

“Anarchists know that a long period of education must precede any great fundamental change in society, hence they do not believe in vote begging, nor political campaigns, but rather in the development of self-thinking individuals.”

-Lucy Gonzalez Parsons

THE
TRANSMETROPOLITAN
free

#4
REVIEW



- an anarchist newspaper -

featuring

-WHAT IS ANARCHISM?-

-WHAT THE FUCK IS MAY DAY?-

-THE UNIST'OT'EN BLOCKADE AGAINST PIPELINES-

-THE REPRESSIVE RESTRUCTURING OF THE WEST COAST-

what is anarchism?

The word “anarchy” was universally used in the sense of disorder and confusion; and it is to this day used in that sense by the uninformed as well as by political opponents with an interest in distorting the truth.

We will not enter into a philological discussion, since the question is historical and not philological. The common interpretation of the word recognises its true and etymological meaning; but it is a derivative of that meaning due to the prejudiced view that government was a necessary organ of social life, and that consequently a society without government would be at the mercy of disorder, and fluctuate between the unbridled arrogance of some, and the blind vengeance of others.

The existence of this prejudice and its influence on the public's definition of the word “anarchy” is easily explained. Humans, like all living beings, adapt and accustom themselves to the conditions under which they live and pass on acquired habits. Thus, having been born and bred in bondage, when the descendants of a long line of slaves started to think, they believed that slavery was an essential condition of life and freedom seemed impossible to them. Similarly, workers who for centuries were obliged, and therefore accustomed, to depend for work, that is bread, on the goodwill of the master, and to see their lives always at the mercy of the owners of the land and of capital, ended by believing that it is the master who feeds them, and ingenuously ask one how would it be possible to live if there were no masters.

So, since it was thought that government was necessary and that without government there could only be disorder and confusion, it was natural and logical that anarchy, which means absence of government, should sound like absence of order. Nor is the phenomenon without parallel in the history of words. In times and in countries where the people believed in the need for government by one man (monarchy) the word republic, which is government by many, was in fact used in the sense of disorder and confusion — and this meaning is still to be found in the popular language of almost all countries.

Change opinion, convince the public that government is not only unnecessary but extremely harmful, and then the word anarchy, just because it means absence of government,

will come to mean for everybody: natural order, unity of human needs and the interests of all, complete freedom within complete solidarity.

Those who say, therefore, that the anarchists have badly chosen their name because it is wrongly interpreted by the masses and lends itself to wrong interpretations, are mistaken. The error does not come from the word but from the thing; and the difficulties anarchists face in their propaganda do not depend on the name they have taken, but on the fact that their concept clashes with all the public's long established prejudices on the function of government, or the State as it is also called.



The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today

The Revolution is the creation of new living institutions, new groupings, new social relationships; it is the destruction of privileges and monopolies; it is the new spirit of justice, of solidarity, of freedom which must renew the whole of social life, raise the moral level and the material conditions of the masses by calling on them to provide, through their direct and conscious action, for their own futures. Revolution is the organisation of all public services by those who work in them in their own interest as well as the public's; Revolution is the destruction of all coercive ties; it is the autonomy of groups, of communes, of regions; Revolution is the free federation brought about by a desire for solidarity, by individual and collective interests, by the needs of production and defence; Revolution is the constitution of innumerable free groupings based on ideas, wishes, and tastes of all kinds that exist among the people; Revolution is the

forming and disbanding of thousands of representative, district, communal, regional, national bodies which, without having any legislative power, serve to make known and to coordinate the desires and interests of people near and far and which act through information, advice and example. Revolution is freedom proved in the crucible of facts — and lasts so long as freedom lasts, that is until others, taking advantage of the weariness that overtakes the masses, of the inevitable disappointments that follow exaggerated hopes, of the probable errors and human faults, succeed in constituting a power, which supported by an army of conscripts or mercenaries, lays down the law, arrests the movement at the point it has reached, and then begins the reaction.

On April 18, 2016, a Seattle Police Department officer was arrested for repeatedly raping and sexually assaulting two underage women to whom he was related. Never forget that this is normal behavior for police officers

Take revenge

Destroy the police



Meanwhile.

THE UNIST'OT'EN BLOCKADE

(an indigenous struggle to stop several oil and gas pipelines in so called "British Columbia")

I want to first acknowledge that I write this piece knowing I am on unceded territory. This realization has sunk deep into me over the last ten years of my life. It has also inspired me to work toward a different way of being on land here, where I am.

I am writing to express my support of the courageous stand the people of the Unist'ot'en territory, smack in the middle of a proposed pipeline route, are not backing down from. Freda Huson and her chiefs have maintained a community of people on the territory they have been charged with protecting for over 6 years.

