

A MODERN ANARCHISM

Part Four: Organization

DANIEL BARYON

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Preface

In this final part of *A Modern Anarchism*, I dive deep into the topic of organization, citing advances within cybernetics, viable systems theory, and applying the four fields analysis we have developed before. Here I strive to answer many of the questions that readers have about how to build organizations and what principles are necessary to maintain horizontality by contrast to hierarchical principles of steering and administration.

It is my hope that, with this final part, the reader will now have in hand a complete theory of analysis and action, so that we may together begin the creation of a counterhegemonic alternative.

Daniel Baryon

“Organization, far from creating authority, is the only cure for it and the only means whereby each one of us will get used to taking an active and conscious part in the collective work, and cease being passive instruments in the hands of leaders.”

- Errico Malatesta
[Anarchism and Organization 1879]

A Modern Anarchism

Part 4 Organization



Introduction

So now we stand at the threshold peering out into the wilderness with a map in hand. We know what beasts await us and what great shining vistas lie beyond. However, we will also need a diverse array of tools to traverse these dangerous thoroughfares. Just as a traveler might need their boots, their walking stick, a compass, a weapon, and so on, we must prepare ourselves for all eventualities to the best of our abilities. Indeed, given the danger of our environment, we must travel together. And for this purpose, we will need a vessel which many of us might inhabit. In previous parts of this work, we indirectly suggested the need for such a collective vessel. However, we did not discuss the raw logistical necessities of how we might go about building and navigating with this vessel.

Toward this end, let us now refocus our attention back on horizontal power structures, taking into account the theoretical inspections of the last part, but now bringing them to bear in raw application in the modern day. After all, we have settled the score on the topic of how progress is made: it is the revolution in growth that brings all positive change, whether the people are conscious or unconscious of the significance of their actions toward that end. But we know that such a thing does not come into existence on its own, it must be made and made deliberately by the people themselves.

The map lay in front of us and our possible paths are now clear. Let us discuss organization...



Removal, Comparison, and Viability

As we begin our analysis of how organizations grow and function, it will be necessary for us to both refine the tools from the previous parts of this work and to develop more specificity in terms of the power dynamics at this new scale. The first of these analytical tools is what I will call the “removal process” of power analysis. This is to say, in order to determine how much some agent contributes to some power structure, we should start by asking a question: if they would withdraw their flow of power from the structure, how much disruption would it cause to the function of that structure? At root, this is the question which motivates a great deal of the class analysis on the left, in fact giving meaning to the strike. The workers, were they to withhold their necessary labor, would cause the utter devastation of the capitalist system. The larger the strike, the more devastation would be caused. And, as has been observed, this clearly suggests the primacy of the worker in the capitalist system and thus, it is reasoned, justice lies in the more appropriate distribution of the spoils of that system to the workers.

It must be said that such a “removal process” is, though obvious through meta-scale examples, highly challenging to properly map. Any node which we might want to entertain separating from the rest of the power structure is also constituted by inflows of power to it from other nodes and outflows of power which then also mutually constitute those other nodes. For this reason, it is very difficult, if not technically impossible, to do a robust removal analysis, because nearly all pieces of a complex system are interconnected and mutually reinforcing in some sense.

If we wanted to uncover the facts of these dynamics as scientists, it would require us to have alternative realities to test against wherein those removals and only those removals had taken place. This is, in fact, at the root of why political science is so astoundingly difficult to subject to the experimental process. However, we can look at examples wherein this removal process has actually been carried out in order to understand how this shift in power reconstitutes said structures in practice.

Let us start by inspecting perhaps the most pertinent example. What is the outcome of removing administrative or managerial positions within a hierarchical power structure? Though, given our previous statements in part 1 of this work, it would seem that the various functionaries in the higher echelons of a hierarchical structure have primarily parasitic relations to broader social structures, it is clearly the case that many of the administrators, managers, and other supervisory positions within a hierarchical power structure serve some purpose in maintaining the function of those structures. If it were not the case, we would find that “cutting off the head of the snake” would never have arisen as a war-time strategy; nor would militaries try to attack and disable command structures within enemy armies more generally. There is some loss when administrative positions are immediately removed in the capitalist system. This suffocating array of middle-men and taskmasters are all set with executing a unique set of coordinative and logistical functions. And this remains true, even though it is clearly the case that many people who fill these positions are incompetent (indeed harmful to smooth functioning), and also bearing in mind that there is an enormous amount of purposeless administrative bloat, as Graeber has elaborated in *Bullshit Jobs*.

But in observing this, it must also be simultaneously emphasized that many of the administrators in such systems only have such coordinative and logistic powers because these systems have been systematically designed to give them that power. Anywhere hierarchical systems are implemented, bosses and supervisors will have to be employed in some way or another to maintain smooth functioning. And, as such a structure creorders itself over time, it conditions those coordinators to hold pertinent knowledge about how such specified functions are carried out. It is the case that, within any authoritarian structure; as one goes further and further up some structure, these higher agents have been tasked with controlling and monopolizing an increasing number and magnitude of flows of power. But, as we have belabored, this arrangement is not an ontological fact of organization. It is a situational one. Hierarchy is a purpose-built machine and, if we are to inherit it in this same configuration, we will be doomed to manage it in similar ways as the previous operators did.

This means that the removal process alone is not sufficient to develop a complete critique of power structures. Removal entails only the inspection of a functional component which a new functional component might come to replace afterwards. By nature, this has no radical thrust. We must also always compare the current structure to plausible alternatives and ask how things would function within these alternatives. This entails not only alternative cogs in the great machine, but alternative structures of power themselves.

And so, this gives rise to another analytical tool: the Comparison Process of Analysis. When observing the impacts of removing a specific agent from a power

structure, one must also observe the outcomes of a comparison with alternative power structures. For instance: one cannot conclude that, because there is a clear necessity of capitalist administrators within the capitalist system, that they would be absolutely necessary in a competing system. They must instead cogently address alternatives wherein such functions are either abolished completely or absorbed into different sorts of bodies. Often, this sort of counterfactual represents a considerable paradigm change. And that paradigm must then be inspected, analyzed, and subjected to practical scrutiny in both theory and action.

Historically, many thought experiments have been presented to demonstrate the fundamentals of such a replacement. Were the workers to stop working, the capitalists would starve, as there is no alternative world wherein they could carry out the necessary labor of the workers by themselves. But, on the contrary, if the capitalists no longer owned the means of production and refused to continue investing capital, though the workers may suffer from this capital flight, the workers could still become worker-owners and take on the tasks of administration and coordination through bodies such as workers' cooperatives, collectives, or even communes. Similarly, in the relationship of the landlord and the tenant; if the tenants disappeared, the landlords would go bankrupt. Yet if the landlords disappeared, though the tenants may be tasked with upkeep of their property, they could also now be homeowners or engage themselves in collective forms of ownership and re-commoning. In each of these, we can see the removal and the comparison we discussed. And, in this combination of analytical tools, we see why hierarchical power structures must be arbitrarily enforced by domination. Hierarchical power structures

are crucially reliant on the continued willingness of the subjects to obey their masters. If they refuse to obey, not only might the subjects wreak havoc on such a system by the withdrawal of their work, but there are also real alternatives available to them wherein they are empowered instead and the hierarchs are left with nothing.

In this, we see the primary importance that the people, the citizens, the working class, the masses, whatever enormous agglomeration we wish to inspect, have in the functioning of all power structures. The activity of these numbers, carrying forth certain praxis, obeying or defying the dictums of our rulers, is what determines the movement or cessation of all the machines of the world. As was said by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto, “the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.”^[1]

But even so, there remains the question: how do we know if any given counterfactual we might present in the comparison process has theoretical and practical merit? Earlier in this series, we provided proof of concept for how an anarchic society is most in line with the principles of emergence. However, this gives us only the broadest overview. There are also a variety of practical examples to inspect, ranging from indigenous societies, to modern horizontal organizations, to entire industrialized regions such as in the case of the CNT-FAI. However, in each of these, we would be inspecting particulars, not universals. Such an inspection is worthwhile. However, in order for us to develop a robust analysis, it is necessary that we inspect the practical boundaries of implementation, such that we can discuss comparative models freely, recognizing which of these are possibilities and which of these are utopian fantasies. To answer this, let us discuss the topic of viability.

As we have said in previous parts, all things in the universe are faced with choosing filters which constrain the range of possible forms which can succeed. This means that, if we are to survive our own conditions, it is our duty to create revolutionary vessels which are prepared to weather these choosing filters. This process, of surviving oncoming selection pressures, is what is meant by “viability.” Viable structures are those which can survive and replicate, non-viable structures are those which are destroyed and whose populations go extinct.

In starting this discussion, it is important to note that hierarchical structures are indeed “viable” in this sense. They have, after all, demonstrated themselves exceptionally proficient in surviving choosing filters over the course of the last several thousand years, even bearing in mind their disastrous failures. But this is also because the mega-machine has weathered the forces of productive development and has dominated during this age of technological proliferation. This means that the mega-machine has been able to utilize these thousands of years of hegemonic control to research the social and material technologies which it now utilizes in order to solidify its rule.

However, it is no virtue for a death-oriented machine to persist. The survival of the mega-machine is inherently the survival of a system of power parasitism and ecological destruction. We are then tasked not with finding just any viable system, but instead with figuring out how a horizontal system can be constructed such that it is viable. And, unfortunately, because the mega-machine now permeates nearly every aspect of our lives, horizontal power must discover its social and material technologies while under countervailing force and without any expectation of institutional support.

During this process of bottom-up theoretical research and in pioneering new methods for our liberation, we must not be too hasty in rejecting any structure which merely resembles those of the mega-machine. Because the mega-machine is indeed a viable system, it rests on the same basic principles of viability that every system in existence rests on. And so, universal rejection of its mechanisms would lead us to the production of a non-viable system. It must be regarded that the mega-machine has utilized, on one hand, a range of mechanisms which uniquely characterize its function as a hierarchical entity and on the other hand mechanisms which are universal to all viable systems. For this reason, we must disentangle which aspects of this mega-machine are raw necessities for the functioning of any technologically advanced society and which are incidental to the function of a kyriarchal society.

But we are not left to guess in the dark. In ransacking the libraries of bourgeois society, we should not put too much scholarship to the fire. Many great minds within the mega-machine over the millenia spanning out before us have labored toward the discovery of facts about the universe that are widely applicable and crucially necessary for any society to function. Some of these have been addressed in previous parts: autopoiesis, feedback, arrays of flexible components, and consistent internalization of energy flows, for example. But I would now like to use a guide from the field of organizational cybernetics, a discipline very closely associated with the complex systems analysis we have utilized up until now: Stafford Beer's Viable Systems Theory. Beer contends that there are five sub-systems at play in any viable system, from simple lifeforms, to organizations, to entire societies. I have given shorthand names to these systems, as to help summarize their purpose, whereas Beer would simply give their number.

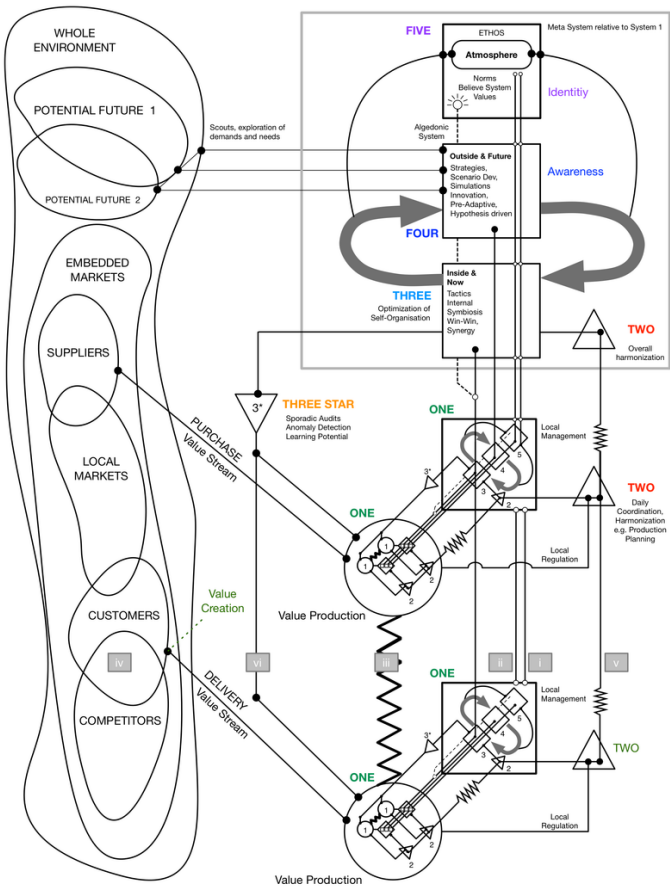
System 1 (Implementation) may be understood as the component that carries out the practical implementation of some viable system. It conducts daily tasks on the ground to make sure that decisions get actualized.

System 2 (Communication) is the system by which information is communicated between the sub-systems, whether it is technological, organic, social structural, interpersonal, or whatever else.

System 3 (Tactics) is the system which provides consistency and structure to system 1. It utilizes the communication channels of system 2 in order to make sure that those who are implementing decisions in system 1 are acting by way of shared values.

System 4 (Strategy) is the system which is tasked with understanding the world outside of the total viable system and bringing this information back to the organization in order for that organization to remain viable. It is then involved in planning for future eventualities using that information.

System 5 (Vision) is the system wherein decisions are made that bear on the whole organization. This means that system 5 is concerned with the development of rules and norms for all of the functioning pieces. This is the system where steering of the total organization takes place.



