

The **Nor** **east**er

THE OFFICIAL QUARTERLY OF THE
• NORTHEAST ANARCHIST NETWORK •

A Super Happy Anarcho-Fun Interview

with Margaret Killjoy, editor of *Mythmakers & Lawbreakers*

A Shepard Fairey Tale

Undoing revolutionary art

Making Pizza Without the Dough

T.J.'s pizza co-op goes bust

Supporting Survivors of Sexual Assault While Smashing the State

The Housing Bloom

Expanding cooperative living in Syracuse, New York

Photo: Margaret Killjoy contemplating the intricacies of anarchist fiction. See page 7 to read more.

POINTS OF UNITY:

1. A very clear rejection of capitalism, imperialism and authoritarianism.
2. A rejection of all forms and systems of domination. Embracing the full dignity of all.
3. An attitude of active resistance toward all state, corporate and other oppressive institutions.
4. A call to direct action, support for emancipatory social movements, advocating for the liberation of all, as well as the construction of local alternatives.
5. An organizational philosophy based on decentralization and autonomy. This network is specifically inclusive of all Anarchist struggles and supports all of them as long as they adhere to these Points of Unity, even though not everyone in the Network might consider a particular struggle a priority. Anarchists must show solidarity with each other's struggles as a principle of revolutionary necessity. In order to embody these values, we see the need for an Anarchist social revolution.

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Mission Statement

The Northeast Anarchist Network is: a regional, horizontal organizing network in the Northeast, striving to link those committed to anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist and anti-oppressive struggles.

We recognize that the anarchist movement has a diversity of perspectives and priorities. We seek to nurture solidarity and mutual aid among all participants of the Network, especially in the face of repression.

Started in February 2007 by anarchists from across the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic, NEAN has grown through many subsequent meetings around the region. The process of creating this Network has connected many groups and individuals and has been a catalyst for the formation of new groups and projects. We have reason to be optimistic about the future of this Network and region, and we welcome anyone sympathetic to our goals to be a part of it. www.NeAnarchist.net.

The Nor'easter aims to provide an outlet for anarchist-related news and events while simultaneously introducing non-anarchists to anarchism and plugging them into the movement.

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The Leaning Tower of Pizza And How T.J.'s Came Tumbling Down

By HANNAH E. DOBBZ

Nobody likes to have a boss. And the former employees at T.J. Scallywaggle's Vegan House of Pizza in Boston, Mass., were no exception. Luckily, they did not have a boss. From January 2008 until the restaurant's close in July 2009, T.J.'s operated as a collective, making consensus-based decisions and rotating responsibilities.

Before 2008, however, the pizza joint was under its old management and run like any other business. Eric Carrico began working full time at the old T.J.'s in May 2007. He quickly became frustrated with his incompetent manager and petitioned for changes around the workplace.

"We started having meetings in the summer of 2007," Carrico said, "but basically our boss was talking at us and not really having a meeting. Every week for a couple months, it was the same thing over and over. So we just decided among ourselves that we wanted to have collectively run meetings so everyone could voice their opinions." The boss agreed to this and, after two months, decided he didn't want to be a part of the restaurant at all.

After that, the T.J.'s collective chose to offer strictly vegan pizza and pizza-related options. The place soon became a favored hangout for local anarchists, including members of Boston Food Not Bombs, Anarchist Black Cross and the Boston Anti-Authoritarian Movement. Internally, all tasks were divided up evenly. While seemingly ideal, there was but one problem: The former manager had neglected to pay or even file taxes for the previous year, accumulating \$20,000 in back taxes and fines. What's more, the space itself was in abominable condition.

"When we first got the restaurant," Carrico said, "everything was ramshackle. The owners before us were very penny-pinching, so our basement was a dump and the equipment was breaking down all the time. When we got the restaurant, we knew things were going to be tough."

Workers at the new T.J.'s created a payment plan for themselves in which the store would pay \$2,000 a month toward the debt, which they finally paid off shortly before shutting their doors in July. This added expense every month made it

impossible for the restaurant to save money. In fact, many months the collective had to choose whether to pay rent or pay bills, as they were often unable to do both. "It was forcing everyone to work non-stop for something that was slowly grinding away," Carrico said. "It was completely volunteer for the last six months."

Carrico blames the majority of the restaurant's financial problems on their inherited debt. After all, other collectively run businesses in the area never appeared to be falling apart in the way that T.J.'s did. The Boston-based cooperative Red Sun Press was founded in 1974 with only \$350. Collective Copies in Western Massachusetts collectivized their workplace in 1983 and is still functioning. The South Mountain Company, also in Western Massachusetts, which designs and builds energy-efficient homes, has been doing so cooperatively since 1975. With these small businesses having made it through both the Reagan years and the current so-called "economic crisis," surely something must be said for the stability of a collective structure.

While co-ops frequently adopt transparent or "sunshine" bookkeeping to avoid the mismanagement of funds that is experienced by some hierarchical businesses, potential co-ops often lack start-up money. Because of this, many regional collectives turn to the Cooperative Fund of New England (CFNE), a socially conscious lender that makes loans to groups without the money to put down on their business. According to Rebecca Dunn, executive director of the CFNE, of the 400-plus co-ops that the lender has financed over 35 years, about 75 percent of them are still in business.

"There are debt-to-equity ratios, but typically co-ops do tend to be under-capitalized," Dunn said in an e-mail, "hence the need for CFNE and our new patient equity capital pool, the Cooperative Capital Fund."

The past three decades have seen an increase of thousands of co-ops worldwide, though the United States lags noticeably. The U.S. Federation of Worker Cooperatives boasts close to 100 worker co-ops in the country, at least 14 of which are in the tiny state of Massachusetts.

"I like to think there is a trend toward cooperatives," Dunn said. "Particularly as the economy is tougher, people tend to work together cooperatively to meet economic needs."

Even when money was tight at T.J. Scallywaggle's, the collective managed to pull through on a shoestring. "It was more like you got paid what you needed



T.J.'s became a regular meet-up point for groups such as Food Not Bombs, Boston ABC, Boston Anti-Authoritarian Movement (BAAM) and others. The restaurant would often host acoustic shows, packing the small pizza joint. In the summer of 2008, police briefly shut down T.J.'s operations for lacking an entertainment licence. Photo credit: Matt Carroll

to get paid," Carrico said. For example, if someone was short on rent that month, that person might get paid before others in the collective, and everyone understood that.

People were selling their blood and doing medical studies to keep T.J.'s open, according to Carrico, but he also admits that when the end came, it was as much of a relief as it was a disappointment. After all, he had been working 60 hours a week without pay. He described the closing of T.J.'s as more like a celebration or a party than a funeral.

"It was really wonderful and really awful at times," Carrico said. "Probably some of the best memories I'll ever have. I also started drinking again because of T.J.'s — but that's restaurant jobs in general...There

were times where we were put on the spot to rise to really absurd challenges."

He recalled the week that everyone went to the Republican National Convention demonstrations in St. Paul, Minn., in 2008, and only two people were left at the restaurant. Carrico claims he worked 110 hours over nine days. After that, he says, his co-workers forced him to go on vacation for a week.

"If I could do it again, I would," he said. "I'd prefer to have a restaurant that's not sinking from the get-go. And if I were going to work in a restaurant again, I wouldn't want it to be in a structure that's not collective. When I went to my new job, it was disturbing." *

Nearly 300 Converge for the Inaugural NAASN Conference

By NICO RAHIM

Nearly 300 people converged in Hartford, Conn. on Saturday and Sunday, Nov. 21 and 22 for the inaugural conference of the North American Anarchist Studies Network (NAASN). Panelists and attendees came from throughout the United States and Canada to discuss anarchist theory, history and current anti-authoritarian movements.

"(NAASN) is being established with this conference," said Nathan Jun, a conference organizer and a philosophy professor at

Midwestern State University in Texas. "So far it has exceeded our expectations."

The original expectation was that 30 or 40 people would gather at the Charter Oak Cultural Center, but there was an "overwhelming" response to the call for papers, discussions and panels in late-July, organizers said. The conference ended up consisting of discussions on more than 30 papers, three workshops and more than seven panels.

Topics ranged from a report-back on the anti-authoritarian movements in Greece by Andrej Grubacic and a presentation on collective participatory action-research in Montreal by women from CRAC (*Collective de Recherche sur L'autonomie Collectif*), to a panel discussion on anarchists in political organizations and a paper presentation on Anarcha-Islam by Mohamed Jean Veneuse.

Saturday was capped with the third and final performance of "Emma," a play by Howard Zinn on the life of Emma Goldman. The play was produced in the egalitarian and anti-authoritarian spirit of Goldman. The original director of the

production was let go because she did not want to sacrifice creative control to consensus decision making.

Organizers of the conference got the idea for NAASN from the Anarchist Studies Network in the United Kingdom, Jun said. But unlike the U.K. Network, which is affiliated and funded by the U.K.'s Political Studies Network, organizers envision the North American version as being independent of any larger network and made up of "professional and grassroots scholars of anarchism," he said.

Organizers felt that there was a need to create a forum for academic and nonacademic anarchist scholars to engage in discussion, debate and, at times, self-criticism.

"I do think there's a need for NAASN in North America," said Deric Shannon, a conference organizer and a sociology instructor at the University of Connecticut. "One, because knowledge production is bound up in the ways people are oppressed. Secondly, because we need a space that troubles this stupid divide between 'professional' scholars (academics) and

grassroots scholars. If we do this right, NAASN can serve as one such space."

The conference came to a close Sunday with a discussion on "Developing the NAASN." Attendees and organizers decided to hold rotating conferences hosted at different locations by different people, but planning for a conference in 2010 has been tabled for the time being. Organizers are currently creating a listserv and a Web site to facilitate the formation of the network. A few professional scholars have decided to work on collective projects together under the auspices of the NAASN, Shannon said.

"Like American society in general, the anarchist milieu can be a pretty anti-intellectual crowd. Likewise, we've just gotten ridiculous with our sectarianism, refusal to have principled debates, and our inability to have disagreements that are productive (look at almost any random comment thread on Anarchist News, for example)," Shannon said. "I wanted to create a space that was safe for free inquiry and debate and didn't turn into that kind of counter-productive circus." *

Rising and Blooming: The Bread and Roses Collective

By STEVE PENN & RICH VALLEJO

The Bread and Roses Collective House is located on Cambridge St. in the Westcott neighborhood on the east side of Syracuse, N.Y. Through years of collective work and the shared values of sustainability, non-hierarchy and mutual aid, we are now in the process of expanding to a second property, located through our back yard at 405 Westcott St.

When the first members of what would become Bread and Roses moved in, the house was owned by an energy efficiency consultant and populated by four older men who kept mostly to themselves. The house, an 1850s Victorian, was spacious and beautiful, but it lacked community. Some house members set their sights on transforming it into a co-op and recruited friends to move in who shared that interest. Within a year, six of the eight people were sharing food and beginning to define the nascent co-op.