I have been welcomed on to the territory many times over the last 4 years and with every visit my commitment to decolonizing practice deepens. To decolonize for me means to recognize my place here, where I am, and to actively take responsibility for what I can take responsibility for as we all work toward a just society. I have come to see my place as one who occupies land that is not meant to be owned, but to be cared for.

This is what I see the Unist'ot'en are modeling for us all. They are living on the land in a way that will ensure it will still be there in 100 years, still be there offering itself to those who access it in respectful ways. They have recognized what allowing pipelines through the territory will do to the land and the water. It will do what all pipelines eventually do, despite what industry and government tell us. The pipelines, which will be flowing with fracked gas and bitumen from the tar sands will eventually destroy the land and the water. We still have the ability to make sure this does not happen. We have the ability to ensure the salmon are not destroyed, the moose, bear and beaver are able to roam the land, and the water continues to be consumed from the river running through the territory.

Over the years I have been learning what sovereignty is. Theoretically it is supreme power over something – in this case – the land that the Unist'ot'en have been responsible for since time immemorial. Theoretically the Unist'ot'en have the right to say what happens on the territory that is still theirs because it has never been ceded or conquered through war. When a sovereign people make a decision to protect what they have the responsibility to protect, that decision should

be respected. Theoretically, the RCMP and the government of Canada have no jurisdiction on Unist'ot'en territory. It is my hope the sovereign nation of Canada will respect the sovereign wishes of the Unist'ot'en and not the illegitimate claims of multinational corporations who have entered into agreements ignoring the very clearly stated Unist'ot'en right to say no.

I have also come to realize that the Unist'ot'en also recognize what the land offers them as a community. That is why they have reoccupied the territory. That is why they are building a healing lodge. The hope is that it will facilitate bringing new life

and healing to their community. It is part of a larger vision and realization that the way the colonizers have been living is not in harmony with the land. It is an assertion that an economy built on the continued destruction of land and water offers no future for any of us. And, in this stand, now, the Unist'ot'en are reasserting their commitment to live in harmony with the land so that not just their community, but, all of us will be able to continue to be inspired to work on our own decolonizing.

If we do not do this there is little hope for the future. So, my deepest respect and gratitude and commitment to continue the fight go out to the Unist'ot'en as they resist!

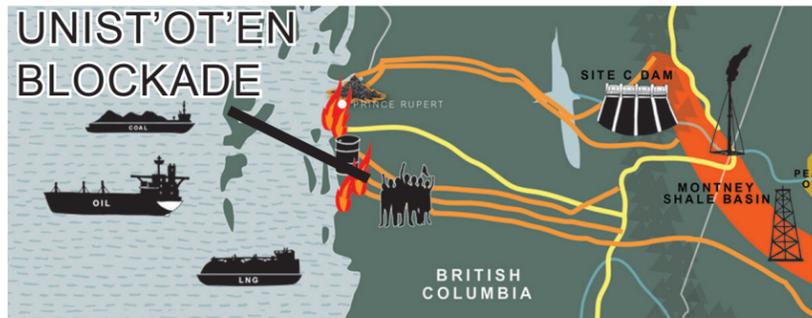
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BUT WHAT THE FUCK IS MAY DAY?

The poet Leigh Hunt called May Day “the union of the two best things in the world, the love of nature, and the love of each other.”* This is utterly opposed to capitalism and patriarchy, as described by feminist writer Silvia Federici in *Caliban and the Witch*: the project of domination can sustain itself only by dividing, on a continuously renewed basis, those it intends to rule. Schools, media, governments, and bosses constantly push these false binaries: men/women, citizen/immigrant, black/white/brown/Native/Asian, workers/environment, and so on. May Day is about many movements, all intertwining and ultimately calling for solidarity among all of us. And these movements are alive every day of the year.

In the 1880s, U.S. anarchists, socialists, and unions sidestepped the stale reform-versus-revolution debate by fighting for the eight-hour workday. Their agitation and actions targeted both employers and the state. They declared on May 1st, 1886, the eight-hour day would be enacted, or they would shut down the country with a general strike. And on that day, half a million people went out on strike.

On May 3rd, at the McCormick Harvester factory in Chicago, the police fired on a picket-line, killing at least four people. A group of anarchists immediately printed fliers in English and German to flood the city, calling on people to defend themselves and join an emergency rally the next day. Thousands of people showed up at Haymarket Square. As the rally was winding down, the police marched forward and ordered the crowd to disperse. Someone threw a bomb, killing a police officer; the police opened fire, killing an unknown number of people, including several of their own.