Viable System Model
Stafford Beer

Transducer
Each ● represents an interface between each subsystem

Channels:
i Interventions & Rules
ii Resource Bargain
iii Operational Linkages

iv Overlapping Sub-Environments
v Anti-Oscillation, autonomous
vi Sporadic Audits

I feel, before moving on, that I have the responsibility of a scientist, to address concerns before we delve into this framework. As these are summarized, one would not be blamed for thinking that the model described here reproduces the compartmentalization and monopolization-of-power characteristics of hierarchical power structures. For example, when one hears the description for system 3, middle management is automatically brought to mind. Likewise, system 5 will probably remind many people of upper management or administration. This is not surprising, as Beer actually developed this theory as a business consultant in the 60s and 70s, helping corporations restructure to be more efficient and it is likely that the way these systems are separated were formed by this context. But Beer cannot simply be understood as a capitalist analyst. I will quote Thomas Swann at length from his work “Towards an anarchist cybernetics:”

“While the context of much of Beer’s work on organisational cybernetics is in hierarchically-organised companies, the notion of control he utilises has little in common with accounts based on command and control structures, orders and top-down decision-making. Beer is keen to note, for example, that despite pyramidal organisational charts, organisations that remain stable, successfully cope with change and are able to pursue goals do so because their actual operations depart radically from their stated organisational structure. If an organisation were to follow the chain of command set out in its organisational chart – with a leadership at the top and various levels of authority and responsibility arranged downwards as far as those at the bottom who have no authority and are required to follow orders passed down the chain – the response to

change at the bottom, where the organisation actually operates in its environment, would be incredibly slow. Those at the bottom would need to pass information about the change in the environment up to the next level and so on until the leadership at the top made a decision and passed that decision down again through each level. By that point, Beer argues, the response would be irrelevant as the situation would have changed again. In avoiding this, the parts of the organisation in contact with the environment in fact embody a degree of autonomy in so far as they can respond to change as they see fit within set limits. They need to be able to do this for the organisation to remain stable in the face of change.”^[2]

Beer’s recognition that hierarchical organizations cannot function practically under their own hierarchical dictums, is an interesting detail which harkens to much anarchist thought. This is, in fact, why “work-to-rule” strikes are so effective. In these actions, workers do only what the rules of their position dictate. In the vast majority of hierarchical organizations, because they rely on the organic, and unrecognized, horizontality of their workers to make on-the-fly decisions, this in practice leads to extreme slowdowns and sometimes complete stoppages. The hierarchical organization functions under a delusion of perfect order, protected by workers who deceive their superiors about their continued adherence.

As Stafford Beer is keen to note: all of this takes place because of what is called Ashby’s Law. This law of informational cybernetics says that, in order for systems to cope with their environments, they must have at least the same variety of possible states as the variety of states within the other system they are interfacing with. This is

to say, the larger the complexity of factors that a system must deal with, the system must, in turn, become more complex if it wishes to maintain control. Or, as Ross Ashby himself says:

“When the variety or complexity of the environment exceeds the capacity of a system (natural or artificial) the environment will dominate and ultimately destroy that system.”^[3]

In order for systems to keep up with complexity, they must become more complex. Yet hierarchical systems, as we have noted throughout this series, are predicated on the reduction of complexity both within their environment and inside themselves. Yet they appear to remain almost fully in control. How do we square these two observations?

The answer to this conundrum lies in what Stafford Beer calls “variety attenuation.” Variety attenuation is when some system copes with variety larger than its internal complexity by reducing the complexity of the information it receives. This can take place either by simplifying that data as it enters the system just to the point it remains useful, or instead by reducing variety in the opposing system. Here we see a direct mapping onto James C. Scott’s terminology from the first part of this series. The system undergoes variety attenuation through both an internal facing process which Scott would call “legibility” and an external facing process called “simplification.” In combination, these two processes attenuate both internal and external complexity sufficiently to allow continued functioning.

However, as we have said before, both of these are engaged in an act of hubris; an attempt to simplify fundamentally

complex systems which cannot be reduced either because they resist such simplification or because they are destroyed in the process. In this ruthless campaign of simplification, the kyriarchal mega-machine is then devastating to the environment and to the operatives within it. Indeed, Stafford Beer recognizes this very fact in his own work when he analyzes the conditions of the modern republic in comparison to the expanding variety of needs and desires within the populace:

“This situation attempts to disobey the Law of Requisite Variety, and disbalances the homeostatic equilibrium in both richness and in period. Then it is predictable that the people, thus affected, will build up pressures in the system that can no longer be released – because the filtering capacity cannot contain the flow. This is bound to lead to unrest: demonstrations, agitation, perhaps violence, possibly revolt.”^[4]

If even one of the pre-eminent scientists of systems analysis agrees that this hierarchical system has this inherent inbuilt attenuation error, how does it continue to survive? The answer has many aspects. First, it is certainly not the case that past iterations of the mega-machine have weathered environmental fluctuations without repercussion. Indeed, ice ages, droughts, hurricanes, even meteor showers, have introduced destabilizing complications which led to the end of even great empires. Even though in this work I speak of the mega-machine most often in reference to its totality, it must actually be understood as a self-similar, nested structure. This is to say, just as we might consider the mega-machine in its form as a global entity, this global entity is also many national entities, and geopolitical blocs of those entities, and individual regions within them, and of various political

parties and factions, and of different corporate bodies and boards of these corporate bodies, and so on and so on... Historically, what has allowed the global mega-machine to weather environmental disasters, is that it is ruthless in discarding its failures. Nations die, but the world economy does not.

However, the climate crises that are facing us are not the stuff of human historic timescales, but those of ecological and geological ones. The devastation that is to come may very well be beyond the global economic machine's capabilities to cope. In the next decades we will see the mettle of the mega-machine tested against the brutality of ecological destabilization.

And what of the internal interpersonal, social, and individual aspects of variety attenuation? How can society handle the atomizing death drive of this machine? One of the major contributing factors is what David Graeber calls "baseline communism." In *Dawn of Everything* he explains this concept as follows:

"There's [...] a certain minimal, 'baseline' communism which applies in all societies; a feeling that if another person's needs are great enough (say, they are drowning), and the cost of meeting them is modest enough (say, they are asking for you to throw them a rope), then of course any decent person would comply. Baseline communism of this sort could even be considered the very grounds of human sociability, since it is only one's bitter enemies who would not be treated this way. What varies is just how far it is felt such baseline communism should properly extend."^[5]

With this in mind, though hierarchical systems spend most of their active efforts creating and applying arbitrary, complicated legalistic frameworks, it is actually through regular maintenance by baseline communism that the machine survives without suffocating its host. This labor serves to mend the damage from the parasitism of the hierarchical system where perhaps otherwise conditions might defray.

Of course, when we are discussing the complexities of the real world, it must be noted that no system can actually attain perfect variety in relation to the complexity of the universe. Every system must carry out certain reductions in order to be able to make decisions about the world. And so all systems must do some amount of filtering or reduction as information arrives. However, when excessive filtering is carried out, the system will see the repercussions of this excess reduction sooner or later. When those repercussions come, viability is likely to drop.

The ideal variety therefore always remains a one-to-one match for the amount of variety in one's environment. And toward this end, very long term viable systems will have a tendency to utilize available vectors within their midst to absorb the true variety in the environment, such as how hierarchical systems utilize baseline communism to correct for their overreductions. We will discuss the pertinence of these aspects of variety and attenuation as they bear on horizontal organizations as we proceed through the rest of this work.

Let us now return to Stafford Beer. In the early 1970s, Beer was consulted for the restructuring of Chile's economy, which he was given a startling amount of control in carrying out. One might think that such a

process would be more likely to transform Chile into a capitalist economy than for Beer to be affected by socialist principles, but quite unexpectedly, his experiences in Chile were profoundly transformative for him. There he devised, from his own understanding of worker ownership as conveyed to him by Allende and others, an automated, decentralized, worker directed economy. In carrying out this planning, Beer's ideological orientation was drastically altered, eventually claiming that his theory found better application and consistency in this bottom-up formulation than in its previous uses in the corporation. He gave lectures for years after his experience in Chile, continuing to explain Viable Systems Theory and speak about cybernetics and systems organization. In one of these lectures, Beer said:

“[...] the whole business of government, that gargantuan institution, is a kind of machine meant to operate the country in the interests of individual freedom. But [...] it does not work very well—so that freedom is in question to a greater or lesser extent in every country of the world. So, I declared, let us redesign this ‘liberty machine’ to be, not an entity characterized by more or less constraint, but a dynamic viable system that has liberty as its output. The two conceptions [...] are utterly different.”^[6]

This is precisely the goal we are set with here. “Liberty” or “freedom” in our parlance, is not about constraining or not constraining particular elements. It is about creating a system which materially empowers the members of that system to make a variety of important and transformative decisions, including the total reorganization of that system. So how do we propose we will create this true liberty machine?



The Horizontal Alternative

With all of these tools in hand, let us now return to the subject of how a horizontal power structure must be constructed. Given that the systems theorists have laid out such a clear account of what makes any system viable, it is upon us to address how these principles for viability are embodied in our horizontal alternative. For example, how might we account for variety and attenuation within a horizontal power structure? And how are the five systems of Beer's Viable Systems Theory properly entailed?

At the same time, we must ensure that horizontal structures are able to meaningfully coordinate decisions with implementation. After all, a being or structure is "powerful" to the degree that, when some decision is made, it is actualized in the real world. This means that these two aspects of decision-making and implementation are very important. They are the organizational equivalent of "will" and "enaction" in the definition of power given earlier in this work.

However, all power is not created equal, as we have belabored before. Who makes the decisions within some structure and who implements those decisions makes all the difference in constraining or expanding the range of possible means and therefore the possible ends of that structure. Indeed, depending on who makes decisions and who carries them out, one may locate whether some structure tends more toward authoritarianism or libertarianism. In authoritarian systems we find that a proportionally small number of people make all structural decisions and a proportionally large number of people are bound to carry out this relatively narrow will. By contrast, in a maximally libertarian system, all people affected by some decision are the ones who make any given decision

and a variable proportion of that total group then carries out the implementation of that collective will depending on those who are chosen by the group. It is this power structural bifurcation, as we have now discussed at length within this text, that we are tasked to explore once again.

So let us now return to Ashby's Law, which tells us that, in order for a system to be viable, it must properly attenuate to variety within its environment. We must always remember that, despite our attempts to match the true variety of the environment, only variety can truly absorb variety, meaning that all our necessary reductions inherently carry with them flaws in a system's ability to navigate its environment. The only way to completely match the complexity of the environment is to be a perfect copy of the environment and that is clearly not within our purview. For this reason, the amount of pertinent details in the world surrounding the organization can be overwhelming to parse through.

The strengths of horizontalism in overcoming this problem, however, are straight-forward. Having decentralized the direction and enactment of power, many more nodes are available to receive information from the environment and act on it, therefore there is less need for attenuating variety to begin with. This decentralization serves to maintain maximal complexity and prepares systems to flex and change with shifting circumstances.

Then there is the variety of different people's personal perspectives and concerns, both in regards to their experience of the kyriarchy and in the context of their personal needs and desires. There is always attenuation here when collective action is involved. Collectives of actors, working as they must toward collective goals,

will tend to reduce these complex goals into shared goals. To collaborate with others is to make sacrifices, to compromise, to sideline problems until concerted action can be organized.

However, horizontal structures are also oriented preferentially to reduce variety reduction for this issue. In horizontal structures, every single member is able to become involved in every single foundational decision. And, accordingly, this creates the largest number of nodes for information to arrive into, therefore creating the largest variety to match the variety of the world outside and the variety of needs inside. These nodes are then actively engaged in setting the course for the organization and in parsing out solutions to these problems.

This is then essentially a question of how the organization itself acts to expand and maintain its own variety. Here we have breached back into the topic of freedom from the second part of this series of essays. Freedom is the real range of possibilities that some agents have for their actions. And so, here we might note that, in order to cope with variety, agents must have high degrees of freedom and high degrees of freedom are only created with collective action. As we have said, people do not have more options for activity when considered alone. People who are isolated or unable to coordinate with one another are more constrained. Therefore this freedom is maximized in the production of horizontal organizational forms.

It might be said then, that part 2 of this work was laying out how this mixture of individuation and organizational coordination is what allows anarchism to create the most robust variety possible in order to meet variety

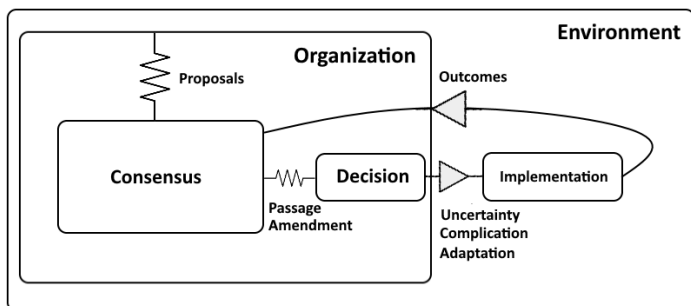
directly with variety. The possibility for overlapping and contingent social forms able to respond to any variation of problem is astounding. And, while uncoordinated individuals may have the highest freedom in choosing which actions they will carry out, they have the lowest potential to affect outcomes. This is why there must be a balance between the collective and the individual.

However, we must sadly recall that this system, superior as it is to the mega-machine in this aspect, will also never be able to fully match the variety of the outside world through these components. Horizontal power structures have to have their own mechanisms to attenuate this variety mismatch if they ever hope to respond to complex changes and continue to make decisions in a timely fashion in step with changes in its environment and in consideration of the diversity of individuals within the structure itself.

We are then struck with a conundrum which must be taken seriously. From the standpoint of libertarianism as a power strategy, it wishes to maximize the exposure of members to outside stimuli, because these members are the agents who are tasked with making well-informed decisions about the world. Yet along with this radical freedom to act and a very considerable raw power to be marshaled, we will have to find some ways to come to decisions in step with occurring events and to attenuate the infinite variety of potential in order to actualize decisions. Whereas hierarchical power deals with this variety mismatch through authoritarian structural decision-making and compulsory labor, horizontal power is structurally compelled to attenuate variety in a fashion which maintains the root of power within the body of members as such.

So here I will lay out how anarchist organizations have already gone about solving these problems throughout history and, indeed, how many varieties of people, unaware as they may be of any of this terminology, have met these same organizational conditions.

The first way that variety is healthily attenuated in horizontal power structures is through the consensus process (or some other directly democratic method which is first consented to by the members of the group). In fact the very formation of proposals is itself a narrowing of all possible options to the scope of the proposal, to bring conversation to bear on a finite element or collection of elements which the group can now discuss and resolve. Moreover, as this consensus proceeds it attenuates variety further through the amendment process. Amendments alter the features of the proposal until it meets all of the needs and desires of participants. Lastly there is the process of passing the proposal, a decision being made. This takes all of the possibilities that had been in open discussion during the consensus process and brings them down to a finite list which all participants agree to act upon.



