

# Le Frigo Vert: Electronic Newsletter, April 2008

This once-monthly digest consists of a compendium of Frigo collective news, social justice events, calls to action, healthy recipes, and articles related to Le Frigo Vert's social justice and anti-oppression mandate.

The purpose is to better inform and interact with Frigo Vert members. It is an attempt to better explain changes we make to the organization and to directly link Frigo members with local grassroots struggles. If you do not wish to receive this newsletter, please email: [lefrigovert@resist.ca](mailto:lefrigovert@resist.ca)

## Messages in this Digest:

1. Le Frigo Vert Updates/Events: new products, workshops & 2008 CSA veggie boxes
2. Food Politics: Biofuels--Myths of the Agro-fuels Transition
3. Featured Anti-Oppression Articles: Beyond Voting: anarchist organizing, electoral politics and developing strategy for liberation
4. Recipes: Good Mood Herbal Tea Recipe, Replacing Gluten in Baking
5. Social Justice Calendar

## 1. Le Frigo Vert Updates/Events

Welcome to Le Frigo Vert's April newsletter!

Believe it or not, spring is just around the corner. At the moment you might be (justifiably) skeptical, but here at the Frigo we're preparing sign-ups for seasonal fruit and vegetable baskets-- that's a sure sign of spring. Read on for details about how you can get in on these cornucopias of earth's bounty.

Also on the sunny side of life, there's our new to-die-for vegan cupcakes, in several varieties including mint chocolate and some other scrumptious chocolate concoction with a dollop of frosting on top. Be on the lookout for a new kind of apple bread, brought to you by the same master baker responsible for our perennially popular sweet potato cinnamon rolls.

And finally... keep your eagle eye out for upcoming events, including a bee workshop and the next installment of our cooking series, as well as a likely appearance at the next Anarchist Bookfair in May!

## Jardins de la Resistance - CSA Baskets!

THE FARM:

We are an autonomous gardening collective that grows vegetables ecologically (organically) and is motivated to pursue popular education surrounding agriculture. We are located approximately 60 km southwest of Montreal, in Ste-Barbe.

We grow vegetables, since we believe they are a vital and universal need whose production cannot be left in the hands of a reckless industry that is pillaging the earth, displacing rural communities and violently dispossessing

indigenous communities. We want to re-appropriate our agriculture, our food, our health, our political space and our futures.

We believe in the importance of building social networks of solidarity through which we can share our collective knowledge, culture, etc. We work to cultivate our relationships with social groups and movements in the aim of propelling popular education projects and the distribution of vegetables.

We are not certified organic, but we follow organic guidelines and principles. We believe in cultivating based on the needs and capacity of the land by nourishing the soil, avoiding synthetic fertilizers and pesticides, encouraging biodiversity, etc...

#### THE BASKETS:

We distribute our produce using the model of Community Supported Agriculture. This means that individuals and families sign up before the season for a growing season's worth of vegetables. This year, we will be offering the option of either weekly or biweekly baskets. The baskets contain a mix of veggies, herbs, some fruits, and occasionally other surprises from the farm... Some examples of things we grow are eggplants, garlic, tomatoes, cherry tomatoes, peppers, carrots, squash, basil, cilantro, cucumber, herbs, onions, ground cherries, medicinal flowers, spinach, swiss chard, leeks, broccoli and much more!

#### SIZE OF THE BASKETS:

The baskets usually contain enough produce to feed 2 people who eat a lot of vegetables for a week. The baskets start out smaller, and then grow as the season progresses, with the average being around 1 large grocery bag of food. We only offer one size of basket; however, if you need more vegetables, please feel free to sign up for more than one basket.

#### DURATION:

The baskets will last 18 weeks, from the 30th of June to the 27th of October.

#### COST:

The baskets will cost between 400 and 450\$ (depending on your means) for a weekly basket and between 200 and 250\$ for a bi-weekly basket. Payment can be made by cheque or cash. We accept either the full amount with your sign-up form, or half the amount as well as a post-dated cheque for the second half.

#### PICKING UP THE BASKETS:

The drop-off spot for the Baskets will be at Le Frigo Vert, 2130 Mackay Street (Guy-Concordia metro). They will be available on Mondays between 5:30 and 7pm. You are free to send someone in your place to pick up your basket; however, we cannot keep the basket for you to pick up at a later date. Therefore, if you cannot make it, and cannot send someone in your place, **YOU WILL LOSE THE BASKET FOR THAT WEEK.** We will either donate the produce, or bring it back to the farm.

#### COMING OUT TO THE FARM:

During the growing season, we will organize once-a-month work week-ends for people who want to come out to the farm and get their hands dirty. More information on dates and times will be sent out through a once-a-month newsletter.

Please direct any questions to  
[panier.resistance@gmail.com](mailto:panier.resistance@gmail.com)

## 2. Food Politics

### Food First Backgrounder: Biofuels--Myths of the Agro-fuels Transition

By Eric Holt-Giménez, Ph.D., Executive Director,  
Food First/Institute for Food and Development Policy

Biofuels invoke an image of renewable abundance that allows industry, politicians, the World Bank, the UN, and even the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change to present fuel from corn, sugarcane, soy and other crops as a smooth transition from peak oil to a renewable fuel economy. Myths of abundance divert attention away from powerful economic interests that benefit from this transition, avoiding discussion of the growing price that citizens of the Global South are beginning to pay to maintain the consumptive, oil-based lifestyle of the North. Biofuels mania obscures the profound consequences of the industrial transformation of our food and fuel systems—The Agro-fuels Transition.

#### The Agro-fuels Boom

Industrialized countries have unleashed an “agro-fuels boom” by mandating ambitious renewable fuel targets. Renewable fuels are to provide 5.75% of Europe’s transport fuel by 2010, and 10% by 2020. The U.S. goal is 35 billion gallons a year. These targets far exceed the agricultural capacities of the industrial North. Europe would need to plant 70% of its farmland to fuel. The U.S.’s entire corn and soy harvest would need to be processed as ethanol and bio-diesel. Northern countries expect the Global South to meet their fuel needs, and southern governments appear eager to oblige. Indonesia and Malaysia are rapidly cutting down forests to expand oil-palm plantations targeted to supply up to 20% of the EU bio-diesel market. In Brazil—where fuel crops already occupy an area the size of Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Great Britain combined—the government is planning a five-fold increase in sugar cane acreage with a goal of replacing 10% of the world’s gasoline by 2025.

The rapid capitalization and concentration of power within the agro-fuels industry is breathtaking. From 2004 to 2007, venture capital investment in agro-fuels increased eightfold. Private investment is swamping public research institutions, as evidenced by BP’s recent award of half a billion dollars to the University of California. In open defiance of national anti-trust laws, giant oil, grain, auto and genetic engineering corporations are forming powerful partnerships: ADM with Monsanto, Chevron and Volkswagen; also BP with DuPont, and Toyota. These corporations are consolidating research, production, processing, and distribution chains of our food and fuel system under one colossal, industrial roof.

Agro-fuel champions assure us that because fuel crops are renewable, they are environmentally-friendly, can reduce global warming, and will foster rural development. But the tremendous market power of global agro-fuel corporations, coupled with weak political will of governments to regulate their activities, is a recipe for environmental disaster and increasing hunger in the Global South. It’s time to examine the myths fueling this agro-fuel boom—before it’s too late.

#### Myth #1: Agro-fuels are clean and green

Because photosynthesis from fuel crops removes greenhouse gases from the atmosphere and can reduce fossil fuel consumption, we are told fuel crops are green. But when the full “life cycle” of agro-fuels is considered—from land clearing to automotive consumption—the moderate emission savings are undone by far greater emissions from deforestation, burning, peat drainage, cultivation, and soil carbon losses. Every ton of palm oil produced results in 33 tons of carbon dioxide emissions—10 times more than petroleum. Tropical forests cleared for sugarcane ethanol emit 50% more greenhouse gasses than the production and use of the same amount of gasoline. Commenting on the global carbon balance, Doug Parr, chief UK scientist at Greenpeace

states flatly, “If even five percent of biofuels are sourced from wiping out existing ancient forests, you’ve lost all your carbon gain.”

There are other environmental problems as well. Industrial agro-fuels require large applications of petroleum-based fertilizers, whose global use—now at 45 million tons/year—has more than doubled the biologically available nitrogen in the world, contributing heavily to the emission of nitrous oxide, a greenhouse gas 300 times more potent than CO<sup>2</sup>. In the tropics—where most of the world’s agro-fuels will soon be grown—chemical fertilizer has 10-100 times the impact on global warming compared to temperate soil applications. To produce a liter of ethanol takes three to five liters of irrigation water and produces up to 13 liters of waste water. It takes the energy equivalent of 113 liters of natural gas to treat this waste, increasing the likelihood that it will simply be released into the environment to pollute streams, rivers and groundwater. Intensive cultivation of fuel crops also leads to high rates of erosion, particularly in soy production—from 6.5 tons/hectare in the U.S. to up to 12 tons/hectare in Brazil and Argentina.

### Myth #2: Agro-fuels will not result in deforestation

Proponents of agro-fuels argue that fuel crops planted on ecologically degraded lands will improve, rather than destroy, the environment. Perhaps the government of Brazil had this in mind when it re-classified some 200 million hectares of dry-tropical forests, grassland, and marshes as “degraded” and apt for cultivation. In reality, these are the bio-diverse ecosystems of the Mata Atlantica the Cerrado and the Pantanal, occupied by indigenous people, subsistence farmers, and extensive cattle ranches. The introduction of agro-fuel plantations will simply push these communities to the “agricultural frontier” of the Amazon where deforestation will intensify. Soybeans supply 40% of Brazil’s agro-fuels. NASA has positively correlated their market price with the destruction of the Amazon rainforest—currently at nearly 325,000 hectares a year. Called “The Diesel of Deforestation,” palm oil plantations for bio-diesel are the primary cause of forest loss in Indonesia, a country with one of the highest deforestation rates in the world. By 2020, Indonesia’s oil-palm plantations will triple in size to 16.5 million hectares—an area the size of England and Wales combined—resulting in a loss of 98% of forest cover. Neighboring Malaysia, the world’s largest producer of palm oil, has already lost 87% of its tropical forests and continues deforesting at a rate of seven percent a year.