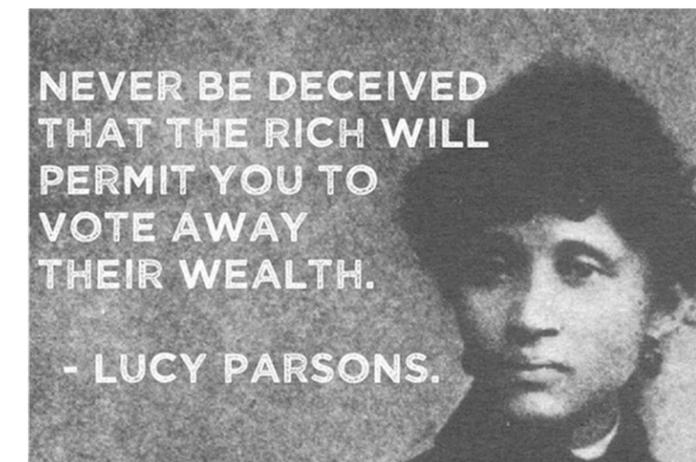
The police rounded up hundreds of people, raiding

* YOU MIGHT BE ASKING, “WHAT ABOUT THE POLICE?” CRIMETHINC. RESPONDS: “YES, COPS ARE PEOPLE TOO, AND DESERVE THE SAME RESPECT DUE ALL LIVING THINGS. THE POINT IS NOT THAT THEY DESERVE TO SUFFER, OR THAT WE HAVE TO BRING THEM TO JUSTICE — THAT’S CHRISTIAN MORALITY AGAIN, DEALING IN CURRENCIES OF SUPERSTITION AND RESENTMENT. THE POINT IS THAT, IN PURELY PRAGMATIC TERMS, IN ORDER THAT OTHERS NOT HAVE TO SUFFER, IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO INTERRUPT, BY MILITANT AND CONFRONTATIONAL MEANS, THE INJUSTICES PERPETRATED BY POLICE OFFICERS. IT CAN BE EMPOWERING FOR THOSE WHO HAVE SPENT THEIR LIVES UNDER THE HEEL OF OPPRESSION TO CONTEMPLATE FINALLY SETTLING THE SCORE WITH THEIR OPPRESSORS; HOWEVER, A REAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE DOES NOT FOCUS ON EXACTING REVENGE, BUT RATHER ON SOLVING PROBLEMS SO THAT ALL MIGHT HAVE BETTER LIVES...” “NOT ONLY DO POLICE OFFICERS HAVE A DISPROPORTIONATELY HIGH RATE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND CHILD ABUSE, THEY ALSO GET KILLED, COMMIT SUICIDE, AND BECOME ADDICTS WITH DISPROPORTIONATE FREQUENCY. ANYTHING THAT DEMORALIZES POLICE OFFICERS AND DELEGITIMIZES THEIR AUTHORITY, THUS ENCOURAGING THEM TO QUIT THEIR POSTS, IS IN THEIR BEST INTEREST AS WELL AS THE INTEREST OF THEIR LOVED ONES AND SOCIETY AT LARGE.”

homes and union halls. The State of Illinois tried eight men — most of them poor German immigrants — not for their involvement in the events, but for promoting anarchism. Louis Lingg committed suicide in his cell; August Spies, Albert Parsons, George Engel, and Adolph Fischer were hanged. Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, and Oscar Neebe were imprisoned for six years before being pardoned.

The anarchist movement and the eight-hour workday fight continued, against immense repression. Several unions and Lucy Gonzalez Parsons, widow of Albert Parsons, also began campaigning to make May Day a public holiday, International Workers Day. Today, it is a day for anarchist and anti-capitalist protests around the world, and a public holiday in almost every country — but not in the United States, the country where it started. As a concession to U.S. unions, Labor Day was established on the first weekend of September — not on May Day, to avoid encouraging the anarchists and socialists. Later, anti-communist groups began promoting May Day as Americanization Day, which became the national holiday Loyalty Day.

Lucy Parsons continued organizing and promoting anarchism in speeches, newspapers, and pamphlets. In 1905, she co-founded the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW, or Wobblies). Lucy predicted the rise of workplace takeovers, saying, “My conception of the strike of the future is not to strike and go out and starve, but to strike and remain in and take possession of the necessary property of production.”



Let's jump ahead to December 2005. The U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill to build a wall along the Mexican border, to make being undocumented or sheltering an undocumented person a felony, to require employers to use E-Verify, and to study the potential of building a wall along the Canadian border. Protests spread across the country, demanding that the Senate and President reject the bill, and that the U.S. government extend citizenship to all undocumented people. Organizers decided to call for an immigrants' strike on May Day 2006 — “a day without immigrants.” Spanish-language radio

stations and a broad coalition of groups were key in promoting the movement. On that day, millions of people rallied in cities across the country. In Seattle, 30,000 people marched from the Central District to the federal courthouse. In Washington D.C., the bill died in the Senate.

