stop questioning ourselves and developing. We must persistently and consistently restate our assumptions and conclusions, unafraid of mistakes, working ever more towards our revolutionary purpose, the liberation of all of humanity from the auspices of state, capital, and oppression in any form or manner known or unknown to us.

In our daily lives surviving capitalism, it is easy to become accustomed to the idea that Anarchism is a distant and vague utopian idea, a hazy dream we'll never achieve, the preserve of the young and undefeated. The fragmentation of the movement, the difficult discussions, personality conflicts, and lack of victories can readily lead to despair. Within our small milieu there is gallows humour on every lip as we lament whatever the latest internecine drama or pointless sectarian squabble, but still after everything, if you listen closely, even in the most tired and world weary, you can hear the dream, you can feel the fire.

These embers are burning bright more and more, the distant rumble is building, a deep chord of potential. Young and old, I see it more and more. less and less we look with reverie to the anarchists of the past and more and more we look windward, to ourselves and to the future.

I see everyday, more people discarding the language and false dichotomies of parliament, with it's simplistic sound bite politics sowing apathy and alienation. People are looking to their communities for strength and at the same time becoming keenly conscious of the injustices global and looming. The evident and objective reality of the capital state, the crass hypocrisy and ever deepening gulf of those with and those without are once again springing life into an apathetic and disenfranchised working class.

Each time we talk, debate, argue, fight, and natter into the small hours we become stronger. Whether your conversations take place over cafe tables, bar stools, conference tables, bus seat backs, between the sheets, on soap boxes, on paper, or across the vast digital minefield, we must keep on.

These conversations are the winds which fuel the fire inside us all.

Keep talking. Keep reading. Keep dreaming. Keep fuelling the fire.

To the revolution now. **Peter Ó Máille** 

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# Feet On The Ground!

# Anarchism and the labor struggle today Elisha Moon Williams

When I first started my journey as an anarchist, I was incredibly privileged in both my environment and upbringing. I had grown up in a very upper-middle class suburb, neither knowing economic struggle nor of want when it came to my basic needs. I was, at that point in my life, a young 20 year old 'man' living with their parents as I started my doomed college career. That was when I got into the package industry.

Being a warehouse worker within the package industry was the most radicalizing job you could have given me. The sheer amount of naked disregard for safety and the well-being of myself and my co-workers only confirmed the anarchist inclinations that were forming from seeing police brutality against the George Floyd Uprisings. That Uprising was the first time that I, a white person living in the comfort of the suburbs, saw what the police really did to folks that didn't look like me. However, it was on the warehouse floor that I truly understood what anarchists were talking about when it came to class struggle, white supremacy, and how the latter is used to suppress the former.

It was at that job that I read the anarchist books and zines that would become the cornerstone to how I saw the world and acted within it. It was at that job that I slowly realized my queer identity and adopted the name Elisha Moon Williams. It was at that job that I wrote down the rough outline that would become my first Anarchist Essay, Queers with Guns, in the small notebooks I carried around. Through this lens, I ended up attempting my first round of organization as an anarchist: collective labor struggle. Although I was unsuccessful in my attempt, it was an incredibly important part of my life. Without interacting with such a clear case of class struggle, I may not be the woman I am today.

This story demonstrates not only how important my involvement with class struggle was in my emergence as a queer anarchist, but also how impactful it was in gaining the skills necessary to organize projects later in life. For me, becoming an anarchist was not abstract and intellectual but instead related directly to the world around me and my actions within it. If more anarchists were active within the workplace, more people could have the same experience that I had when I was younger.

There has been an overall lack of focus within the broader anarchist community today on involvement in the labor struggle. There is often talk in online spaces of 'joining a union,' but very little in regards to actually organizing within your own workplace. Often times, this makes sense. Workplace organizing and collective worker action are both incredibly risky and not guaranteed to succeed. Not to mention this sort of organizing being directly connected to one's livelihoods, and that even a successful campaign could contain the risk of organizing workers being illegally fired or reprimanded. In such an atomized and hyper-individualist society, it is more difficult to connect with your co-workers than ever before. These difficulties are real, and are not to be dismissed out of hand.

However, many of the more popular actions focused on by the current Anarchist movement are just as risky to one's personal livelihoods, if not more so. The protesters' peaceful actions to sabotage and prevent the building of 'Cop City' has given many of its participants RICO charges, including those that simply raised legal funds for their defense in court. Although some of the more extreme charges have been dropped at time of writing, the fundamental charges remain the same for many within that group. These charges give jail times that are comparable or even exceed that of murderers and sex criminals, permanently marking their records as felons if the charges stick. The police have often arrested and charged leaders of protests (both peaceful and not-so-peaceful) in order to break protests that 'break curfew' or even because they can.

Another objection that may be made is that organizing your workplace is too difficult these days. Some may argue that the workplace has changed more drastically than the old syndicalists of America and Europe could have ever dreamed of. It is true that the workplace and what a job even means has fundamentally shifted as the nature of the market itself has grown and shifted over the years. There's an entire gig economy like Uber and Instacart where workers within the same company brand have no idea

who their co-workers are, if the term 'co-worker' even applies at all. Many of the common workplaces that have remained have also been engineered by the bosses to reduce or eliminate workplace camaraderie which could get in the way of their bottom line by daring to exercise their fundamental labor rights, let alone the right to collective bargaining.

The package industry, An example within my experience, is designed to have many of its entry-level workers that do most of the heavy-lifting (literally) burned out and encouraged to either work up the ladder of management or quit. Most of the workers choose to quit, leaving the warehouse a constantly changing meat-grinder of manual laborers, disproportionately people of color, to do the dirty work without ever having to risk them advocating for themselves. Even if giving workers basic amenities that help them stay in the industry long enough to become competent at the job would give them better long-term profits, it doesn't matter. All that matters is the short-term value that they are able to avoid losing by treating their workers as disposable machines. Many of the people that stay are those that move higher up the company ladder, separating them from the newer workers and lessening their chance at coming together in solidarity.

These difficulties put in place by the owning class are things that we as anarchists must overcome if we wish to ever grow beyond a small niche of idle intellectuals within the United States and Europe. There is a great opportunity being missed by the Anarchist movement from putting labor struggles on the back-burner. Although many workplaces have changed quite significantly since the hey-day of the labor anarchists, many of the same fundamental truths remain the same:

We have no control over when, where, or how we work. We are only employed for the profit of those that own for a living and often at our own expense. We work under threat of starvation and homelessness. We live under a dictatorship of the owning class every single day, and the workplace is an overt representation of that. It is up to us to agitate for both autonomy and dignity in the one life we know we have.