From collective experience in numerous political groups, house members felt it was invaluable to have a statement of principles that would be the foundation for all of the group's actions and decisions. They also learned that the quality of community interaction greatly improves with explicit, democratic systems for handling responsibilities like food shopping, cooking, cleaning and maintenance. Without such automatic and democratic systems, much of our time would be spent discussing trivial matters and take away from time spent on our larger vision. Structure which increases accountability and participation can be liberating when it is created together and entered into voluntarily.

During the first few years, members were transient and our vision was short term. But eventually, members stayed longer, and the house developed more political cohesion. With the victory in Seattle, the house became a host for students and community members organizing against the IMF/World Bank Meeting in D.C. in April 2000 and the FTAA meeting in Quebec City in April 2001. As we gained identity as an activist house, we also gained a name. "The Cambridge House," named for our place on Cambridge St., was not a name we chose; it was given to us by our community.

In early 2001, the owner of our house asked if we were interested in buying the place. It took us three years to develop our bylaws, define our legal structure and determine a means for owning the house. On June 14, 2004, our newly created legal entity, the Bread and Roses Collective House, bought our home. The name Bread and Roses seemed to embody the ideals we wanted to be known for: activism, sustainability, gardening, work solidarity, joy, community and equality. We recounted the story of the Bread and Roses strike – especially the leadership role of women and the solidarity of the greater anarchist community in supporting the strike – then we listened to Utah Phillips singing "Bread and Roses," and we knew we had found our name.

The base rent is set so that with a minimum of five people we are able to pay

the mortgage, insurance and taxes. With more, the extra rent money is devoted to maintenance and paying off the mortgage capital. In addition, there is an income-based fee charged to residents whose basic rent costs fall below 25 percent of their income. Thus, everyone bears a proportionate responsibility for the costs of the house while not developing an unequal share. Our goal is for Bread and Roses to be an affordable place to live for activists while also being sustainable.

When the house is paid off, future residents will pay a similar rent to current residents, as to not unfairly benefit from their predecessors' work. In lieu of mortgage, future rent will be put into a fund for local activism. If the house is ever sold, the money from the sale will be distributed similarly.

We make our decisions using Formal Consensus (see: www.consensus.net). As an example of our process, consider house maintenance. Shorter tasks are handled by our house chore system. The group decides what chores need to be performed and divides these tasks into eight separate jobs. Larger maintenance projects are handled during biannual work weekends. We strongly encourage people to work on projects about which they care most and for each project to include both skilled and unskilled housemates.

We have an organic garden, and although we only cultivate about 1,000 square feet, our use of intensive planting allows us to harvest and preserve significant amounts of food. We grow all the garlic we use, most of the tomatoes, and from May through November, we have an abundance of greens, roots and herbs. By late fall, our cupboards are filled with an array of jams, pickles, peppers and various tomato products, and our freezer is stocked with vegetables.

In the past year, we've started offering more regular public workshops, and we've begun a community composting project providing compost buckets and pickups to friends and local businesses. From one restaurant alone, we've collected over two tons in the past six months.

Unfortunately, our primary garden plots are located in a community garden over a mile away. We have dreamed of having a larger garden at the house to grow more of our food and so more of us can participate. Having more land would also help us become more of a model of sustainability, urban agriculture and activism. We wanted not merely to develop these skills but to teach them to others and to become a community resource. Even

before we bought our first house, we began to ponder how we might take over the overgrown, abandoned lot behind it.

Once a horse paddock that stretched for a double-long block between Westcott and Cambridge St., it was later divided and annexed to adjacent properties on either street. The property behind our house was part of a larger tract that had been bought by a local slumlord who owned a rundown rental property. The roughly half-acre lot forms an L-shape that abuts our property.

As neighbors began using the neglected land as a dump for trash and yard waste, Bread and Roses members carved out a section of the lot for compost bins. We spent years trying to buy the land, but the owner refused to sell until 2007 when the house, along with its land, were put up for sale. Up until this point, our interest was focused around the potential use of the land, not the house. But the sale was all or nothing, so we decided to put in a purchase offer. After more than a year of legal confusion over the title, one of our members was able to front the funds for a mortgage and purchased the house on Dec. 31, 2008.

In January, we videotaped interviews with each housemate discussing the new house and land, and we began to transform our individual ideas into a collective vision. With the second house, we will not only double the size of our collective, but we hope to address specific shortfalls of our Cambridge St. house. Our new house will be more welcoming for a range of generations and ages, with room for families and children, and it will be accessible for people with mobility issues. With the visibility provided by its location on a main street, workshop gardens and other projects will welcome community involvement.

We created a committee of four and began to transform our dreams into action. They conducted research, worked with the architect and coordinated deconstruction work on the badly neglected house. Although we had hired an architecture firm, the main elements of the house were agreed upon and directed by the collective through consensus. As time spent in meetings rose and fell throughout the spring and summer, physical transformation of the back lot and the house gained steam. We reached out to friends and family to help clear brush, cut down trees, remove invasive species, cut and stack wood, and pile stone and broken concrete slabs in the lot. Inside the house, we removed walls, floors, ceilings, trash, fixtures, old wiring and plumbing, and pulled nails from salvaged wood and trim.



House members, neighbors and friends sit down for the weekly Bread and Roses Sunday potluck, taking advantage of a warm summer day by eating outside.

As summer turned to fall, the work seemed more daunting, leading to stress and burnout for many in the collective. Although all of us had consented to a specific monthly work expectation, most were unable to fulfill it, and for at least a few members, the stress resulted in thoughts of leaving. We've continued to take individual capacities into account rather than expecting uniform standards, and we've found that working together on scheduled days to be more rewarding than working alone. From the beginning, we knew the work would be overwhelming and that attempts at expansion can sometimes push a group over the edge. But so far, with a shared vision, understanding and support through collective work, we've found endurance.

We are now raising funds to complete renovations by creating a "shoebox bank" based on models we've seen of other projects. The shoebox bank will act as a revolving loan fund, allowing us to accept loans from friends and supporters on more flexible terms and with lower interest rates, while offering investors better rates than typical savings accounts or CDs. Come spring, we'll be busy building terraces and raised beds for gardening, rain barrels for rain-water harvesting and more. We have already received five applications to live in the new house and have begun scheduling interviews. We're still seeking additional members. Get in touch if you're interested in visiting or joining our collective. ✽

Contact the Bread and Roses Collective by e-mail at breadandroses@earthlink.net.



Top Left: A wall in the process of being removed by Bread and Roses members to create a spacious living room, lathe gets bundled up after removing nails.

Top Right: The new compost corner on the 405 Westcott St. property. Compost bins shown are filled with wood chips made from cleared brush in the back lot, while others are filled with food scraps and other items.

Bottom Left: Bread and Roses member Jessica with a healthy harvest of leafy greens from plots at the community gardens.

Bottom Right: Lindsay and Kanat explain gardening efforts at the house and "Food Not Lawns" ideology during a Permaculture workshop hosted by the house.

Philly Guards File for Union, Jobs with Justice Rallies Supporters to "Welcoming Change"

By JAMES GENERIC

On Oct. 10, 2009, the security guards at the Philadelphia Museum of Art voted 68-53 in favor of unionizing, marking the first independent guard union in the United States. They have since organized under a horizontal, democratic model and are pushing the museum for a contract.

On Sept. 6, when around 100 members of Philadelphia Jobs with Justice, Students for a Democratic Society, faith leaders and other supporters rallied in support of the Philadelphia Security Officer Union (PSOU), an independent grassroots union comprised of security guards who watch over the most precious art at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The rally was held after the members of PSOU filed for an election for the union to be recognized by the security company Allied-Barton and the Philadelphia Museum of Art as the guards' official union. They were joined by the Rude Mechanical Orchestra, a radical, punky marching band from New York City who had come down to provide music and lead the protest.

The theme "Welcoming Change" was meant to pressure the incoming Philadelphia Museum of Art President Timothy Rubb to show support for the guards, and also to point out that labor law needs to be changed (thus showing support for card-check legislation, which would have given guards instant recognition). Several speakers from the guards, clergy, organizers and more commenced after a long, lively procession around the museum. Several guards remarked afterward how good it was to see the supporters out in

force, since the battle on the inside of the museum would be heating up as the company pushed back against the union through intimidation and fear mongering.

This rally capped a nearly five-year campaign called POWR (Philadelphia Officers and Workers Rising) in which security guards and Philadelphia Jobs with Justice, itself a coalition of labor unions, students, progressive clergy, faith groups and other community members, have fought to reform the security industry in Philadelphia. Allied-Barton, which employs nearly 90 percent of the security guards in Philadelphia, pays poverty wages of around \$10 an hour with medical benefits that are too expensive for the guards to afford on such meager pay. The security guards in Allied-Barton in Philadelphia are 95 percent African American and majority women. Historically and legally, security guards have been excluded from many legal protections for fear that unionized guards would join other unions in strikes, and so they have been compelled to form guard-only unions. Other low-wage workers prohibited from union organizing include domestic workers and farm workers.

After targeting Temple University and the University of Pennsylvania, POWR won sick days and wage increases at those locations, and the Museum of Art was the first attempt to go for a union. The decision



The Rude Mechanical Orchestra marched with Philadelphia Jobs with Justice, Students for a Democratic Society and others on Oct. 10 to draw support for the new security guard union at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

was made by the guards at the museum to form an independent union after no big unions would take up the cause, on account of previous truces and agreements with Allied-Barton. This entirely independent union, formed with the support of organizers Eduardo Soriano and Fabricio Rodriguez from Jobs with Justice, was the most basic of unions: workers getting together to fight back against the injustices of their jobs and the culture of fear within Allied-Barton, instead of just quitting.

The campaign battle at the Museum of Art was the latest in escalating yet respectful tactics by supporters to put pressure on the museum to force Allied-Barton to recognize PSOU. There had been several rallies outside the museum in the previous year. Members of Jobs with Justice attended the "Art After 5" event and handed out DVDs of the

documentary *Welcoming Change*, detailing the art museum struggle by the security guards. Since Allied-Barton took away a promised 25-cent raise, members of Jobs with Justice took up panhandling outside the art museum in a symbolic protest to make up the difference.

Going forward, it will be crucial to support the guards as they fight to escape poverty through collective action. Philadelphia Jobs with Justice and its allies will keep rallying support to prevent Allied-Barton and its silent accomplices at the Museum of Art from crushing the independent, worker-led union. As Junita Love of PSOU said, quoting Frederick Douglass, "Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

For more information, visit: www.labornotes.org/node/2513. #

From Funk the War to Funk the Police

By JAMES AMBER

This idea that the people united will never be defeated has been one of the overarching ideals of Rochester Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as they rise above false allegations and media misrepresentation.

Wednesday, Oct. 7, as part of the National Day of Action commemorating the 8th anniversary of the invasion of Afghanistan that had been adopted at the SDS National Convention in July, Rochester held their second Funk the War street dance party. They were protesting the war in Afghanistan and had three specific demands. Besides wanting all troops out of Afghanistan and Iraq, they called for the complete demilitarization of our schools, demanding that all military recruiters be banned from school grounds and that the recent opt-out policy in the Rochester City School District (RCSD) be overturned. They also demanded more money for education, not occupation, referencing the most recent budget cuts in RCSD as an example.