However, the U.S. government retaliated brutally. 700,000 people were deported in the next two years, and the Obama administration has deported millions more. For the last decade, the U.S. government has used Immigrations Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids and mass deportations to suppress further immigrant organizing, to spread fear and demobilize workers. Each year, El Comité Pro-Reforma Migratoria y Justicia Social has organized a May Day March for Immigrant and Workers' Rights.

Meanwhile, anarchism in Seattle experienced a revival. A series of anarchist social centers provided meeting and event spaces: L@S Quixotes Radical Lending Library, Autonomia, and The Wildcat. Left Bank Books has held it down since 1973. The Seattle Anarchist Bookfair and several distros spread zines and posters across the city. There was a steady tick of direct actions, from solidarity banner drops and wheatpasting to smashed bank windows and sabotaged ATMs (Wells Fargo, investor in privatized immigrant detention centers, was a favorite target), with communiqués regularly posted online. A flurry of outreach, forums, direct actions, and riots occurred in the winter of 2011 after Seattle PD Officer Ian Burke shot John T. Williams (recounted in the zine "Burning the Bridges They Are Building: Anarchist Strategies Against the Police in the Puget Sound, Winter 2011"). A biweekly newspaper, Tides of Flame, published news, analysis, and outreach material. Then Occupy Seattle happened, anarchists squatted several vacant houses around the city, and a rowdy march of hundreds shut down much of the Port of Seattle with flaming barricades during the West Coast Port Shut Down.

May Day 2012 was widely promoted with graffiti, posters, fliers, newspapers, and banner drops. There was a full schedule of events that day: a breakfast and worker speakout at 9 am, a hip-hop concert at 11 am, the anti-capitalist march at noon, the "Honor the Dead, Fight for the Living March Against Police and Racist Violence" at 3 pm, the immigrants' and workers' march at 5 pm, a rally at 6 pm and a general assembly at 7 pm. The noon anti-capitalist march managed to cause more damage to banks (the first target was a Wells Fargo), government buildings, and bourgeois shops than all the May Day marches since. By the 3 pm march, a rowdy crowd of young people, inspired by the noon march, showed up in massive numbers; however, so did the SPD. Nothing was damaged, and many people were arrested.

Since then, May Day in Seattle has become a cottage

industry for local media, a brief reprieve in the slow death of journalism. It is a modern wonder how hundreds of articles can be produced each year from a handful of templates. We all know the "scary anarchists" stories, and the "bad protesters/bad police" articles, splashed with riot porn for 11 o'clock news viewers. We also get few "good protesters/bad protesters" pieces. For example, KING 5's "Amid violence, May Day marchers push message," which quotes one immigrants' and workers' rights march organizer as saying, "The sting here is not what everybody else does. It's what's the press does."

Then we have the peculiar adventure of Eli Sanders, Stranger editor, who attends both marches, to bemoan the spectacle of the anti-capitalist march and praise the immigrants' and workers' rights march. He claims the anti-capitalist march "began in 2012, when anarchists used the annual El Comité march, a long-running demonstration seeking to reform America's unjust immigration laws, as cover for launching a bunch of smash-and-run property crimes in the downtown core. The mostly white anarchists broke windows at retail businesses, various banks, and the federal courthouse, and in doing so effectively hijacked El Comité's message that year." That is a lie.

Why does it matter what the media says about us? Unfortunately, it matters because Seattle anarchists have basically conceded defining anarchism to the mainstream media. Even worse, anarchists have basically conceded defining anti-capitalism to liberals, Leninists, conspiracy theorists, and Trump supporters.

Both the anti-capitalist march and the immigrants' and workers' rights march were smaller than last year. The Solidarity Music Festival was barely attended. This was in spite of a sunny weekend day,

when anti-capitalist and anti-fascist sentiment are at an all-time high. These events were barely promoted. This is endemic on the left: people put the bare minimum effort into event promotion, rely too much on social media, and are surprised when few people show up. We need the old tools too. A callout needs a fuck ton of posters and fliers, with the designs shared online, distributed as early as possible. Tabling, forums, banner-drops, and graffiti can help. Steal copies from work, from school, obtain money for printing, get a used copier — do whatever you have to do, as generations of people resisting oppressive regimes have done. Affinity groups: they're not just for taking the streets!

There are a few big forces against anarchist organizing in Seattle since 2012. Displacement has destroyed neighborhoods and scattered communities. People have to work all the time to afford to live in the city. How do we build to power to resist displacement, pay less rent, feed ourselves, survive? The grand jury scared and discouraged a lot of people. So did the increase in police and domestic surveillance (or what we know about surveillance) throughout the U.S. Anarchists are organizing and



near future.