However, after decisions have been made, variety is amplified once again as the organization begins to implement its decisions in the real world. No implementation will ever be perfectly in line with the scope of a given proposal because of uncertainty in the real conditions of the world outside the organization, complications in process, changes in individual preference, and so on... After this another amplification of variety takes place as implementation then affects changes in the world, producing arrays of outcomes which now have to be fed back into the organization and subjected to new rounds of consensus or addressed through mandates for delegation to explore, as we will discuss shortly.

However, the strength of horizontalism is that it always has its hand on a dial where it can always increase variety by turning all of its members into constituent decision-makers and agents in implementation. For this reason it is crucial that all horizontal organizational structures develop first from the assembly of all members of the group, which carry out all five of these systemic functions by default. This is how the organization continues to have access to this particular dial, creating the possibility that variety is met with pure variety.

After all, wherever power can be forced to return, that is the true root of that power. As Bookchin says in *Remaking Society*:

“What people cannot shape for themselves, they will never control. It can be taken away from them as readily as it is bestowed upon them.”^[7]

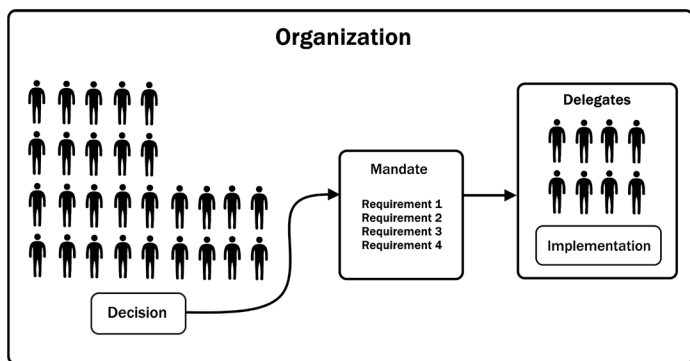
Thus, all power must be able to be structurally recallable to the hands of the people. This guarantees that the control

of the root of decision-making never leaves the general membership of the horizontal structure. In order for the members of an organization to be empowered, decision-making must ultimately always lie with the members of that organization and must correspond with actualization by responsible members.

However, there is a counterbalancing factor to this; in that implementation is a time and energy consuming effort. Everyone cannot do everything all the time, by simple practical fact. In this sense, there is another kind of variety that must be attenuated in the breadth of all possible discussions about implementation that could be had and the limited time that individual humans have by comparison to time spans needed to reach conclusions. Insofar as the general council of the membership maintains administration of more and more tasks, this single-purpose space will either have to extend the length of its sessions (leading to exhaustion), become indecisive (and thus unproductive), or will be forced to rush the decision-making process (leading to messy implementation and poor variety absorption). The solution is to discern which decisions must be discussed within the general council of membership and which decisions are to be discussed and implemented in other more contextual bodies.

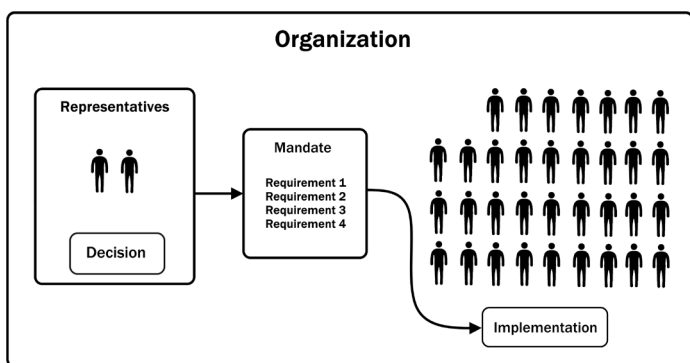
For this reason, as a horizontal organization faces challenges, as tasks become standardized and repeatable or as implementation becomes more specialized and time consuming, the membership may naturally choose to create new compartments within the organization that are meant to coordinate certain sets of resources. But it does not take a genius to recognize the risk in this process. After all, we can see the spanning, arcane breadth of the bureaucratic state and the specialization of labor that is

characteristic with the development of capitalism. So then, what are the principles which should guide our delegation and development of organizational compartments, holding in mind the pertinent risks? We have touched on the answer before, in this two-part assessment of “decision-making” and “implementation,” but in order to ground the discussion, let’s talk about the difference between delegation and representation.



In delegation, power is given to an individual or group of individuals under a specific, custom mandate, as per the desires of the council which chose them. That power may then be revoked from that person or group of people at the whim of the assembly of members and the mandate itself can be altered at whatever point the assembly decides. Delegation is therefore not structurally locked. It is provisional, based on the needs of the collective. In delegation, decision-making still always, ultimately, lies in the collective if they choose to reclaim it. They have only temporarily given specific powers of implementation to a set of individuals in order to effectively compartmentalize tasks. This allows the organization to flex to attenuate variety without filtering out too much complexity in the process by

creation of compartments, while still maintaining the possibility of attaining a requisite variety by returning decision-making to the root where all members of the organization will come to bear in making decisions about new implementation. The perpetual ability of the organization to carry out either of these affairs is what characterizes delegation as a horizontal phenomenon.



By contrast, representation is institutionally locked power wherein decision-making is given to some person or bureau in place of the body of people who are affected by said decisions. This representative body may then, conversely to horizontal methods, decide how the group it represents will carry out implementation of the representative body's decisions, meaning the root has been internalized within the representative body instead of the electors. Under representation, the "represented" therefore act as extensions of the representative, rather than vice versa, as is commonly argued by the defenders of such a structural method. If a representative is recalled, the people they "represent" cannot choose to take their power back. Instead they must choose a new representative to replace them. In this way, the people

are at the whim of the office of the representative rather than the representative serving at the behest of the electors. This process reduces variety at all of its hierarchical junctures, creating systems which attenuate variety by excessive filtering rather than obtaining requisite variety. These facts are what characterize representation as a hierarchical phenomena.

To summarize: whereas in delegation, a position of collaborative power may be created and eliminated as per the desires of those who are affected and its functions then absorbed back into the body of people as they please, in representation, the only decision that the people who are affected may make is who will fill the role of decision-maker, without the ability of those people to decide otherwise, except through replacement with some new representative. This distinction is important as well, because it determines the difference between specialization creating power over others, which then inevitably leads to a bureaucratic class that decides for the people who are affected, and specialization creating power with others, acting as a means for the total implementation of the will of those who are affected.

This also characterizes the role of leadership, if it is found to exist, within a horizontal organization. Here we are addressing an old bugbear within anarchist theory, so I will clarify my meaning. Here by leadership, I do not mean someone vested with authority to make decisions by way of structural fiat. I mean those whose vision organically charts the future of the organization with or without some accordant structural formalization, who demonstrate fortitude in the face of difficulty and stress, and who act as community touchstones serving to resolve disputes; the thinkers, the planners, and the doers. This is the difference

between representative leadership, which characterizes the forced leadership of hierarchical society, and horizontal leadership. Horizontal leaders are not self-appointed and they do not require vote or structural guarantee. They do not need formal positions or honorifics. Horizontal leaders arise organically from the spoken or unspoken consensus of the members. You will not have to hunt for the horizontal leader; they are one who people have already chosen to trust as a valued resource for guidance. They do not steer the organization, but are instead sought out for advice in collective steering. Horizontal leaders should therefore be seen as equal participants. They must not command. They are themselves at the command of the horizontal body. This is the meaning of the Zapatista phraseology, sometimes seen on signs as one enters their territory: "Here, the people give orders and the government obeys."^[8]

In this way, the horizontal leader is not a driver at the reins, but more like an expert or a specialist of a certain kind; one who focuses their mind on the group's goals and tasks, taking into account all that is needed, then working alongside all of those within the group to bring these goals to fruition by way of coordinated action. The authoritarians utilize the methodology of vanguardism to create leaders which will ultimately come to dominate the revolution should it proceed. Horizontalism must seek out organic leaders at the bottom and integrate them along with all other functions of the organization. Hierarchical expertise is paternalistic, enforcing the command of the few. Horizontal expertise is symbiotic, expanding complementarity within the powers of the people.

Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that specialists of all kinds will still have a tendency to accrue informal power within horizontal structures and even certain formal

power in delegation. Often the person with expertise comes to make decisions simply because the knowledge they have bears so much on the decisions being made, not through the fault of any individual villainy, but through practical fact of action. Yet this can still become dangerous if it drives the organization into a rut where specialization determines organizational structuring. Indeed, despite the many concerns of theorists outside of anarchism, this remains one of its real, hidden pitfalls: the possibility that it might create a sort of confederated technocracy of working groups, directed from outside the councils by trusted experts and delegated administrators. Perhaps, if it is true that every system contains the seeds of its own destruction, this will be the very far end of the path for horizontal hegemony, especially if the people of our future society do not do the work of maintaining the integrity of their system.

However, the solution to this problem clearly cannot be that specialization is eliminated and the group makes due with lesser knowledge about the world around them. There are then two factors to solving this problem. The first is that the knowledge of the specialist must be constantly distributed through practice and demonstration. This is to say, the specialist should not view themselves as monopolistically holding onto their specialization. Their presence in a horizontal structure means they should be willing to spread their expertise to others, as to undermine their own informal authority. This is what David Graeber means when he speaks about ‘self-subverting authority.’

“I think there are certain types of authority that undermine their own basis. [...] Like the teacher. If you’re a teacher and you teach someone very well, they know what you used to know, so there’s no further basis

for your authority. [...] Between those two people, the relationship subverts its basis.^{19]}

This can take place through both formal and informal means. Formally, this can be carried out through rotation and sortition, along with mentorship programs. And, in doing so, leadership should be cultivated within all members of the organization. Though sometimes it has been said that horizontal movements are “leaderless” perhaps here we suggest that they must be “leaderful.”

Nonetheless, it is clearly not the case that every single person will be turned into such leaders. There are many reasons people may not want to fill such a role, even if they are ideologically committed. There will always be those who are more concerned with implementation of pertinent tasks instead of decision-making within formal arenas. Moreover, surely not every single decision really needs to be passed by the general council every time implementation has to occur. After all, what is the use of delegation if the delegate is constantly having to check back with the council to deal with new and unique challenges? All that would result is that we would fail to meet certain time and pressure constraints which we had beforehand imputed onto the delegate and then be worse off for it. Does the surgeon need to check back before every cut? Does the lumberjack need to consult us on the angle he will hold his saw? Of course not. We trust them to carry out the duties of this work and check back if situations diverge from the norm.

This brings us to the second factor in the solution to this problem. Who controls the scope of the mandate. Here, by mandate, I am referring to the scope of implementation that a delegate or group of delegates can carry out without

checking back with the council. The fluid, horizontal control over mandates might be said to be the crucial foundational principle which separates hierarchical power from delegation. Whereas in hierarchical power, the more hierarchical the power, the more that the hierarch gets to determine the scope and content of the mandate for the organization they rule, in delegation the organization determines the scope of the mandate for the delegate and may alter the delegate's mandate at a whim. In a horizontal organization, every delegation comes along with the scope of a mandate and, if that mandate is to be violated, then so too is the mandate itself. In horizontal power structures, decisions are made by the people and the delegates implement those decisions.

With these conceptions in hand, how does this system of temporarily mandated and instantly revocable delegation serve to create a viable structure? To answer this, let us now return to the five systems.

System 1 is the most common to delegate. This is to say, the practical implementation of the group's decisions is usually handed off to a subset of the group: an individual or group of individuals who have pertinent expertise or who simply have the capacity to carry out the group's decisions to their fruition. When these System 1 group delegations become more permanent, they usually take the form of what are called "working groups." Working groups are subgroups of the total organization which focus on carrying out specific tasks. These working groups are always provisional based upon the continued will of the group. For this same reason, working groups are generally flexible and permeable, able to be joined and left as those within the group choose.

System 2, communications, is generally delegated to some form of secretary or internal coordinator; a person whose task it is to communicate information between different people and working groups within the organization. This may also take the form of a sort of inreach coordinator for the organization; someone who checks in with members from time to time to make sure that everyone is cared for and heard, as well as to bring organizers who have been on hiatus for some extended period of time back into the fold. However, it should be noted, for schematic purposes, that the channels which the organization uses to communicate, such as digital communication platforms, would also count as system 2.

System 3, like in any organization, is the system that checks adherence to previous decisions at the scale of implementation, as well as coordinating the different compartments of the organization. In a horizontal structure, this task will be mostly handled by the general council of the membership. However, a working group could be feasibly created that is just meant to monitor tasks, to check in on implementation by working groups, and to discuss methods for increasing group cohesion. In practice, these sorts of working groups will generally amount to coordinator positions which sometimes write proposals to be brought to the general membership about how to improve tactical coherence. It is also possible that certain digital tools could be used to aid in this process.

System 4 is the system most associated with organizational strategy, not just internally, but externally. This is another function that will almost always lie at the general council level, even when a working group delegation is created. The group must normalize discussions about changing conditions, about meetings

with other groups, about correspondence, and about strategizing group movement on longer time-scales. However, it may still prove useful to create a strategy working group where these discussions can take place at greater length, so that the general council can relegate itself to other avenues of decision-making, instead of long deliberations over minutia, or tangents about general long-term group strategy which derail pressing tasks. Strategy working groups tend to be collaborative educational groups where people read about and discuss their own conceived strategic goals, and then sometimes write proposals to be brought to the general council to determine long-term planning.

System 5, vision, is embodied in the general council of the membership. The general council of members is the system which develops the norms and agreements for the total organization. This is where all power roots and no member of the organization can be alienated from their participation here. The more sophisticated an organization gets, the more that the general council of the membership will tend to focus its mind on these sorts of tasks as their primary function.

Where any of these delegations end, all the systemic functions that were once subsumed return to the general council. The connection of this body to the totality of the membership and the carrying out of its general consensus, is the real empowerment of the members within the scope of the organization's capacities. With this, we can see why horizontal systems have sometimes been called "an upside down pyramid." Indeed, in the communique published by the Zapatistas titled "Tenth Part: Regarding pyramids and their uses and customs" El Capitan speaks about the failure of the pyramidal model and describes the

Zapatista's recent movement toward further horizontality by saying:

"So what we did was cut the pyramid. We cut it from the tip. Or rather, we turned it upside down."^[10]

So let us now discuss the dynamics that will prevent this pyramid from being formed to begin with and create a complex adaptive system which maintains freedom and libertarianism as its output.