If there was much more emphasis on organizing our workplaces, many within the Anarchist movement would be able to learn the valuable skills that are needed for us to organize other aspects of our lives. The skill of effectively talking to people outside of our own experience is crucial, something that labor organizing forces you to learn incredibly quickly.

Meeting people where they are at is one of the key things that anarchists need to understand in order to build any social organization.

We cannot let top-down, reformist organizations be the only active forces agitating workplace organizing in the United States. In my own home city of Saint Louis, the most active labor movement is the growing amount of unionized Starbucks stores. The biggest group of people involved in its animation weren't anarchists, but instead the local chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America. The main thing such organizations do is take the radical and active rank-and-file workers that agitate for change and better working conditions and place their aggression, ingenuity and energy into forming the exact same kinds of unions that are responsible for their own decline within American society. Unions that are intensely hierarchical, while being used as pressure-valves for the workers' frustration and anguish without ever challenging the fundamental relationship between worker and owner. Unfortunately, Starbucks Workers' United seems to have become that exact sort of union. Within my own experience, its upper management only approved performative one-day 'Unfair Labor Practice Strikes,' that ultimately never truly threatened the company of Starbucks' profits. The union itself and how strike funds are doled out are purely run by the national organization and decided by its Board of Directors at the end of the day. Although the national union finally has the Starbucks Corporation at the bargaining table, such a goal could have easily been reached sooner if more firm economic pressure was placed upon the coffee giant. We need to be fighting for something greater than that, as anarchists. We need to advocate for the workers to represent themselves in organizations made by and for themselves and their own interests.

If we truly wish to connect with other working class folks, then we must be actively involved in agitating against some of the most authoritarian systems in their daily lives. Otherwise, they will remain trapped in the merry-go-round of trying to reform a society fundamentally based on violence and domination. The systems that dominate all of us will only continue to perpetuate themselves. We as anarchists must make the active decision to focus on labor struggles in our own neighborhoods. The future of our communities depend on it.  $\blacksquare$ 

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# Anarchism in the Mainstream

#### Zosia Brom

In March 2020, when the virus raged across the globe but before we in the UK realised how serious and tragically lethal it would become or how much of a long-term problem it would be, Freedom Press published its first Covid-related update on its news site. Titled \*Covid Mutual Aid Groups: A List,\* the text came out ten days before the first UK lockdown and stated:

"As the global Covid-19 pandemic is upon us, a number of mutual aid groups have started forming across the country. (...) It is estimated that 2-3 people out of a hundred [infected by Covid] will die. We must do everything we can to prevent this from happening. (...) The Tory government is apparently more concerned with making sure the economy won't collapse than with saving people's lives. (...) Remember: that old lady you see on your grocery shopping and that comrade you know who is suffering from a long-term illness: it is your job to protect them as much as you can."

This was followed by a listing, initially very short, of mutual aid groups formed in the previous few days by anarchists who wanted to mitigate the potential hit of the pandemic in their communities rather than rely on the state to do it for them.

While the Freedom text, inspired by a single such group forming in South London with the involvement of a Freedom Collective member, was intended for an anarchist audience, it quickly became the flavour of the day across the entire country. Despite its rattled-off style, it ended up as one of those rare pieces of anarchist writing that broke into the general population milieu. And it broke into it hard, quickly becoming an anarchist text with a pretty spectacular reach. Soon, hundreds and then thousands of

people started forming mutual aid groups, offering their details to Freedom, which in turn created the messiest and most stereotypically anarchistic of listings. It was a busy time in Freedom's various inboxes, with people who would typically never have thought of contacting an anarchist organisation getting in touch to learn how to form such a group, to find out more about the concept of mutual aid, and about anarchism itself. Or just to ask for help.

I had the privilege of penning the intro to this text, although I don't consider myself its author. This credit should go to those who contributed to the creation of the whole listing by taking matters into their own hands and organising a mutual aid group for their community to help protect it from the virus and the government. The need for this community response was urgent: this was after a decade of Tory government in the UK, a government that introduced budget cuts resulting in (as of 2019) 130,000 preventable deaths due to the underfunding of the healthcare system, a government that used ideologically motivated performative cruelty, aka "austerity," against the most vulnerable parts of the population. Nobody could reasonably claim that, when faced with a healthcare and social crisis of the scale of the Covid-19 pandemic, it would suddenly change its ways and rise to the challenge of tackling it.

Many people who contacted Freedom had no idea about the prominent place the concept of mutual aid has in anarchist politics and the general way of making things happen. Rather comically, some praised us for coming up with a captivating "marketing" term in such a short period since the pandemic started, and in one case, some rather uninformed individual accused us of "hijacking the concept of mutual aid for our extremist leftist agenda." They had to be schooled by our social media admin on anarchism, Peter Kropotkin, and what Freedom Press is. Businesses, some NGOs, and political party activists (I'm looking at you, Corbyn's Labour) were also getting in touch, frantically attempting to figure out how they could capitalise on and take credit for something that soon started to look like a huge grassroots movement. They were all told where to go.

But who can blame people for not immediately linking a basic human practice that anarchists call mutual aid with this particular politics, given how universal it is? Loads have been written about the concept of mutual aid by people far more capable than I am, so I'm not going to do it here.

However, it is important to note that while the term "mutual aid" is strongly associated with one of the founding fathers of anarchism, Peter Kropotkin, this model of community organising and self-defence is far from our invention. Throughout human history, various communities used similar models they independently developed. Many of these communities designed practices that anarchists would call mutual aid to defend themselves from the oppression they faced—especially of the racialised, gendered, or classed forms, but not limited solely to these. For example, in the UK, a group called UK Mutual Aid was formed in 2018, two years before Covid. The group, now operating under the name Co-Care Project, describes itself as a "Black-run, activist-forward intersectional support network for marginalised people." Another such group is the Aborcyjny Dream Team ("Abortion Dream Team"), a women-led network formed to bypass the stringent anti-abortion laws in Poland, offering peer support, advice, and access to safe abortion for all who need it, regardless of the potential legal dangers its members face. Queer communities are also no strangers to forming mutual aid-like groups, ensuring that community needs, such as trans healthcare and access to HIV medication, are met. Cooperation Town, a self-organised network of food cooperatives in the UK, is another group that uses the mutual aid framework, providing groceries to its members for a fraction of the price—all within the context of the cost-of-living crisis.