The march started out as any protest that SDS had organized, resembling the first Funk the War held in March 2009, on the 6th anniversary of the invasion of Iraq. Protesters congregated in Washington Square Park, and, standing on a statue looking out over everyone, I could see people hula-hooping, bucket drumming, dancing, laughing and having a good time. Signs such as "Eat the Rich, Feed the Poor" could be seen, as well as banners that read "No War But Class War" and "8 Years Too Many, U.S. Out of Afghanistan."

A chant rose up of "No justice, no peace, U.S. out of the Middle East" as people started dancing to the beat of the drums and the rhythm of the chants. After

having been in the park for about an hour, organizer Jake Allen gave an opening speech voicing the demands of the march, which was met with loud cheers and raised fists as he said, "No more blood for oil! No more blood for empire!"

Soon the march moved out of the park, at first on the sidewalk and then crossing through Bausch and Lomb Place, chanting at the top of our lungs, "Occupation is a crime! Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine!"

We stayed on the sidewalk until we got to Main St., when we filled the road. At that point, unlike the previous Funk the War, which had taken a very similar route, no police were to be seen except the foot cop on the corner of Main and St. Paul. As we proceeded through the intersection, the cop shoved us back down the road with no explanation until somebody asked, and he simply pointed down the street. A few blocks away, a fire truck was coming toward us with lights and sirens. As soon as we saw this fire truck, the group turned around and backed up to allow the fire truck passage through the intersection. As the fire truck passed, it did not have to slow down for protesters as reported by corporate media, nor did it have to come to a complete stop as reported by the fire department. Having allowed the truck clean passage, we continued on until we reached the Main St. Bridge. And that's when things took a turn.

Out of nowhere numerous cops appeared, some wading through the march to arrest the single African-American youth in the march, something that Rochester SDS, as well as other organizations, have called an act of systemic racism. A local independent media reporter who was filming this incident was shoved, tackled to the ground and arrested by three cops. By this point everyone had been pushed or moved back onto the sidewalk, and enraged yells of "Let him go!" rang out. Except for one, all the arrests, including that of the

independent reporter, took place on the sidewalk.

Nothing happened for a couple of minutes as the cops surrounded us, but then it all turned to chaos. All of a sudden, my friends, my comrades, were being taken down by cops for no reason at all. My friend in front of me was taken down by three cops, who scraped his chin against the pavement. Unable to move as I watched this event, I felt something hit the back of my feet. Turning, I saw yet another friend of mine laid out on the pavement, having reportedly been punched by a cop and then brought to the ground, his face smashed into the sidewalk to the extent of needing three stitches in his chin. As his arresting officer put on the cuffs, he dug his knee into the back of my friend's neck, and I distinctly remember looking over and being gravely concerned, unable to tell if he was even conscious due to his half-closed eyes and pallid skin.

A female protester had her face bashed into the base of a lamp post, resulting in her later needing stitches as well. Cops were pushing, shoving and hitting with batons, causing another marcher to fall and injure his wrist. Another independent media reporter was pushed into a flowerbed because she was not moving fast enough.

By the time we managed to disperse, having previously had no way to do so with cops blocking off both sides of the bridge, 11 people had been arrested and two had been hospitalized. One had to later take herself to the hospital despite having blood pouring from her mouth due to a split lip. Our march that had consisted of about 75 protesters had resulted in approximately 40 police cars responding.

In the words of Jake Allen, the police "acted like thugs, [and] there are plenty of ways they could have handled the situation

Continued on page 12



A protestor is put in a police car as others watch. About 40 police cars responded to the march of less than 100 protesters in Rochester, N.Y., arresting 11 and injuring several.

A Shepard and His Sheep:

Shepard Fairey Instructs Pittsburgh to Obey

By SHAUN SLIFER

On Oct. 17, street artist Shepard Fairey opened a massive retrospective exhibition at Pittsburgh's Andy Warhol Museum. "Supply and Demand" drew a sold-out opening night crowd that watched Fairey DJ alongside Z-Trip while sporting a swank three-piece suit.

In the months prior, Fairey and his team toured around Pittsburgh, wheat-pasting his familiar designs on building facades both permitted and not, and across from the museum, he installed a temporary mural over the top of a pre-existing mural by a younger local artist. The silent, creeping presence of Fairey's designs around the city felt eerily similar to the lead-up to the G-20 summit this past September, in which faceless PR firms delivered meaningless graphics touting business and lifestyle opportunities to dozens of vacant downtown storefronts in an attempt to scrub the visual landscape. All of this new wallpaper gave an impending and queasy feeling to anyone paying attention: Pittsburgh, once again, and without consent, would play host as a playground for the powerful.

Fairey is one of the most recognized designers in the United States today, and the litigation surrounding him and the image sourcing for his art is a circus of its own. Most bizarrely for Pittsburghers (and anyone else who noticed), this spring, local designer Larkin Werner was sent a "cease and desist" (later rescinded) by Fairey's legal team over the use of the word "obey" in conjunction with the homespun "Steelerbaby" Kewpie doll for sale on the Internet. That, as well as prior stumbles in image use and Fairey's latest snafu with the Associated Press, has highlighted

some interesting points about Fairey's privilege as a celebrity and artistic image sourcing in general. Many have been quick to smirk at the perceived appropriateness of Fairey's work in a museum dedicated to Andy Warhol, himself a controversial, multi-disciplinary artist with a mind for business. In fact, the museum has a history of consistently bringing stimulating and provocative content to Pittsburgh with an acute sense of history and context. In the case of "Supply and Demand," however, the whole drum roll and presentation feels scripted and aloof.

On top of the absurd legal battles keeping Shepard Fairey's lawyers and critics busy, a wealth of debate about whether or not the artist's work is "fair use" or even "plagiarism" has been steadily sprouting on blogs (like Justseeds) for some time. Often, the accusations fly from the keyboards of other artists, particularly printmakers who consider themselves more engaged in social justice work than Fairey appears to be. It's easy to come off as jealous and spiteful "haters," but as printmakers, perhaps what we want most from Fairey as a "political" artist – and don't get – is an analysis of capitalism and its ills that aligns with our own. We want to look at his work, with its alluring red and black imagery and "underground" origins, and find an ally in this struggle.

But we don't find that ally in Shepard Fairey. Instead we find a depoliticized and fairly macho entrepreneur, throwing history in our faces and proving to us that it's easy as hell to make a nice profit off of the "look" of something. If anything smarts more than the annoying sting of Fairey's slick fashion line or the Fuji/Obey track bike, it might just be the sickening feeling of watching someone like Fairey produce color-coded images with little resonance. Or take handsome promo shots for *Vogue Italy* after pasting his work on a failed urban storefront. Or revel in his street cred and controversy while museums that should know better pander to his status.

This sanctioned mural on a vacant building across from the Andy Warhol Museum is actually installed on a frame that helps Fairey's work cover another mural by a younger, local artist.



Although many of Fairey's sanctioned paste-ups in Pittsburgh remain unchallenged, this location has been "peer-edited" twice and features additions by a local artist.

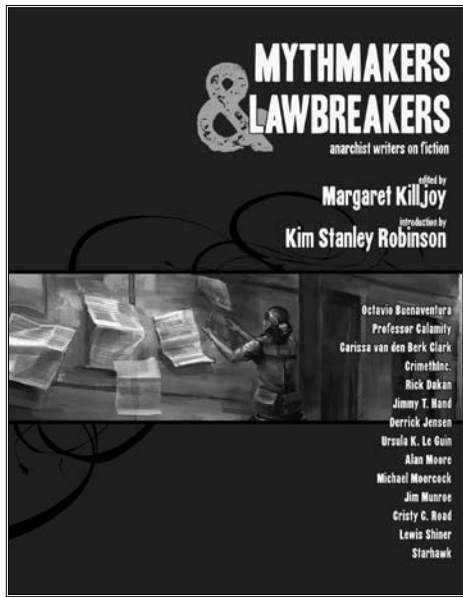
What the rest of us get from "Supply and Demand" is a slick package of redundant imagery, and the Warhol does a surprising disservice to its visitors by touting the work in this exhibit as politically relevant social critique. The best idea I suppose one could take away from "Supply and Demand" is one about how easily we can be sold image and identity, for at its essence, the exhibit is a retrospective of Fairey's "Obey" brand name.

It can't be said that I went to see the new show without prior bias, nor can I refrain from admitting that I appreciated the two cases of Fairey's oldest drawings and related creative ephemera. Yet, besides the usual critiques I might have had of Fairey's past work, I felt something else while walking around the museum. Perhaps a friend said it best: "It just feels like another Dude making work with beautiful women in it," – and, I would add, a short catalogue of images of power. Something that doesn't get said about Fairey's work very often is that he easily typifies a tired "boys' club" mentality regarding art. Women, if they appear in his work at all, almost exclusively do so as beautiful faces and bodies. Guns, tanks, machines, fists and stern faces proliferate.

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An Interview with Margaret Killjoy



AK Press recently released a book by Margaret Killjoy called *Mythmakers and Lawbreakers: Anarchist Writers on Fiction*, in which the author interviews 14 anarchist writers about their fiction and their politics. Killjoy is known for founding *Steampunk Magazine* and his own DIY press called *Strangers in a Tangled Wilderness*. He recently completed an East Coast mini-tour to read from and speak about *Mythmakers and Lawbreakers*. The Nor'easter talked with Mr. Killjoy about his inspirations for his book and his thoughts on anarchism.

THE NOR'EASTER: In your book, you talk to some pretty famous and sometimes far away people, including Alan Moore, author of *V for Vendetta*. How did you first contact these big names? Do you think that a sense of anarchist affinity attracted them to the project (or were they simply compelled by your irresistible demeanor)?

MARGARET KILLJOY: It was actually easier to reach the famous people than the not-famous people. They proved easier to track down. And I think by and large it was because people were excited to finally talk about their politics to someone who actually understood their politics.

Some of them were kind of random – like I got in touch with Alan Moore because I was at this goth festival, Convergence 13, waiting in line for the bathroom, and this guy starts talking to me. For some reason I mentioned I was an anarchist, and he said, “Oh, you know Alan Moore is an anarchist.”

And I said, “Yeah, I’ve heard that.”

“Well, I’m friends with him – even though I’m not an anarchist; I’m something of a fascist.”

I was like, “Really?”

“Well, business acquaintances; I’ve talked to him before.”

I was like, “Okay, well, I’m trying to interview anarchist fiction writers.”

He said, “Oh, well, I’ll get you in contact with him. I can’t just give you his number; I have to call him and make sure that’s okay.”

And I was like, “Of course, guy, sure. I totally believe you. Here is my e-mail address. The guy I randomly met at the bathroom at a goth festival who calls himself a fascist will get me in touch with Alan Moore. Absolutely. That’s what’s going to happen.” And it did.

But I found most people to be very approachable. Just be respectful, you know? Be willing to take no for an answer.