### Myth #3; Agro-fuels will bring rural development

In the tropics, 100 hectares dedicated to family farming generates 35 jobs. Oil palm and sugarcane provide 10 jobs, eucalyptus two, and soybeans just one half-job per 100 hectares, all poorly paid. Until this boom, agro-fuels primarily supplied local markets, and even in the U.S., most ethanol plants were small and farmer-owned. Big Oil, Big Grain, and Big Genetic engineering are rapidly consolidating control over the entire agro-fuel value chain. These corporations enjoy immense market power. Cargill and ADM control 65 percent of the global grain trade, Monsanto and Syngenta a quarter of the \$60 billion gene-tech industry. This market power allows these companies to extract profits from the most lucrative and low-risk segments of the value chain—inputs, processing and distributing. Growers of fuel crops will be increasingly dependent on this global oligopoly of companies. In the long run, farmers are not likely to receive many benefits. Smallholders will likely be forced off the land. Hundreds of thousands have already been displaced by soybean plantations in the “Republic of Soy,” a 50+ million hectare area covering southern Brazil, northern Argentina, Paraguay, and eastern Bolivia.

### Myth #4: Agro-fuels will not cause hunger

Hunger, said Amartya Sen, results not from scarcity, but poverty. According to the FAO, there is enough food in the world to supply everyone with a daily 3,500-calorie diet of fresh fruit, nuts, vegetables, dairy and meat. Nonetheless, because they are poor, 824 million people continue to go hungry. In 2000, world leaders promised to halve the proportion of hungry people living in extreme poverty by 2015. Little progress has been made.

The world's poorest people already spend 50-80% of their total household income on food. They suffer when high fuel prices push up food prices. Now, because food and fuel crops are competing for land and resources, high food prices may actually push up fuel prices. Both increase the price of land and water. This perverse, inflationary spiral puts food and productive resources out of reach for the poor. The International Food Policy Research Institute warns that the price of basic food staples could increase 20-33% by the year 2010 and 26-135% by the year 2020. Caloric consumption typically declines as price rises by a ratio of 1:2. With every one percent rise in the cost of food, 16 million people are made food insecure. If current trends continue, some 1.2 billion people could be chronically hungry by 2025—600 million more than previously predicted. World food aid will not likely come to the rescue because surpluses will go into our gas tanks. What are urgently needed are massive transfers of food-producing resources to the rural poor; not converting land to fuel production.

#### Myth #5: Better “second-generation” agro-fuels are just around the corner

Proponents of agro-fuels argue that present agro-fuels made from food crops will soon be replaced with environmentally-friendly crops like fast-growing trees and switchgrass. This myth, wryly referred to as the “bait and switchgrass” shell game, makes food-based fuels socially acceptable.

The agro-fuel transition transforms land use on a massive scale, pitting food production against fuel production for land, water and resources. The issue of which crops are converted to fuel is irrelevant. Wild plants cultivated as fuel crops won't have a smaller “environmental footprint.” They will rapidly migrate from hedgerows and woodlots onto arable lands to be intensively cultivated like any other industrial crop, with all the associated environmental externalities.

Industry aims to genetically engineer cellulosic agro-fuel crops that break down easily to liberate sugars, especially fast-growing trees. Trees are perennial and spread pollen faster than food crops. Cellulosic candidates miscanthus, switchgrass, and canary grass, are invasive, virtually assuring massive genetic contamination. Agro-fuels will serve as the Monsanto/ Syngenta genetic Trojan horse, allowing them to spread their genetically engineered crops throughout the globe.

Cellulosic ethanol, a product that has yet to demonstrate any carbon savings, is unlikely to replace agro-fuel within the next five to eight years—in time to avoid the worst impacts of global warming. Major discoveries in plant physiology are required that permit the economically efficient breakdown of cellulose, hemi-cellulose, and lignin. Industry is either betting on miracles or counting on taxpayer bail-outs. Faith in science is not science. Selective faith in unproven and possibly unattainable second-generation biofuel—rather than working to improve existing solar, wind, or conservation technologies—is a bias in favor of agro-fuel giants.

#### Corporate Agro-fuel: a new industrial revolution?

The International Energy Agency estimates that over the next 23 years, the world could produce as much as 147 million tons of agro-fuel. This will be accompanied by a lot of carbon, nitrous oxide, erosion, and over 2 billion tons of waste water. Remarkably, this fuel will barely offset the yearly increase in global oil demand, now standing at 136 million tons a year—and will not offset any of the existing demand.

The agro-fuel transition is based on a 200-year relation between agriculture and industry that began with the Industrial Revolution. The invention of the steam engine promised an end to drudgery. As governments privatized common lands, dispossessed peasants supplied cheap farm and factory labor. Cheap oil and petroleum-based fertilizers opened up agriculture itself to industrial capital. Mechanization intensified production, keeping food prices low and industry booming. The second century saw a three-fold global shift to urban living with as many people now living in cities as in the countryside. The massive transfer of wealth from agriculture to industry, the industrialization of agriculture, and the rural-urban shift are all part of the “Agrarian Transition,” transforming most of the world's fuel and food systems and establishing non-renewable petroleum

as the foundation of today's multi-trillion dollar agri-foods industry.

The pillars of this agri-foods industry are the great grain corporations, including ADM, Cargill and Bunge. They are surrounded by an equally formidable consolidation of agro-chemical, seed, and machinery companies on the one hand, and food processors, distributors, and supermarket chains on the other. Together, these industries consume four of every five food dollars. However, rates of profit—what investors really compete over—have stalled for some time.

Government-subsidies and mandated targets for agro-fuels are the perfect answer to this slump in agribusiness profits, growing as oil shrinks, and concentrating market power in the hands of the most powerful players in the food and fuel industries. Like the original Agrarian Transition, the Corporate Agro-fuels Transition will “enclose the commons” by industrializing the remaining forests and prairies of the world. It will drive the planet's remaining smallholders, family farmers, and indigenous peoples to the cities. This government-industry collusion has the potential to funnel rural resources to urban centers in the form of fuel, concentrating industrial wealth. But it may push millions of people into poverty and increase starvation-related deaths dramatically.

The corporate agro-fuels transition suffers from a fatal flaw—there is no “new” industrial revolution. No expanding industrial sector waits to receive displaced indigenous communities, smallholders and rural workers. There are no production breakthroughs poised to flood the world with cheap food. This time, fuel will not subsidize agriculture with cheap energy. On the contrary, fuel will compete with food for land, water and resources. Corporate agro-fuels collapse the industrial link between food and fuel. The inherent entropy of industrial agriculture was invisible as long as oil was abundant. Now, food and fuel systems must shift from a savings to a checking account. Agro-fuels lead us to overdraw. “Renewable” does not mean “limitless.” While crops can be replanted, land, water, and nutrients are limited. Pretending otherwise serves the interests of those monopolizing these resources.

Agro-fuel's appeal lies with its potential to prolong an industrial system based on the oil economy. With an estimated one trillion barrels of oil reserves left on the planet, \$100-a-barrel oil is not far off. The higher the oil prices, the more ethanol costs can rise while remaining competitive. As oil becomes more expensive, first generation agro-fuels become more lucrative, discouraging the development of second-generation bio-fuels. If oil reaches \$80 per barrel, ethanol producers could afford to pay over \$5 per bushel (~127 kg.) for corn, making it competitive with sugarcane. The planet's energy crisis is potentially an \$80—100 trillion dollar bonanza for food and fuel corporations.

Limits—not incentives—must be placed on the corporate agro-fuels industry. If agro-fuels are to be forest and food friendly, grain, cane, and oil-palm industries require strong global management, regulation and enforcement. Strong, enforceable standards based on limiting land planted to agro-fuels are urgently needed, as are anti-trust laws powerful enough to prevent further corporate concentration. Sustainable benefits to the countryside will only accrue if agro-fuels complement local, regional and national plans for sustainable rural development.

### **Building Food—and Fuel—Sovereignty**

The Corporate Agro-fuels Transition is not inevitable. There is no inherent reason to sacrifice sustainable, equitable food and fuel systems to industry. The opportunities for the world's majority—rather than an elite minority—to influence political outcomes have never been greater. At least half of us live under democratic regimes. Civil society and its myriad of organizations has never been so vibrant, widespread, or internationally connected. Many successful, locally-focused, energy-efficient and people-centered alternatives are presently producing food and fuel in ways that do not threaten food systems, the environment, or livelihoods. Throughout the U.S., dozens of small, locally-owned cooperatives provide biodiesel—many using recycled vegetable oil.

The majority of ethanol cooperatives in the Midwest are—for the moment—farmer owned cooperatives. In Minnesota, where strong incentives for local ownership are in place, over three-quarters of ethanol refineries are farmer-owned. The question is not whether ethanol and bio-diesel have a place in our future, but whether or not we allow a handful of global corporations to transform our food and fuel systems, destroy the planet's biodiversity and impoverish the majority of its people. To avoid this trap we must promote a steady-state agrarian transition built on re-distributive land reform that re-populates and stabilizes the world's struggling rural communities. This includes rebuilding and strengthening our local food systems, and creating conditions for the local re-investment of rural wealth. Putting people and environment—instead of corporate mega-profits—at the center of rural development requires food sovereignty: the right of people to determine their own food systems.