Contemporary anarchism took this organising model and used it to create a network, a secret dimension even, where we as a movement organise our internal affairs and all that comes with it. It is the foundation of how we run our projects and spaces, based on non-monetary informal exchanges and high levels of trust in each other and our intentions. And, with glitches, it works for us. In the UK, the popularity of Covid-19 Mutual Aid was likely the greatest injection of an anarchist-associated concept into mainstream society, at least since the Poll Tax, if not ever. It has changed the general image of an anarchist, and what anarchists do, for large parts of society. It also came with its own problems and fuck-ups and clashes, and overall, anarchists did not manage to take long-term advantage of the sudden popularity of one of their more basic concepts. But is this inability to take political advantage really a problem? Or was it something that just had to happen, given the very nature of anarchism?

There is this term I see online, "Big A Anarchism." "Big A Anarchism" is used in discussion to complain about things not being anarchist enough,

expressing a longing for pure and proper anarchism, as opposed to things the person using it does not consider anarchist enough. The problem is, this "Big A Anarchism" is effectively a myth that is being used to stop us from relevance in the complicated modern world. Often, what's complained about as not being "Big A anarchist" enough are community projects, such as the aforementioned Cooperation Town or Covid Mutual Aid groups, or in other words, projects that involve reproductive and care labour. The irony is that these very projects—the ones focusing on reproductive and care labour—are much more likely to serve as a gateway to anarchist politics than any puritan anarchist approach ever would. That's because if we are to reach the general population, we must address the issues and problems faced by them and present solutions and practices that would actually present a compelling practical alternative rather than allow ourselves to get stuck on ideological purity. It is also these not "Big A anarchism" projects that are proving themselves to be a great, accessible and fast-acting solution to a situation of community crisis, be it a pandemic or other disaster, and disasters we will experience plenty, with last stage capitalism collapsing, the global heating increasingly affecting our daily lives and governments of all spectrums unable or unwilling to tackle it all.

We live in a perma-crisis world, where states continue to prove themselves to be utterly useless as forms of organisation, unable to adapt to situations that aren't just business as usual, and unable to respond to actual community problems—instead enhancing these problems while serving capital and those who try to divide us. This is both a precarious and often tragic predicament and an opportunity for movements such as ours to use what we preach in practice and demonstrate that what is being presented to us as impossible is indeed very much possible. But we can't do it without working in cooperation with other groups, and this will involve compromise and flexibility on our side. Politics, baby!

Now and going forward, there will be an increasing need for community self-defence organising in its glorious diversity of forms and tactics, which may or may not appeal to anarchist puritans. We, as a movement, have two options: 1) embrace it and become part of it, or 2) remain in our niche network. It's up to each of us to decide what we will do. ■

Zosia "Scourge of anarcho-terfs" Brom, is a life long anti-fascist and anarchist organiser. Former editor of Freedom, Zosia dodged giving us a blurb. find essays here: theanarchistlibrary.org/category/author/zosia-brom

# British Anarchism in Decline/Renewal

(delete as appropriate) Jon Bigger

Its very easy to feel as though anarchism is in decline. What we hardly ever discuss is what success looks like. Maybe it's a bit too neoliberal to form a focus group and discuss how we measure success. A decade ago, I left London and moved to a small town in the middle of England. I was very involved with the group Class War at the time and we were really active then. I regularly went back to the capital for a bit of action. We had a bizarre election campaign going on for the 2015 general election, there was a weekly "Poor Doors" protest on the edge of the City of London and it wouldn't be long before a campaign started to get rid of the Jack the Ripper Museum in Tower Hamlets. We got lots of publicity for these things and we enjoyed it. Anarchism felt to me like it was thriving.

Then, within two years, everything seemed different. People I knew were suddenly enthused by a Labour Party led by Jeremy Corbyn, the protests seemed to get less interesting, people stopped using black block tactics and it felt like some fizz had gone. At least that was the perception I had looking at London from afar. The anarchists I knew were still organising but it was harder to see from where I was. The perception of decline was depressing, isolating even. I now think that perception was wrong but it got worse. The Covid-19 pandemic and the national and local restrictions that came with it made political organising difficult. Difficult bit not impossible. Class War made a brief come back by producing a daily newspaper in this period and I was involved in that, which made me feel that at least something was happening. But the feeling of decline persisted.

Really though, is anarchist success measured by the number of protests that end with running street battles with the cops? Is it measured by how many magazines and newspapers we have going? Those things certainly

measure something. They tell us something about the movement and how many people are willing to get involved. Having people willing to write their ideas and others willing to publish those ideas is an essential part of our movement and our history. We need some anarchists with spare time to keep the flame going. Protest is important too. It's on protests that people might meet for the first time, forge friendships and plan future actions. So it's forgivable to think that a decline in such things equals a decline in anarchism. I forgive myself for lapsing into this thinking.

In August, my podcast comrade (Shane Little) and I presented a talk at the Green Gathering festival's Speaker's Forum on anarchist organising. We were amazed to find a full attendance to the talk given our slot was first thing on the Friday of the weekend. The attendance was overwhelmingly made up of people interested in how anarchist practices could help their groups, with a smattering of actual anarchists thrown in.

Considering the audience, we decided on discussing ways of organising horizontally and non-hierarchically without adding in all the dogma (and dare I say baggage) for good measure. This wasn't a talk about the history of anarchism, it's links to the early socialist movement and comparisons to Marxism (although that all came up in the Q and A). This was a talk about building healthy relationships without oppression within our groups and our daily lives. It was about how we can make a difference in every group we're involved in by challenging bad practices. It was a message received positively and the interaction between us all then focused on how we ensure that our groups work in this way. My view is that this is what we mean by the word anarchism: not something in the distant future, but in the here and now, building positive groups where everyone has maximum autonomy over decisions that affect them.

Then, out of nowhere, we got two more difficult contributions. Both men who interjected explained that they'd been anarchists for decades. They both said that the thing missing from our talk was action on the streets. Why aren't anarchist fighting the fascists? Why aren't anarchist fighting the police? Why aren't we all agitating for revolution, which is the obvious ultimate aim? Frankly, I could see myself at the back of the tent shouting this stuff out. I know exactly what they meant because I've been there. I've been thinking this stuff for years. Ultimately, we could paraphrase their concern about anarchism In the UK and the state we're in with one word: decline.