Also a lot of people just wanted to be in the same book as Ursula K. Le Guin. I didn’t have too much trouble getting people to be in it after talking to her.

TN: Through these interviews, did you establish longer-lasting relationships with any of the authors?

MK: Interviewing can be a fairly intimate process or it can be a fairly detached process. I guess I feel like a lot of the people I now have more of a connection with, doing various speaking events with some of the other authors. But I actually only finally got to meet in person one of the authors, Lewis Shiner, recently. I did a talk in Chapel Hill, N.C., and he came out to that, and it was really great to actually meet him. There is a sort of kinship there of radical fiction writers. The people I interviewed are actually all just very nice.

Alan Moore is putting out a magazine now, too, called *Dodgem Logic*, and he got in contact with me to see if I wanted to contribute something about post-civilized theory. So that’s kind of exciting.

TN: What are your views on the publishing world? Is the anarchist publishing world (e.g. AK Press) different from mainstream publishing, and how so?

MK: Well, of course. I come at things mostly from a DIY publishing point of view. And AK Press is very different from DIY publishing in that they actually interact with the mainstream book world. They give books ISBNs, they work with major distributors, all of that stuff. I mean, Barnes and Noble bought copies of my book. Not sure if they’re going to sell any, of course. But at the end of the day it’s still an anarchist collective that’s running AK.

Now, even in the mainstream publishing world, any book deal you’re going to get, you have final say over all the words that are going to go into the book. But things like the cover, you have absolutely no say in, and you don’t have much control, much agency. AK Press does a really good job of working with the authors to make sure that they have agency over what happens with their words ... And I think it’s just really nice to be working with people who don’t have bosses.

I talked to authors who worked all over the place; from self-published (or published by my own distro, *Strangers In A Tangled Wilderness*), to folks who work with independents and radicals like AK Press or PM Press, to those who publish with mainstream houses. And I think we actually need all of that. More everything, please. Just more radical books would be nice.

TN: In your research of anarchist authors, you learned that not all of them embrace the label of “anarchist,” despite still identifying with the politics. Similarly, you uncovered many authors who were very close to identifying as anarchist but didn’t quite make the cut. How did you decide which writers to interview? And what became of the rest of the research?

MK: In terms of who I chose to interview, I approached people and said, “This is my project. Do you think that you would belong in this project?” And all the people who ended up in the book said yes. Although, certainly even within the interviewees, there’s a range of how strongly people identify with “anarchist.” I learned that it’s not completely black and white, and that there are people who mostly identify with anarchism, or they identify philosophically with

anarchism but not politically with anarchism. And there are other people who very strongly identify with “anarchist” who are interviewed in the book.

I also learned through this book that it’s a bit misleading to talk about radicalism through the eyes of anarchism, even though I feel that anarchism is the most useful. But I learned that there were a lot of people writing really interesting things that were completely radical and maybe even reached the same conclusions but not through the lens of anarchism. And it was kind of a shame, by and large, to not be able to include them. Most of the people like that ended up in the appendix of the book in the “Also of Note” section. Frank Herbert, for example, author of *Dune*, was a permaculturalist and way-ahead-of-his-time environmentalist who was anti-government and wasn’t right wing at all. And that’s who I want, but he didn’t use the label “anarchist.” Or Philip K. Dick was very, very questioning of government but is not quite an anarchist. I ran into that kind of thing a lot, and I tried to include a lot of those people in the “Also of Note” section. I’d do research on people and they’d seem wonderful, but then they were socialists or social democrats or all of these other potentially useful political philosophies that just didn’t happen to be anarchist. But I felt like I needed a specific choice in label; otherwise the whole project would become too broad.

TN: Many anarchists read theory as part of their radical education and often shrug off fiction as time wasted. In your own words, how would you explain the importance of fiction to anarchism?

MK: A lot of us don’t like to read non-fiction – or rather, a lot of us don’t always want to read theory. I do read a lot of non-fiction, but I don’t read a lot of theory; I can’t get through it. And I’m tired of pretending like I want to get through it. I remember growing up and thinking, “What, am I dumb? Why can’t I get through *Das Kapital*?” And at some point, I was like, “Ah, it’s because it’s communist and I’m an anarchist. But then, why can’t I read *The Coming Insurrection*?” (Well, *The Coming Insurrection* isn’t necessarily anarchist, either, but...) And it’s that I could – I could make myself read it, and I’m smart enough to understand it, but that’s not what I want to do. I actually would consider reading that to be time wasted, personally. Other people don’t feel that way, and other people get more out of theory, but basically, I’m sick of having what I’m interested in reading being looked down upon. I grew up developing my political, spiritual, philosophical ideas from the books I read. And it just so happened that the books I read were fiction, primarily science fiction and fantasy. They explored the same themes as philosophy books and political theory, and I actually think fiction has a hell of a lot to offer in that way because fiction is really good at asking questions. It says, “Here’s the society – now what would happen?” Whereas theory tends to be more on the “Here’s the society” page and not taking that extra step. And it’s less likely to be self-critical. If you write fiction, you usually can’t just say, “This is what’s best; everyone should do this!” Because that would make for crap fiction – and there’s a lot of crap fiction out there that tries to do that. But you need to actually question the ideas you present, when you present fiction.

TN: How and when did you realize that you are an anarchist? How have you incorporated anarchism into your own fiction?

MK: When I was 15 or 16, I thought I was a libertarian. I was dating a communist, and she said, “You know, if libertarians had their way, corporations would run everything.” And I said, “Oh crap, you’re right. But I’m just not a communist. I’ve never been a communist, I’ll never be a communist. Crap.” So I went to visit Finland, and they were social democrats there, and everything seemed *kind of* okay. The poor weren’t *quite* as poor, and the rich weren’t *quite* as rich. I thought, “Well, I guess social democrat is the best, I guess. Whatever.” But I didn’t really feel very strongly about this because it wasn’t very engaging; it wasn’t very dramatic or beautiful, and it didn’t really seem like it was worth fighting for.

One day I went to an anti-globalization protest, when I was 19, and I did some research, and it looked like the anarchists would be the most entertaining people to hang out with. I went to the anti-globalization demonstration wearing all black, as I did anyway, but no mask or anything, and I went up to some kids in masks and I said, “So what’s this anarchism thing?” And they were like, “Well, we hate the government *and* we hate capitalism.” And I was like, “Well, what are you gonna do about it?” And they were like, “Well, we’re going to build alternative structures at the same time that we fight the forces of global capitalism.” And I was like, “Oh. Can I have a mask?” And they said, “Sure.” So I put on a black mask, and from that day forth, I was an anarchist.

How do I incorporate anarchism into my fiction? For a while it was the opposite: It was “How do I incorporate fiction into my anarchism?” Because that was what I wanted to do. That was my primary drive in life: to overthrow capitalism and government. And I would say that that’s probably still true, but now I’m actually attempting to work a balance and realize that you can specialize in multiple things. I would say that I’m not really interested, personally, in writing anarchist utopian fiction, although there are people who do, and that’s fine. I’m interested in normalizing anarchism. Like, I think that homophobic literature is horrible, but hetero-normative literature is more insidious. It gets under people’s skin more, and it makes people make assumptions. I think that the power of fiction is to control people’s assumptions. I’m interested in breaking normative fiction. I’m interested in normalizing anarchism. I’m interested in characters who are anarchists being not perfect and not fucked up. And I’d like to read a book where trans characters don’t die.

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Margaret Killjoy has authored and published many zines for his distro *Strangers in a Tangled Wilderness*, including his much-loved comics, “The Super Happy Anarcho-Fun Pages.” An anthology of these comics will be released by Eberhardt Press in 2010.

Weaving a Safety Net: Activists Address Sexual Assault in the Protest World

By HANNAH E. DOBBZ

Over the past 20 years, supporters of “victims” of sexual assault have begun to use a more empowering term to describe them: survivor. Occasionally a hot-button semantic issue for victims and non-victims alike, the term “survivor” is now generally considered the proper idiom when discussing sexual assault or rape.

In their study “Talking About Sexual Violence,” Stacy L. Young and Kathryn C. Maguire write, “Anyone who has lived through a sexually violent episode is a survivor. While the term victim seems to focus on what actually happened to the person, the term survivor emphasizes what occurs after the encounter. The use of survivor may help the individual see past the incident and move forward with the recovery process.”

Young and Maguire conclude that all the women involved in the study thought of themselves as victims at the time of the assault, but most of them currently think of themselves as survivors. The authors attributed this to the fact that during the attack, the women were made into victims. Using the term “survivor” is a contrast; No one can make someone a survivor; that is something the individual must do herself. “In using the term survivor,” the study goes on, “they minimized focus on the event and maximized emphasis on their recovery and strength.”

Activist Ben Yager, 24, of Grand Junction, Colo., – a survivor himself – uses the term when talking about sexual assault. “The word is validation of the fact that a person survived an ordeal,” he said. “For a lot of us, it’s a big deal to survive every day. Were we victimized by a perpetrator? Yes. But are we still alive? Yes. Changing our terminology is part of reclaiming ourselves and not allowing victimization to destroy us.”

In the summer of 2008, Yager volunteered with the organizing body Unconventional Denver, an anarchist protest group formed to oppose the Democratic National Convention (DNC) in Colorado’s capital city in August. Local anarchists and anti-capitalists designed the group as a mouthpiece to speak out against the injustice of a two-party electoral system.

In planning for the protests, Unconventional Denver created a branch called the “Accountability and Mediation Team” (AMT), which was responsible for meeting the needs of survivors at the DNC protests. These needs could range from asking a perpetrator to leave the convergence space to starting a dialogue with the perpetrator. Yager was a member of the AMT and explained that the reason for this safeguard was that, despite being oriented toward change, activists are not immune to crossing personal boundaries and perpetrating sexual assault. They just don’t often like to realize it.

He also explained that “mediation” suggests finding a compromise between both parties in a difficult situation. His team’s goal, however, was to ensure that any dialogue that happened was safe and supportive of the survivor. The AMT’s vision was to create a space that felt safe for survivors – or at least safer than other spaces. “We should talk about safer space when talking about public space, because we can’t make a space 100 percent safe,” Yager said.

According to the AMT, making a “Safer Space” for sexual assault survivors involves a three-tiered strategy:

The first step is working to prevent unsafe and oppressive behaviors. What

for a closer look...

is defined as “unsafe,” according to Yager, is behavior or language that is dismissive, reinforces “rape culture” or implies that consent is unimportant or not needed.

The second tier of a Safer Space is actively supporting survivors by meeting their needs and wishes. These include logistical and physical needs as well as emotional ones (such as watching for triggering events, flashbacks or perpetrators in the survivor’s space).

Finally, the cardinal rule of a Safer Space is simply to respect the survivors and never question their feelings or needs surrounding the assault.

Many activists would like to believe that because they oppose oppression, they are immune to acting oppressively. Unfortunately, oppressive behavior is socialized into even the most radical anarchist. Because of this phenomenon, there is often a need at mobilizations for “identity-based Safer Spaces,” where women, trans folks or people of color can organize, share, relax or decompress. The idea is to take a break from the internalized racism, sexism, homophobia, hetero-normativity, and so on, that burdens even the most socially conscious activists seeking to fight all forms of oppression.