Take an average one bedroom apartment that costs \$2,000 a month to rent. Let it be situated in any of the cities listed above (Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles). If two people split the rent, they are each paying a capitalist \$12,000 a year. An average working person in the United States makes less than \$30,000 a year and spends the rest of their wages on food, entertainment, transportation, and sometimes property (although this requires frugality over many years). The unfortunate American tendency toward selfish individualism prevents people from putting their money together for a common purpose, unless it involves marriage or cheap rent. Two people making \$30,000 a year spend almost half of it on rent and on the other half replicating themselves as workers: eating, driving, washing, cleaning, shopping, partying, etc. If there is any money left over, it sits in a bank account at a Wells Fargo or Chase or Bank of America and generates money for the capitalists. If these two workers take on debt to buy a house, they quickly enter an endless cycle of capitalist replication that only traps them further.

This is all completely commonplace and represents a widespread mass-behavior in the global north. It is quite simple to extract oneself from this pointless and destructive cycle, but it is only possible with the help of others. For example, a group of people can easily squat land or a building or live in tents in the area near San Francisco, obtain government food stamps, get high-paying service jobs in the urban center, and save all of the money they accumulate for one calendar year. Since there is a lack of workers in San Francisco, it is easy to obtain employment for service positions. If there are seven people involved in this venture, the profit from selling their labor will be around \$200,000 at the end of the year (assuming each person is being paid \$15.00 an hour). This money can then be taken out of the metropolitan area and sunk into a land project near sources of water. If this process is repeated by 100 people, that profit will increase to nearly \$3,000,000 and it will become possible to immediately create rebel communities outside the metropolitan area. The only thing that prevents a group of anarchists from accomplishing this scenario is the western individualism that reigns supreme in the global north, an ethos that commands the individual to care only for their short-term survival, pleasure, and comfort.

Every tactic used by anarchists, communists, leftists, or unionists in the United States has been predicated on the existence of rebel communities living in the major urban centers. For this reason, the capitalists have systematically and intentionally undermined the ability of these communities to exist in their places of origin. Now that the capitalists have been largely successful in their displacement efforts, it is necessary to form rebel communities elsewhere, places where it still possible. This could be in the mountains or it could be in a workers suburb, it could be a communal store on a coastal highway or a communal farm at the top of a hill. In short, it could be anything that allows a future outside of capitalism. All of the political tactics of the

twentieth century need to be abandoned and new hybrid forms created out of the decomposition.

The capitalist ruling class of San Francisco (and every other city in the world) are irredeemable sociopaths, permanently contaminated by greed and committed to their own destruction. Despite the obvious and undeniable collapse of the environment, the capitalists are still plunging forward in their desire for suicide. The ruling class has projected this desire onto the physical world, and it is up to all of us (and the earth) to channel this destruction onto their heads alone. There is no anthropocene. There is only a capitalocene. We are not responsible for what the ruling powers have done to earth, but we will be responsible for our own survival in the near future, and we must take matters into our own hands immediately.

To quote from our friends, "seceding means inhabiting a territory, assuming our situated configuration of the world, our way of dwelling there, the form of life and the truths that sustain us, and from there entering into conflict or complicity. So it means linking up strategically with other zones of dissidence, intensifying our circulation with friendly regions, regardless of borders. To secede is to break not with the national territory but with the existing geography itself. It's to trace out a different, discontinuous geography, an intensive one, in the form of an archipelago—and thus to go encounter places and territories that are close to us, even if there are 10,000 kilometers to cover."

The new capitalist subject is a needy subject, and capitalism is the manufacturer of those needs. The need for a daily shower with soap, the need for a proper outfit, the need for cosmetics, the need for plastic, the need for petroleum, and the need for a dishwasher are all needs required and manufactured by capital. To quote again a well known text by the Invisible Committee, "the commune addresses the needs with a view to annihilating the being of need within us. Where a lack is felt, its elementary gesture is to find the means to make it disappear as often as it may present itself. There are those 'in need of a house'? One doesn't just build one for them; one sets up a workshop where anyone can quickly build a house for themselves. A place is needed for meeting, hanging-out, or partying? One is occupied or built and also made available to those who 'don't belong to the commune.' The question, as you can see, is not that of abundance, but of the disappearance of need."

It is necessary to extricate ourselves from capitalism and form communes and rebel communities where it is still possible. There are several indigenous land occupations along the coast of British Columbia, just as there are entire autonomous communities in Mexico, from Chiapas to Oaxaca to Guerrero. But along the western coast of the United States a coherent separation from capitalism has yet to take place. We wish everyone who reads this the best of luck in their efforts. It is clear where the enemy is, where they sleep, where they work, where they eat. What is not clear is how we are going to survive the future, and it is best to dwell on these matters.

THE ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL (WESTERN BRANCH)

fishing, farming) and created a large class of itinerant people who flocked from the rural countryside to the city. From this came the combative, working class counter-culture of Portland that took advantage of extremely cheap housing costs to create a strong rebel community in the middle of the metropolis.