In both the Industrial North and the Global South, hundreds of thousands of producers and consumers are actively organizing for their right to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods. They are also re-building local food systems so that most of the wealth and benefits of these food systems accrue locally—not in the corporate coffers of the distant agri-foods giants. They are holding agri-foods corporations accountable for the externalities that their industry imposes on taxpayers in the form of hunger, environmental destruction and poor health from cheap, processed foods. Social movements for land reform, indigenous rights, farmer-to-farmer sustainable agriculture, ethical trade, farmers' markets, community-supported agriculture, inner-city gardens and neighborhood-food systems development, are a few examples of the widespread, multi-faceted efforts for food sovereignty. Organizations like Via Campesina, Brazil's landless movement (MST), the Federation of Southern Cooperatives of African-American Farmers, and the Community Food and Justice Coalition (U.S.), are transforming the social will from these rural and urban movements into political will—creating the change they envision.

Food Sovereignty movements are already squaring off with the agro-fuels boom. When U.S. president George Bush arrived in Brazil to establish an ethanol partnership with President Lula, 700 women from Via Campesina protested by occupying Cargill's sugar mill in Sao Paulo. But derailing the agro-fuels juggernaut entails changing the Corporate Agro-fuels Transition from an agrarian transition that favors industry to one that favors rural communities—a transition that does not drain wealth from the countryside, but that puts resources in the hands of rural peoples. This is a far-reaching project. A good next step would be a global moratorium on the expansion of corporate agro-fuels. Time and public debate is needed to assess the potential impacts of agro-fuels, and to develop the regulatory structures, programs, and incentives for conservation and food and fuel development alternatives. We need the time to forge a better transition—an agrarian transition for both food and fuel sovereignty.

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### 3. Anti-Oppression Issue

**Beyond Voting: anarchist organizing, electoral politics and developing strategy for liberation  
by Chris Crass**

This essay is available as a downloadable pamphlet here.

Presidential elections are often the terrain on which radicals and anarchists debate the merits of electoral politics. This election season is no different. Social movements around the world and in the United States are declaring Bush's defeat at the ballot box a top priority. As radicals, we have consistently opposed the policies of the Bush administration and have mobilized our opposition repeatedly to the wars on Afghanistan and Iraq. We know that the Democratic Party shares the majority of the Republican Party's platform. Both candidates represent ruling class worldviews and institutions of domination. What do we do?

There are many discussions about how to vote out the Bush administration.[i] I want to urge us to step back and talk about electoral politics and larger questions of strategy. For anarchists, voting and electoral politics spark intense debate because they bring fundamental questions to the surface. How do we believe revolutionary transformation happens? How do we build movement? Where does power come from? How do we act in the world? Does our organizing matter? From there we ask more specific questions. How do we as radical organizers, left activists and anarchists relate to elections and electoral politics in general? Are the elections an opportunity for strategic intervention or a waste of time? At the heart of all of these debates is the question of strategy.

Questions of strategy are always on my mind. Where are we going and how are we going to get there? I want to reflect on my personal relationship to electoral politics as an anarchist, because I think the presidential elections often get us debating tactics when really we need to think about strategy. The essay is based in my experience, because the most useful anarchist theory and strategy is often embedded in our practice. It is not a coincidence that the most widely read and cited anarchist text in the US is an autobiography called Living My Life by Emma Goldman.

Often I am not even aware of the assumptions and commitments embedded in my practice. I think we need to examine our practice so we can be clear about what our theory and strategy is in order to engage it and develop it. Our theory and strategy is embedded in our practice because we believe that the means lead to the ends, that how we engage in struggle is pre-figurative of the society that we want to live in. For anarchists, direct action is not just a tactic. Direct action is an expression of a deeper understanding of revolutionary transformation in which we take back our power and remake the world. Through direct struggle confronting institutions of injustice, we develop new understandings of ourselves and the world. These understandings help us build communities of empowerment, equality and mutual aid. Through communities of resistance we work to bring down systems of oppression in all their forms. By working to implement our visions of the future society into our everyday lives and in our counter institutions, we seek to build the new world in the shell of the old.

I have often heard the argument that you cannot be an anarchist if you vote or participate in electoral politics. Voting is a tactic. As a tactic I know it is connected to core values about power and decision making, but if we're to develop meaningful strategy all of our tactics need to be evaluated and updated where need be. I'd like to make a distinction about core beliefs and tactics or actions that express core beliefs. For me, anarchism is fundamentally based in a belief in the capacity of people to share power with each other and through relationships, families, organizations, communities and institutions build societies based on having power with people rather than over people. Power with people forms the base of societies organized on principles of self-determination, cooperation and justice. Many of our tactics have been useful in expressing our core beliefs, but overall we are still far from being a meaningful challenge to the ruling order of domination and exploitation. I want to think about our tactics, strategies and theories not only in terms of how they express our core beliefs, but how they help move us to living our core beliefs. We are largely successful practicing this in groups and communities of dozens. Our tactics, strategies and theories need to deal with societies of millions.

Anarchist analysis of the state has made important contributions to revolutionary theory, particularly in the mid-1800's through the early 1900's.[ii] But our theory has remained rooted in the past and today it is often one dimensional and based in a deep mystification of how power actually operates. While proclaiming "smash the state", our analysis leaves little room to figure out how to actually make that happen. Voting and elections will not achieve revolutionary change. But this is not the point as no isolated tactic or campaign will. When our thinking about action is an all or nothing framework of whether this will smash the state or not it often translates into isolation: building countercultures, striking out once in a while and hoping the state will leaves us alone. These countercultures are mostly young, white and middle class. This narrow analysis is unable to explain the complex experiences or meet the needs of most people in society. This is why many refer to anarchist scenes in the US, not anarchist movements, and why these scenes are often referred to as activist ghettos.

In practice, hundreds of self-identified anarchists around the country are already engaged with electoral politics in a variety of ways. I know that thousands of anarchists and anti-authoritarians around the country vote. Even more engage and struggle with the state on issues of welfare, housing, tenants' rights, immigration, childcare, healthcare, prisoner rights, the death penalty, disability rights, education, reproductive freedom, queer rights, civil rights, taxing corporations, affirmative action, the environment, worker rights, US foreign policy and regulating corporate power. But our analysis of this work is rarely discussed in print and is still largely absent from what is considered anarchist theory.[iii] If our theory is unable to help us understand and engage the reality of the work we are already doing, then it becomes a barrier to integrating the concrete details of our work into a strategy for revolutionary change.

We need an engaged praxis of theory, action and reflection. We need theory to help us understand the world and inform our strategy. We also need to reflect on our actual practices and the complexities of reality and update our theory.[iv] Historically, anarchists have been heavy on action and light on theory. For US anarchists today, life in the heart of empire creates urgency to end injustices committed in our name. This often leads

to feeling frantic, and the need to act often outweighs study and strategic planning. We frequently feel like we're just banging our heads against a wall. When we operate with enormous long-term goals of revolution and liberation without short-term goals to guide us and help us evaluate success, then our culture promotes turnover and burnout. People coming and going is not the issue, people leaving feeling hopeless and jaded is the problem. Additionally, those of us who stay often develop an underlying mentality that only the toughest and brightest can do this work. This mentality can become a dangerous mix of frustration with most people and an unconscious vanguardist sense that we alone are the ones who will make "revolution". I'm interested in strategies that are complex enough to understand mass participation and grounded enough to remember that we are indeed all capable of self-governance. [v]

Gabriel Sayegh, a white queer anti-prison organizer who has taught me much about thinking strategically explained it this way: "If 'we' could more cohesively understand and continue to develop our theory about strategy, 'we' would be stronger and more effective agents for revolutionary change in this country, because 'we' could work towards our vision(s) step by step, and do that within a framework and belief that 'we' can actually win, and make real the world(s) beating deep in our hearts."

Developing strategy is about setting short-term and long-term goals and creating plans to reach them. Strategy is seeing how accomplishing short-term goals helps build our capacities as individuals and organizations in order to be in a better position to work for our long-term goals. Strategy is most useful when based in an engaged praxis of theory, action and reflection.[vi] This way it stays grounded in reality, encourages evaluation of outcomes to increase effectiveness and in good case scenarios means being pro-active and visionary rather than reactive and confined to the framework of systems of oppression.

Electoral politics has been only a small part of my overall work, but I'm putting energy into this discussion because I think electoral politics in particular and reform oriented work in general opens up some of the big questions about anarchist strategy. Since 1994, I have voted in over a dozen elections on the local, state and federal level. I have actively participated in electoral campaigns on city and state level ballot initiatives/propositions. I have participated in over 20 community organizing reform oriented campaigns that involved fights at city hall. I have worked to both get rid of candidates and put candidates into office. To be clear, I do not believe that we should unconditionally do electoral work. I believe that we need to be strategic about when and how to be involved. All of the electoral struggles that I have participated in have been community-based struggles with leadership from radical/left organizations and individuals that I felt affinity with. I do electoral work not in spite of my anarchist politics, but because I'm an anarchist committed to building broad movements for social, economic, racial and environmental justice.

One of the most significant aspects of shutting down the WTO in Seattle in 1999 was that anarchist organizing efforts throughout the '90s converged and played a leading role in a mass movement. And during those days of confrontation we believed in ourselves and our power to make change. We looked around and saw ourselves as part of something much larger than our scenes and for many of us, for the first time, we felt confident enough to see ourselves as comrades with tens of thousands of other left, radical, progressive people on the streets. We also found a new kind of respect: a respect that expressed itself most clearly when Elizabeth 'Betita' Martinez wrote "Where Was the Color in Seattle" and called out racism in the mostly white direct action, mostly anarchist movement.[vii] I say respect because the essay was truly a gift to the movement and has had an enormously positive impact. I also say respect because the message of the essay to me was: There is much work for us to do together and white activists need to challenge our privilege and develop our analysis and practice so we can all respect each other and work together to build a new world.

I want to emphasize the importance of feeling confident enough to think about vision and strategy. I think the left and radicals in particular have been so beaten down, that we often spend more time fighting each other than actually thinking we can win and what winning would look like. One of the ways that I have seen this

confidence manifest is the high level of commitment that thousands of white activists around the country have shown engaging the critiques Martinez put forward. This engagement requires reflection, asking hard questions, willingness to step back and listen, learning from history and developing changes in your personal, organizational and movement theory, strategy and practice.