The Four Fields

Now that we have had our lengthy dialogue within the framework of viable systems theory and organizational cybernetics, let us now touch back on the four fields of power structures we have established before: individual conditioning, interpersonal, social structures, and environmental structures. Here I will very deliberately lay out the content and importance of each of these fields for a horizontal organization.

When we consider the individual elements, let us consider both the members of the horizontal organization and their beliefs, behaviors, and developing revolutionary ideology. The interpersonal bonds we are seeking to engender are those bonds of cooperation, comradery, and solidarity between the members of the group. The social structure is primarily embodied in the charter of the organization, along with all of the associated formal agreements, both those that are made between the members and that the organization has developed with other organizations. And the environmental structure is the pertinent geographic region that the organization tends to dwell within or regularly maintain.

In order to understand the role of the organization, we must consider how each of these facets occur within the power structure. And, with autopoiesis as our goal, holding in mind the crucial importance of interrelatedness for creating complexity, each of these must be maintained, not only at their point of origination, but by interrelation with the other fields of the organizational power structure. So let us explore these ten interfaces proceeding forward.

Firstly, the individual must cultivate themselves as revolutionary actors. This means active and earnest engagement in self-criticism, where it is warranted, which involves the sincere consideration of how one's behavior actively helps or harms revolutionary goals. This also means taking one's self-education seriously; whether in reflection on previous praxis or through engagement with theory or in learning about subjects which are pertinent to the success of the organization and the liberation of humanity. The revolutionary anarchist should see their own self-enrichment and self-improvement as a continual project which they undergo not only for themselves, but for others.

Then comes the interaction of individual conditioning and interpersonality. The organization engages in this interface when, through direct interaction with other people (whether face to face or through means of technology), the members radicalize or are radicalized by others. This is no trivial interface. Individuals are transformed through interpersonality every single day. In the internal sense, there is the learning that takes place when members teach one another about radical theory, inform each other about history of practice, and pass on pertinent knowledge to carry out the needed revolutionary tasks at hand. In the external sense, members are likely to be transformed by their interaction with individuals outside the group somewhat regularly and, likewise, members of the organization should try to spread libertarian socialist and anarchist ideas through word of mouth, through educational opportunities made available to them by the group, and through tabling events, to name a few.

This also leads to the necessity of what is called "social insertion." Social insertion is the name of a praxis pioneered by the South American anarchist movement,

specifically the FAU and FARJ. Its aim is to place militants of the specifically anarchist organization into the social movements they are surrounded by. This is to say, members of horizontal organizations should attend the meetings and become active contributors to prevailing liberatory social movements around them. They should contribute their skills and knowledge to social struggles, rather than try to jump into the driver's seat. And militants should inform and encourage these movements toward libertarian modes of organization consisting of their own organic horizontal leadership and the willful action of the people themselves. This method conceives of social movements as an organic process which occurs with or without the say-so of anarchists and their organizations. As FARJ says, "it is ideology that should be within social movements, and not social movements that should be within ideology." This work is not done at the expense of the work of the organization elsewhere, it is done as part of the organization's broader commitments.

This social insertion is incredibly important, because it emphasizes our need to be present and active in burgeoning socially progressive causes and to avoid becoming siloed away in echo chambers or in myopic projects whose trajectories cannot adjust to changing conditions. This is not to say that the organization should devote all its efforts to this aspect, but it is an aspect which must be continually carried out for success to be achieved. A horizontal organization that is not engaged in social insertion will not only find itself stuck in long periods of member stasis, but will also find itself increasingly irrelevant as the thrust of social causes move and shift around them.

With this, we move on to the interaction of the individual with the social structure of the organization itself. Here lies an enormous part of the success of the organization and thus the horizontal constituents of that organization. This is to say, the way that the individual interacts with the organization, operating its flows of power, participating in its decision-making processes, and acting as party to implementation of these collective decisions, is the bare operating machinery of this autopoietic system. The individual is the acting agent and the social structures of the organization (such as its charter or the passage of particular proposals) are the rules for coordination with that broader functioning of the system, creating expectations and thus the capability for future planning at the organizational scale. In this way, the degree to which the individual members of the organization abide by or alter the functionality of this collective decision-making structure determines the vast majority of how this structure will act.

Here we must also recognize, wherever decisions are made, the decision-makers are responsible for not only the faithful implementation of those decisions, but the repercussions of their implementation; and that in a horizontal power structure, we are those decision makers. This can be jarring as a transition from living daily in the mega-machine, where we find ourselves largely blameless for the broader outcomes of the hierarchical power structures we occupy, recognizing that we are not the agents that brought about these conditions through our actions, but are instead acted upon by the machinery of the world that surrounds us and act at its whim at threat of deprivation. However, in a horizontal structure, we are the ones who have deliberated and amended and come to common consensus together and, following this, we

are the very hands who enact these willful decisions into practical work. Wherever there is the power to coordinate will with implementation, there is also an obligation to reduce harm caused and remediate negative consequences. This stands in contrast to the individualistic attitude that responsibility is an imposition on our autonomy. In fact there can be no autonomy without responsibility.

This speaks to the broader importance of an internally motivated discipline within the membership of the organization. Here, by discipline we do not mean the discipline of the mega-machine, which is imposed from without and obligated by threat of violence or deprivation. We speak of a discipline which comes from a sincere commitment to the goals of the organization itself and a belief in the importance of carrying-through our necessary tasks. Because a horizontal organization categorically does not engage in coercion and compulsion, this means that members must provide such discipline and commitment themselves and take these seriously. The member is part of a community that relies on them and is constituent to a much larger, historic revolutionary process.

To do this, however, members must be educated about the world around them, as was mentioned before. And the organization should therefore try to create internal structures for the education of its members about topics pertinent to the group's organizing principles and on topics which concern the fronts for social engagement that the organization is taking place in. The group should try to focus on education about how organizations function and the place of individuals within these horizontal organizations. They should also learn about the intersections of the mega-machine that they are actively combatting and the pertinent liberatory theory associated with it.

There is also the organization's commitment to bringing about this education external to itself. This indicates the need for popular education programs, which aim to introduce the populace to radical ideology and to teach them about the fundamentals of anarchism or horizontal ideologies more broadly. These programs should be aimed toward popular participation and should use whatever tools they think are appropriate to spread this knowledge, including books, essays, documentaries, video essays, audiobooks, or whatever else. It is not recommended that people become too attached to outdated ways of spreading knowledge and utilize cleverness in figuring out how to disseminate popular education. What should be prioritized on this front is effectiveness, not in-group signaling to other radicals.

Then there is the interaction of the individual with the environment that surrounds them. Here we speak of the organization's commitment to ecological soundness, but also about the pertinence of the group's surrounding area, whether it is rural, suburban, exurban, or urban. Whether it is in a high-density city with many opportunities for social engagement or whether it is in a suburb where atomization has prevailed. Each of these will require the group to pursue different tactics, taking into account the distance between actors, the accumulation of people around common social gathering spots, and the availability of land. Each of these will transform the possibilities for struggle, emphasizing the need for different approaches to radicalization and horizontal accumulation.

There is then also the interface of how the organization's interpersonality reinforces its own interpersonality. It cannot be exaggerated how helpful it is for members to have harmonious relations. This is not to say, of

course, that all members must also be friends. However, when members are on good terms, it greatly aids the functioning of the organization, as well as acting to restore lost capacity in difficult times. This solidaric interpersonality is also embodied in the provision of social support, helping people in hard financial times, freely distributing personal surpluses, providing services preferentially to members of the group, and so on. Interpersonality is the vector through which mutual aid within social groups tends to circulate best.

There is also, however, a series of pitfalls in propping a group through these interpersonal relations. That is to say, when these interpersonal relations turn sour, it can make it more difficult for organizations to function, especially when those connections are romantic in nature. This is not to say that members should be barred from romantic relationships by any means. However, they should be undertaken with full knowledge of what they might entail. Membership should be encouraged to take seriously how these relationships may affect the functioning of the group if they were to end or develop into conflict, and ask whether, under these circumstances, they could continue working with this person. If they think this would not be possible, they should practice discretion, understanding that this could lead to broader conflict within the organization, affecting the tasks it has set for itself.

Then there is the external aspect of this interpersonal perpetuation. The group's internal membership will all be embedded in a variety of interpersonal relationships outside the group. This can be seen as a series of overlapping interpersonal circles, all of which have their intersection within the organization. These will sometimes serve to bring new members into the group, but they will

also tend to create connections which the group can call upon to help bolster projects which later develop further interpersonal relations. This is to say, members of the group should not be afraid of trying to integrate their friends, family, and other relations into the group, insofar as these people are good fits for the interested program. However, as has been cautioned before. This should be done with understanding of how, if these relations turn sour, they may affect the future of the organization and its capabilities. Regardless, this vector can be very helpful for building the atom of a community where one may not have existed before.

Next we address the interaction of interpersonality and social structure. The primary way which the organization enables the development of further interpersonality is through the inreach process. That is to say, the organization should try to check in on its members if they have gone absent for too long, especially if it seems related to burn-out or disenfranchisement. It should not be taken for granted that those who are not present are doing alright. The work of the horizontal organization is not always easy and it taxes its inhabitants to shoulder the many burdens of administration and the trevails of disappointment. There should also, if the organization can bring about such resources, be attempts made to organize get-togethers and celebrations, especially around victories. Formal social events for the organization can be great ways to plug members back into the organization, whether active or inactive. The same can be said for the creation of social events that are meant to bring in people from outside the organization. Social events that involve the community can be great opportunities for finding new allies and potential opportunities for radicalization of new people.

Then there is the interaction of our interpersonality with the environment. Here, we should recognize that the environment not only comprises the land and the cities we live in, it also comprises the resources we have access to. Many of these resources are interacted with through interpersonal forces. When we share resources, as was mentioned before, we are utilizing our interpersonality to distribute elements within the environment around us. But more than this, we must take into account the ways that the ecology is going to change and recognize what our interpersonal place will be within these changes. Here I mean to say that radicals must take seriously that ecological disasters are coming and our associations will need to have a place in both repairing and inhabiting these. We must focus on trying to help the people within disaster zones and extend mutual aid where it is possible. And, at the same time, we must respect the land itself as an entity, recognizing it has specific needs in order to function as a flourishing ecosystem.

This is, perhaps, an extension of previous stated bounds to environmental structure. Nonetheless, it seems appropriate. When we work to cultivate the land, when we work to recover those places where it has been devastated, polluted, destroyed, and exploited, we develop a relationship of mutuality with it. We begin to know the shape of its coves and the composition of its soil. We begin to know it as a sort of being, even if it is not in the strictest sense, a being. Its harmonious function and our relation to it, becomes a new responsibility, as we might have a responsibility to others, and we must make sure that it is not a relation of parasitism or predation, but symbiosis. This means that we must see these tracts of lands as new relationships that we are fit to develop. We must not become the dominators of the land, but

the stewards of an ecology, prepared to enrich it through careful intervention and harmony of ends.

So now we arrive upon the interface wherein social structures interact with social structures. Here there is a mighty progression of powers. First, let us address the internal aspect of how horizontal social structures interface with themselves. The first thing to be said is that we must have an organizational charter which lays out the basic functions of the organization. As was discussed in the previous parts, lack of organization and lack of consistency does not lead to empowerment for the individuals within the group. Instead it leads to something which is impermanent and weak, which will therefore fall apart at the slightest stresses and therefore weaken the members. Here, therefore, we advocate an organizational anarchist method. More than this, we must create a platform for the organization, along with a list of points of unity, which determine whether prospective members are allowed to join and remain part of the organization.

This then brings us to the external aspect of how social structures interface with other social structures. Of these there are two facets; the cooperative and the combative. Here we will address the cooperative aspect of external social structural relation, federation, and we will leave the external combative aspect of this interface for the next section. Said simply, the horizontal organization should try to develop groupings of cooperation with other horizontal organizations, as was discussed in the Extended Catalysis section of the revolutionary flowchart in part 3. The more horizontal organizations are in interaction with one another, the better, unless these horizontal organizations have contrary aims.

There is then the interaction of social structures with the environment. Summarily, it should be a standard for all horizontal organizations to maintain a social ecological relation with the flora and fauna. Our organizations must develop a real, enduring symbiotic relationship to the land, such that we would consider its wellbeing as a constellation of different entities, all of whom have different needs and drives that we must bring into coordination with our own. We are holistically intertwined with the ecology and, were our organizations to force relations of domination upon it, it would be counter-productive to the needs of the movement, turning our liberatory vehicles into new originators of ecological devastation. We must act to reproduce the commons, to develop communal ownership of the environment, and to intervene in the environment to bring it back into homeostasis to the best of our abilities.

This interface is also active in our continued organizational interaction with the urban spaces we inhabit, whether town or city. Bookchin has given a great deal of thought on this topic, emphasizing the municipality as one of the most important scales for the construction of dual power. Here, of course, when we say “the city,” we do not refer to the municipal authorities associated with the state, but instead the cityscape itself, with all its complexities and potentialities. The city is a distinct shared locality for large numbers of people and therefore it is also the most natural grouping to create avenues for true face-to-face democracy. In order to carry out this municipal strategy, we should act at the scale of blocks, neighborhoods, and streets first, creating general assemblies at these scales which then act to populate the larger municipal assembly which coordinates the city together.

This conception is noted here, because it represents a break with the economically reductionist approach that has characterized much anarchist praxis in the past. Instead of seeing only the workplace as a site of struggle, Bookchin teaches us to see the community as our battleground. Modern capitalism has now fractured community bonds and thus made us weaker, undermining mutual aid, and emphasizing individuation and isolation. One of our most primary approaches must then be the rebuilding of the community upon social ecologist lines. This might also involve the creation of social spaces such as community centers or gathering places, which can themselves become staging grounds for much more radical projects to proceed.

And we must act to reproduce environmental self-perpetuation. This is to say, we should be trying to develop ecological practices which lead to the further flourishing and diversity of the biosphere. This involves the usage of permaculture and indigenous ecological methods. But it also involves regenerative agriculture techniques which are able to sustain large-scale sustenance of the population, while also not pillaging the soil. This is the conceptual equivalent to internalizing roots of power within horizontal power structures; here we internalize ecological roots within the ecology once more. By creating an environment which is self-reproducing, we develop autonomy for that environmental niche and therefore bolster our broader horizontal goals in turn.