The mood changed quickly though. A woman started speaking nearer the front. She talked about the number of groups she had come across organising non-hierarchically. Others did the same. One explained how she'd started a group with this exact aim but it had failed. People had been asked to organise without a leader but they'd felt unable to do that. We talked about learning from that experience and working with groups to help them see the benefits of non-hierarchy in the early stages of group activity.

If anarchism is to be achieved via a violent revolution that seems a long way off. Meanwhile, our communities are full of organisations run to anarchist principles, perhaps there are some without any anarchists involved. Our organising tactics are infectious. Once you've been in a non-hierarchical setting why would you choose a leader unless you had to? Our organising principles are intoxicating because they empower people without patronisation.

Perhaps we can say street anarchism has been in decline. It will likely re-emerge at some point in a large way but we have to also accept that it can put people off our ideas. In the past I would dismiss these concerns because 'we decide our tactics' and 'we don't need your acceptance mate'. I have respect for the idea that we should express ourselves on issues in whatever way we choose but I can also see how off putting that might be to others. There's a tension in the way we get attention.

There's no tension, though, in the principle of horizontal organising. It's hard work for sure. It creates tension in groups. It is time consuming because real democracy requires detailed discussion of the facts. Facts can be interpreted in different ways. Sometimes facts are distorted, manipulated. Sometimes people rely on baseless information. Real democracy requires a group ethos of education and discussion that elevates the debate. It requires people to listen more than they speak. It requires people to think about what people are saying, rather than thinking purely about what they intend to say back as a retort. Official politics is all about the retort. Debate is about the retort. Anarchist organising is about really thinking about what others say, trying to see things from their point of view and responding positively whenever possible.

All over the country groups we've never heard of are working in this way. There will be groups we're in that are working just like this too. Do

we need more anarchists on the streets to feel as though anarchism is thriving? The last few years have caused me to wonder these matters. I enjoyed the times I was protesting and seeing other anarchists make their point forcefully. I think I still would. I recognise though, that anarchism isn't about converting people to the cause. We have no party we want people to join.

Our vision of the future doesn't require everyone to agree with us. Anarchist methods of organising allow for maximum discussion and democratic decision making. It is exactly because people have different viewpoints that we don't want one group winning and forcing their decisions on everyone else. Becoming the dominant force isn't our aim. I would argue that it is our methods of organising that we want people to sign up to and when people are truly exposed to such methods, they rarely give up on them.

That is anarchism for me and it appears to be thriving. ■

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# Anarchism's Least Wanted:

# Organizing in conservative regions Sonja Lavelle

This essay is dedicated to all those who say to us "Why bother? It's hopeless. Just move away to a more progressive state."

"How shall we begin our action? Just look at an opportunity, and it will soon appear. Everywhere that rebellion can be sensed and the sound of battle can be heard, that is where we must be."

~ Carlo Cafiero

Back in February of 2021, Texas had a freak blizzard which knocked out all power across the entire state for over a week. Without the necessary infrastructure or food or water or any preparation for such extremely uncommon freezing temperatures, hundreds of Texans died. We were finding dead bodies in closets for weeks after, bodies of people who had shut themselves in to try and insulate from the deadly cold.

Meanwhile, our neighbors in more progressive states mocked us dying in car accidents on the ice, not having enough blankets on hand or firewood (fireplaces are uncommon in the hot southern states). "Those redneck hillbillies voted for Republicans who don't care about them. They get what they deserve. Let them die." It was disheartening to see some who had at one time called me "friend" be so callously dismissive of our suffering.

While our homes flooded from burst pipes or burned down from people trying to build fires for survival, our cowardly government officials hopped on planes and flew to tropical destinations to escape the disaster. Emergency services did not respond to calls for rescue. In that moment,

people realized the government was not coming to save us, that the cops were not coming to "protect and serve" us, that fire and ambulances were not coming to our aid. But then something extraordinary happened.

What was extraordinary is that, after a few days of waiting in vain for rescue, many people suddenly realized that we had to become the heroes we were waiting for, that only our neighbors could save each other, and they began to spontaneously organize with incredible cooperative efforts and ingenuity. Despite the knee-deep snow atop a thick layer of ice covering every road, people began to slowly make their way to the very few places that had their own power source and could provide heat.

But they weren't only there to enjoy the warmth. They came bearing supplies such as food, water, batteries, warm clothing, medicine, and skills to offer assistance. I myself, being a seasoned medic, trekked an hour through the ice and snow, bringing all the gear I had and spent my time cleaning and bandaging wounds, screening people for communicable disease (it was the height of the pandemic), tending to early stage frostbite injuries and hypothermia, checking vital signs and blood sugar levels, providing whatever care I was able to, and connecting people to needed resources. We did this every day, 16 hours a day, for over a week, until power came back.

As extraordinary as this was, it was not an isolated event nor was the response of the people unprecedented. I saw equally heroic solidarity after devastating flooding, massive wildfires, hurricanes, the covid pandemic, tornadoes, etc. Each time these crises came, the government would flee, and the people would rise up and come to the aid of neighbors across all class and race and religious spectrums, whether they knew them or not. The people who came together in these times included some who had been radicalized and were knowledgeable of theory and the concepts of anarchism, but most of them were regular working class people who simply knew that expecting government help would be foolish, and it was the job of neighbors to save neighbors. They behaved as if they were already ungoverned.

"Let us take the people as they are and let's move forward with them. Casting them aside simply because they have no abstract grasp of our formulas and our rationale would be both idiocy and treason." It should come as no surprise to know that in the rural areas of conservative regions, people are often even more inclined to direct action and mutual aid without any radicalization needed because their lives depend on it. Not to disparage urbanites, but by nature of the urban infrastructure, which is rarely seen during its development and therefore taken for granted, people in bustling cities tend to be the receivers of others' labor, even by the laborers themselves. This leads to the bystander effect because with all these people around, surely someone else will respond to this person in need of aid, and surely with all these city services paid for by our taxes, there must be someone else in charge of fixing anything in need of repair.