Throughout the '90s and particularly after Seattle 1999, anarchism has grown in both numbers and influence. What is particularly exciting is the gradual development of a more multigenerational, multiracial, multigendered, multicultural and multiclass anarchist movement. As Anarchist People of Color conferences take place around the country, as immigrant women of color step up their leadership in organizations, as working class anarchists and transgendered/genderqueer people write theory, as parents, children and grandparents help shape activist culture, and as women continue to lead the way, our politics and practice expand. They expand because our politics and practices are an expression of the lives, analysis and visions that we hold and the histories that we bring. Our politics and practices will deepen as they grow to include a vision of collective liberation that genuinely includes all of us and strategies holistic enough to get us there.[viii]

Collective liberation refers to the struggles against all systems of oppression with the goal of liberation for all people. With a recognition of the ways that people are simultaneously oppressed and privileged by multiple systems of oppression, the possibility of solidarity between privileged and oppressed people of particular systems of oppression against institutions of power is viewed as strategic. This means exploring the roles of privileged people organizing other privileged people (i.e. men organizing other men, heterosexuals organizing other heterosexuals) to act in solidarity and build with movements of oppressed people to transform power relationships between them in the course of struggling against ruling class power. The leadership of oppressed people in this process is of critical importance along with the development of accountable, anti-oppression/pro-collective liberation leadership of the privileged.[ix] From anti-racist struggle of white people joined in the struggle with people of color against white supremacy to men challenging sexism joined with women, transgender/genderqueer people to end patriarchy, heterosexism and the gender binary system, to people in the US fighting imperialism in solidarity with social movements through the world to end US Empire and build self-determination. From this analysis, people in positions of privilege are not acting in solidarity merely because it's the right thing to do. Rather, it is through collective work against these systems that we liberate our collective humanity from the overarching framework of oppressed/privileged/oppressor.

The next two sections are an overview of my experience with anarchist organizing and electoral politics. In my reflections I try to highlight the strategic thinking that guided my actions. Ultimately, I believe at this point in history we need a fusion of anarchist direct action organizing, collective liberation politics and left/radical community organizing is key to developing the kind of movement strategy we need.

### Growing Up with Anarchism in the '90s

I became an anarchist in 1989. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union, the centrality of socialism and Marxism on the left was in decline. I embraced anarchist politics and believed that we were a new generation ready to make a new path.[x] I looked to anarchist classics written by Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta for political theory and to the anarchists of Haymarket, Albert and Lucy Parsons in particular, as well as Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and the anarchists of Spain for political grounding, lessons on practice and overall inspiration.[xi]

In high school, a group of us started up the United Anarchist Front in the suburbs of Southern California. and we connected to others through zines and newspapers from around the country. We found the clearest expression of our politics and identity in the newspapers Profane Existence and Love and Rage. Profane Existence popularized activism through news and examples of what other young radicals were doing around the world.[xii] Love and Rage had an explicit focus on feminism, queer activism, struggles of people of color and

indigenous people around the world and in the US, and developing an anarchist analysis of the world today and strategies for movement building.[xiii] Anarchist punk bands like Conflict, Crass and Chumbawamba were the soundtrack to our resistance, educating us and giving us energy as they gave voice to our anger and passion. We threw our energies into building a youth-based, punk-influenced resistance counterculture.

When elections came around, I used to love to put on my “If voting changed anything it would be illegal” button. I wore it eagerly anticipating debate, hoping someone would ask, “What does that mean?” Voting is the illusion of choice between two masters who serve the interests of capital at the expense of the majority of humanity and the earth. “But voting is our voice in how society operates.” Voting is the lie of democratic participation in your own subjugation. Our voice is expressed everyday when we resist injustice and build alternatives based in our commitment to mutual aid, cooperation and real decision-making power over our lives. And then the statement that I was just waiting for: “If you don’t vote, then you have no right to complain about what the government does.” Your vote reinforces the power of an unjust system that robs us of our power and dignity and then to add insult to injury, you give it the appearance of consent through your participation in the electoral process.

I saw these debates as opportunity to win the anarchist position and hopefully convert others. My general orientation focused on the need to build an explicitly anarchist movement to fight capitalism and the state. The questions of “how revolutionary transformation happens” or “how we move from this society to the society we want” were not on my mind. Not because I dismissed the questions, but because I wasn’t at a point of knowing how or why to ask them. Like the anarchists and radicals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that I studied and admired, I believed in my heart that revolution was coming, that it was inevitable, and that we needed to get more and more people ready for it. I grew up a white, middle class, male, with loving and supportive parents and access to healthcare, resourced public school, healthy food and excellent housing. My anarchism was sparked and guided by my working class best friend who grew up with his over-worked, under-supported single mom. He could articulate a long list of what was wrong with capitalism and the need for a society that treated people with dignity and respect.

Our strategy, as expressed by what we ended up doing as opposed to an articulated plan, was to get as many people into anarchism, fight back with other anarchists in what ever way we could (which primarily meant propaganda) and build loving community with our friends along the way. We were coming from a belief that basically people just needed to wake up, that people were brainwashed into submission and that once they knew the truth, the people of the world would get off their knees and the system would automatically come crashing down.

The Gulf War in 1991 had a profound impact on us. We found ourselves in the streets with thousands and for the first time it began to click that what we were up against was not just an isolated elite with power and wealth, but a complex system of inter-locking institutions like the media, military.[xiv] In following years I was challenged on my own sexism and racism by comrades and close friends. It has been a challenging and profound process of coming to understand that society is composed of complex relationships shaped by white supremacy, patriarchy and other systems of oppression.[xv] This helped me to put capitalism and the state into a broader framework and history. It was critical to my development to believe that power was not just out there, but that I experience and participate in it. Now I had to figure out how the experience shaped me and what my participation meant. It was becoming clear that revolution was far more complicated and far from imminent. We needed to get better organized.

In the ‘90s, around the country, anarchists were strengthening or creating housing collectives, worker co-ops, social centers, infoshops, micro-powered radio stations and other alternative institutions. Anarchists who had utilized affinity groups, consensus decision making, spokescouncils and creative direct action in the anti-nuke movement of the 80’s helped bring these organizational forms and action strategies into the newer movements.

[xvi] Anarchists built organizations like Food Not Bombs, Lesbian Avengers, Industrial Workers of the World, Earth First!, Anti-Racist Action, Riot Grrrl, Anarchist Black Cross and hundreds of local collectives running projects including women's health, needle exchange, literature distribution, community gardens, queer youth outreach, bicycle, book and tool libraries, and tenant and prisoner support.[xvii]

Anarchists continued putting out hundreds of zines and newspapers and were among the first to turn the internet into an important communication tool. Anarchists were heavily involved in solidarity work for Mumia Abu-Jamal and political prisoners, indigenous struggles in the western hemisphere and the Zapatistas in particular. Through conferences and gatherings like Sister Subverter and Earth First! Round River Rendezvous, we came together to share experiences, learn skills and build our relationships with one another. In 1996, Active Resistance in Chicago took it to a new level and ran a week of workshops focused explicitly on community organizing, workplace organizing and direct action activism that lead up to protests at the Democratic National Convention.

Throughout this time period, I spent most of my time working with other anarchists to build a large, effective, well networked, anarchist movement that was capable of taking action, providing community services and building alternative institutions. I moved to San Francisco and immersed myself in Food Not Bombs. Our general strategy was to develop alternative institutions based on cooperation and mutual aid. They would help provide support for communities of resistances that could strike at systems of oppression through direct action, mobilizations (rallies and marches), civil disobedience. Cultural and social events and general education work would bring people into the movement and build support for our activities.

As the movement was growing in size, more of the anarchists I worked with named women of color feminism, queer theory and activism, and liberation struggles in communities of color as their political influences and sources of inspiration. In addition to anarchist classics, influences included contemporary radical intellectuals, poets and political novelists such as bell hooks, Marge Piercy, Adrienne Rich, Howard Zinn, Edward Said, Barbara Smith, Noam Chomsky, Malcolm X, Gloria Anzaldúa, Audre Lorde, Ursula K. LeGuin, Angela Davis and Alice Walker.

In addition to fighting systems of oppression in the world, a growing commitment was developing to fight the impacts of systems of oppression on our own lives and in our organizing. This commitment was building through the struggle primarily of women, queers, working class people and people of color to openly discuss issues of race, class, gender, sexuality and age in our organizations and projects. Molly Tov's widely distributed "Message To Anarchist Men and then some," and the anonymous "What It Is To Be A Girl In An Anarchist Boys Club" among dozens of other writings by women, called out sexism in the movement.[xviii] Former Civil Rights organizer and Black Panther Lorenzo Komboa Ervin's influential book "Anarchism and the Black Revolution" challenged white privilege and put the question of leadership from oppressed communities, particularly communities of color, into movement discussion.[xix]

Through working in collectives and reading movement history, revolutionary theory, and current analysis in the movement, I began to understand revolutionary transformation as a process that combines ideas, action and reflection. Through struggle in society we transform ourselves as individuals in the process. It requires organizations and projects based in anarchist politics that can help agitate for revolutionary change and offer alternatives people can join. The base of power for revolutionary change is everyday people who will rise up against some last straw in a multitude of injustices and when they do, we will be there to join in and support their initiative. Through struggles and victories, and the relationships and communities developed in the process, people develop a sense of empowerment. The anti-hierarchical, egalitarian or horizontal organizing models of anarchism facilitate as many people as possible sharing leadership roles, power and decision making. Through these experiences we learn to share power and develop a stronger base of active resistance to continue the struggle when this particular surge or uprising calms.

The empowered imaginations and passions of everyday people develop affinity with radical ideas and some of them join revolutionary organizations. These organizations are a base for continued collective action and help form communities of support with other left/radical formations. Through these activities our visions of what is possible and the concrete details of the new society will advance alongside our own capacities to make social change. This continues to reflect a large part of my thinking. However, I knew this was not enough. Throughout the 90's I was committed to primarily working with other anarchists. Nevertheless, I worked in coalitions and alliances with a broad range of left/radical activists. Looking back at my experience growing up in California, right-wing ballot measures and the struggles to defeat them serve as important markers in my development.