With all this said, we have conducted a preliminary four fields analysis for horizontal organizational structures. However, we also need to speak about the actual day-to-day facts of utilizing these horizontal organizational forms. So let us now move on to a discussion of how to administer this horizontal body.



Administration

With this broader overview out of the way, let us now speak of matters of collective administration. After all, in a horizontal structure many familiar administrative tasks must still be carried out. Many of these are, in fact, crucial aspects of any organizational structure. In hierarchical structures, many or most of these are handled by managers, bosses, and owners of various sorts. In horizontal structures, however, the general membership must take on those duties once subsumed into structurally locked roles and carry out a more deliberative self-governance. For this to happen, we must therefore take account of these functions and principles and begin training our awareness so that they can be implemented smoothly.

The first concept that horizontal organizations must be aware of is the concept of capacity. Capacity is an organization or individual's ability to carry out tasks. In other words, individual capacity is that individual's available power and organizational capacity is the organization's available power. Capacity could be conceptualized as a bank of energy that can be spent or renewed. The importance of this aspect of organizing cannot be exaggerated, as it is one of the most consistent failure points for organizations of all kinds, even when they are structured correctly. Because horizontal organizations create the ability of organizers to coordinate their will with enactment, these organizational bodies can also have a tendency to overload themselves with too many tasks, exhausting the organizers.

In hierarchical organizations, capacity is simply ignored most of the time. Subjects are worked up to and past

exhaustion, with further coercion awaiting them if they fail to manage their exhaustion outside of company time. Sickness and displeasure are individual problems which the hierarchical power structure seeks to externalize rather than relieve. Wherever individuals within the organization fail to manage these symptoms of overwork, they are discarded and replaced with fresh exploitables.

The horizontal organization, by contrast, must learn to manage capacity by not overworking its members and by developing mechanisms to replenish and reinvigorate its participants. This is to say, horizontal organizations must be aware of how much effort is being spent on current projects and how this accords to the capacities of its members, constantly attempting to fall just short of this capacity. This is important, because individuals can actually be worked past their capacity. And on this occasion, they are causing active harm to themselves and their own lives in order to continue on the needed tasks. When members of an organization work past their capacity, their effectiveness will diminish and they will slowly degrade their total capacity over time, making them less effective organizers in the long run. Nassim Taleb, in fact, posits that antifragile systems, systems which become stronger when facing stressors, are those which practice excess redundancy. He says that:

“Layers of redundancy are the central risk management property of natural systems.”^[11]

Contrary to the idea that overcompensation is a waste of available resources, Taleb concludes that having stockpiles of extra capacity is actually one of the surest ways to weather difficulty. He continues:

“A system that overcompensates is necessarily in overshooting mode, building extra capacity and strength in anticipation of a worse outcome and in response to information about the possibility of a hazard. And of course such extra capacity or strength may become useful by itself, opportunistically.”^{12]}

For this reason, it is important that organizations do not rush to spend their capacity to the bone. They should instead focus on the development of excess capacity while still carrying out necessary functions. Systems which function at or beyond their capacity will tend to be fragile to stressors. Systems which accumulate more powers than they are required to expend in order to maintain themselves will be more able to comfortably requisition needed resources when unique circumstances arrive.

However, capacity is not only taxed by carrying out distinct projects and proposals. It is also spent in maintaining current organizational structures. All power structures require maintenance; inreach to members, facilitation of meetings, checking in on action items, and so on... This is important. Organizations are power structures and all viable power structures are embodied in individual conditioning, interpersonal, social structure, and environmental structures. It is a mistake to overemphasize one or another of these. Horizontal organizations must work constantly to maintain ideological coherence, interpersonal harmony, social structural consistency, and environmental integration if they wish to succeed. However, each of these tax capacity.

To avoid this, horizontal organizations should organize events which enrich the lives of participants: parties, get-togethers, celebrations, bonfires, and so on... But also

events wherein people can share their difficulties, discuss their struggles, and band together to provide relief for their fellow organizers. Each of these will tend to reap dividends in available capacity if they can be organized without taxing too much capacity themselves. It must also be said that victories are one of the best producers of extra capacity. Oftentimes, even when people have spent a huge amount of energy on a project, watching it come to fruition, seeing the outcomes of their efforts actualized in the world, is enough to refresh them to baseline. This is why it is important that we set distinct and achievable goals, then work earnestly toward them.

This leads to the need for organizational ergonomics for our horizontal structures. This means that organizers within the group must be able understand how to utilize the resources at hand and to steer the organization in different directions given particular stimuli. In this way, it is within the interests of the organization to be structured legibly to the actors within it and efforts must be made to make it more legible where it is not. Comfort of action leads to lower exhaustion and lower exhaustion leads to greater available energies for the organization as a whole, therefore raising the efficiency of our actions.

With all this in mind, groups must also be aware of how much available capacity they have at any given time. Group capacity is related to two main key variables: individual capacities and number of individuals. Individual capacities can be optimized through organizational ergonomics, through lessening the outside-of-the-organization burdens of members, and by energizing individuals to act. However, if the individuals within a group cannot carry out some task that has been decided upon, if they cannot have difficulties in their life reduced

to make more time for needed action, and if they cannot be energized toward the task at hand, the organization must either expand or change course. So let us first discuss the concept of expansion and we will discuss changing course momentarily.

Here, by expansion, we mean increasing the number of members in the organization. Historically, this has been a focus of many organizations. In fact, many have even made it their primary goal, especially big tent organizations. This is somewhat reasonable, given that expansion can often be used as a barometer for the success of the organization. Expansion expands the powers of the members of the group. As more bonds of solidarity are created, so too are more flows of power available to everyone involved. This represents the expansion of the powers of everyone and also creates the potential that this movement will become revolutionary. It is in this joint benefit that people will find the satisfaction of their needs.

As was said in the previous part, however, expansion is not the only goal that should be prioritized. Expansion for its own sake often leads to perverse incentives. To include everyone in society would require a platform which is entirely nebulous, as it would also include non-radicalized individuals and outright enemies of revolutionary activity. We must remember that, though revolutionary activity will benefit everyone in society, many people in society will actively work against these revolutionary ends until their dying breath. The inclusion of these sorts of militant reactionaries will not expand the power of the group, but will, in fact, tend to limit it. Therefore we can conclude that, if expanding costs the group its principles and its revolutionary vision, then it is a form of self-sabotage and can possibly even escalate into Mega-Mechanical Recolonization.

Instead, expansion should be understood as an organic outcome of proper organizational function. Expansion will take place naturally if the group is carrying out tasks which are inspiring to others, engaging in successful social insertion, and maintaining popular education campaigns. This is not to say, of course, that promotion of membership drives should never be done; many occasions will arise where this function can take place in an effective and holistic sense and such that it does not derail the goals of the group.

By contrast, contraction is when a group becomes smaller in size. This can take place as members become exhausted from over-exertion and therefore cannot lend their energies to projects. It can also come from organizational disassociation and members leaving the group for one reason or another. Like expansion, it is not as simple as saying that this is good or bad. However, also like expansion, it does have a general tendency. Contraction, in a general sense, is bad for the group, because it reduces the number of degrees of freedom for the members of the group and also decreases the amount of capacity the entire group has access to.

However, it cannot be said that contraction is never good. Sometimes, especially when members who are being kicked (or leaving of their own volition, as the case may be) are a harm to the group, it can be a direct benefit to the group for them to leave. If those members were constantly engaged in intra-organizational conflict, attacking others, accusing them of falsehoods, exaggerating harms, taking formal mechanisms for power into their own hands, abusing delegation, and so on... it may actually expand group capacity for them to no longer be part of the group. Moreover, if it is found that

a contingent of the group has categorically different aims than the rest of the group, in violation of the platform or requiring a radical strategic departure, it will often be best that they form their own group where they can carry out their own aims with their own platform.

This then leads us to the topic of grievances, mediation, violation of organizational agreements, and general intra-organizational conflict. In these occasions, the organization will need to practice some form of intervention to try to resolve the problems at hand. However, this is a very complicated topic and therefore it is difficult to summarize. And this is unfortunate, as it has been the make-or-break factor to many organizations of the past and will be just as such for many future ones. And so I will at least give general guidance which could then be developed into more robust solutions.

First of all, it is not wise to develop a one-size-fits-all mechanism. Grievances can take many different forms which are difficult to categorize and for which different methods will be reasonable. Whereas a certain method, as recommended, may have worked in previous circumstances, it may be inappropriate in others. For this reason, organizers will have to utilize discretion in dealing with each problem. In this process, especially when there is no clear cut victim and offender, members must be careful not to play favorites or act in ways which are partial to certain parties, trying to generally follow previous precedents and procedures as to create a fair playing field for resolution. This being said, balancing these features is clearly not a simple matter. Whereas the construct of law in liberal society aims toward utter impartiality and strict adherence to dictum, our goal is a simultaneously restorative and preventative model.

Here, let us begin by emphasizing the latter, prevention. This is to say, efforts should be made trying to bring issues to the surface before they escalate. Where there is capacity, the group should utilize discussion circles for reflection aiming toward general feedback among peers, venting of personal struggles, and in this there may be a place for regular use of more general systems for self-criticism and resolution such as Tekmil. However it is achieved, it must be understood that self-inspection and openness to critique are important aspects of prevention.

Nonetheless, sometimes these will not be successful and problems will arise that must be dealt with more formally. In this case, the way that grievances are addressed should differ depending on the severity. Said simply: there is a difference between conflict, hurt feelings, harm, and abuse; and it is important to discern between these as one proceeds through any grievance process.

The first thing to note is that in nearly all occasions an initial interlocutor will have to be consulted to determine what the scale of the grievance is and do some basic fact-finding toward this end. This interlocutor may arise organically, as parties both gravitate towards them to try and solve the dispute, may be chosen by the aggrieved (as certain occasions may suggest), or may be delegated by the general council. It is possible that this initial interlocutor may be able to resolve the problems at hand in one way or another, through either formal or informal methods. And, if this can be done, it should be accepted. If this problem cannot be dealt with in this initial phase, this person also may or may not end up acting as the mediator in the process itself.

In different categories of grievance, the role of the mediator in the process will be prescribed, differing

based on the difficulties at hand. And, make note that, before choosing which scale of the grievance process is to be followed, different standards for verification and victim safety will have to be practiced. As the severity of accusation increases, due diligence should be carried out in ensuring that the story being claimed has some factual evidence, given the severity of possible outcomes. Likewise, the more severe the situation, those who are aggrieved should be given more leeway in their time to reflect, to have their point-of-view represented by mediators, or to ask for more leniency in their testimony of events.

Another note is that mediators or initial interlocutors should default to the least use of force available in each of these situations. That is to say, unless it is absolutely clear which category is taking place, the least severe category which fits the available facts is where the process should start. If, after inspection of the problem, a mediator determines that it is worse than originally assessed, they may move into a more severe category appropriately.

It may also be useful, in carrying out this fact-finding mission, to utilize councils comprised of the sort of identity that is being affected in the given grievance. This is to say; if the problem has to do with racism, members who are affected by racism should be consulted, if the problem involves misogyny, a women's council should be consulted. Here, one may be able to find quick assessment of solutions and expedient mechanisms for fact-finding. These councils may even be called upon to act as mediator in the eventual process.

As any grievance process is carried out, it must also be recognized that exaggeration of the scale of grievance

represents an act of harm (or possibly even abuse) if it was done without due attempts to objectively qualify the behaviors involved. In general it is expected that when a person feels hurt or when emotions are heightened, they may tend to exaggerate by at least one category. However, exaggeration of grievances, given the heavy emotional load that these processes place on the group, the risk of these processes being consciously abused by infiltrators, and the possible consequences for the falsely maligned, should be seen as grievances in themselves. Ideally, however, this new grievance should be dealt with within the bounds of the current grievance process and cyclic problems wherein two or more parties are continuously filing grievances back and forth should be avoided, even though such occasions will likely be rare, given that members will almost always choose to disassociate rather than continuing to deal with individuals they continuously fight and feud with.

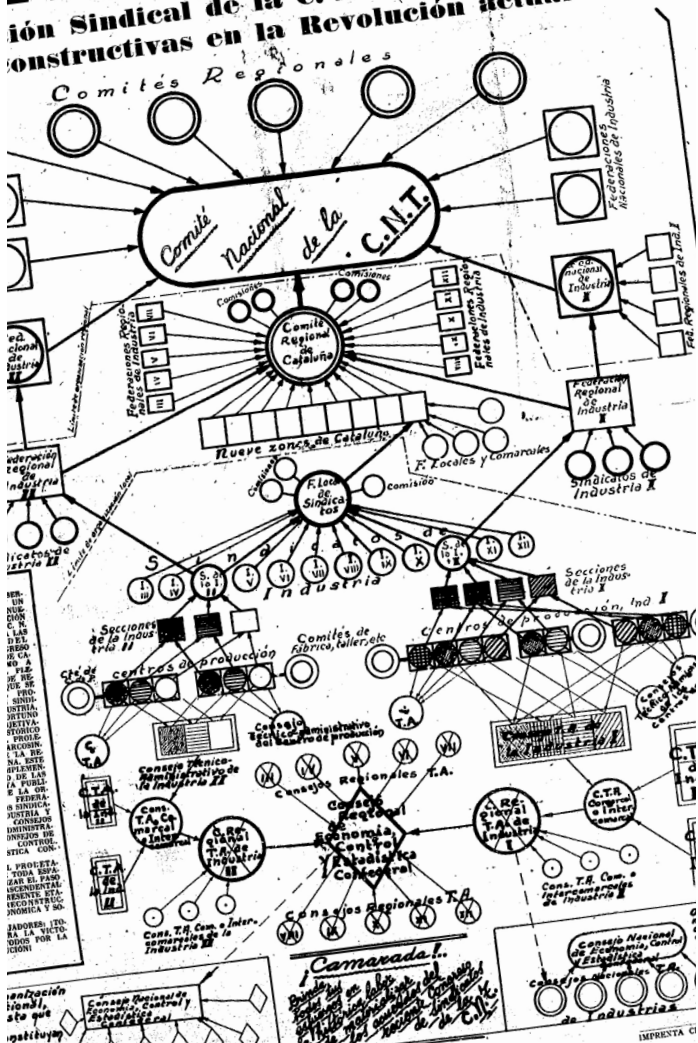
With this lengthy aside on grievances now out of the way, we have laid in some of the basic mechanisms which allow a group to plan, to act, to expand, and to contract. Some of these difficulties are the choosing filters which were mentioned in the previous parts of this series. And it is the combination of a system's capability to iterate and change in the face of these choosing filters which determines their viability. Because, over time, organizations must change and alter themselves if they wish to survive. Even a group's charter will need to change as choosing filters approach. This means that groups will go through various iterations, using different methods, utilizing different charters, and activating different membership to respond flexibly to new stimuli. Though flexing and changing should also not be fetishized, because each of these changes require energy, which themselves may lead to overtaxing the organization's capacity.