In rural areas, where there isn't an endless parade of people, residents know that if you see someone with a flat tire, it will be a long time before anyone else comes by and it's up to you to pull over and help. And without any city services to come fix the washed out roads or downed trees, the residents know that it is up to them to handle the problem themselves and not expect some nameless, faceless entity to do it. "It's not gonna do itself," you'll often hear them sigh. Needless to say, after all you've read to this point, these rural areas also have a staggering number of disenfranchised apolitical (non-voting) people as well.

These examples of solidarity, big and small, undeniably illustrate the potential that lies even in conservative places such as Texas and Oklahoma, states known (somewhat accurately) for ignorance, gun fetishists, cattle, bigots, evangelicalism, coal and oil worshipers, etc. AND YET, again and again, we see these spontaneous mutual aid efforts spring forth every time. This is the universal solidaric spirit, nestled so deeply in the most base nature of the human species, which always arises in crisis. Wherever there are people, so too exists this spirit. No place is unsalvageable.

"The mutual-aid tendency in man has so remote an origin, and is so deeply interwoven with all the past evolution of the human race, that it has been maintained by mankind up to the present time [...] when even the greatest calamities befell men — when whole countries were laid waste by wars, and whole populations were decimated by misery, or groaned under the yoke of tyranny — the same tendency continued to live in the villages and among the poorer classes in the towns[...] And whenever mankind had to work out a new social organization

[...] all have originated from [...] a gradual extension of the mutual-aid principles from the tribe to always larger and larger agglomerations, so as to finally embrace one day the whole of mankind, without respect to its diverse creeds, languages, and races."

#### ~ Pyotr Kropotkin

You may be wondering at this point how one is even able to attempt formal organizing in conservative places that have such a heavy hand of the law against anyone even slightly left of center. Isn't it risky? Aren't we concerned about our safety? Yes. It's true that we exist under terrifying draconian laws which deny us control of our very bodily functions, laws which protect capital interest and private property while offering no accountability for the exploitation of consumers, workers, and tenants, and a lack of the social safety net of government programs to educate and feed and house those on the losing end of our drastic wealth inequality. Yes, we are incredibly oppressed. And that is precisely the reason why we must organize here.

Here in Oklahoma, the heavily armed buckle of the bible belt of America, where a trans child can be beaten to death in their school bathroom while a teacher stands watch and the cops cover it up for the school (just a 20 minute drive from where I sit now), we are simultaneously aware of the risks of organizing here and of the risks of not organizing here.

We must not run from this, as so many suggest, because fascism and domination anywhere is a threat to people everywhere. The power hungry are not satiated by power, but rather their appetite becomes more voracious with each act of consumption. Once the beast feasts on us, it will turn its blood lusty eyes to you as its next course. Morally, we should not run. We have an ethical obligation to not abandon the Nex Benedicts, those who can not run, those whose indigenous roots here date back centuries before the arrival of the colonizers, and leave them to be slaughtered either by the hand of the state and their modern day Brown Shirts or through social murder. You, who would like to imagine yourself being the brave hero who runs into the burning building to save a kitten, now conversely tell us we should simply throw up our hands and leave behind our most vulnerable community members. They deserve acts of great heroism as well. And thus, we must stay and fight.

"Don't wait to take part in a movement which appears with the label of official socialism on it. Every popular movement already carries with it the seeds of the revolutionary socialism: we must take part in it to ensure its growth."

~ Carlo Cafiero

Returning now to the examples of my own past solidaric activities, I must admit some level of disappointment and failure. If we failed at anything in these extraordinary acts of heroism, it was that so many of us squandered precious opportunities to build something out of the ash and rubble of these crises. Mutual aid, when radicalized, is the foundation for building dual power. But when the crises passed, too many of us simply dusted off our hands, considered our work done, and failed to use the momentum which would have been ripe to give birth to more formal, lasting collectives and organizations, and to radicalize those we worked alongside. This failure to organize made it needlessly more difficult to coordinate again for the next crisis.

While some of my fellow anarchists reject the necessity of formal organizing, I have seen how effective formal horizontal orgs can be. While it takes a huge effort to spontaneously coordinate reactive action to crises, resulting in delays and inefficiency, organizing formally allows for preparedness and also the building of liberatory structures to construct the revolution. Admittedly, formal horizontal organizing is notorious for taking up a lot of time due to the model of reaching full consensus on all issues via direct democracy. The question often posed is one of what would be done in those urgent times if everything is to be deliberated on. (Ironically, this is the criticism heard from anti-organizationalist anarchists and authoritarians alike.) However, that is not so much a roadblock as it can be a boon when plans of action are previously agreed upon.

"Although anarchists sometimes claimed that the social revolution should be 'spontaneous,' the majority of anarchists did not expect it to appear suddenly without any planning and preparation. Nor did anarchists think that the social revolution would occur independently of anarchists influencing other workers through words and deeds. They instead meant that the social revolution should not be imposed on society by a revolutionary elite acting in the name of the people. For a revolution to be 'spontaneous' in

# this sense of the term was for it to be voluntarily launched and self-determined by workers themselves.

~ Zoe Baker

When a tent camp that I and many other radicals had helped build to provide stability and safety for our homeless neighbors was descended upon by city authorities aiming to clear out and destroy everything we had built and arrest the camp residents, the local radical left gun club swiftly came in numbers, armored and armed with long guns to hold off the cops and other city officials. This face-off lasted for over a week, allowing time for the residents of the camp to pack up their belongings and find a new location. It also let the cops know that the people will not be so easily pushed around. But this swift action was only possible because there existed a formal radical organization tasked with community defense, which had trained and prepared for such events, with previously agreed upon plans of action, each member knowing their specific roles and positions (comms, intel, lookout, etc.), allowing for their rapid deployment when the time came and ensuring their relative success. They had faced the tedious deliberations in advance rather than in response.

That is not to say that organizing isn't difficult. It requires a great amount of will and perseverance. Just as we humans are exceptional at acute empathy, we seem by contrast to be woefully inept at chronic compassion. Driven by fear and urgency in times of crisis, most of us don't hesitate to commit grand acts of heroism. We would run into a hundred burning buildings to save kittens. But once the adrenaline and emotion of it all wears off, we lose our drive and commitment to act. We so often fail to make the effort to analyze why these hypothetical buildings full of kittens keep catching fire, to make changes to prevent these fires, to prepare for the next potential fire so that great heroics are not needed. Unfortunately, we are often driven only by passionate reactive emotions, and rarely by proactive necessity.