### Growing Up Fighting the Right in California

California is one of the most powerful states in the US. Outside of the slave economy based in the South, capitalists in California were a leading force in combining white supremacy and capitalism. California was colonized by the US government in the 1840's in a war against Mexico. Over 100,000 people were crossed by the US border in the process. The US war helped to fulfill the empire building plan of Manifest Destiny. California is now the 5th largest economy in the world and the most populous state in the US.

Over the past 150 years, capitalists have fought for and won key anti-immigration policies in California. Capitalists pitted white workers against even more underpaid, overworked Chinese workers. White labor unions - using a strategy of protecting white workers' rights only - organized to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act. Passed in 1882, it was the first significant law restricting immigration in the US. It became the basis for later attacks on immigrant communities. Chinese people were denied citizenship and the rights of citizenship until 1943. A similar cycle took place later with Japanese workers, particularly when Japanese workers organized unions and carried out successful strikes. In 1924, the US Congress passed legislation to build border patrols on the US/Mexico border. Immigration policy and border patrols expressing the logic of capitalism and white supremacy imposed the construct "illegal" to hundreds of thousands, and eventually millions, of people already exploited as workers. Colonized indigenous land and exploited immigrant labor was the base from which the California economy was built.

This is the history that I was born into in Anaheim, California in 1973. I went to school in the multiracial, majority white, public schools. In 1986, California became the 8th State in the US to declare English as the official language under the rallying cry, "English Only" (28 states have similar laws as of 2004). I remember in elementary school thinking any brown skinned person who couldn't speak English was inferior. My grandfather and other relatives regularly spoke of "those lazy, good for nothin' Mexicans stealing our tax dollars". Even as an activist in high school who often complained about apathy amongst other students, I never made the connection to the Latinos/as who were calling out racism on campus, because the critiques they raised about language and culture were totally outside what I considered relevant issues.

The Rodney King Verdict and mass uprising in Los Angeles had a profound influence on me.[xx] With the encouragement and support of friends of color, race became more and more central to my analysis. At Fullerton College in Orange County I quickly got involved with a multiracial, Chicano/a led, coalition fighting against statewide tuition increases. The Coalition made connections between the enormously expanding prison budget and the slashed education budget, and argued that college must serve working class students and students of color. The coalition was widely supported by students of color and white students. Then the ads began to appear in school newspapers around Southern California: "Your fees are going up because illegal aliens are taking advantage of our tax dollars." This was followed several months later with Proposition 187, also known as Save Our State (SOS), a ballot measure for the 1994 election which was to prohibit undocumented immigrants from having access to public healthcare, education or any social service. The official wording on the ballot described itself as "the first giant stride in ultimately ending the illegal alien invasion."

Over the preceding few months I had been building tight political bonds and friendships with Latina/o organizers, in particular David Rojas who was an organizing mentor for me. David played a leading role in forming and guiding the coalition. He spent many hours talking politics, helping me develop an understanding of white supremacy and colonialism.[xxi] When the ads hit and it was clear that this was part of growing anti-immigrant campaign with enormous support in white communities, it took everything to a level I had never known before. I had read about the roundups of anarchists, of the Red Scares' persecution of radicals and I claimed it all as my history. But Prop 187 was an attack on a whole category of people based on race and language, regardless of any chosen political identity. This was an attack on entire families, communities and generations - and it was both deeply historic and institutional. This was an effort to permanently and systematically deny basic human rights of healthcare and education to oppressed and exploited communities. As David and I continued working side by side, I could feel for the first time the way that history was written on our skin. He and I agreed in our analysis and stood together in our organizing, but we experienced the anti-immigrant racist climate in such dramatically different ways because of who we were. I felt the fear of violent reprisal for being associated with him, he felt it because it was designed for him, his family and community.

Marching in the streets with hundreds and thousands against Prop 187 was a challenge to my whole understanding of voting. This was not about voting for a master, nor was this a movement of people deceived by the illusion of choice. This was a movement of youth, parents, grandparents, workers, farmers, students, teachers and young children in the arms of their parents moving in the streets saying: "We are fully human", "We stand together in solidarity with other oppressed people to say no to this system that is killing our communities". It was the first time that I felt like I wasn't rejecting my community, but fighting in solidarity with a community of millions for self-determination. It was the first time that I had participated in a multigenerational community that spoke to a clear memory and history of resistance against oppression and a legacy of struggle for liberation.

There was no question in my mind that we needed to defeat this measure and that voting was a tactic to use because this manifestation of state oppression was being fought for in the electoral arena. It's important to note that elections are widely interpreted as the clearest expressions of what broad numbers of people believe politically. While radicals are quick to note that the majority of people don't vote, the pre-election corporate media spins and the actual poll results have an enormous impact on the broader political climate.[xxii] For example, if Prop 187 was going to pass, the difference between it passing by 51% or 60% is huge. In a real way, votes represent belief systems and political commitment. The right has been extremely effective at arguing the "will of the voters" to advance their agenda. If Prop 187 wins by 10 or more percentage points then it signals a base of support for even more rightwing measures and candidates. It also sets a tone for what corporations and politicians think they can get away with and build support for. If 70% vote for Prop 187 it decreases the fear the Border Patrol has about killing immigrants. It also signals to capitalists a lack of support for immigrants to organize unions and fight for dignity. The right-wing has understood that increasing anti-immigrant sentiment by 2 or 3 percentage points year after year ends not just in huge victory for them 10 years down the line, but steadily increases a political climate that favors profit for some people over the lives of most people.[xxiii]

This is why Rahula Janowski, a mother, a member of the Heads Up Collective, and a long time anarchist, believes that voting is a form of harm reduction. "For me, voting isn't the path to my ideal future society. I vote because I feel a sense of responsibility to act in the real world around me. When rich neo-liberals running for office are building their power scapegoating poor and homeless people, I think we need to take action. I've participated in local elections for candidates not because I thought they'd make things a lot better, but because I wanted to stop things from getting much worse in the short term."

Plans to achieve short-term goals with an overarching plan to achieve long-term goals are the basis for strategy. It is not the vote in and of itself that is the goal, but moving people to the belief system and political commitment represented by the vote. The work of moving people to particular positions, mobilizing support

for particular positions and turning people out on election day presents a clear structure to do mass political education and outreach with a clear next step that every individual is given. In many cases, to turn my back on electoral politics would be turning my back on the most pressing struggles of the day.

Jeff Giaquinto a San Francisco Food Not Bombs member of many years expresses this more bluntly, “Electoral politics suck. We frequently lose. Even when we win, people in the government are quick to water down or turn over our victories. I do it because the material impact of state policy is enormous and the vote does influence the political reality of what politicians believe they can get away with, both good and bad. Often it’s about stopping policy from getting worse so we can have more space to organize for something better.”

What is critical to understand is that we’re not just fighting for votes, but for left/radical politics. If you can build a majority that favors both worker rights and immigrant rights, then Prop 187 not only loses, but there is far more power to build immigrant labor unions with broad community support. At this point, rather than argue with someone against voting when they are likely looking for some way to make their opinions heard, I encourage people to express their opinions through voting and then tried to connect there own desire to impact the world to broader political commitments like activism and community struggles. My goal is no longer to win an argument in those conversations. My goal is to build movements that win.

Prop 187 passed with 59% of the vote. The struggle against it galvanized many young people of color, particularly Chicanas/os to fight back even harder. This was just one more attack on their communities as well as one more opportunity to strengthen collective power to survive and deepen the struggle.[xxiv]

Over the next six years the rightwing scored an impressive array of victories at the ballot box. Using propositions they attacked affirmative action, bilingual education “English Only”, youth of color and queer marriage. In all of these struggles community and activist organizations fought back. I marched in the streets with thousands of other people, as did many other anarchists. In these struggles I met very few people who had the illusion that this was the primary site of resistance. Overwhelmingly, I met people who were involved in a wide range of activities and projects in their communities. Many of them had clear analysis that these electoral fights were part of a larger struggle. To ask them why they were in these fights missed the point that oppressed communities are under attack and do not always get to choose which issues to prioritize. The logic is clear: if popular right wing forces are mobilizing mostly white voters to deny your community basic services, make it easier to lock your kids up, and outlaw your language in the classroom, then the matter is far more than just a vote or one election. Yet even as many anarchists understood this and participated in these struggles, the dominant message remained “Anarchists do not vote, do not engage in electoral politics.” Given that the majority of anarchists are white and come from the white communities that are voting against communities of color, the dismissal of electoral politics becomes even more problematic.

I remember talking with a progressive/left, white, queer schoolteacher in San Francisco. She said that she had a really hard time trusting me because I was an anarchist. She said, “I agree with a lot of what I understand anarchism to be, but I don’t trust anarchists. Every time powerful forces come after oppressed communities with all of these propositions, all the anarchists I talk with say they don’t believe in legitimizing the power of the state because they won’t get their hands dirty in electoral politics.”

“Don’t you understand that the state has real power over people’s lives? This is not a game that you get to choose to play in or not. While you might have the privilege to stand there ‘more radical than thou’, most of us are fighting for our lives. Being ‘above it all’ is not a choice. Then you complain about the cops arresting you at a civil disobedience and call on my solidarity? I provide that solidarity because I hope one day you’ll all wake up to what we’re really up against.”

While this was one of the most direct critiques I’ve heard about anarchists and voting, I’ve seen many express

similar sentiments. I agree that voting can have the effect of legitimizing the state. I agree that questioning representative democracy in a capitalist society and questioning the role of voting in social change have all been positive contributions to revolutionary thought. However, I believe that our politics of non-engagement in so many crucial struggles involving the state, electoral politics among them, have in the end done more to de-legitimize anarchists than to de-legitimize the power of the state. Furthermore, I have worked with community-based struggles that have both turned out the vote and attacked the legitimacy of the state. I know that we are smart enough and creative enough to vote, participate in electoral politics when it is strategic and advance a radical systemic analysis. Beyond that, I also believe that white radicals have enormous potential to move from rebel outsiders to radical leaders in the kinds of white communities many of us grew up in.