With this, we have developed a strong overview of the broader operational imperatives of horizontal organizations. However, what is still lacking is tactical specificity. Previously this topic has been touched on in my work *Constructing the Revolution*, where I gave some tertiary coverage of the different sorts of bodies which would be necessary for us to build if we are going to have a robust prefigurative vehicle. However, there still remains the questions of how we will know which of these to build, given our circumstances, and how we might assess that any given action is in line with our broader strategy. In other words, though I have laid out the need for horizontal organizations and what sorts of bodies we must develop, we have not yet discussed how to steer these horizontal organizations between all their different potentialities. Let us spend the remainder of this work addressing that very topic.

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Power Mapping

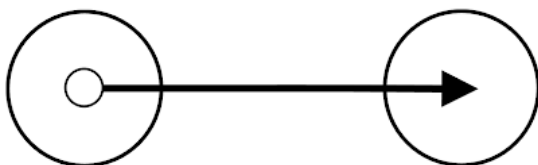
If, previous to this section, we have laid out the general dynamics which lead to successful horizontal organization and arrayed some tools at hand to help with the administration of the organizations we create, it seems necessary that we also discuss how an organization should decide how it will charter a course through such rough terrain. This sort of navigation is no small affair. In fact, no rubric or teleology could ever fully synthesize strategic and tactical concerns.

To make our task worse, whereas historically the left has relegated itself to narrow consideration of the economic problem, simplifying the complexity of the elements in their strategic assessment, here we have counseled an intersectional understanding of power structures, which makes our analysis and planning for offense even more complicated. No one struggle can present itself as so important that it precludes consideration of other aspects of the kyriarchal mega-machine. The mega-machine, to be dismantled, must be dismantled at every juncture, so that it cannot simply adapt to new pressures.

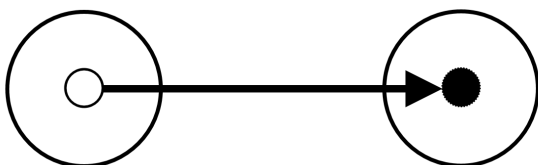
In the interests of building this bridge between strategic imperatives and tactical ones, let us take all of the principles which we have inspected up until this point and develop a methodology for power mapping.

Firstly, the most generalized concepts come from thinking of how power flows from some loci wherein there is a will, impetus, or decision-making process, to targets or recipients, which that power transforms, supports, conditions, or otherwise changes. In this sense, it is good to start by thinking about power as an arrow, though we will complicate this simplification in a moment.

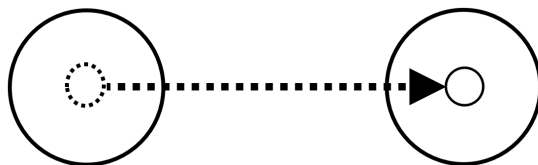
Wherein some flow of power points out from a frame, it fits into three broad categories with some finer delineations. Power may be “exerted,” “relinquished,” or “utilized.” The first of these, exertion, is when a frame uses some internal existing capability in order to affect another frame. After exertion, the root of power remains within the originating frame. For example, to walk, one must “exert” the power of one’s muscles.



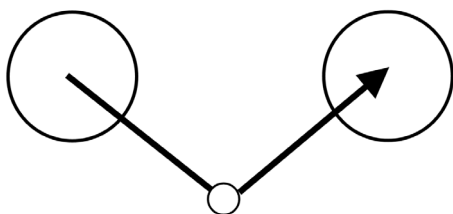
There is then a subtype of this, which might be called “attack,” which is an exertion that is aimed at removing a root of power within another frame.



Then there is the case of relinquishment. Relinquishment takes place when the root which enables the exerted flow of power moves from being internal to the frame to being external to the frame. To donate one’s kidney is to “relinquish” the power of their kidney.



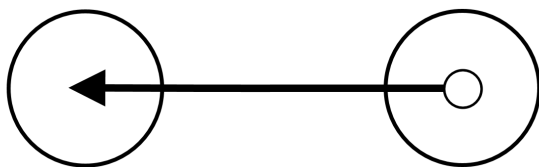
The last of these is utilization. Utilization is when the originating frame uses some root of power outside of itself in order to transform some other frame. To drive upon a road is to “utilize” the roadways, for example.



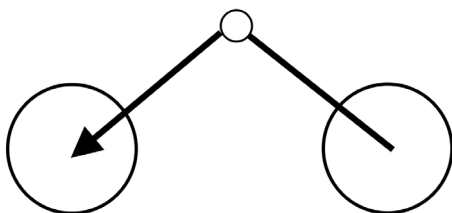
It is not hard to see that nearly every activity that an agent carries out in life is some admixture of these. It may be that a person exerts power to walk to their car, which they will then utilize along with the roads, in order to drive to a hospital where they will relinquish their kidney, which they are donating in hopes of saving their dying cousin, who attacked their own body with excessive use of alcohol.

Similar to how we can understand power as it exits a frame, we can understand power as it enters a frame. And, given that all power entering a frame had to have gotten there by power elsewhere exiting a frame, there is predictably a sort of symmetry of features. These three corollaries are “reception,” “internalization,” and “lending.”

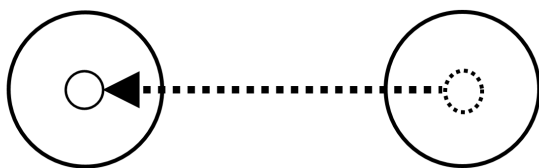
When power enters a frame and affects it somehow, while the root of the exerted power remains outside the frame, this is called “reception.” This takes place any time a frame is acted upon by an outside force.



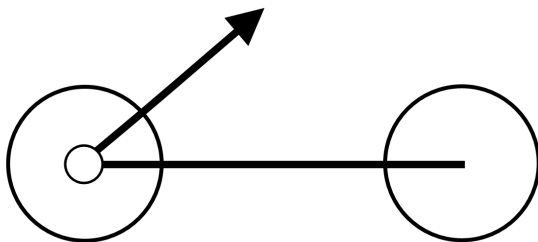
Likewise, the receiving frame experiences “reception” in response to another frame “utilizing” their frame for something. For example, when some part of a power structure conveys their power through the command of some other discrete structure. The police are utilized by the state and you experience the reception of their violence.



The next of these, when some root of power moves from outside the frame inside the frame, we call “internalization.” The brother who received a kidney in our previous example, is “internalizing” the donated kidney. Similarly, a company “internalizes” another company when they undergo merger, representing the absorption of all the roots within it.



Lastly, there is the relationship when a flow of power utilizes a root within the receiving frame of power for exertion of power without internalizing the root itself. We call this relationship “lending.” If you are giving your friend a ride to the store, this is “lending” to you and “utilization” for them.



Next, we must consider the fact that this arrow of action is, in fact, undergoing a constant reciprocal conditioning based on the returning stimuli of the external world that it changes. And so, in order for most power interactions to be robustly modeled, we must actually conceptualize a feedback loop. Every use of power, after all, creates a reciprocal response from the world that it acts upon. The comparison of this exertion of power and the results of the reciprocal response also gives us a great deal of the basic methodology for understanding whether certain exertions are desirable or undesirable.

Exertions that transform conditions and have nearly no reciprocal negative consequences can generally be considered efficient or effective actions. Exertions which effect little transformation of conditions and yet incur large negative reciprocal consequences, can generally be seen as foolish or self-destructive. However, even so, it must be understood to what degree these reciprocal conditioning effects are positive or negative.

For example, the exertion of effort may be organizing a workplace to create a union. In this effort, one will spend some considerable amount of their own energies in the interests of bringing about a structure for worker empowerment. Simultaneously, they will invite the ire of their bosses and possibly tempt retaliation in certain

circumstances. However, as the anarchists have always mentioned, they will also transform themselves, to become more like the sort of being they must become in order to carry out the world-historic tasks of a revolutionary; they have cultivated in themselves a greater bravery, a more intrepid attitude toward change, and also developed the relationships with others which could bring about more transformations.

One must think through this reciprocal relationship when deciding whether an action should be carried out. The linear aspect of power exertion and the reciprocal reconditioning aspect, must both be understood properly to map out power dynamics. Together, these allow us to understand the concept which was described in earlier parts of this series as “leverage.” You have developed more leverage in measure to your consistent ability to carry out actions that are beneficial exertions with little or less reciprocal negative consequence. By contrast, the enemy has leverage over your frame if the same can be said for them. Suffice to say, the movement has not had leverage over prevailing hierarchical power structures for many decades at the time this work is being written.

So now, let us summarize these three crucial aspects to understanding the flow of power within a power structure:

Power has a root from which it originates and the movement of this root determines who or what directs that power.

Use of power reciprocally reconditions the user of some power.

Power leverage can be understood through the dynamics of how power enters and exits different frames, considering the scale of impacts between these.

Here we have cataloged some of the basic dynamics of how power moves. However, what the cataloging of these dynamics in the flow of power does not tell us, is how we may apply these tools to our circumstances, as to determine whether outcomes are beneficial to our goals or not. In order to uncover that answer from these principles, we must undergo an analysis of whether some incoming flow of power creates dependence on an enemy power structure or whether it promotes empowerment of the frame itself.

The general rule of thumb in such an analysis is that, between competitive entities, power flow will tend to benefit a power structure it enters in measure to how much the root was relinquished by that other competing structure, allowing the receiving power structure to internalize that root. This empowers the structure receiving the root and disempowers the competing structure which relinquishes the root.

By contrast, an organization will tend to develop dependence on another structure to the degree that it continues utilizing some power with no accordant internalization of the root of that power. This is due to the removal and comparison process we have discussed throughout this work. If the lending structure were to cut off the utilization relationship it has with the receiving power structure, that deprived structure would have to cease some function which was reliant on that utilization. In this way, dependence is also created when, in exchange for some flow of power entering the power structure, that power structure has to agree to long-term stipulations. Wherever this takes place, that power structure can also be readily deprived of some flow of power whenever the lending structure refuses to continue this relationship.

For this reason, the most thorough dependence is created when some power sustains its ongoing, natural functions through a utilization relationship with another structure. This is to say, the most thorough dependence is created when, if we were to entertain the possibility that some incoming flow of power were removed from the ongoing functioning of the receiving power structure, this removal would lead to the death, immiseration, or general failure of the organization in question. After dependence has grown to an extended degree, this primal realization drives the dependent body to defend the root outside of itself. This is not only a description of why anarchists emphasize direct action over parliamentarianism and why reactionaries defend authoritarian institutions, this is also why the state defends its people; the people, after all, are its host and thus it has a fundamental dependence on them.

The solution to this predicament is simple. Dependence can be reduced by creating internal mechanisms to sustain ongoing functions; this is to say, by bringing more and more roots of power inside the frame that wishes to reduce dependence. With this in mind, autonomy can be understood as the process of internalizing roots. And at the end of this path is the closed loop economy; autarky if considered at a greater scale. However, even withstanding the risks that come with dependence, dependence is not such a simple affair that we can conclude it is totally negative. Accordingly, we cannot pronounce that absolute autonomy is our ideal end goal.

There are, broadly, three different types of dependence, which I will use ecological terms to describe:

Parasitism: when some frame carries out maximal utilization or internalization without destroying the root

of power within a host. When related to human society, we often call this an “exploitative” relationship.

Predation: when some frame carries out a combination of attack and/or internalization, with no consideration for the maintenance of the original root of power. When many agents in a system practice this, you develop a competitive system.

Symbiosis: when two frames practice mutual lending or wherein there is very broad use of utilization, without either seeking internalization or attack. Symbiosis is also expressed when one frame helps create the root of power within another frame. When many agents in a system practice this, you develop a cooperative system.

Each of these create dependence of a certain sort between the two parties being considered. Parasites are reliant on their host(s) for continued extraction and thus their survivability drops with lower availability of hosts.

Predators must consume prey in order to survive and they will therefore starve if there is no prey available. Symbiotic actors have interest in maintaining the existence and expanded power of other actors they are in symbiotic relationships with, even to the degree that they can purposely forgo attempts to internalize other structures’ roots of power.

In this way, we can see that dependence is not necessarily bad. In fact, we are all, in some way or another, dependent on the rest of the world to survive. For this reason, it is not better that we be free from all dependence on others, as we described in part 2 of this series of essays. Pure self-reliance would actually make us all individually less powerful than if we engaged in symbiosis. So now we can

cross the bridge of strategy into the realm of tactics when we say the following:

We wish to destroy endemic parasitism and hegemonic predation; the relations of hierarchical power structures over the populations they exploit. In place of these, we wish to institute symbiosis between horizontal power structures through cooperative institutions built to mutually empower all parties. This means that horizontal power structures should develop utilization and lending relationships with one another, *ad infinitum*, until they produce a combined horizontal power structure which can and does predate the mega-machine. In this process, horizontal power structures should seek to internalize all flows from the hierarchical power structures that surround them and never develop utilization relationships with these wings of the mega-machine any more than is crucially necessary to survive and continue expanding.

In the transition out of kyriarchal stasis, parasitism of hierarchical structures by horizontal power structures can be good in brief measure; however, the longer it persists, the more likely it is to create dependence on those hierarchical structures, making it a negative long-term affair. Parasitism between two horizontal structures is, contrarily, very negative and should be seen as the beginning of Mega-Mechanical Recolonization. Other horizontal structures should be our allies or, at worst, neutral actors within our communities. Contrarily, symbiosis between horizontal structures and hierarchical structures is an extremely negative relationship for horizontal structures, as it creates a system wherein horizontal structures are predetermined toward cooperation with their enemy; like prey trying to befriend their predators instead of banding together to protect each

other. By contrast, symbiosis between horizontal structures may be considered the primary mechanism for building a Horizontal Hegemony. It is the embodiment of solidarity. Indeed, our goal should be the creation of self-reliance for the confederation of horizontal power structures.