Just as I have seen the effectiveness of horizontal organizing, I have also seen the ineffectiveness of disorganized attempts. Informal affinity groups burn out almost immediately or implode from discord and disagreement on how things should be done. This is due to a lack of formal structural foundation, a mission, points of unity, conflict resolution guidelines, collectively agreed upon standard operating procedures, and even in anarchist affinity groups, a lack of theoretical unity which causes inevitable fractures.

But we can also look at examples of formal horizontal organizations that have sustained themselves long term. Cooperation Tulsa, the communalist org I work with, was founded in the wake of the 2020 BLM uprising by just two people who wanted to take advantage of the rebellious spirit momentum. Its first project was to build a community food garden in the historic Greenwood district, the site of the Tulsa Race Massacre. And then a second. Cooperation Tulsa now collectively owns a 2.5 acre plot of land that we took from a literal dump site and have made clean and healthy and began growing food crops of native corn, beans, and squash, eventually turning it into a food forest which will provide food sovereignty for the community, and ultimately a path to self determination.

"...let us above all avoid falling into the error common to many comrades, who refuse to associate with working men who are not already perfect Anarchists, whilst it is absolutely necessary to associate with them in order to make them become Anarchists."

~ Errico Malatesta

But we do not consider this a short term hobby project. The seeds we sow and nurture are not only growing food for nourishment of the body, but growing community, spirits, and minds. As the yet-unradicalized are drawn to our cheerful social ecology tendency, we use this opportunity to educate them and make more anarchists, one by one. We use our popular education group to bring people over to our way of thought, to teach them how hierarchy, domination, and authoritarianism are the cause of so many problems around the globe. We use our organizer education groups to develop them into better organizers who can radicalize others. We also have many other projects under our belt, such as free stores, libraries for books and tools, food and clothing pantries.

And we're not the only ones! Many other orgs like ours exist in other conservative regions. Cooperation Tulsa got its own inspiration from Cooperation Jackson located in Mississippi. There is Cooperation Milwaukee in Wisconsin, Cooperation Denton in Texas, and even some sibling Cooperation orgs in other countries as well. All these are not only thriving, but flourishing despite being in conservative regions.

We do not see it as "going down with the ship," because the ship is not yet sinking or unsalvageable. While overnight liberation may not be possible, we are successfully making slow, incremental growth and change, bit by bit, like the Ship of Theseus, until we have built a whole new society free from hierarchy and domination. We know the people will not let go of their current system until they see another one in action, working better than the first. We work building the new in the shell of the old, so that we may have a cooperative society, rather than competitive, so the people will let go of the rotting corpse of capitalism they are currently dragging around. We, as much as anyone, perhaps more so, need the solidarity of anarchists everywhere.

I hope it provides some ember of hope to know that there are many of us in these conservative regions who are doggedly building for the future, prefiguring dual power, radicalizing people, building community-lead coalitions, and trudging through the daily tedium required to create a new world free from hierarchy and domination, free from the learned helplessness and conditioned dependence on oppressive entities.

"We are convinced that the masses of the people carry in themselves, in their instincts (more or less developed by history) in their daily necessities, and in their conscious or unconscious aspirations, all the elements of the future social organization. We seek this ideal in the people themselves."

~ Mikhail Bakunin

Sonja is an anarchist with a lengthy background as a medic, educator, activist and organizer currently living in Oklahoma, USA. They are a member of Scissortail Anarchist Organization and Cooperation Tulsa, as well as several national collectives and federations. In their free time, they enjoy singing, crafting, making "art" around the city, and cuddling their two Sabo cats, Morticia and Gomez. You can find Sonja online as "anarchitect918".

# It All Goes Or It All Stays The Same

*Iggy* 

#### What Day Is It

It is September 2024. The genocide waged by Israel, the United States, and their allies against the Palestinian people has continued unabated for nearly a full calendar year. Official counts of the dead approximate 40,000 murdered so far, yet more comprehensive estimations expand that figure by an order of magnitude. Hundreds of thousands murdered so far (or soon to be) as the US election cycle supplants images of children being blown to pieces with sound bites of politicians promising to continue supplying the bombs that will blow more children to pieces.

Genocidal violence continues to rage in Sudan and the Congo, exacerbated by states and corporations looking to exploit the horror to extract resources and further their productive capabilities in service of racial capitalism. Living beings make good lubricant for the death machines, especially when those beings are Black and the violence waged against them is less amenable to the spectacle with which many self-described radicals drape themselves, often mistaking participation in that spectacle for revolutionary action.

For those existing within the context of the US, genocide is far from the distant force many seem to wish it to be. The slower, more normalized horror of police executions continue at cruel, consistent pace. This July police executed Sonya Massey in her home. The same month they executed Nyah Mway on a suburban lawn. Two weeks ago, they executed Justin Robinson in his car. There have only been ten days so far this year during which police did not kill. As I write this, reports are coming out of NYC of officers shooting three people in an attempt to arrest someone for hopping a turnstile. If someone ever asks you how much a life costs, apparently the answer is \$2.90.

The unbadged (but also the badged) police take inspiration from their British kin in stoking anti-immigrant, anti-Black violence. Specifically, the Haitian community in Springfield, Ohio has been the target of increased nationalistic mobilizations to the point where pogroms feel all but assured if those mobilizations are not countered with far more force than the majority of the "anti-fascist" left has been able (or willing) to materialize.

Covid-19 continues to spread unmitigated as mask bans (motivated largely by anti-Black animus and a desire to more easily target solidarity demonstrations with the Palestinian people) become more commonplace. The most vulnerable often catch the virus three, four, five times in a given calendar year. We are still largely in the dark as to how bad the long-term complications of contracting this virus so often will be, but all research points to some pretty bleak conclusions.

Pipelines continue to be built through indigenous land. Climate disaster builds as mass displacement becomes more and more commonplace. Hundreds die in attempts to cross deserts and rivers in hope of making it across the ever more militarized border. Medical, student loan, and credit card debt continue to build and suffocate and further beat us into submission. Rent is due every month and every month it's late. Homeless encampments are swept, the prisons are filled, our neighbors are disappeared. I could fill pages and books and libraries detailing all of the horror the existent world forces upon the most marginalized on a daily basis and still it would not be enough to accurately encapsulate the prevalence of the death machines.

In the face of all of this horror, all of this brutality, there is only one thing ringing in my head:

It all goes, or it all stays the same.