### Gathering Lessons and Finding Connections

I learned a lot from working in community-based electoral struggles. The orientation of the people I was learning from was generally based in radical community organizing models. From this orientation, broadly speaking, these electoral battles are part of long-term struggle against oppression and for self-determination and liberation. We can utilize these fights to engage in mass education, argue for our positions, and build the power of oppressed communities to fight back and develop alliances with other oppressed communities.

Through internal political education, skills building and reflection on our work we can develop the analysis and capacity of activists and organizers. And in every situation, we must set our own short-term goals of what victory in the campaign is so that we can be constantly moving forward with our long-term goals, even as we fight these attacks and even if we lose them.[xxv]

In his groundbreaking essay “Active Revolution”, James Mumm explores the fusion between anarchist politics and community organizing. In discussing strategy he emphasizes the difference between activism and organizing.

“Activism’s power is derived first from its ability to affect change on issues and secondly on the potential force for change embodied in organized people. Organizing uses power differently -- by first building an organization. For organizers, issues are a means to an end (the development of peoples’ capacity to affect change). Organizers’ use of power with others to alter the relations of power over others inherent in government or capitalist corporations forces such authoritarian groups into a debilitating contradiction. Opening such contradictions creates room for change. Authoritarian institutions may well react with violence to preserve power over others, or these contradictions may result in real social change. Liberation and revolution take place as relationships change from authoritarian to egalitarian.”

In short, the goal of activism is to win issues and the goal of organizing is to develop people’s capacity to effect change. Mumm’s writings on these topics are key.[xxvi]

My orientation doing community-based electoral work has been to help make connections between anarchists and these struggles. Anarchists can learn a lot from working with community organizing models and I believe we have valuable organizing experience and analysis to bring to the table as well.[xxvii]

The most educational and inspiring experience I’ve had working on a campaign that included electoral politics was during the height of gentrification in the Mission District of San Francisco. Enormous amounts of capital were being invested in dot-com startups that led to a dramatic rise in evictions of long time Mission District residents, mostly working class and people of color. It also led to enormous rent increases. As a white middle class, alternative youth, I participated in the early cycle of gentrification. I moved into this predominantly working class, Latino/a neighborhood. Just being there at all made it more appealing to other white people to move in. While I went to the radical countercultural spaces run by and for activists and artists, this opened the way to more expensive stores catering to apolitical young people who came after me.

Gentrification is part of capitalism and white supremacy generally shapes the process by which it happens. I felt a sense of responsibility to engage in and support resistance efforts led by working class people and people of color in the neighborhood. Questioning my personal role in the process of gentrification was important, and I found that I understood my role more clearly through participation in the anti-gentrification struggle.

In 2000, with landlords, developers, and rich capitalists celebrating and profiting from the dislocation of working families, communities of color and low-income tenants, the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition emerged. MAC was a collaboration between many of the most dynamic community organizations in the Mission fighting to build worker and tenant power, and fighting for environmental, racial and economic justice.

MAC was a multiracial, majority Latino/a, majority working class, left/radical led coalition. MAC used a multi-faceted campaign strategy that used direct action, electoral politics, community mobilizations, political education. The campaign had an immediate goal of halting gentrification and explicitly combined that with a long-term goal of popular control by communities over the decisions impacting them.[xxviii]

Clare Bayard, a long-time Food Not Bombs member at that time, anarchist organizer and member of Anti-Racism for Global Justice, has been key to my own thinking and participation in electoral politics. She explains her experience with MAC:

“MAC speak-outs, neighborhood forums, and community planning process meetings were the first spaces I’d seen that represented real self-determination in action on a community level, focused on housing/zoning (which, in real ways, is about neighborhood control). The community-based organizations in leadership built structures to intentionally bring together families, tenants, people facing eviction, for concrete political education and action. Direct actions including occupations and lockdowns targeted not only city hall, but also the planning department, landlords and real estate agencies specializing in evictions, illegal dot-com offices, and tenant evictions. MAC utilized city elections to focus and build larger campaigns around shifting control from city hall to a neighborhood level, a political goal I held in theory but had never seen anyone even realistically attempt. While mobilizing around legislation on the ballot, MAC also supported a slate of progressive candidates for the Board of Supervisors. For me, it was easier at that time to get behind fights for housing propositions than to be involved in a candidacy. But through my involvement in the coalition, I saw how work around a candidate could be successfully framed entirely around issues, making the vote a referendum both on city politics and about which residents of San Francisco matter; that working class communities and communities of color have a voice and have political power in this city. The timeline and built-in structures around electoral campaigns provided a space for a much more progressive line to be expressed than I had imagined possible. The politically experienced leadership in MAC didn’t suffer from the illusions that everything would be solved by electing particular people, just as they knew it would take more than just the education piece in order to successfully mobilize a neighborhood in its defense. After the elections, in which we registered notable successes, MAC held a rally to both celebrate our victories and also to remind the newly elected supervisors about who they would need to be accountable to.”

Anarchists were involved in leadership and played active roles in MAC. I’ve often thought that the role of anarchists in coalitions is to support the most radical politics and argue for democratic decision making structures. There have been times when this is true, mostly when working in coalitions dominated by sectarian left organizations. However, with MAC and in many of the community-based struggles that I have worked in, I was learning lessons in organizing.

Some anarchists said that it was disappointing that there was not an explicitly anarchist anti-gentrification formation. I think being involved with MAC was the best move politically and strategically. I think it was monumental to have anarchists participate in, learn from and support the leadership of left/radical Latina/o

and working class based community groups. I also think that there is an important void to be filled by pro-community organizing, non-sectarian, pro-movement building anarchists with anti-racist/anti-oppression politics to form organizations that can be part of a coalition effort like MAC. I think that when broader left/radical forces come together there is an enormous opportunity for us to share and learn politics and organizing that can take all of our work to the next level.

I'm an anarchist who has always believed that there is much to learn from many political traditions and perspectives. As I work to build broader movement, I remain an anarchist because I think we have made and continue to make important contributions in developing effective, holistic strategy. Nisha Anand, who works at San Francisco Women Against Rape, is also committed to broader left movement building. She explains, "I believe the successful collective models anarchists have developed can and should be applied to a larger context and with diverse communities. In order for this to work, we as anarchists must first develop long-term strategies that build relationships and trust. Meeting people where they're at and working on issues that have real impact in communities we want to work with is a key way to begin building such relationships. Initially, our work may include broad coalition organizing, support and solidarity work, and electoral mobilizations."

Meeting people "where they're at" is key to why I think electoral politics can at times be both necessary and strategic. In the case of fighting gentrification with MAC, I think it was necessary because this fight and many other fights must be fought and to stand on the sidelines makes one irrelevant. Necessary because this fight, like others, was about people's basic human rights to live and raise children in their neighborhood. Necessary because not fighting it means we are in a far weaker position to fight anything else. Strategic because this was a fight that was affecting broad numbers of people and spoke to core issues/values of what kind of community/society we want to live in. Strategic because through popular struggles new possibilities open up, spaces to practice radical organizing and learn crucial lessons. Strategic because relationships of respect, trust and accountability are built much more quickly in the course of day-to-day struggle. Strategic because relationships with a broader range of left/radical people can help form stronger alliances based on respect, solidarity and affinity.

I want to be clear that electoral politics is but a small part of a much larger strategy. Anarchist tenant organizer Ingrid Chapman underlines this point, "When organizing around propositions we must look past the elections, because the reality of the system is that the wealthy rightwing has a clear advantage, and hard-fought progressive laws can be --and often are--overturned or tremendously weakened. We must always be thinking about how and what we are building for post-election day. Not just getting folk out to vote, but where does that community power go after the election? How can this campaign build long lasting relationships, build skills and build a base of people who are empowered and organized to continue the fight for justice - win or lose? And when we win or lose, what tactics can we use outside the electoral system and formal politics to empower folk and keep fighting? Because one of our major struggles is fighting against disempowerment all around us."

So, what are we going to do about this presidential election?  
Beyond Bush, Against Imperialism

The focus of my argument about electoral politics has been elections on the local and state level. Getting the Bush administration out of the White House is not my primary goal, but nevertheless, it is a goal. Gabriel Sayegh has contributed an important essay "Tear down the prison, get out the vote: an antiracist argument for voting" which presents a strong argument to white radicals to vote against Bush.

He writes: "If white activists continue along the line of 'there's no different between the candidates so I won't vote' then we miss the very important ways that the candidates do differ, and how those differences can be leveraged in an effort to build a stronger movement. While Bush and Kerry are certain to serve many of the same corporate masters, there are everyday material realities which, however small they may seem to upper and

middle class white people, are indeed enormously significant to those who aren't white or aren't middle/upper class. For instance, Bush's first act in offices was to place a global gag rule on reproductive rights and abortion clinics around the world, effectively undermining the right to family planning services to women around the globe. And who are those women? Poor women of color."

"That doesn't mean the Democrats are the answer to Bush or the Republicans. It means --not so simply-- that white activists need to be politically savvy enough to understand how those little, narrow nuances that separate the candidates and political parties are not so little and narrow to everyone. For millions of poor people--most of them people of color-- that dime's worth of difference between Republican and Democrat can mean life or death."

How can we use these differences to weaken both party's positions and strengthen ours? For example, the imperialism of the Bush administration favors unilateralism and military force and this is generally opposed by Democrats who under the Clinton administration preferred the imperialism of international trade agreements, diplomacy and more structural state violence like sanctions. How can we move the slogans from focusing on a person to a system: from "Anyone but Bush" to "Everyone Against Empire". If we can bring an anti-imperialist/anti-empire politics into the growing frustration with the US war on Iraq, it can open doors to broader politic engagement against the imperialist agenda of both parties.