These efforts to make spaces “safer” at mobilizations seem to some like misplaced energy, however. In Denver, Yager explained, he and his team mostly experienced cooperation during the DNC protest itself, but there was some skepticism around the ideas of “Safer Space” and “survivor support” in the initial organizing phase. Some organizers felt like it was disruptive and consumed too much time and energy.

The disagreement about priorities stemmed from the fact that none of the discussed perpetrators had committed overtly violent crimes. While most activists try to avoid calling on the police, the lack of alternatives can force people to take rapes of a certain nature out of the hands of the community. For example, violent perpetrators such as Omar Yoguez Singu – who raped and killed U.S. activist Sali Grace Eiler with a machete in September 2008 – are admittedly better off behind bars. But some assaults are the result of “rape culture” socialization, in which consent is not considered. The survivors of these assaults argue that their attacks should not be downplayed as non-traumatic. Their perpetrators acted inappropriately or were unable to recognize when touching was non-consensual. Some had been in relationships with their partners who forced them into non-consensual sex. Some had been sleeping next to a friend or acquaintance and woke up with their hands wandering. Some had gotten drunk at a party and done something regrettable for everyone involved. These kinds of assaults, if reported to police, at most punish the perpetrator with jail time or a fine – neither of which help remediate the attack.

Furthermore, such incidents likely would not be labeled “criminal” – and if they were, the legal system and the prison industrial complex would be prepared to do little in the way of rehabilitation. That is why the AMT developed a policy on how to deal with perpetrators as a method of protecting the community while avoiding outsourcing their conflicts.

The AMT branch of Unconventional Denver was lucky to receive little trouble from protesters regarding their sexual assault

MONTH(S) BEFORE THE DEMO

2-3 WEEKS BEFORE THE DEMO

A POSSIBLE TIMELINE FOR CREATING A “SAFER SPACE” AT A DEMONSTRATION

PUBLICIZE SEXUAL ASSAULT RESPONSE POLICIES AND INCORPORATE INTO MASS HOUSING, MEDICAL, AND OTHER ACTIVIST SPACE POLICIES

Include description of support structure that will be available

GATHER RESOURCES FOR SUPPORT CREW, HANDOUTS FOR MEDICS AND LEGAL, ZINE’S TO DISTRO, ETC.

BEGIN ORGANIZING SUPPORT CREW

Send out a 2nd Call to Action

Goal: 5-10 rad support volunteers with diverse gender, race, language, and other identities

FROM THE PITTSBURGH G20 RESISTANCE PROJECT AD-HOC SEXUAL ASSAULT RESPONSE WORKING GROUP

ONE WEEK TO GO!

EDUCATE AND PREPARE SUPPORT CREW!

Since people are coming with different backgrounds with sexual assault and sexual assault support, help fill in knowledge gaps with collective knowledge before, during, and after the action

Send out info packet

AT THE DEMO

CLINIC OR WELLNESS SPACE

*Try to have multiple genders rep’d as sexual assault advocates available in the clinic at all times
*Scout out good, private places to talk with survivors
*Make sexual assault support resources and support people known to clinic staff. Make sexual assault support one of the expected resources at a clinic just like medical, herbal, etc.
*Self-identify in clinic staff meetings, with name tags, and on any sign-up boards
*Work with clinic staff to determine resources available in the clinic specific to the anticipated needs of sexual assault survivors both physical and emotional.

AFTER THE DEMO, PREFERABLY FACE-TO-FACE

policy, but Yager recalled some opposition when he and a group of individuals tried to do something similar at the FTAA (Free Trade Area of the Americas) protest in Miami in 2003.

During one incident, the survivor identified a fellow protester as her perpetrator and said that she was uncomfortable with him in the convergence space – a public meeting point for everyone involved in the mobilization. Respecting her request, organizers prohibited the perpetrator from entering the space. This protocol may sound extreme considering that the assault itself was over and done with, but Yager stands by the strict policies. “In an effort for total liberation,” he said, “we can’t fail our communities and fail to act accordingly. We need to create our new world at the same time that we’re tearing down the old one.”

One of the AMT’s rules was that perpetrators would not be allowed in the convergence space unless they were in an “accountability process.” Perpetrators had to check in so the AMT could find out what their individual process was (usually assigned by the survivor).

An accountability process is a process in which the survivor and their community hold the perpetrator accountable for the sexual assault so as to change his or her behavior patterns and protect others in the community from those destructive behaviors.

SEND OUT “CALL TO ACTION” FOR SURVIVOR SUPPORT PEOPLE

Goal: 2-3 people to bottomline the Sexual Assault Response Working Group

DRAFT SEXUAL ASSAULT RESPONSE POLICIES

SET UP THE LOCAL RESPONSE STRUCTURE:

Contact local rape crisis centers, shelters, etc. Find out:
* What services they provide and how to access them
* How they deal with transgender folks and people from out of town, out of state or out of the country
* Tell them about your support system

Set up emergency safe housing
Coordinate with mass housing and/or convergence space organizers to set up a way to oust perpetrators and deal with security issues

Figure out phone/hotline: Do you need to get a prepaid phone?

Figure out transportation: Does anyone on the support crew have a car? Can you borrow one from someone else?

Identify legal resources available to survivors both within and outside the activist community

-Have a legal contact, exchange numbers

-Pre-arrange how to remove an identified perpetrator if needed

-Find out local laws regarding:

* Time to report an assault
* Timing of rape kits & DFSA kits (drug facilitated sexual assault kits)

ESTABLISH SUPPORT CREW ROLES

*Via e-mail or phone, share experience, training, who wants to do what, who identifies with which genders, any boundaries or limits/special needs, who has what special resources or skills

*Decide on main advocates, transportation, and any other big roles

*Write out clear responsibilities for every role

GATHER PHONE NUMBERS AND ALL CRUCIAL CONTACT INFO AND DISTRO IT TO SUPPORT PEEPS

SEND A “WHAT TO DO IF A SURVIVOR OF SEXUALIZED VIOLENCE COMES TO YOU” HANDOUT TO MEDICS AND LEGAL SUPPORT VIA E-MAIL

FACE TO FACE MEETING EARLY IN THE ACTION TO MEET EACH OTHER, DISSEMINATE PHONE NUMBERS, AND DECIDE ON ANY SCHEDULES OR STRUCTURES BEFOREHAND. THIS COULD INCLUDE:

* Go over all resources available and how to access each one
* Coordinate shifts in activist spaces
* Address the inevitable unexpected topic

SPREAD THE WORD!

* Flyers explaining available resources and how to access them at any and all relevant locations
* During any and all meeting of activists, make the sexual assault support team known
*Work to connect sexual assault advocacy and crisis support in general to the medic and wellness community.

DEBRIEF

SELFCARE

Accountability processes can serve any of the following three purposes:

To make the survivor feel safe. One example of this sort of process is requesting that perpetrators stay away from places that survivors go. In extreme cases, the request could include leaving the community or city entirely.

To impose lifestyle guidelines or boundaries for the perpetrator to avoid similar situations in the future. This could include requiring the perpetrator to inform all sexual or romantic partners about the assault. If the assault happened under the influence, the request could include the perpetrator limiting his or her intake of alcohol.

To enact long-term emotional work with the perpetrator to change behaviors and be welcome again in the community. These behaviors can stem from an abusive history in which the perpetrator was taught that non-consensual or oppressive behavior is an acceptable way of interacting. An accountability process can play an important part in learning from those patterns.

“We get asked a lot why are there so many assaulters that we need policy,” Yager said. “What’s wrong with our community? My response is that there are assaulters in every community and [assaults] happen in all communities – what’s unique

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Green Is the New Spectacle

By JASON SLADE

Environmental issues can oftentimes be very complex. Some issues directly relate to climate change, and some do not. However, it is very important to connect the dots between issues because almost all environmental problems are caused, at their base, by capitalist expansion, commodification and privatization. Corporations have used the climate crisis and growing public concern about environmental issues to their advantage. They have learned to use the rhetoric of environmentalism to justify extremely oppressive projects whose sole purpose is to increase their power and to continue the cycle of production and consumption. Incredibly destructive projects, such as hydrofracture natural gas extraction in Upstate New York, are marketed as clean. This absurd spectacle must be stopped.

In Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle*, he writes, "The spectacle presents itself simultaneously as all of society, as part of society, and as instrument of unification ... The spectacle grasped in its totality is both the result and the project of the existing mode of production. It is not a supplement to the real world, an additional decoration. It is the heart of the unrealism of the real society. In all its specific forms, as information or propaganda, as advertisement or direct entertainment consumption, the spectacle is the present model of socially dominant life ... It is the sun which never sets over the empire of modern passivity. It covers the entire surface of the world and bathes endlessly in its own glory."

And now the light of that sun is green. The green spectacle is confronting the climate crisis with hollow solutions presented to us in a pleasant, prefabricated package that can be bought if we can afford them and allow us to pollute in good conscience. In an absurd twist, these false corporate solutions cause the poor, and those who resist these schemes, to be blamed for destroying the planet. "It is not the oil companies who are to blame for climate change, but the poor who do not buy carbon offsets when they travel." Thus, the climate crisis becomes another way to make money and increase corporate power.

In short, the green spectacle is an image of a greener, more natural society, reached by corporate solutions. The green spectacle is created by the undeniable urgency of our climate crisis and capitalism's need to reinvent itself and present its own solutions to climate change, because it is clear that any real solution would eliminate capitalism. Sadly, many groups that wish to solve climate change are limited in their ability to combat it because they must live within the spectacle and believe the corporate media's lies. So even people fighting against the system get caught up in its maze, never attacking the root systemic causes of our issues. We must create our own narrative and attack the roots of this ecocidal system. We cannot let corporations trick us into accepting false solutions.

The Lies: Biofuels, Carbon Trading and Privatization

Biofuels are often said to be a possible solution to the climate crisis. However, they are more likely to make the problem worse than better. Not only does it take more energy to produce biofuels than they contain, but biofuels are an expansion of industrial agriculture, which is a major cause of climate change, deforestation, the dispossession of local communities, biodiversity loss, water and soil degradation, and loss of food sovereignty and security. Additionally, the production of biofuels takes farmland that could be used to feed people and instead uses it to grow ethanol for our cars. Food riots have already broken out in Mexico, where prices rose on corn because of ethanol production. With more than 865 million hungry people in this world, it is puzzling why we would be growing food for hungry cars and not hungry people.