#### The Horror is a Totality

It is difficult to get a full view of a monster from up close. The connection between the claws and teeth and hooves and tail are obscured by the sheer immensity of the thing. All we can observe are the discrete violences waged by the various pieces that make up the monster. But the monster is so much more than a series of discreet phenomena.

For the last 12 months, many of us in the US have been scrambling to find a meaningful way to fight against the ongoing genocide being conducted by Israel against the Palestinian people. Worthwhile targets have been identified, actions have been taken, mass mobilizations have materialized (and then dissipated, and then materialized, and then dissipated), and yet the bombs keep getting made, the weapons keep getting shipped, and the horror continues. No matter how much we believe ourselves to be doing (acknowledging the much that has been, and is being, done) if our goal is to help bring an end to this genocide, and fight in solidarity with the struggle for Palestinian liberation, we are failing.

This failure stems from a hundred different failings in both the current moment and in moments long since passed. I will not attempt a full accounting of this failure; I do not possess the necessary omnipotence to do that on my own. However, I wish to highlight one such area from which I feel this failure emanates. I feel that, for many, there exists a deep limitation in the ability to understand the fight against this particular genocide as the fight against genocide writ large; as the fight against the totality of the world that produces and reproduces this horror.

Manifestations of genocide do not emerge out of thin air. They are not random acts of violence breaking out of an otherwise peaceful steady state. Genocide is the logical conclusion of a world built upon the relations of (settler)colonialism, racial capitalism, anti-Blackness, xenophobia and an ever-growing list of axes of oppression and marginalization. In a world of such relations, genocidal violence is not an exceptional act, but rather an entirely banal necessity for those seeking to expand their colonial claims, reinforce their racial superiority, and more thoroughly enshrine the sanctity of their ethnostate-borders (or create that ethnostate in the first place). There are no "terror states" differentiated from "non-terror states". There are only states currently executing the logical conclusion of their project, and those who have already/not yet reached those conclusions.

Particular manifestations of genocide may be more or less acute. Mass death may occur more quickly, the weaponry used may be more sophisticated, the violence may be more spectacular (in the sense of being more easily subsumed into the spectacle) in some manifestations than in others, but no manifestation is exceptional. Each manifestation is built upon a set of relations shared by the world entire, a world now dominated by the global force of racial capitalism. I believe that if we are to have any hope

of meaningfully interfering with the ongoing genocide in Palestine (or Sudan, or the Congo, or anywhere else) we must be able to come to blows with this entire world.

#### To Destroy the World Entire

For those of us who exist in the context of the US, the only real way we may stand in solidarity with any distant struggle for liberation (Palestinian or otherwise) is to actualize the end of the United States. There is no end to the genocide in Palestine that does not necessitate the end of Israel. There is no end to Israel that does not necessitate the end of the United States. And there is no end to the United States (in any way that is more meaningful than a simple changing of the guard) that does not necessitate the end of the regime of racial capitalism. Given that racial capitalism is the system that governs the world entire, that means, for those of us interested in the end of the United States, the existent world must, too, be our enemy.

This may feel too broad to be useful. You may say that to view our antagonist so broadly makes us incapable of recognizing the acute violences that need immediate addressing and puts us in a position of frozen indecision. My response is that all the oppressive violences of this world are acute and call for immediate resistance, we are spoiled for choice in this regard. But more to the point, I believe that every death machine (the police, the prisons, borders, weapons manufacturers, oil refineries, coal plants, large businesses, small businesses, insurance companies, credit card companies, and so many more) is a pillar upholding the world of relations which give rise to genocide and every pillar bears weight. Therefore, every pillar we are able to undermine makes the totality of the horror that is the existent world that much weaker. The more foundational the pillar we are able to undermine, the deeper its destabilizing effects.

In the US, this is seen most explicitly in the case of uprising against anti-Black police violence. The most significant destabilizing moment of the last many decades in this country remains the George Floyd Uprising in the summer of 2020. For examples in the context of Europe (as in need of imminent destruction as the US), one could point to the Nahel Merzouk uprising against racialized police violence in France last summer as well as the rebellion in Kanaky this year against French colonialism and the extractive relationship inherent to racial capitalism.

During these moments of acute destabilization of specific foundational oppressive pillar(s) (anti-Blackness and/or colonialism), all other pillars weakened as a result. Prisons rioted with deeper ferocity, police struggled to maintain their order within their jurisdictions, looting and mass demonstrations disrupted commerce and the flow of capital. Perhaps most importantly, state resources (weapons) that would have otherwise been consolidated in specific locations to be used in specific moments against specific populations, could not be consolidated. Supplies were stretched too thin.

Neither the George Floyd nor the Nahel Merzouk uprisings pushed far enough for their destabilizing effects to actualize the collapse of their respective antagonists. But in those moments, I saw more opportunity for genuine paths towards a life worth living than I had ever seen before or since. When any one of the pillars of the death machines come under threat, they all come under threat. It is through the destabilizing of these pillars of violence, wherever we are, that we open opportunities for near and distant struggle to push further which in turn allow our struggles to push further still.

There exists inspiration for how such destabilization may occur from moments of organic rupture stemming from acute instances of localized unbearable violence as well as outside of such moments through acute disruptive projects and/or actions, but destabilization and rupture of the current iteration of the death machines isn't enough. If we truly want to end the existent world, a world in which genocide is a guaranteed phenomenon, we must actually desire to live differently. We must be willing to disrupt and alter daily life.

#### The Unproduction of Daily Life

The relations that define this world are not inherent to existence, but neither are they inherently destined to change. The relations of colonialism, anti-Blackness, policing, imprisonment, genocide, borders, etc. are produced and reproduced continually by the daily actions of individuals. Every worker who does not refuse their work participates in the reproduction of racial capitalism. Every person who bears witness to police violence but who chooses not to act against it participates in the reproduction of policing. Those who produce the bricks that will be used in every border wall participate in the reproduction of borders and their violence.

In the case of the ongoing genocide in Palestine, the fact that daily life in the US continues on unchanged is precisely why there has been no stopping the US government from shipping near endless supplies of weapons to Israel in order to carry out its genocidal ambitions. We still go to work, we still go to school, we still buy things, we still sell things, and everything goes on and on to the tune of children screaming into the nothingness of the internet for their dead parents.

There are millions of mundane examples of how each of us participates in the reproduction of these death machines through our willingness to participate in the daily functions of racial capitalism (going to work, buying groceries, paying our various rents and debts) and through our willingness to ignore the daily reality of state violence in our vicinity (police, prisons, borders, etc.). We reinforce the various pillars, the various death machines, through our willingness to keep things going on as they always have gone on.