Repressive restructuring (or gentrification) began slowly in Portland, creeping in during the 1990s (as it had in other western cities), and then rapidly accelerating in the 2000s. An influx of highly paid tech workers arrived during the first tech-boom, moved away during the collapse of the bubble, and then returned. Around 30,000 tech employees moved to Portland and the "Silicon Forrest" from 2007-2015 and now account for 4.5% of its population. During this time, 58% of the remaining working class neighborhoods were gentrified. The working class was pushed across the river from Oregon into Washington, and only those who held onto their property remained in the urban core. It is the most rapidly restructured city on the west coast and now hosts a variety of tech companies, luxury apartment towers, and the average price for a single family home is now \$350,000.

Seattle also a long history of rebellion, starting with the indigenous insurrection in 1856 and extending up to the annual May 1st demonstrations. It was a working class port city up until the early 1990s when a new influx of capital arrived with the Microsoft corporation. By the 2000s, a new company called Amazon had appeared on the horizon and repressive restructuring had already begun. The gritty, bohemian, and working-class character of the city began to vanish and be replaced by the now familiar luxury apartment buildings that dominate its hillsides. Now the city has become colonized much like San Francisco. There are new Google and Facebook offices, high housing costs, and a giant glass biodome on the new Amazon campus. Meanwhile rent is around \$2,000 a month for a one room apartment, the average price for a single family home is \$540,000, and thousands are being displaced to the surrounding suburbs every year.

Vancouver stands out among every city on the west coast for being the most expensive in North America. Unlike the cities of San Francisco or Seattle, the repressive restructuring of Vancouver did not occur because of free market tech-capital, but from the combined forces of the Canadian state and Chinese capitalists. By trading citizenship for investment, the Canadian state brought a variety of development projects to the city and money to its economy. This process started in the 1980s and continues to this day. Although the Canadian state created and encouraged this arrangement, the Chinese are currently being blamed for the gentrification and restructuring of the city.



The repressive restructuring of Vancouver was accelerated by the 2010 Olympics and the state repression that followed (against the anarchist movement, the indigenous, and the poor). Between 2010 and 2016, the rebel communities of Vancouver were either pushed out of the city or into silence. The new wealth flooding into the city attracted a variety of developers, co-investors, and contractors. The majority of these people are not Chinese but quite eager to profit from the influx of cash. Now the city is covered in luxury apartments and glass skyscrapers for the super rich. The average price of a single family home is \$1,800,000 and much of the working class has been pushed far into the suburbs where it is still affordable to live.

From San Francisco to Vancouver, the capitalists have largely destroyed the ability for large numbers of working class people to live together in the metropolis and form communities of resistance. The one exception is Los Angeles. It has a long and continuous history of resistance. It is surrounded on all sides by suburbs and ocean, and yet it still holds a massive population of working people within its borders. Starting in the 2000s, gentrification began to spread into working class neighborhoods in East Los Angeles and around the edges of downtown. Certain neighborhoods have been lost to this repressive restructuring (such as Echo Park and Silverlake), but there are still strong working class areas and rebel communities that refuse to surrender. The average price for a single family home in the city is now almost \$380,000. The repressive restructuring of Los Angeles is not linked to any specific industry or company. It is linked to the new capitalist subject itself. It is called many names: hipster, techie, yuppie, suit, bloom, although

most people can see it for what it is. It arrives in luxury apartments, never looks up from its phone, and does not look at you.

LIMITS OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Now that the working class has been mostly displaced from the urban centers along the west coast, it will take many years for communities of resistance to naturally emerge elsewhere. 25 years is the standard measure of how long it takes to form a multi-generational movement or community. Given the current state of the planet, the next 25 years will bring great disaster and calamity for hundreds of millions of people across the planet. Coastal cities will flood with water, refugees will flee northward more land dries up, and capitalism will collapse. This is an absolute certainty, objectively and materially. Living in the metropolis has been and is currently unsustainable and will become increasingly precarious and/or pointless in the

involved in many projects around the city, but few projects are openly anarchist. How many people and projects are willing to be openly anarchist in such circumstances? Whether we choose to organize aboveground or underground, with or without the A-word, how do we share the meaning of anarchism and find each other?

The anti-capitalist May Day march has become spectacle-driven, a stand-alone complex. Year after year, when you read the stats about May Day arrestees, they're usually young (teens and early twenties) and from the greater Seattle area — though not from the bourgeois suburbs. The phenomenon of the march appeals to disenfranchised youth. In another Stranger article from 2012, "Anarchy is Boring," Brendan Kiley described the anti-capitalist march as "the spectacular tip of a mundane iceberg." What does it mean when the roots of a movement — the mutual aid, communities, friendships — shrivel and the spectacular phenomenon keeps ambling forward, aimless and zombie-like? The police take control. And it's also a big problem when the bloc becomes influenced by macho posturing, that someone in bloc can get away with shouting misogynist shit.