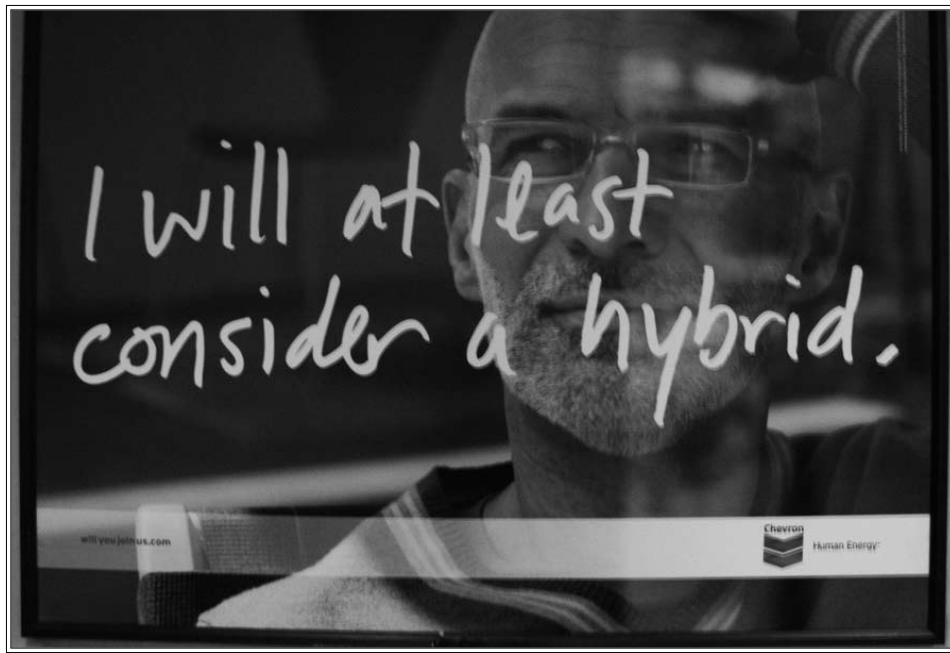
Carbon trading, too, is nothing more than a way for the biggest polluters to look like they are doing something about climate change and make a fortune in the process. Governments arbitrarily give out carbon credits, usually to the biggest polluters, and they are traded as a normal commodity. Two of the largest carbon trading schemes that have already been implemented are REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation) and CDM (Clean Development Mechanisms). Their joint implementation is a way of privatizing, selling and profiting more from our natural resources.

REDD takes land rights away from local people and puts them in the hands of corporations. In many cases, non-native trees are planted, such as monoculture eucalyptus trees in Brazil, which changes the ecosystem, drying up the land and hurting the plants that local people use to survive.

CDM allows industrialized countries with a greenhouse gas reduction commitment (such as the Kyoto Protocol) to invest in projects that (in theory) reduce emissions in developing countries, instead of more expensive emission reductions in their own countries. CDM projects, for example, allow companies to privatize rivers to create "clean" hydroelectric dams. Since the dam produces less carbon emissions than a theoretical coal plant that might have been built, the company receives carbon credits, allowing it to pollute more, or sell the credits.

All this privatizing also means more surveillance and displacement. Since the forests now exist for profit, indigenous people who have lived in them for generations are being forced off their land.

One of our most important resources is already being privatized: water. Less than one percent of the world's freshwater (or 0.007 percent of the world's water) is accessible and potable. This needs to be shared by the world's 6.7 billion people, the myriad wildlife and ecosystems, and human agriculture and industries. However, this resource is no longer being treated as a commons. Water is being privatized to create hydroelectric dams that produce "clean energy" for destructive processes such as aluminum smelting. Dams destroy ecosystems by turning them into stagnant cesspools, displacing whole communities by forcing them off the land, and releasing huge amounts of methane from flooded vegetation. Water has even begun to be traded in global stock exchanges. Today, an individual or corporation can invest in water-targeted hedge funds, index funds and exchange traded funds (ETFs), water certificates, shares



of water engineering and technology companies, and a host of other newfangled water investments. Privatized water is now a \$425 billion industry and is expected to grow to a \$1 trillion industry within five years.

Often, the picture painted by mainstream media and water-rights activists is too simple – that of a single corporation (such as Coca-Cola in India or Bechtel in Bolivia) "corporatizing water"; the real story is not just of flamboyant tycoons or individual corporations sucking dry springs and groundwater to the detriment of poor subsistence farmers or slum-dwellers. Water is being privatized by a complex global network of investment banks, private equity firms, public pension funds, sovereign wealth funds and multinational corporations that are buying up and controlling water worldwide. Investment banks, including Goldman Sachs, JPMorgan Chase, Citigroup, Morgan Stanley, Deutsche Bank and Credit Suisse, are aggressively buying up water rights all over the world. As climate change shrinks fresh water resources, there will be even more money to be made in private water.

The Result: Militarism and Xenophobia

The New York Times recently wrote that, according to military and intelligence analysts, "the changing global climate will pose profound strategic challenges to the United States in coming decades, raising the prospect of military intervention to deal with the effects of violent storms, drought, mass migration and pandemics." These analysts, experts at the Pentagon and other intelligence agencies, say that such climate-induced crises could topple governments, feed terrorist movements or destabilize entire regions. The U.S. military recently launched its "war on global warming," stating that the "military [will] play a key role in tackling climate change, and are developing military strategies to deal with it." It's a whole new frontier in the fight for freedom and justice.

In particular, military experts say that the potential scale of catastrophe could trigger revolution and political upheaval. One report states, "When a government can no longer deliver services to its people, ensure domestic order and protect the nation's borders from invasion, conditions are ripe for turmoil, extremism and terrorism to fill the vacuum." The report advocates bolstering U.S. military bases and key allied governments in unstable regions of the world. Other military officials have said that climate change will increase demands for our military to carry out "relief" and "disaster" assistance missions. Disaster relief will become a military occupation.

Unsurprisingly, the United States defends the short-term interests of its ruling elite by seizing natural energy resources through both privatization and war. However, it must rely on the military-industrial complex, which is increasingly privatized and fragmented. As Naomi Klein describes in *The Shock Doctrine*, disaster capitalism profits greatly from crisis, real

or imagined. As the Climate War becomes the dominant organizing principle for the planet, the military-industrial system will seek to profit from both the destruction of war and the rebuilding of damaged systems.

War is big business and a major industry that thrives on crisis. It alone ensures constant crises either by physical force or by political discourses that justify a constant cash flow. The United States and European Union use large numbers of likely climate refugees in their own right-wing propaganda, creating fear against these people, and using that fear as a means to strengthen border security. Since capitalist states have no means of addressing climate change other than making preparations for cracking down on social unrest, Fortress Europe and the United States will strengthen their borders even more, criminalizing and blaming migrants and asylum seekers, saying it is the poor who are truly responsible for climate change.

Every year we see thousands of people flee their countries of origin in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Asia, hoping for a better life. While the majority will move to nearby countries, many will attempt the long and dangerous journey to Europe or the United States. It is impossible to determine exactly how many people are forced to migrate directly because of climate change. What is clear is that the position of wealth and privilege in the Global North is, to a large extent, the result of the exploitation of land, people and resources in two-thirds of the world, the very same processes that have driven industrial capitalism and caused climate change.

The world's poor did not cause climate change, but they are more vulnerable to its effects because of where and how they live. Whether in agricultural areas or city slums in the Global South, they have fewer options available when things go wrong. Africa and South East Asia, for example, are some of the most geographically vulnerable places on the planet.

Climate change is already being used to give further legitimacy to the concepts of "national preservation" and "homeland security." For example, Lee Gunn, president of the American Security Project has said, "Here's how Washington should begin preparing for the consequences associated with climate change: Invest in capabilities within the U.S. government (including the Defense Department) to manage the humanitarian crises – such as a new flow of 'climate refugees' – that may accompany climate change and subsequently overwhelm local governments and threaten critical U.S. interests." Once again, state and capital interests are the top priority, and the wellbeing of people and the environment are not even a consideration. He goes on to say that the United States should "lead the world in developing conflict-resolution mechanisms to mediate between climate change's winners and losers." And we all know who the winners will be. India has

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Reports

Boston ABC

The Boston Anarchist Black Cross is, as ever, hard at work defending radical movements and supporting prisoners. As of this writing, we're gearing up to type, edit and compile the fifth issue of *Prison Action News*, comprised entirely of submissions from prisoners on their resistance activities inside. We continue to correspond with, do research for, and send free literature to prisoners, and we're keeping up our \$20 monthly contribution to Jericho Boston's commissary fund, which goes toward meeting the material needs of political prisoners.

Once again, we sent a participant to Jericho's annual 5K, Running Down the Walls. Boston was one of 12 U.S. cities to host such an event, running around Jamaica Pond, while those on the inside did laps around their prison yards. Jericho used this event to raise \$500 for Leonard Peltier's Defense/Offense Committee and \$500 for Ojore Lutalo, a New Afrikan anarchist prisoner of war who was recently released.

We are currently engaged in a medium-term project of revising our distro of literature we both table with and send to prisoners. We are adding new titles and cleaning up old titles. Meanwhile,

as a result of our communication with the Texas Prisoners' Freedom Agenda, Boston ABC has become their outside contact. To learn more about them, you can visit the MySpace page set up for them at <http://www.myspace.com/txprisonersfreedomagenda>.

We are also working with the inside project Free Battered Texas Women. According to the Texas Council on Family Violence, in Texas, police decline to arrest male abusers and instead arrest the female victims on 20 percent of domestic violence calls. This happens only three percent of the time nationwide. Spotlighting the case of Dr. Cathy Marston, jailed because men made attempts on her life, and who has thus far served five years of a 10-year sentence, we hosted two film nights in November at the Lucy Parsons Center. We showed *Defending Our Lives*, about Massachusetts women imprisoned for killing their male abusers, and *We Will Not Be Beaten*, made in the 1970s by women at Cambridge's Transition House, a women's shelter that is still in existence. By passing the hat at these two films, we were able to raise over \$100 for the costs associated with imprisoned women attempting to exonerate themselves.

We also had the opportunity to make a television appearance! Cambridge

Community Television invited our friends at Food Not Bombs onto the air for a 27-minute segment, a chunk of which was offered to Boston ABC to talk about anarchist legal defense and prison abolition. The airwaves will never be the same again!

As our very dear friends in Pittsburgh were toiling to create and strengthen the necessary infrastructures to support and facilitate resistance to the G-20, we could not stand idly by. In addition to sending down two of our own to take shifts at the legal office, our members also contributed to the organizing of the weekend-long Northeast Pre-G-20 Meet Up, a logistical and social space set up to better inform and acquaint G-20 resisters. It was there that we gave a Know Your Rights presentation with both general and Pittsburgh-specific information. It was then that our members unleashed all the hilarity and amazement of a fundraiser of unparalleled fabulosity. The Smashin' the G-20 Fashion Show featured both fantastical and functional designs by local radicals, and, after our own New England crew eluded arrest,* we turned over \$350 to the Pittsburgh G-20 Resistance Project's legal working group.

With our fundraising energies geared toward other defense projects, our own

depleted war chest has been tragically neglected. This hasn't prevented us from contributing to the defense of the radical queers of Bash Back! in Minnesota, arrested for confronting Nazis at a racist rally. Nor did it prevent us from contributing to the defense of Ottawan homeless activist Andrew Nellis with the IWW's Panhandler's Union. However, we really do need money. With a fundraising Anti-Valentine's Day dinner in the works, and whispers of another fashion show in March, we hope to better stabilize our monetary situation. If you can not make it to either of these events and do not regularly come in contact with our fine collective members but still wish to make a donation, we are pleased to announce that we can now electronically accept money via PayPal to bostonabc@riseup.net. Needless to say, we still accept cash and blank checks [Boston ABC does not have a bank account] at:

Boston ABC
P.O. Box 230182
Boston, MA 02123

*One of our medics from Connecticut was arrested, but was cited and released, requiring no bail.