As an organization navigates in its procurement of new flows of power and in its continued interaction with the flows of power which already move around them, they should then be keenly aware which of these relationships they are cultivating, in keeping with these strategic imperatives. Now that we have built this conceptual bridge between strategy and tactics and have developed a power mapping methodology along with it, it is time we move on to the practical aspects of steering and tactical execution.



Steering and Tactical Execution

As we begin, let us frame our analysis in light of a relatively simple train of thought: organizations, in order to steer through rough terrain, must be able to soberly assess their environment, plan competently in terms of that environment, and then implement their plans successfully. For this reason, we will separate tactical execution into three generalized categories.

Assessment takes place through active reconnaissance, through research and discussion, and through social insertion in mass movements. *Planning* then takes place by combination of the facts gathered during research and reconnaissance in developing angles of attack along with coordinated defensive capabilities, as well as an understanding of possible contingencies in execution.

Implementation is the carrying out of the plan, taking into account variations due to real events.

However, I will make some notes before we continue forward. First, understand that this three-step process is cyclic. After implementation has taken place, the interested actors must take the knowledge gained from their failures and successes and integrate them with newly formed strategies. Aspects of these steps will also tend to coexist with one another as execution of various priorities takes place. Moreover, sometimes certain steps can be skipped. It may be prudent, for example, to skip assessment if previous fact finding missions have availed the organization of the lay of the land. Or planning might be skipped if previous standards for operation have already been determined. Implementation is the only one of these that cannot be skipped. Without implementation, there is nothing. An organization which becomes stuck in assessment and planning without some accordant

implementation has already begun to necrotize and will soon fall to pieces. And, contrarily, implementation without assessment and planning, is just machismo and performance, a headlong run into a brick wall.

I should also note: though here we will focus more on the active, tactical processes which organizations carry out, these three phases are useful for any sort of organizational action, whether it is offensive or defensive; whether prefigurative and developmental or aggressive and expropriative.

So let us start with the first of the three phases:

Assessment

This phase is based around the gathering and processing of information about one's environment. There are several approaches to this stage. Indeed, here there are such a dizzying array of possible tools for analysis, that entire schools of thought are devoted to litigating the facts of the matter. First, it may be helpful to formally lay out the power dynamics in the world you are interacting with, diagramming power relations either visually or descriptively. However, to carry out such an analysis, one must have a target of interest. Are we to diagram the organic power of the people? The liberatory institutions they are involved with? Or the structures of hierarchical power which oppress them?

The answer is that ultimately all of these will be involved in our assessment. However, which of these we wish to focus on primarily will be determined by whether we have chosen a defensive or an aggressive orientation toward the mega-machine. There is a general trend in that, if you wish to go on the offensive against an enemy structure, you will

spend more of your time studying its form, understanding its strengths and weaknesses, learning who occupies its seats of power, and discerning its mechanisms for action. And, by contrast, if your priority is to build a position of power for the people, you will need to spend more of your time understanding the positionality of the people; their struggles and fears, their desires and capacities, the richness or dearth of their community bonds, their class orientation, their precarity, and so on...

This may give the impression that aggression and defense hold equal value at all points. However, it is generally advised that, if there is no base of power for the people, that horizontal organizations begin their work in creating collective empowerment. After all, there will be no effective acts of aggression against the mega-machine, and certainly no rebel constituency, if people are so deprived, exhausted, starved, and confused, that they cannot or will not rally to action. The oppressed are, by and large, unenthused to be approached by yet another self-appointed messiah. For this reason, organizers must not only demonstrate a token desire to empower the people they are organizing together, but must demonstrate the capability to empower them in a substantive sense. This is why such extensive emphasis has been placed on prefiguration during this work.

However, in order for horizontal power structures to be built, there must also be a constituency for these structures. There is a tendency, when organizers begin building prefigurative structures, to focus on the organization and coordination of other organizers. This is certainly the easier path, when faced with a hostile surrounding society. However, though this approach may be helpful in developing a new, radical structure, especially

in dire circumstances, it is the construction of power for those outside the circle of radicals that enfolds truly revolutionary activity. And, in this sense, it is imperative that organizers locate a radical constituency outside of those who are already radicalized.

To this end, it is instructive to locate those peoples who are most oppressed or who are multiply marginalized. In step with this assessment, you must also go to work in discovering if there are already horizontal resistance movements or burgeoning forms of horizontal consciousness within these peoples. If there are, a crucial education will come from your presence in these spaces and among the oppressed as to understand the full context of their struggle. Here we are speaking again of social insertion.

But do not be surprised if there are no such movements and no such radical consciousness. Those who are most oppressed are also often most exhausted, having the least mental energy to devote to thoughts of rebellion, to organizing along with others of dissimilar revolutionary intention, and to all those other tasks that surround prefigurative activity. It is always easier for the oppressed to go along with their system of oppression. This makes them susceptible to easy answers, especially ones that seem congruent with the ethos of the system they occupy. This is how all sorts of grifters and cult-leaders dupe the people; by meeting them where they are at and reinforcing the hierarchical realism which has already been planted in their minds by the system. This does not mean that these very same people will not become an active and important constituency in the work to come. However, one must dispense of the idea, before activity even begins, that those who should fight for their liberation, will be prepared to do so upon first meeting.

Another guide to locating a radical constituency is to learn about previous struggles in your region. This may prove informative in determining the contours of the megamachine. Which hierarchy, when it has been challenged before, elicited the most vicious backlash from the system? The more recent and more intense the backlash that took place, the more likely it is that that particular hierarchy is a central tenet of how the kyriarchy maintains itself in your locality. If, for example, it is the case that feminist marches caused enormous uproar and police suppression, then this may indicate that patriarchy is a specifically active element of the kyriarchy within your area and so women's issues may be a very strong starting place for radical action. Or, if indigenous struggles have elicited enormous backlash and state interference, then colonialism or imperialism are likely one of the key features and decolonization practice may be a place for immediate focus.

I will pause here to warn the reader, however: do not think, after gathering this information, that the best course of action is to rank these intersections of oppression in importance or give them an order of primacy and then act only upon the worst of these. This critically misunderstands the degree to which all hierarchies of power are operative in holding up the machine. The goal must instead always be to understand how all of these interact and reinforce one another, recognizing where each will lead to difficulties and pitfalls for given tactics. How has the general populace's ideology been shifted to support this arm of the kyriarchy? Uncover the raw functioning ideological components which maintain support for the system and then find where the people have developed some consciousness, for better or worse, around those issues. If there is already anger, resentment, or displeasure with the system, learn what

aspects of the system they object to. If they are displeased with their boss, is it because they are not being paid well? Is it because of harassment? Is it because of poor work hours or onerous conditions? Is it because of frequent arrests? The answer will vary depending on the chosen target and the context of its form of oppression. This requires active research and reconnaissance, which social insertion into oppressed groups and social movements can greatly aid. The more you understand how all of these elements interact, the more you will begin to find a wise balance between available energies and effective actions.

With this, you will have begun to develop an understanding of which constituencies are or are not conducive to bottom-up organization. You will also, hopefully, have begun to locate existing institutions both among the oppressed and standing over the people, which may either struggle against or reinforce the system of oppression. This information may be sufficient to then begin acting in ways which have been elucidated in part 3 of this work or in *Constructing the Revolution*. Indeed, there is likely some impetus, once these factors have been understood, to move on to the Planning stage. However, while one continues to navigate this path, they should also begin to ask questions about how the four fields of power structures currently operate within these spaces.

This means that you should try to assess both the distinct institutional form of the hierarchy around you and how the oppressed peoples in question are grouped together and exploited. Work to assess how both horizontal and hierarchical power structures in the areas around you are embodied as a collection of individuals each with their own mental conditioning, what interpersonality maintains these structures, how social structure either succeeds or

fails in modifying the action of individual actors within them, and what locales the constituents of the power structures dwell within.

As you come to understand the power structural form of the enemy, you will tend to learn about the methods by which it conveys power, its strengths and weaknesses. And as you learn about how individuals are oppressed by this power structure, you will tend to learn how you might go about not only reducing harm, but also in constructing long-term, prefigurative bodies which put power back in the hands of the people.

All of the elements within the fields will have considerable overlaps. This requires us to avoid reductionism in focusing solely on one or another of these in the coming analysis. For example, when assessing which individuals occupy particular positions of power, we must also consider the seats of power, as these seats of power are what really allow the continued systemic functions. To make sure the simultaneous focus on structure and individuality is maintained, you must first educate yourselves on what social structures are in place which produce and reproduce this systematic domination, be they corporate entities, government bureaus, non-profits, or hierarchical organizations more generally. Also recognize that the system in question, especially in conjunction with its size, will almost always function at various scales of locality, each having its own systemic purpose. Ask what entities represent its power at the local, the municipal, the regional, and the national scale.

This systemic focus allows these elements to then be disempowered structurally, not becoming overly focused on specific individuals in those seats. Specific individuals

should only be seen as functional components who are representative of systemic purposes. In this, radicalizing rhetoric must always return people's attention to systemic concerns, even if it sometimes utilizes individuals as demonstrations of systemic rot.

Once a preliminary understanding of each of the hierarchies in your area has been reached, you can then ask what fields of activity those structures function in most primarily. Go through each of these arms of the kyriarchy and diagram how they act in each of the four fields, both internally, and in interaction with their subjects. Attempt to put together a gradient of important processes, positions, or individuals, based on how much control these have on the ongoing function of the hierarchical power structure. If this proves difficult to work out, it may be useful to utilize the removal and replacement mode of analysis mentioned earlier. Ask "if this aspect were removed, what would remain of this hierarchical power?" Based on the degree to which a certain removal would lead to devastation and breakdown for the system, it can be judged that this removal serves an important purpose within the power structure at hand and this will subsequently also become a key feature for attack.

Then also consider the matter of the interpersonal spaces which individuals within this arm of the mega-machine dwell within. Where do they meet and fraternize with friends, family, and/or fellow members of their section of the mega-machine? What bars do they frequent? Where do they live? Where do they host their galas and their get-togethers? This is where the machine greases its wheels. In coordination with this aspect, also ask: through which environmental structures does their power circulate? Factories? Farmlands? Government buildings? Armories?

Infrastructure? Tax dollars? Learn what raw resources are utilized to maintain this arm.

There is also assessment that can then be done in understanding how the target structure maintains itself utilizing the Viable Systems Model.

In considering system one, assess how every day implementation takes place. When decisions are made in the hierarchical structure itself, how are these then practically carried out by the operatives in the structure? Police officers, for example, form the implementation of the system of law and understanding their daily routines and procedures then helps one understand how they will carry out their functions as enemy actors. Ask who the foot soldiers of the system in question are and work to understand their methods of enforcement.

In considering system 2, ask: how do these operative agents of the kyriarchy communicate with one another? Do they use email? Text messages? Phone calls? Walkie talkies? Internal digital platforms? Keep these in mind as you move forward.

In assessing the functionality of systems 3, 4, and 5, ask what structures are present which coordinate implementation tactically. How do they plan and command people within the hierarchy? Carry out reconnaissance to determine their strategic imperatives. What part of the hierarchy makes long-term decisions about the general movement of this arm of the mega-machine? These viable systems questions represent a broad assessment of how the enemy institutions function internally.

Such questions can also be asked about horizontal structures within the area. However, the praxis associated

with these answers will mostly be in consulting and in helping these existing groups manage scarce resources. This is to say, these questions will mostly enter into the conversation for horizontal organizations when they are writing their charters, determining bylaws, or carrying forth some sort of organizational restructuring. These sorts of questions were covered in part 2 of this series.

Planning and Implementation

After you have done whatever assessment is necessary to feel confident in your ability to plan, you will then move on to planning and implementation. These are being grouped together instead of being discussed separately because it is assumed that, after planning takes place, this characterizes the implementation that will follow. Where there is a mismatch between planning and implementation, it will inform the foundation of the following assessment. This is not to say that implementation that mismatches planning is necessarily bad. Indeed, it can uncover flaws in the original plan. However, this discrepancy must be inspected to develop a more coherent course of action.

Regardless, you will now need to begin making concrete plans about how to approach these struggles, taking into account now that there is both an aggressive and a defensive orientation. I will characterize an aggressive orientation as action meant to undermine, weaken, control, or destroy components of the mega-machine, whereas a defensive orientation is about protecting and empowering the people directly, to make them less susceptible to hierarchical sabotage. By separating these, however, I do not mean to imply that they take place completely apart from one another. In the development of new angles and modes of attack, it is often the case that

defense is organically created, and in the development of defensive capacities, it is often the case that the machine is attacked by proxy.

These must be emphasized in measure to conditions.

If, in your assessment, you have found that there is already a radical constituency that is willing to act and existing social institutions which embody this bottom-up movement, it is likely that you will want to take an aggressive approach; staging strikes, protests, forms of sabotage, and so on... Indeed, if this is managed correctly, it can serve to further empower these aforementioned forces.

But if your goal is to focus on attack before defense, take care. Every time you find an angle and mode of attack, you should also assess how you will go about developing further defense for the people who are on the receiving end of the power structure's exploitation. It may be that negative repercussions are high, but defense is very manageable. Or it may be that negative repercussions are low, but defense is impossible. This means not only always conceptualizing and reducing possible repercussions on the communities you are acting to liberate, but also in creating real bodies of defense which act to disentangle these subjects from the mega-machine at the same time.

Such occasions, where these bodies of horizontal power and the radicalism to fight back are already present, are relatively rare. Instead, where most organizers find themselves in the modern day, is among a populace that is disempowered, de-radicalized, complacent, deluded, confused, distracted, or suppressed. In these conditions, the aggressive approach will do little. It may, in fact, lead to the total destruction of whatever burgeoning

radical constituency does exist. Instead, a much slower, prefigurative process must be taken. To meet the people where they are at; bodies to lessen their burdens must be created, not from outside of them, as those developing a charity, but from within, involving the people themselves in these processes.