The anti-capitalist march on May Day 2012 was effective by catching the police off guard. It should have been clear, ever since the 3 pm march on May Day 2012, that the Seattle PD is never going to let that happen again. There's a saying that all military strategy comes down to "Be there the first with the most." The 2016 black bloc was notably better organized, tactically, than the last three years; but black bloc'ers sorely need to develop strategies beyond what's in a call-out by some rando on the internet.

After visiting anarchist spaces in Europe last fall, Cindy Milstein wrote, "Both Greek and Spanish comrades here have commented to me how they think in military terms, and how they understand that as a good thing — for our side. They aspire to strategic assaults — such as placing anarchist spaces in various neighborhoods, as if on a chessboard, so as to connect them to other, already-existing radical strongholds, in the war here against fascist strongholds — and strategic forms of organization — such as striving for the decentralization of politics through local spaces that meet people's needs in this age of austerity and neighborhood assemblies as ground for us as humans to take our lives into our own hands."



In "10 Points on the Black Bloc," Harsha Walia offers some insight. "Tactics can be effective, they can be ineffective, but inherently they are neither. Whether the black block tactic of smashing windows is simply symbolic and gains nothing, well again, a whole lot of our protests are often symbolic. Like any other mass movement, we have to gauge them as part of a long-term campaign..."

"I don't think building a mass movement is always the gauge of the success of a tactic. If that was the case, Indigenous blockades would not be happening, because we'd have to wait for every single Canadian to denounce Canadian nationalism. Direct action happens because there is a need for it. Direct action happens because people are fighting back, and we're not waiting for millions of people to stand beside us for the revolution to happen."

This May Day in Texas and Alabama, prisoners were on strike. They are calling for a national prison strike on September 9th. When Trump is nominated, if he is elected and inaugurated, we should be organizing and getting out in the streets. Same if Clinton is elected and inaugurated. The Republican National Convention is July 18th to 20th; this would be an especially good time to move against deportations, the border, the wall, Wells Fargo, the Northwest Detention Center in Tacoma, and so on. The Democratic convention is July 25th to 28th; this would be an especially good time to publicly

organize against the same border regime, as well as Wall Street, Wal-Mart, militarism, prisons, and to promote the September 9th prisoner strike.

In the Slingshot newspaper last fall was an article by Wolverine de Cleyre, "Alive and Well: A Visit to Zapatista Territory." de Cleyre traveled around Chiapas, talking with Zapatista militants, and reports: "The ones I spoke to had absolutely no interest in our demonstrations, our revolts, our publications. All they ask me is 'And what food projects do you have? And what of the education of your children?'" Ultimately, these are what we need to be ungovernable.

Friday, May 27, 8 PM:
Karaoke Benefit for May Day Prisoners
@ Left Bank Books
\$5-20 suggested donation
no one turned away for lack of funds

THE REPRESSIVE RESTRUCTURING OF THE WEST COAST

"This announces the end of a time period, the beginning of a new era in which the revolutionary confrontation will take place on an increasingly hostile and controlled ground. The profound penetration into all social relations which capital and state are trying to realize, particularly through the massive spreading of technologies, clearly isn't announcing easy times ahead, but nevertheless the times are not lacking an insurrectional potential."

-NEGACION #7 (MEXICO, DECEMBER 2015)

BASIC ORIGINS

Perhaps more than any other place in the global north, the western coast of the United States has been heavily restructured by capital and those who control it. While it is difficult to assign a proper time and place for the beginning of this repressive restructuring, we will chose June 29, 2007 as the moment of its inception. This was the day the iPhone was released at the Moscone Center in San Francisco. The stock price of Apple rose from \$17.43 to \$27.20 before the end of the year and represented a rate of profit that was shared by another tech company in the San Francisco Bay Area: Google. The fortune of these two companies were tied together in a very material way, as the new medium of the "smartphone" brought more users to Google, and thus more profits.

Prior to the release of the iPhone, Google had introduced a free shuttle bus program for its employees. No matter where that employee lived, Google would pay for a private bus to deliver them to work. This program began in late 2006 and was quickly duplicated by Apple in late 2007. Many of these Google and Apple employees elected to live in San Francisco, a city long known for its subversiveness and its radical history, and the sight of these buses quickly became commonplace. There was no significant reaction to this development when it occurred, either from anarchists or anyone else. From 2007 to 2009, Apple and Google ferried around 2,000 people a day on these buses and no one seemed very concerned about this fact. In less than five years, these shuttle buses would displace tens of thousands of people from the city.