Boston Anti-Authoritarian Movement

BAAM (Boston Anti-Authoritarian Movement) is a group in transition. Existing in some form or other since 2001, it is generally agreed that BAAM functions best as a propaganda group and a means of plugging new people into projects that best suit their inclinations and strengths, as well as generating any number of successful, ongoing, autonomous projects. While we are ironing out internal issues here at BAAM, we have continued producing and distributing our monthly publication. At this writing, we are working on Issue 28. You can check out current and archived issues at our Web site, www.baamboston.org/baam-newsletter. In addition to the monthly production of an English language paper, we also have a Spanish and Portuguese language edition, *Autodeterminación Popular*, that comes out quarterly.

Did you know that people listen to podcasts? Perhaps you are one of them? On both iTunes and our podbean site,

<http://anotherworldispossible.podbean.com>, we have thus far recorded over 30 hours of anarchist and revolutionary material that has been downloaded and subscribed to by an astounding numbers of Internetians.

The holiday shopping season is upon us, and we are gearing up to continue our long-standing tradition of radical caroling. Appropriating the tunes of classic Christmas carols, we sing to shoppers and passersby of sweatshops, wealth inequality and merry ol' anarchy. We are hoping to team up with our local chapter of Raging Grannies again, both because it's more fun and because we've found that mall security is less willing to eject us from the premises when accompanied by our Grannies.

Because BAAM strives to unite anarchists working on a variety of projects, BAAM's members are themselves involved in a variety of other efforts, engaging in activities as disparate as Food Not Bombs, bicycle repair, prisoner support, fighting Boston University's proposed bioweapons lab, and Indymedia, and more than a few of us went down to Pittsburgh for the G-20.

Silent City Distro (Ithaca)

Now that most of the leaves have fallen and the farm work is coming to a close, all the committed Ithaca Anarchists are bundling up and stacking wood for the winter. However, local issues are heating up more than ever. The oil and gas industries are gearing up their fleet to invade this region, pushing their profit-driven development as a "bridge to a sustainable future." We recognize these false solutions for what they are and reject them with passion and vigilance. We're all spread out, putting ourselves in direct contact with the community, taking both leadership and support roles in local grassroots efforts.

Emotions are flowing in these turbulent times. I guess one of the most important things to remember is to trust our struggles. Especially when personal insecurities feel like they are all there is or when all the pain of the world feels so heavy. We're still here, right? There's

a legacy of resistance. It's inevitable. We will carry on if it's the last thing we do.

Silent City Distro continues to sustain and provide nutritious radical literature and media to the surrounding area. We've just recently started up a new series of "Intro to Anarchist Studies 101." Besides lots of awesome new zines that have been coming out, we've been supplying other groups in the community with photocopies and folding.

With the winter coming, we're getting ambitious about all the new zines we want to make, all the awesome shows that we're going to host in living rooms, and the upcoming NEAN assembly, as well as many other radical gatherings. Those of us here at the Distro are excited to see old friends and make new ones in the coming days.

Love and Rage,
Ryan Clover
Silent City Distro
115 E. MLK St. (the Commons)
Ithaca, NY 14850
www.silentcitydistro.org

Margaret Killjoy from page 7

But I also think I want to write fiction because it's just what I'm drawn to do. And sometimes it doesn't really have a specific purpose behind it. I like creating these worlds that I always escape to, always have while growing up. Right now, we have punk shows all the time, sure, and anyone can join a punk band and play a show and that's incredibly empowering. But fiction isn't as accepted in radical circles, not yet. It's coming back, though. Because it's not like we stopped reading fiction when we became radicals, it's not like we stopped writing. And just like music, it makes sense that some people are going to specialize in it and some people are going to dabble, and there's room enough in our culture for both. ♯

Spectacle from page 9

begun putting these ideas into practice. They are currently building a perimeter fence around their entire border with Bangladesh, a country more at risk than almost any other from the devastating consequences of rising sea levels. The fence has been explicitly talked about as a barrier to migration. If sea levels rise and Bangladeshi people are driven from their homes, they will find themselves trapped inside this cage.

A crucial part of the fight for climate justice is building a radical movement that challenges the use of the threat of climate chaos as an excuse for even more draconian migration controls and national and international security measures.

Conclusion

Capitalism results in the need for continuous war and ever-increasing rates of resource extraction, causing environmental degradation, climate change, social injustice and more war. The solutions to climate change within this system only feed the war machine and strengthen authoritarian regimes of control, while further degrading the rights of indigenous peoples and animals.

The powerful have divided and conquered us for too long, and they have many tools to keep us mired in false conflict. But they are all human-made tools. We must build up our hearts. Love

has emotion, and emotions are not passive and flat-lining. So to topple this system and create horizontal communities, we must fight with this love for ourselves, for our families, friends and comrades. This is not a passive love – this is an emotional, burning love. True love is radical and dangerous to this sterile system.

As Sun Tzu wrote in *The Art of War*, "However desperate the situation and circumstances, do not despair. When there is everything to fear, be unafraid. When surrounded by dangers, fear none of them. When without resources, depend on resourcefulness. When surprised, take the enemy itself by surprise." ♯

Reports

More Ideas from The Big Idea (Pittsburgh)

The Big Idea – Pittsburgh’s all-volunteer, collectively run radical bookstore – is nearing its eighth year of existence and its sixth year at our current location. The quaint, hole-in-the-wall storefront, however, has often had trouble catching eyes. People who have passed the store every day for years occasionally come in and claim they’d never seen the place before. Luckily, we recently persuaded a local vinyl sign maker to donate to us a flashy new sign that reaches across the windows from one end of the store to the other. This move will surely afford us some more notice.

But, more troubling yet, are the times we live in. With the digital divide afoot, book-buying traffic has decreased, along with the money people are willing to spend on literature. Financially, The Big Idea has been coasting through 2009 on a wing and a prayer – or, if not prayer, then whatever it is that anarchists have. In need of that cold, hard cash that keeps anti-capitalists like us in a persistent bind (you never want it but always need it), we did something that is popular among broke activists: benefit party! On Friday, Dec. 4, The Big Idea threw a variety show fundraiser event under the banner of a “2010 Slingshot Organizer release party,” encouraging patrons to buy an organizer and maybe a new book, while providing them the pleasure of a quirky variety show in exchange. And with the exception of a few small incidents (the worst of which was a spilled bowl of chips), the event was a success. We are still constantly in need of money to keep the lights on, but now we can finally pay AK Press back for all those books they lent us on good faith. Thanks, AK!

If you’re in Pittsburgh, remember to stop in and visit The Big Idea. We’ll be the ones with the classy vinyl sign.

A New Home for the Lucy Parsons Center (Boston)

By SUBLETT

The Lucy Parsons Center, Boston’s most awesome, collectively run all-volunteer radical bookstore and community meeting space, has purchased a new home. The new space is a commercial condo in Boston’s Jamaica Plain neighborhood. A substantial amount of work will need to be done with the new store, including moving the bathroom, making the space wheelchair accessible, cleaning a lot of junk out of the basement and building new bookshelves. The collective hopes to move into the new store by March.

This move will put the LPC on sounder financial footing, as they will no longer have to pay rent at their current South End location, and the purchase price of the new condo was covered by money already in their dedicated building fund. In addition, sales are expected to increase in a neighborhood less dominated by yuppies.

The move comes as the Center is celebrating its 40th anniversary.

The Wooden Shoe Bookstore (Philadelphia)

In the beginning of October, The Wooden Shoe officially moved into its newest location at 704 South St. in Philadelphia! This new location offers us more foot traffic from South St. and is significantly larger than the old one, allowing us to have a much more organized space. After several months of very difficult work rehabbing the building, and after a year of struggles around the moving process itself, we are proud to be in what may be our nicest location in our over 30 years of existence! With any luck, the new location should help us to maintain a radical presence in Philadelphia for the foreseeable future.

The Wooden Shoe will also be hosting the convergence of the Northeast Anarchist Network this Dec. 19 and 20. So far, the assembly promises to include a variety of conversations about the functioning of the Northeast Anarchist Network, as well as a number of workshops and educational trainings, including a know-your-rights training, a reportback from the G-20 mobilizations and more.

Syracuse Solidarity Network

Over the last few months, Syracuse Solidarity Network has been working on a number of projects. We geared up for the G-20 protests in Pittsburgh and brought all that enthusiasm back home. We’ve held three successful Cafe Autonomys; the first two focused on the G-20, before and after, and the third was held on Black Friday.

The cafes are a bit of everything: We have food, coffee, movies, games, presentations, an open mic, radical literature and good conversations. The Black Friday cafe had fewer presentations and more laid-back fun with lots of music and group discussion about the anniversary of the 1999 Seattle demonstrations. The cafes have been a great way to meet new people in a casual setting rather than at a meeting.

In addition to the cafes, we have been preparing to host a concert by Testament, an anarchist hip hop artist from Canada who also does a workshop on the No 2010 Olympics. We are using the show to bring local anti-authoritarian groups together for a huge tabling event.

Our reading groups have also started back up. For the next few weeks, we will team up with a local radical women’s group, the Syracuse Women’s Action Committee, to read and discuss the complete *Quiet Rumors* book/zine.

We also repped black flags and a bad attitude at a regional protest to stop the Reaper Drones from being stationed at Hancock Air Force Base here in Syracuse.

Last, but not least, we will say goodbye and good luck to a beloved participant of SSN who is moving away.



Opinion

Gold Jackets of Solidarity

By JESSE HARASTA

My work forces me to drive more often than I would otherwise like, but one of the perks is that I get to listen to books on tape, something I enjoy and otherwise have little opportunity to do. The other day, I was listening to the book *Planet Simpson* by Chris Turner – before I go on, I would like to say that I don’t recommend the book and turned it off at the end of the first CD. I was, however, struck by something Turner said.

He was describing the early ‘90s, and he discussed how rock music, once the bastion of nonconformity and resistance, had become inane and empty. He laid out a scene from his time as a disc jockey: A night was winding down and he put

on Rage Against the Machine’s “Killing in the Name.” A group of engineering students who chose to wear matching jackets poured onto the dance floor, and he was disgusted as they all jumped in unison with their fists in the air, wearing matching jackets and chanting, “Fuck you, I won’t do what you tell me.” For Turner, this was the epitome of conformism and hypocrisy.

Turner’s observation is, in the context, understandable. Like many people in the United States, he sees a world that is divided into a spectrum with two points: At one end is pure individualism and non-conformity (which is valued), and at the other end slavish conformity (which is scorned). Both are seen most easily in clothing, but also in other forms of consumption. For him, a group of matching dancers chanting together was the opposite of the resistance conveyed by the lyrics.