It's also important to focus on how we can build our organizations in this election fight so we are in a better position to move forward with our goals, regardless of who is president. I'm confident we can use the anti-Bush campaign to build our movement. Sayegh's essay offers concrete strategic suggestions for action, like anarchists talking with people who can't vote (prisoners, people with felonies or undocumented immigrants) and offering to vote for them. Sayegh's essay joins a larger discussion on electoral strategy already initiated by the book, "How to Get Stupid White Men Out of Office: the anti-politics, unboring guide to power". Edited by Adrienne Maree Brown and William Upski Wimsatt, it is a compilation of stories about radical activists engaging with electoral politics with a long-term strategic focus on movement building. They started the League of Pissed Off Voters at [Indyvoter.org](http://Indyvoter.org). [Punkvoter.com](http://Punkvoter.com) is another project organizing left/radical/alternative younger people to defeat Bush and get active. [Righttovote.org](http://Righttovote.org) is organizing to end disenfranchisement of people convicted with felonies. The organizing is happening. Developing strategy doesn't mean figuring out how we're all going to do the same work with the same goals. Strategy can help us see the ways that a multitude of different groups, projects, campaigns and communities can strengthen and advance all of our work.

It's important that we approach this election just as any other struggle; develop goals for yourself and/or with the groups you work with so that you set your own terms for what success is. My primary goal continues to be the development of a broad-based, radical/left, anti-racist, feminist, anti-capitalist movement led by people of color, women, queer, transgendered/genderqueer and working class people. I believe that the combination of collective liberation politics, community-based organizing strategies of building power, and direct action strategies of expressing and sharing power will help us create a fusion of radical analysis and practice to get us beyond the question of who we're voting for and get on with building the worlds that live in our hearts.

Much love to the editorial crew on this essay: Nisha Anand, Clare Bayard, Dan Berger, Ingrid Chapman, Chris Dixon, Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, Jeff Giaquinto, Rahula Janowski, Sharon Martinas, Gabriel Sayegh and Josh Warren-White.

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[i] See *How to Get Stupid White Men Out of Office* edited by Adrienne Maree Brown and William Upski Wimsatt. Also check out <http://www.Indyvoter.org>.

[ii] Emma Goldman and Lucy Parsons made important arguments about voting and the state during the Women's Suffragist movement. They argued against claims that voting would be the basis for women's equality, citing that the vote had not freed men from the inequality and exploitation of capitalism. See *Anarchism and Other Essays* by Emma Goldman and <http://www.lucyparsonspj.org>.

[iii] Anarchist analysis on reform campaigns and electoral politics that were important to my thinking include: "First Pity then Punishment" by Reb H. in *Love and Rage* Vol 8, N2 March/April 1997; "Working Poor Demand Living Wage: the Elusive Fight for Survival Under Capitalism" by Jason Winston in *Love and Rage* Vol8, N4 August/Sept 1997. The Living Wage campaign was particularly influential because it was an a campaign led by anarchists with an explicit commitment to revolutionary movement building. "Fight Against Welfare Cuts Hits the UN" by Laura Schere and Suzy Subways in *Love and Rage* Vol8, N4.

[iv] Three important projects dedicated to developing anarchist theory that I'm inspired by are: the Institute for Anarchist Studies, the *New Formulation*: an anti-authoritarian review of books, and book publisher and distributor AK Press.

[v] My understanding of strategy and organizing from this framework is heavily influenced by my study of Ella Baker. My essay, "Looking to the Light of Freedom" focuses on her ideas on participatory democracy and group-centered leadership.

[vi] Paulo Freire discusses the importance of praxis in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

[vii] This essay is available here. Additionally, the book *Reluctant Reformers: Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States* by Robert Allen is a useful exploration of how white privilege has undermined movements historically. This provides useful historical context to situate the Global Justice movement and the efforts to challenge white supremacy and white privilege by anti-racist people of color and white people.

[viii] Websites representing aspects of the trends that I'm describing are *Deadletters*, *Colours of Resistance*, *Anarchist People of Colour*, and *Baby Bloc*.

[ix] Women of color feminism has been core to my thinking about collective liberation politics. The four books which have articulated these politics most clearly to me are: *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment* by Patricia Hill Collins; *The Truth That Never Hurts: Writings on Race, Gender and Freedom* by Barbara Smith; *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* by Gloria Anzaldúa; and *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* by bell hooks.

[x] I do think it's important to track the way rightwing anti-communism in the US has influenced anti-communism amongst anarchists. As my friend Jeff Giaquinto points out, to be called a communist in the US has generally meant that you support the rights of workers and believe in equality for people of color, particularly in regards to African Americans. I strongly encourage study of Marx and the Marxist tradition starting with *The Marx-Engels Reader* edited by Robert C. Tucker. And for everyone who has had negative experiences with sectarian left groups to read Max Elbaum's book *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals turn to Lenin, Mao and Che*.

[xi] *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin* edited by G.P. Maximoff and *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution* by Peter Kropotkin edited by Martin A. Miller were both very instructive. *Malatesta: Life and Ideas* has been critical to my thinking about organizing and anarchism. I highly encourage reading *The Haymarket Tragedy* by Paul Avrich. *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* by Jose Peirats along with *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* by Martha A. Ackelsburg were important. A good general overview is *Anarchism* by Daniel Guerin.

[xii] An anthology of articles and essays from 1989-1993 was collected into the book *Profane Existence: Making Punk a Threat Again*. These are key texts on US anarchism in the early to mid '90s.

[xiii] An anthology of essays from *Love and Rage* in the later years, documents from the internal debates when the Federation ended, and the critical summation of *Love and Rage*, "After Winter Must Come Spring." *A New World in Our Hearts* edited by Roy San Filippo.

[xiv] One of the primary editors of *Profane Existence*, Dan, has explained, "It took the Gulf War to stop us from just reporting the news to get us off our asses and make some. ...since then we have maintained the direct connection, turning our words on paper into direct action that affect the world around us."

[xv] Two essays that explore this further are: "Forging a Movement on Shifting Ground": reflections on anti-racism as a catalyst for global justice organizing" and "Going To Places That Scare Me: Personal Reflections On Challenging Male Supremacy."

[xvi] An important history of anarchism and direct action leading into the '90s is Barbara Epstein's *Political Protest & Cultural Revolution: Nonviolent Direct Action in the 1970s and 1980s*.

[xvii] To put this into perspective, there were 12 Food Not Bombs groups in 1992 and over 250 groups formed around the world by the end of the '90s, with the majority of them in the US. See <http://fnbnews.org>.

[xviii] These writings and others are available here.

[xix] Lorenzo Komboa Ervin's and many other writings by anarchists of color are available here.

[xx] I finished reading W.E.B. DuBois *The Souls of Black Folk* the day the verdict was announced. It, along with *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, was critical to read. In developing a deeper understanding of the Black Liberation struggle throughout US history, Vincent Harding's *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom* was very helpful.

[xxi] "Towards Anti-Racist Politics and Practice: a racial autobiography."

[xxii] Anarchists and radicals who believe voting is meaningless frequently express depression because so many people voted a particular way. At the very least the way people vote seems to have a meaningful impact on how we see the world around us.

[xxiii] Sara Diamond's book *Roads to Dominion: Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States* is very useful.

[xxiv] *De Colores Means All of Us: Latina Views for a Multi-Colored Century* by Elizabeth 'Betita' Martinez has several essays that focus on alliance building, youth leadership and movement building during these political struggles.

[xxv] Two books that cover a solid grassroots organizing framework: *Sweatshop Warriors: Immigrant Women Workers Take on the Global Economy* by Miriam Ching Yoon Louie and the *MidWest Academy Manual for Activists Organizing for Social Change*. *Sweatshop Warriors* gives an understanding of organizing and movement building and *Organizing for Social Change* is a how-to manual.

[xxvi] "Active Revolution" by James Mumm.

[xxvii] The influence of my study of the Civil Rights movement in general, and the community organizing models of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and Ella Baker in particular, has been monumental. I strongly encourage people to read (I suggest in this order for flow): *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* by David Garrow; *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* by Clayborne Carson; *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*; *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers 1941-1965* edited by Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, and Barbara Woods. Ms. Baker is a role model in fusion politics and practice whom I look to for guidance and inspiration.

[xxviii] Two useful documents from that time period and struggle: Anarchist and community activist Tom Wetzels essay "A Year in the Life of the Anti-Displacement Movement" does a good job of documenting the anti-gentrification organizing happening; Whispered Media, a collective of video activists coming out of Earth First! and the global justice movement, produced the documentary BOOM: the Sound of Eviction about this struggle.

## 4. Recipes

This semester the Frigo has been hosting a series of cooking workshops, including Soups and Stocks for the Winter, Canning, Herbal Pharmacy, and just last week, Gluten-Free on a Budget. We're in the planning stages for the spring series, so if you have suggestions for workshops we should offer, please let us know! Email the workshop coordinator at [kai.egener@yahoo.com](mailto:kai.egener@yahoo.com). Thanks!

### Good Mood Herbal Tea Recipe

Have you ever noticed this: the sun is shining, everything is going your way, but for some unknown reason you feel depressed and irritated while unreasonable fears are just torturing you away. You could be lacking vitamins, or it could be your body reacting to the change from winter to spring...the winds and the pressure changes are known to play such a number on our systems. Never fear! This simple good-mood tea recipe is bound to bring back the cheer and the balance in your mood:

- 1 part catnip herb
- 1 part hawthorn berries
- 1 part calendula
- 1 part rosehip berries
- 1 part oregano leaf

Mix everything up, add 1 cup of cold water, bring to a boil, turn to low and let things simmer for 15 minutes, let it cool down and strain the liquid.

Drink one cup in the morning and one at night. Non-habit-forming, you should exclude hawthorn if you are taking heart medication since it may increase its effects.