While this bus program spread across San Francisco, the "smartphone" spread across the global north and created a new capitalist subject. By 2008, it was abundantly clear to many observers that this new commodity was tying millions of people into a digital web of surveillance, commerce, and narcosis. While the global economy collapsed in 2007 and 2008, millions of people were kept entertained by the new commodity in their pockets, distracted by pictures of their friends on Facebook, and forced to maintain a social media profile in order to get a job. The tempo of capitalism rapidly increased, attention spans began to shorten, and old methods of struggle began to vanish.

Rather than make posters, fliers, or promote a demonstration by talking to people on the streets, anarchists in the global north began to rely on new mediums like the Facebook Event or the Twitter # to promote events, demonstrations, or actions. To an unfortunate degree, anarchist praxis in the global north became subsumed by this emergent commodity. Many people made the argument that the rise of social media was the like the advent of the newspaper and should be utilized to reach the maximum number of people. With the Greek and Iranian insurrections of 2008-2009, it became clear that social media was a powerful force in the new terrain of global capitalism, an observation that would soon be confirmed by the Arab Spring of 2010-2011. While anarchists across the globe retained their classical or analog skill-sets during this time period, tens of millions of people became plugged into the global network, into social media, into a feed, and they came to view these new technologies as the proper mediums through which to organize their lives.

Meanwhile, as the global economy recovered from its collapse, the city of San Francisco became host to dozens of new technology companies. The advent of the "smartphone" had brought with it the new economy of the "app." By 2010, there were numerous companies designing "apps" for every conceivable task that capitalism required of its subjects, and these companies were gathering in San Francisco. The 2,000 employees shuttled into the city each day by Apple and Google were soon supplemented by 16,000 more bus riders. In addition to this were 50,000 tech employees from other companies that moved to San Francisco between 2007 and 2014, now accounting for 8%-12% of the total population. This was the invasion force that began the total colonization of San Francisco by techno-capital, driving up housing costs and starting an eviction wave that continues to this day.

From 2009 to 2012, the stock price of both Apple and Google rose together just as their technology spread further across the planet. Along with social media behemoths like Facebook and Twitter, the techno-capitalist elite of the San Francisco Bay Area not only established a firm presence in the city itself, they had also spread their influence abroad into the lives of hundreds of millions of people. They accomplished this in less than five years.

This dual-movement at the local and the global level reveals a glimpse of how capitalism now operates in its terminal phase of development. The people who design the new technologies that saturate the globe are also the people who gentrify, develop, and colonize the local terrain. One paves the way for the other. The local population is displaced by the arrival of this new capitalist subject, just as capitalism sneaks into the lives of distant populations through its new technologies.

Once this model of repressive restructuring had been in-

cubated, tested, and proven in San Francisco it was then quickly exported to other cities along the west coast such as Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, and Vancouver.

EXISTENTIAL COORDINATES OF DISASTER

What is most disturbing about this development is the fact that each targeted city has been a historical site of struggle. The United States has enacted severe repression on its population whenever rebellion in the cities became too severe (the Red Scare, COINTELPRO, or the so-called "war on drugs"). The government was never able to fully extinguish this urban rebellion when it did emerge and the memory lived on in the minds of the rebels and their children.

For example, overt rebellion may have been pacified in San Francisco during the second world war, but it reemerged in the mid-1960s with the Hunter's Point uprising and continued into the 2000s. During these moments of struggle neighborhoods tightened around each other to withstand government repression. The Mission, Hunter's Point, Chinatown, Telegraph Hill, and North Beach are a few neighborhoods that harbored rebel populations through the 20th century, and today all of them have been either completely restructured (like Telegraph Hill) or are under heavy siege. Starting in the late-1990's and lasting until the present day, there have been over 15,000 evictions in San Francisco and tens of thousands displaced. The average price for a single family home is now \$1,130,000.

The capitalists have driven the housing costs so high that it is no longer possible for a working class to exist in the city (unless their apartment is protected by rent control). Teachers, cooks, maids, janitors, garbage handlers, cab drivers, and dishwashers can no longer afford to reside in the city, and entire apartment buildings are being turned into AirBNB rentals for the upper classes. Soon there will be a shortage of low-paid workers if the economy does not collapse. Without low paid workers, capitalism does not function.

By making it impossible for large amount of rebels to live together, the San Francisco capitalists have removed a threat that has troubled them for over a century. Rebel communities form in cities over decades and require an un-quantifiable amount of connections and relationships. They require multi-generational continuity, they require time, they require commitment, they require the ability to stay in place. Without this, they disintegrate.

Portland is another city that developed rebel communities in its interior, that kept alive the rebellion of the IWW, that resisted the pacification of capitalism. Like most cities in the Pacific Northwest, the neighborhoods of Portland were largely working class until recent memory, with a nasty strip of industry clustered around the river. Every economic depression affected the traditional industries of the surrounding region (logging,