As anarchists, we can sometimes fall into this pattern of thought. Nonconformity can be shown on the body in numerous ways: piercings, clothing, tattoos, printed T-shirts, hygienic habits and so on. In turn, we often look at groups like fraternities, characterized by their matching appearance, with scorn.

Yet Turner’s description misses something: The engineering students chose those matching gold jackets themselves, to mark themselves as members of a group to which they were proud to belong. The jackets showed camaraderie, solidarity and perhaps created a festive, group-party atmosphere; they brought the group together.

In his obsession with individualist consumption, Turner misses the revolutionary power of group action. Moreover, by tying resistance to consumption, Turner aligns our primary relationships with things and, by

extension, to the companies that produce them. Pure individualism may be a type of freedom, but it is one that leads to isolation and, in the end, accomplishes nothing to change the wider patterns of society. The revolution of the self is only meaningful when it can be extended outward to embrace others. True resistance – something that perhaps the engineering students had an unconscious inkling of – is accomplished through unity and solidarity. This is especially true of anarchists, who can too often become so wrapped up in embodying resistance in their consumption that they miss the truly revolutionary potential of solidarity – even solidarity in the form of gaudy matching gold jackets. ✽

Mr. Harasta can be contacted by email at satchkep45@yahoo.com.

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about ours is that we're actively addressing it. And we're doing so without the police."

This radical move to work without the police in an assault situation is a step toward eliminating the need for government, which is the ultimate goal of anarchists involved in groups like Unconventional Denver. Not only is it a statement on behalf of Unconventional Denver that they can handle crises without the help of authorities, it is also a tactical measure to avoid further trauma.

According to Yager, the police's process for dealing with such incidents tends to re-victimize and re-traumatize survivors without effecting any results. What's worse is that police have a sordid history of acting as perpetrators themselves.

In March 2004, four months after the FTAA protests in Miami, three women filed a class action lawsuit against Miami-Dade County and several county corrections officials for unnecessary and invasive strip searches. Judith Haney, 50, Liat Mayer, 19, and Jamie Loughner, 39, were arrested for "failure to disperse." Once inside the jail, the women alleged that they were ordered to remove all their clothes for inspection, and were not allowed to put them back on until they squatted and "hopped like a bunny" three times. Mayer further specified that the door to the room was left open, and people passing in the hallway could see her naked.

According to Florida law, people who have been arrested for minor offenses should not be subjected to strip searches unless the person is arrested on a drug charge, is suspected of having contraband or is booked on a violent offense. The law also requires supervisors to give written authorization for such a search.

In April 2005, over a year after filing the suit, the court settled that Miami-Dade County would pay out over \$6 million to the three plaintiffs, as well as thousands of other women who passed through the jail and were subjected to strip searches since 2000. In a statement, Judith Haney said, "During the process of the suit, we identified a potential class size of 10- to 20,000 women who were subjected to these dehumanizing searches over a four-year time period. Yet we know that the practice lasted seven years. That means that it is likely that over 20,000 women were subjected to these searches. These women may be elderly, physically or mentally disabled, menstruating or pregnant."

Through this lawsuit, Haney and her attorneys also learned that prior to filing the complaint, no one in the Miami-Dade justice system, nor the Florida Justice Institute (a firm that deals specifically with prisoners' rights), had known about the practice of strip-searching misdemeanants. "Miami-Dade has stopped strip-searching pre-arraignment misdemeanants," Haney said, "as has Sacramento, San Francisco and New York City. But it took class action lawsuits to make that happen. These searches happen on the doorstep of the prison system, not deep inside. If this level of humiliation is happening to pre-arraignment misdemeanants, what's happening to the women who are deeper inside the system?"

Police are not always directly responsible for the sexual assault that happens within a prison's walls; but they are known for turning a blind eye to sexual assault committed by other inmates. Trans and queer people especially have proven to be high-profile targets, as illustrated by the Alexis Giraldo case. Giraldo, who was born as a man but lives as a woman, filed a lawsuit in 2007 against the California Department of Corrections, claiming that she had been repeatedly beaten and raped by her male cell mate at Folsom State Prison while guards ignored her complaints.

While there is still insufficient data on the extent of prison rape in the United States, experts have conservatively

estimated that 13 percent of all inmates in the country have been sexually assaulted – which does not include repeat assaults. By this estimate, approximately 200,000 current inmates have been or will be sexually assaulted while incarcerated. This would mean that nearly one million people have been sexually assaulted or raped in jail in the last 20 years.

The issue of intra-jail sexual assault is being slowly and bureaucratically addressed by the system through pieces of legislature such as the Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003 (PREA) and the lesser-known California-based bill called the Sexual Abuse in Detention Act of 2005. But these new rules are just words that make the law books heavier. Real change can only be found when people work from the grassroots up to reshape the way that sexual abuse is viewed and to iron out the crinkles in the social fabric that leave perpetrators unaccountable.

Indeed, Unconventional Denver drafted their sexual assault policy based on a 15-page document by the RNC Welcoming Committee (a similar group organizing against the Republican National Convention in St. Paul, Minn.). In the preface to the policy, Unconventional Denver asked:

"When sexual assault happens in our community, is there a safer and more effective means for us to deal with it than calling the police? What role does the state play in creating and fostering rape culture? Why do the predominate models for addressing sexual assault fail to prevent it from happening again, fail to address the needs a survivor and their community have from a perpetrator, and not support the survivor in reclaiming the space and emotional stability lost in their lives due to the assault?"

The Denver anti-DNC protests saw the first mobilization with a process for police-related sexual assault within the legal system. While survivors could come to the AMT for support, they were still not able to do much mediation with police. Instead, the Unconventional Denver legal team, known as the People's Law Project, designated a group as "survivor support" people. Through this branch of the legal team, survivors could decide what they wanted to pursue within the legal system; that is, by prioritizing emotional wellbeing over legal expectations, the survivor could refuse to show to trial, request a trial in absentia in order to fight criminal charges from protesting, or request a civil process in which the support person would advocate for the survivor in a civil suit in court.

Survivors did not need to prove to the legal team that they were assaulted, which has been an issue in the past. The legal person would still be there to support them in court, in the legal process and within the legal team. Despite there having been no known incident of police-related sexual assault at the 2008 DNC protests, Unconventional Denver and the People's Law Project saw the safety net of this process as essential. After all, many times protest legal teams don't find out about assaults until long after the fact.

"Being assaulted is a terrifying, disempowering experience," Yager said, "and it's up to the survivor whether or not they want to come forward about it to the AMT, the legal team, friends and family or anyone." At the FTAA protests, Miami Activist Defense knew that certain people were at risk but did not get information on specific assaults until four years later.

Unconventional Denver and activists like Ben Yager nod to the past of anarchist and feminist movements, knowing that they have begun to address a serious issue that has long been swept under the rug of anti-authoritarian activism. The movement is learning that the struggle is within itself as much as it is without. Part of envisioning a new, better world is practicing being part of that new, better world, which addresses internalized oppression and supports its community members who have survived it. ♪



Students for a Democratic Society take to the streets in Rochester, N.Y., on the 8th anniversary of the war in Afghanistan during their second Funk the War street dance party. They demanded that all troops be removed from Iraq and Afghanistan and that all military recruiters be banned from Rochester schools.

Funk from page 5

that would not have resulted in the arrest of a dozen people." Police have said that an order to disperse had been given, but no announcement was ever heard. Not one of the loudspeakers on the cars was utilized, and the police chief was quoted as saying that many of these protesters had never protested before – but that is not the case. Many of us have been to D.C., to Chicago, to the DNC and RNC, and, most recently, Pittsburgh, and we are aware of what a dispersal order sounds like. There was not one given.

The next day marchers met at the Flying Squirrel Community Space to have a meeting about what to do next. We met outside since the weather was nice, and before we knew it, we were surrounded by cop cars. For a one-and-a-half-hour period we were constantly patrolled by around 10-12 different cop cars. They parked across the road, drove past, and were even so brazen as to pull into the driveway and openly videotape every single person at that meeting, as well write down the license

plate number of every car in the parking lot. When people attempted to leave the meeting, they were followed, pulled over, identified and released. In talking to Allen about this, he said, "It was [an act of] blatant intimidation. They want people to be afraid, afraid to speak out, afraid to dissent."

In response to these acts of brutality and intimidation, Rochester SDS is taking action and making moves. On Friday, Oct. 9, they held a press conference to confront obvious errors and lies in the reports from police and corporate media. Every major media outlet came to the conference, but all they could focus on was the fact that it had been an unpermitted march. The City Council met on Tuesday, Oct. 13, and SDS members and march participants and supporters packed the City Council chambers to speak to the council and tell their sides of the story. As of right now, Rochester SDS, as Allen puts it, is "in dialogue with the city" and will continue taking steps to prevent something like this from happening again. ♪

Shepard Fairey from page 6

It's a troubling feeling to be standing in an exhibit so obviously full of machismo, but the idea hadn't occurred to the curators. As the captioning paragraph to a large image entitled "Arab Woman" proclaims: "Fairey's commitment to challenge preconceived assumptions and stereotypes – in this instance about gender and culture – underlines his engagement with the most pressing issues of our time." Was I just missing something? In another room I found a celebration of men in music, including a wall of portraits of well known and successful musicians: Flava Flav and Chuck D, Slick Rick, Tupac Shakur along with Joe Strummer, Ian MacKaye and others. Debbie Harry appeared as a token addition on one end, not far from a close-cropped shot of some apparently revolutionary panties. Perhaps what we're seeing here is just a selection of Fairey's own favorites, and the man is welcome to listen to, be inspired by and illustrate whatever he likes. The impression it left, however, was of having visited the bedroom of an enamored teenage boy still coping with issues of sexuality and gender in his surroundings.

Contrary to the hype text on the walls of the Warhol, I would offer that the excitement about Fairey's show doesn't stem from some underlying genius of the current work, or even from audience expectations of something terribly new – and this is exactly where one can locate Fairey's

working method. People love "Obey" like they love Bath and Body Works, Hot Topic or American Eagle Outfitters. Walking into "Supply and Demand" is like walking into a store in the mall: The consistency is the reason for continued purchases and branded enthusiasm, and Fairey's work is a brand you can buy into with ease.

In this light, it's clear that Fairey is a master of business sense, a shrewd calculator possessing a design understanding that manages to appeal to a set of visceral cues that imply "revolution" as well as the sexiness of graffiti or street art. To this end, Fairey deftly removes dialogue and context from his work, and the result is slick, ready-to-wear merchandise. Viewers of a portrait of a young Bobby Seale, captioned "Co-founder of the Black Panthers," don't even have to care what the Black Panther Party ever was – it just looks cool. The real power in Fairey's work, the power flexed not just on these museum walls but on walls all over Pittsburgh, is in his ability to pander to deeply rooted consumer desires; many people want the T-shirt without the politics, the image without the struggle. Rather than analyze this tension, the Warhol cheer-leads Fairey's work without pause, bringing into question whether curatorial motivations had more to do with the artist's celebrity than with anything his work might bring to the table. ♪