Even in the absence of an official representative of a given death machine, individuals take it upon themselves to explicitly reproduce those machines. Self-deputized "good citizens" defend the sanctity of a Walmart by interfering with shoplifters (reproduction of policing and the commodity relation). After a riot, citizen detectives will scour the internet looking for evidence of "outside agitators" and send militants to jail while claiming to "support the movement" (reproduction of policing, imprisonment, etc.). And when the moment comes to kill for this world of relations (especially for the relation of anti-Blackness), there will always be a citizen ready to do his part.

It's been over a year since Daniel Penny strangled Jordan Neely to death on a subway car in NYC because Jordan's expression of his needs and his demands that they be met, while being Black, discomforted Daniel. Every person on that car murdered Neely through their unwillingness to act against the reproduction of anti-Black policing occurring with no badged cops present. Official badges and uniforms are not needed for policing to be reproduced. The specific buildings we call prisons are not needed for imprisonment, incarceration, and institutionalization to be reproduced. Unless there is an actual desire for things to be different (beyond the framework of reformism or change in leadership) the death machines will always be reproduced.

If we actually wish to end policing, we need to embody that desire as an extension of our being. We must develop an instinctual willingness, both as individuals and as broader culture, to resist policing in our vicinity. The moment a cop (badged or otherwise) begins to harass someone, there must be a willingness to intervene. Filming is not intervention, observing violence and feeling bad about it is not resistance. Their must be a constant, and deliberate willingness to physically embody the desire to end policing whenever we pass a traffic stop, a surveillance camera, a precinct, etc. I will not elaborate in greater detail here, but take seriously the task of identifying what such an embodiment would mean as part of your daily life and consider how you desire to end the other death machines of this world must be similarly embodied. I ask you, what does a life of embodied desire to destroy racial capitalism, borders, imprisonment, look like.

If our desire is to truly be rid of the existent world of genocidal violence it is not enough to only attack specific manifestations of the death machines in specific moments. It requires more than specific acts of sabotage or militancy (though it certainly requires those as well). We must undermine the reproduction of those machines writ large. That necessitates a desire and a willingness to actualize a different way of living. It necessitates a willingness to break with the existent relations that govern our world. That requires coming to blows with the totality of daily life as it is currently lived. It requires social war.

#### Social War vs Guerilla War

Before I end, I want to briefly touch on a discussion that could take up (and likely has elsewhere) pages upon pages on its own, but I will try to keep my comments on it as concise as I can. Since the current phase of Israel's genocidal project against the Palestinians began, I have witnessed a lot of uncritical calls for radicals in the US to adopt more "guerilla warfare" tactics. I do not necessarily disagree though I tend to be cautious and critical of ways of moving that bend towards vanguardist politics (as well as how many radicals in the US have a tendency to fetishize distant struggle). If they are to avoid slipping into a soft vanguardist political project, and if they are to be meaningful beyond specific actions against specific targets, I feel that guerilla warfare must be couched within a broader, explicitly participatory, project of social war.

By social war I refer to the generalizing of antagonisms against the social relations that govern the existent world through the proliferation of action undermining those relations both above ground and clandestinely. By "explicitly participatory" I refer to cultivating a culture of resistance that seeks to aid all of us in articulating what we are against and how we wish to live. This generalization of antagonism to the death machines is vital if the project is to both destroy their current iteration as well as undermine their overall reproduction. Without this generalization, guerilla warfare can easily give way to reformist projects of state-capture/capitulation rather than the total destruction of the existent.

If we wish to exist in a world free from the death machines, then we must be willing to actually live differently, within relations explicitly cultivated to foster the ways of living we desire. To effectively resist the world of death machines requires individuals to resist within the context of their daily lives. You can defeat an army with guerilla war but you can't defeat militaries. You can destroy a precinct but you can't end police. You can burn a bank but you can't end the capitalist mode of production. The ending of the reproduction of these broader systems can only come from the development of a culture of resistance to those systems entire.

I believe it is beyond crucial that we are able to continually re-evaluate how our actions and ways-of-moving break with or unintentionally reinforce the relations and systems we claim to be opposing. Social war, as I understand it, is that continual re-evaluation made concrete through action. No group or individual speaks for social war. It cannot be co-opted to serve a reformist/statist agenda because social war exists as negation of the existent, so long as there are those who desire more or better than what they are told to accept.

#### It All Goes or It All Stays the Same

I mentioned before that every pillar of the totality of the existent world bears weight, therefore there are ways to destabilize the totality of the existent through the undermining of those pillars however and whenever we can. However, it is also true that each pillar holds the ability to resurrect the others. There is no end to anti-Blackness so long as racial capitalism remains. There is no end to imprisonment so long as policing remains. There is no end to colonialism so long as the state-form remains. Each death machine supports the totality, but also every other death machine.

There is no singling out an individual death machine for destruction while the others remain intact. If we are serious about wanting a world without genocide, we must actualize the end of the world entire and settle for nothing less than that.

This expansion in framework of what we are up against cannot come at the cost of inaction against the acute manifestations of the death machines. Instead, it must be the thread that allows us to weave seemingly disparate actions against the overwhelming number of acute manifestations into an understanding of resistance against the totality. We must thread the attack on weapons manufacturers to the burning of cop city construction sites, to the sabotage of Tesla gigafactories to the disabling of police infrastructure as all part of resistance to the totality of the existent world. There is an immensity to the task at hand, but there are a million ways to resist.

The stakes of the present moment are dire and all moments to come even more so. Find the courage within yourself, find the courage within others. Fight against the death machines however and whenever you can. Fight for a life worth living. Fight because it is a beautiful thing to demand better than what you are told to accept.  $\blacksquare$ 

Iggy is an anarchist in the Southeast region of the so-called United States, inspired by the insurrectional current as embodied by Alfredo Bonanno and Jean Weir, the work of Fredy Perlman, and all those who fight for nothing less than the end of this world of anti-Blackness, colonization, and genocide.



# Elisha Moon Zosia Brom Sonja Levelle Jon Bigger Iggy

Feet On The Ground!

Anarchism in the Mainstream

British Anarchism in Decline/Renewal (delete as appropriate)

Anarchism's Least Wanted

It All Goes Or It All Stays The Same