This need for a defensive orientation is why we must create horizontal power structures which control and distribute resources before rupture arrives; this growing dual power must serve as an alternative structure for meeting people's needs outside the state and capital. And the more robust it is before civil conflict arrives, the better. These structures may take the form of cooperatives, community centers, survival programs (such as in the occasion of the Black Panther breakfast programs), free stores, time banks, popular assemblies, or any other number of bodies which have been previously elucidated in the Four Pillars of Prefiguration.

The crucial thing to understand in these conditions is that, despite the degree of radicalism of the organizers in question, to further destabilize the conditions of the people is usually to make an enemy of the people and is very unlikely to lead to a growing horizontal movement, but instead to a menagerie of informants and saboteurs, seeking to root out the organizers as perceived dangers among them. Those who are oppressed will never take kindly to those who make their lives worse than they already were. For this reason, organizations should not attack if they are not ready to defend vulnerable parties from harm. Direct action such as sabotage, property destruction, or expropriation should only be carried out insofar as legal resources are prepared beforehand and acting parties practice proper informational security. If there is to be

an attack on the system, it should be consented to by the people, discussed in community assemblies, deliberated in forums where those who are affected decide, and so on... On this occasion, organizers may be shocked to learn of the latent radicalism of the people, even those they would perceive as enemies beforehand.

In this balance between an aggressive and a defensive orientation, the ideal is to unite the vehicle for offense and defense together. This is why, for example, the union has had such historic power. The same body acts as attack and defense, plans for minimization of harm, demands and fights for concessions from the capitalists, acts as substrate for interpersonality, and maintains stable autopoietic social structures. All that they lacked in this strategic and tactical schema laid out here, was control of the means of production, an environmental structural root which remained in the hands of the capitalists. However, it is this high concordance in the four fields with capacity for attack and defense that made the union so powerful on the economic front and still maintains its radical potential in the modern day.

But with all these notes about the simultaneous development of defense and offense, how should we actually go about attacking the machine? First, it must be said that it is unwise to attack the machine where it is strong, but that you should instead attack where it is weak. To build and exhibit power, we must attack bottlenecks in the power, where disruption causes a stoppage of all other aspects of the functioning of some process.

Before planning any attack, organizers should ask what the goal and the method of the attack is. Then organizers should ask how this goal can be materially achieved

through some proposed action. Determining these targets of attack requires the development of specific modes of attack. Many different tactics can be used, escalating in implementation: disruption, strike, covert activity, and force, among others. However, in determining which of these will be used, it is recommended that the group always remember what stage of revolutionary activity they are functioning within. If an organization is still in Catalysis, for example, they should probably not escalate to military struggle, as this will only tempt the structure to retaliate violently, likely crushing whatever is being built. This does not mean that their struggle cannot be militant, however. Indeed, targeted sabotage, street clashes, and riots are likely to be involved in even the earliest parts of the revolutionary process.

For example, let us say that the goal of an aggressive action is to destabilize and confuse the operatives within the system, as to make them less effective at conveying their power. If the pertinent power structure utilizes a particular location which also then serves to maintain the interpersonality of interested parties within key organizations, it would be advantageous to disrupt that location prolifically, as this will lead to interpersonal difficulty and embitterment among the rulers. If the goal is to end some economic arrangement which the social structure then transforms into broader social power, it would be advantageous to take hold of that resource, requisition it, or otherwise cut off the power structure's de-facto access to that resource with techniques such as blockades, boycotts, property destruction, or equipment sabotage, and to organize the people who live in or around that resource to participate in such actions in perpetuity until such arrangements change.

In any occasion, organizations should attempt to punch at or below their weight, as to give themselves time and space to develop and should only attempt to achieve larger expropriative or aggressive forceful goals when they have strong ties into social movements. This will also serve to deceive the enemy structure about the movement's real capacity for force and destruction until it is too late for them to successfully suppress our horizontal power structures.

Whatever form of power structure developed along with its mode of attack, the organization should plan to push this tactic to its full organic extent, though always in rhythm with our escalation of strength and in coordination with events. This may take weeks, months, years, or decades, depending on the rate at which people are rallied to this cause. Regardless, as action becomes more militant, active members should practice appropriate concealment and informational security to protect them from backlash. Simultaneously, we must accept ahead of time that this will not always be possible, especially as struggle spans wide and retaliation from power structures becomes more indiscriminate.

And so here we come across another choosing filter which we have not yet spoken about in this part: how an organization may be required to respond to widespread and indiscriminate, violent suppression. This aspect, escalating in necessity as organizations proceed from Emanation onwards, will have to become a holistic part of the organizational project as it becomes more successful. Members must be aware, well before conflict ever begins, that one day, if their organization is successful, it will face opposition, of both the militant and bureaucratic variety. For this reason, radical organizations must understand the difference between "overground" components, which are

legible from the outside or, at the very least, are crafted and carried out with the expectation they may one day be called into scrutiny by outside actors, and “underground” components, which are purposely concealed from sight, intended to function with anonymity in the pursuance of militant and often illegal action.

Accordingly, organizations must be able to rationally qualify whether they are overground -operating in open sight with front-facing media and social interactions- or underground -operating in secrecy without public interface. These two will be appropriate to the degree that the organization is engaged in militant struggle with prevailing power structures. It may become necessary, as organizations proceed through Emanation and Civil Conflict, that an underground approach is taken. However, organizations should resist doing so for as long as it is safe to remain overground, as the organization and the confederation of associated organizations will almost always grow more quickly when they are public interfacing. Organizations which go underground will tend to disappear from public view and will therefore tend to go into contraction until they are able to resurface again. It may even be difficult for underground organizations to recruit the very militants they require to escalate their struggle at this stage, because newly radicalized militants cannot even locate the means to become enmeshed with the militant organization itself.

This corresponds to another dichotomy between legibility and illegibility. Legible structures are those which, when looked upon by some interested actor, are easy to understand, whose communications can be recovered, indexed, translated, and classified. By contrast, illegible structures are those that are not easy to understand, that

resist translation, indexing, or classification by some interested actor. And legibility can be considered from both an internal and external point of view. This is to say, something may be internally very legible, while being externally illegible. Conversely, it may be internally and externally legible, or neither. All of these depend on what efforts are put in place to conceal internal features from the inside and the outside view.

The ideal is that the key fundamental functions of the organization; decision-making and implementation, lie above ground and remain internally legible. As has been discussed before; these features benefit from their legibility and their adoption will also need to span wide in order for broader horizontalization of power to take place. And, so that new participants can find their empowerment within the horizontal structure, there is also considerable impetus to be externally legible. These overground components, however, should avoid discussion of underground components within overground avenues. This is to say, the overground components should maintain external illegibility of the most militant aspects of the total horizontal movement of power, while still making sure to develop that militant power away from sight. The creation of underground components should typically therefore take place within interpersonal communications between the members of that organization and further discussion of the underground components which have been created should remain in those same networks.

However, there must be a general caution against the assumption that all defensive components which are related to more militant action are inherently underground components. In fact, much of an organization's defensive capabilities, bodies such as protest defense, medic groups,

harm reduction, weapons training, de-escalation training, and mutual aid efforts, will need to lie above ground, as to make them accountable to the organization and to the people they claim to defend. It can be very dangerous to develop militant bodies which view themselves as defenders of the public, but who have absolutely no accountability to that public. They could even theoretically turn into vigilante mobs who carry out harmful acts, but escape all criticism and repercussions for their actions, if they are not formed properly.

However, it remains the case that, when the state or foreign imperial forces try to crush the organization, if it has not risen to the status of a regional fighting force, it must be capable of going underground and giving the appearance that it has ceased existence, whether briefly or for an extended period. It is therefore imperative that some underground capacity be developed very early on and that there should be some coordination of true militant defensive capabilities well before suppression comes, so that members will be prepared for conflicts to come. The more suppression that is faced by the horizontal organization which it cannot respond to in kind, the more of its components must go underground and, accordingly, become illegible to onlookers. This period, as has been mentioned, will tend to lead to contraction or, at the very least, the end of steady growth, and should therefore be considered only when it is crucially necessary for survival.

But we do not get to dictate the flow of necessity. All we can do is discuss the different forms that horizontal power might have to take in order to adapt to changing circumstances. After all, we must always remember that horizontality's strength is its exceptional adaptivity to circumstance. We must build with an ethos of conflict and

construction all throughout our project, considering how one day conflict may overbear construction, being replaced by expropriation and war.



Conclusion

Here we stand now, having reached the end of a long dialogue. And so it seems that we should summarize what we have discussed. At the beginning of our exploration, we found ourselves in a dark forest, beset with many predators and parasites. Crossroads spidered out before us, many other travelers standing at our sides, knowing not which road to take. Some even seemed content to simply dwell within this dangerous place, going in circles. For this reason we first set out to describe the horrors of the world.

We have uncovered a machine of oppression which has become the ambient background of every system we inhabit. Its colonization is ancient. And for this reason many of us can no longer even recognize its existence. We have become institutionalized, as prisoners might after many years in confinement. And some even fight for their own oppression. This is no accident, as the system is built to maintain ideological complicity. It assembles classes of beneficiaries to domineer classes of the exploited. Worse, these classes of beneficiaries and exploited are overlapping everywhere throughout the system. Their relations to the levers of power are dynamic and irreducible to a simple metric, making our struggle to undo the mechanics of the machine far more difficult. And daily this machine expands and increases the firmness of its grasp. Our misery is everywhere around us and yet the many charlatans convince us of proximal causes rather than the root. Hierarchy is like a sickness. It spreads where it is not countervailed. And hierarchical systems are built not to countervail this spread but instead to accelerate it. As a result we are destroying ourselves and the very complex ecosystem which birthed us.

However, we cannot be content to simply wring our hands in displeasure at the state of things. It is necessary, if we recognize our misery, that we then recognize what would eliminate it. For this reason we must inspect the negation of this mega-machine. In doing so we laid out the contrary principles to the mega machine: freedom, solidarity, equality, the unique, and ownness. These principles are far from arbitrary and they are not based in a simple contrarianism which can never rise from the realm of ideas into actuality. These principles have direct corollaries into the study of complex systems and can be found to be analogous to the precepts which allow emergence to take place. Emergence is not forced by hierarchy. Nature cares nothing for these arbitrary relations. Energy flows from one place to another unconstrained by our ideas and beliefs. Hierarchy wishes to cut the roses of a magnificent garden, but does nothing to maintain it. It wants rewards without costs, windfalls without responsibilities, life without the nurturing of the soil. And so we must represent this counter-balance. We must become representatives of a life impulse against the death machine, a light of hope in the darkness cast by the specter of domination.

It is for this reason that we conclude then that we must fight and we must win; that we must conquer not an inch or a mile from the machine, but every last locale of its territory. We must wage a perpetual war on the machine. However, a war is nothing without its organized base of power. The front lines of our intersectional conflict will not be fed by militancy alone. An alternative structure must be constructed which provides material support to the struggle. At the same time, we must not forget the struggle. We cannot build without conflict, just as we cannot engage in conflict without building. We must

organize communities to resist the oppression that is being exacted upon them, bringing all those subjects of the machine together to develop a true fighting force, ready to seize each front as it becomes available and yet wise in our strategic approaches. Here we also came to understand the four fundamental fields of power structures, so that we could understand the enemy and ourselves and recognize the playing field on which all of this struggle takes place. The light outside the forest no longer seemed so far away with a vision for our journey in mind.

Now we are here; the weapons are arrayed in front of us, as well as the theory of action on how they may be used. However, we have not escaped the forest. I say to you, the reader; it is your responsibility now, knowing what must be done, to fight through the darkness toward the light. It is your responsibility to find those others who now struggle to escape, to bring theory into action. Because no amount of knowledge can translate into the wisdom of experience. What lies ahead, outside of this work, is the journey itself. We have sat long and mused on the structure of all things, yet here we have affected only the mind of the reader. This work is nothing, absolutely nothing, without a recognition of our common desperate condition, of an all-enveloping struggle for transformation, of bringing forth the actualization of mass potentials.

So come now and recognise where you stand. They think they can turn humans into components, operative pieces in a vast mechanical apparatus of global devastation. They think they can suffocate the desire of sapience to strive ever toward freedom, to strangle the solidarity of a social species, to pit us against one another as adversaries, squabbling over the scraps they have thrown to us from the table. They think we can be made into sycophants as

they destroy everything that is good in this world. The sun darkens in the sky, choked by ash. The rivers run red with the blood of dead things. The planet heaves and rasps under the weight of the mega-machine. The day grows late and only a glimmer lies on the horizon.

Within us might dwell the last bastion of the light and there it can die if we give in to helplessness. But that light may become a sun if only we recognize our place, together. We are all the result of an ancient process of elaboration, of the cosmos itself, of the planet, of the ecology. You are here now, witness to the vast complexity of the universe, that here there is life where for endless emptiness there is dead rock, floating in the expanse. Think of the impossible chance that you should be here now; that anything should exist that can think. You are burdened with a terrible and beautiful purpose, a responsibility handed down to you by the evolution of all things. You are the universe knowing itself. You are the possibility of the universe to differentiate what is, from what could be.

So ask yourself how you will live and die in this universe. What place will you occupy in this duel between emergence and entropy? What will the history books say of you when they tell of this era of subjugation? Will you be remembered as one who shirked the burden of being and chose to take comfort in bread and circuses? Will you be one who was commanded to bow? Commanded to submit? Commanded to move here and there? To kill the weak? To die for their extraction and the endless greed and hubris of the death machine? Or will you choose to embrace the heroic spirit at the center of the human species and fight doggedly until your dying breath?

Though it may seem impossible to defy the mega-machine and win, we must remember not to let the machine set the bounds of our imaginations; it tells us to imagine that we live in a world in which it cannot be fought, in which we are powerless to resist. It wants us to believe it is eternal and unchangeable, that its order is divine. But this is a delusion. We are where all power roots and it is our responsibility to reclaim it. Behind this reclamation lies liberation. And this reclamation, to a machine predicated on our humiliation, is a call to war; it is a war to reclaim our dignity, to reclaim our right to determine our own future, not to safeguard the future of the parasitic machine.

We do not demand permission, nor forgiveness. We come to demand everything. It is only through this struggle for the horizon, to empower the oppressed peoples of this world, to stamp out every last trace of hierarchical power from this existence, that we may ever reach a liberatory future. So let our actions give honor to all of those who have fallen in pursuit of this dream of a liberated world. Let us act so that their struggle was not in vain. We have dwelled long in preparation. It is now time that we set out from the door.

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