From: "Gluten-free on a budget" with Mackenzie Oglivie

### Replacing Gluten in Baking

If you simply take gluten out of your baking, you're likely to have disappointing results. Gluten is sticky stuff which helps prevent your baked goodies from crumbling. It also traps pockets of air, improving the texture of

your bread, cakes or biscuits.

Bakers replace it with xanthan gum, guar gum, or pre-gel starch. Xanthan gum is a natural product made from *Xanthomonas campestris*. This microorganism is grown in the lab for its cell coat, which is dried and ground to form xanthan gum. Xanthan gum is added as a powder to the dry bread ingredients. One teaspoon is needed for every cup of gluten-free flour. You can buy this product at your local health food store. You can use Guar gum, a vegetable gel, which is cheaper than Xanthan gum.

### Gluten-Free Flour Mix

3 parts white rice flour  
3 parts brown rice flour  
2 parts potato starch  
1 part tapioca flour

-- OR

2 cups rice or millet flour  
2/3 cup potato starch  
1/3 cup tapioca flour  
1-2 tsp. of xanthan gum  
Gluten-Free Baking Powder

4 tsp. (20mL) baking soda  
8 tsp. (40mL) cream of tartar  
4 tsp. (20mL) cornstarch

Blend all ingredients together and sift several times before measuring for a recipe. Store in an airtight container.  
Gluten-Free Pizza Dough

In a measuring cup, proof:

1 cup warm water (following temperature directions on your yeast package)  
1 package dry active yeast  
1 tablespoon sugar

- \* Whisk together in a bowl and let it sit for 5-10 minutes as the yeast proofs and begins to foam.
- \* In mixing bowl, combine:

2-3 tablespoons olive oil  
1 teaspoon each: dried basil, oregano, rosemary, and crushed red pepper (optional)  
1/2 tablespoon apple cider vinegar  
1-2 teaspoon salt  
1 scant teaspoon xanthan gum

- \* Add the proofed yeast mixture. Stir to combine.
- \* Add 2 1/2 cups gluten-free flour.
- \* Mix the dough by hand for 2-3 minutes. Let it rest as you oil a pan and sprinkle cornmeal on top of the pan (to prevent dough from sticking).

- \* Drop the dough onto the pan and using wet or oiled hands, flatten and spread the dough evenly to the thickness you prefer. (This usually covers a 10x13-inch baking pan).
- \* Allow the dough to rest while you pre-heat the oven to 425 degrees F.
- \* Pre-bake the pizza crust for 10 minutes.
- \* Add sauce and toppings. Bake for an additional 10 minutes or so, until the crust is done and the toppings are heated through and bubbling.

For more great gluten-free recipes, including crepes, nut pie crust, flatbread, and cornbread, as well as a list of gluten-containing foods to avoid, look out for the information packet next to the packaged gluten-free flours in the store!

## 5. Social Justice Calendar

Friday, April 4th - 6:30 pm

### SOLIDARITY ACROSS BORDERS COMMUNITY DINNER

Each month, Solidarity Across Borders hosts a free community dinner, where we get together to eat, socialize, and share our stories of struggle and resistance. Our dinners also provide updates about the ongoing organizing in the SAB network (including ongoing support work, and the upcoming Status for All National Day of Action, as part of Mayworks!)

@ the Maison d'amitie, 120 Duluth East between St-Laurent and St-Denis (metro Sherbrooke or metro St-Laurent) Activities for the kids; bring your children. Films & music. If you need transportation to-and-from the dinner, don't hesitate to get in touch. If you are able to help prepare food to share, let us know! If you have other needs, just let us know! Email: solidaritesansfrontieres@gmail.com Phone: 514-848-7583 Visit: <http://www.solidarityacrossborders.org>

Saturday, April 5th - 11am to 4:30pm

### Rad School, Resources for Resistance Presents:

- 1) Building a Movement Against Apartheid - Lessons and Prospects
- 2) Learning from the Past and Building the Struggle Today

@ School of Community and Public Affairs, 2149 MacKay

Workshops are free, bilingual and open to anyone working for social justice. Childcare is available.

Space is limited we encourage you to confirm your participation via e-mail [theradschool@gmail.com](mailto:theradschool@gmail.com)

Saturday, April 5th

### SPECIAL OPEN STUDIO at Ste. Emilie Skillshare & Zine Distro

Come and meet some of our collective members and learn how to use our facilities! We can show you how to silkscreen, use a black and white photo darkroom, sew and serge, browse our zine library and more! REFRESHMENTS and SNACKS will be provided!

@ 3942 Ste. Emilie, (corner/coin St. Augustin) \*Metro Place St. Henri\*

More info: <http://steemilieskillshare.com>

Friday, April 11th - 6pm

### Trans Resistance and Premature Death, a lecture by Dean Spade

Dean Spade founded the Sylvia Rivera Law Project (SRLP) in 2002, an innovative law collective focused on gender, racial, and economic justice which provides free legal help to low-income people and people of color facing

gender identity and/or expression discrimination. He is currently a Law Teaching Fellow at the UCLA School of Law's Williams Institute and is teaching Law and Social Movements at Harvard Law School. Dean's most

recent article, "Documenting Gender," forthcoming in the Hastings Law Journal this spring, examines the impact of the recent War on Terror policies on transgender populations.

@ McGill University, Room 304, McConnell Engineering Building, 3480 University Street (wheelchair accessible)

### Saturday, April 12th

Workshop with Dean Spade about the Sylvia Rivera Law Project & his experience with collective organizing around gender issues.

@ the 2110 Center for Gender Advocacy, 2110 Mackay.

To sign up contact (514) 848-2424 (ex 7431), or center2110@gmail.com

### Saturday, April 12th - 2pm

Ste. Emilie Skillshare Workshop: Photoshop for beginners

This course is an introduction to digital imaging and using the program the adobe photoshop. Participants will learn to become familiar with the forms and functions of this program, and a

chance to do some hands on learning. Max participants 8 (please rsvp!) <http://steemilieskillshare.com>

@ 3942 Ste. Emilie, (corner/coin St. Augustin) \*Metro Place St. Henri\*

### Saturday, April 19th

Ste. Emilie Skillshare Workshop: B/W Darkroom

This workshop will be a basic into to the black & white darkroom You'll learn how to develop film, make contact sheets, and how to print your own images by making Rayograms.

Max: 6 participants (please RSVP). <http://steemilieskillshare.com>

@ 3942 Ste. Emilie, (corner/coin St. Augustin) \*Metro Place St. Henri\*

### Thursday April 24th - 6:30 pm

Immigration & Ableism: Film and Discussion Night

Join us for a screening of the film Acting Blind in the presence of director Martin Duckworth, followed by a discussion about ableism, disability, and immigration, featuring local activists involved in disability and migrant justice organizing in Montreal.

@ St. Gabriel's Church, 2157 Centre (Metro Charlevoix)

### Saturday, May 3rd

#### ANXIETY ZINE LAUNCH PARTY!

"The urge to write this came out of times where there has been too much anxiety and restlessness that's been swallowed only to make stomachs uneasy, hearts flutter, and make fists clench in pockets. We make this zine in hopes that we can share stories and hope to soften blows and foster a little support in our communities." This is a special zine launch party at ste emilie with the release of anxiety zine, a zine of stories, art, advice, coping strategies and more. Alongside the release of this zine there will be an exhibition of art featured in the zine, and a short video. There will be tea and treats available!

@ 3942 Ste. Emilie, (corner/coin St. Augustin) \*Metro Place St. Henri\*

More info: <http://steemilieskillshare.com>

### Saturday, May 3rd

Mayworks Concert: LAL CD launch with Kader B. & Tu-Three

The Committee to Support Abdelkader Belaoui and Public Transit Records present a night of music, featuring Toronto-based LAL who will be launching their new CD Deportation, and Kader B. & Tu-Three, who will be performing cuts from their upcoming independent release. Mark your calendars, stay tuned for more details, and be sure not to miss this special event, taking place as a part of Mayworks, an annual cultural celebration of worker's struggles.

@ at St. Gabriel's Church, 2157 Centre (Metro Charlevoix)

### Sunday, May 4th - 12:30pm

STATUS FOR ALL! A march for immigrant justice, and against poverty, racism & racial profiling  
As part of a National Day of Action for immigrant rights, Solidarity Across Borders is again taking to the streets, with our allies, to demand justice and dignity for all migrants. In opposition to deportations and detentions, we demand STATUS FOR ALL! There is no such thing as an "illegal" human being, only illegitimate laws and governments.

@ Corner of Victoria & Van Horne in Cote-Des-Neiges (metro Plamondon, sortie Van Horne)

This is a child-friendly demonstration. Food and drinks will be available. There will be vehicles on-hand for those with reduced mobility.

To get involved, e-mail [sansfrontieres@resist.ca](mailto:sansfrontieres@resist.ca) or phone 514-848-7583

### Tues May 13th & Wed May 14th - 7:30pm

Montreal Anarchist Theatre Festival :::::

@ the D.B. Clarke Theatre, 1455 de Maisonneuve West, (Metro Guy-Concordia)

### Tues May 13, 7:30pm

- \* Bread & Puppet Theatre, The Divine Reality Comedy Circus (USA)
- \* Norman Nawrocki, Cazzarola! Anarchy, Mussolini, Genoa, Roma, Italy today (Qué)
- \* Nicola Mourer, Je viens de la solitude, une soirée avec Armand Robin (France)

### Wed May 14, 7:30pm

- \* Bread & Puppet Theatre, Photographs of My Corpse: A Puppet Service for Guantanamo (USA)
- \* La Balancelle (Nicolas Mourer, Monique Surel-Tupin, Jacques Surel), Cabaret anarchiste à la Belle Epoque (France)
- \* Le Comité de la Fin du Monde, Le Début de la Fin: the first space-time anarcho-chaotic odyssey (Qué)

Tickets, available at all Admission Outlets (or from L'Insoumise Bookstore, 2033 boul St-Laurent) are \$10.

(Tickets for children 12 years & under available at the door for \$5 for the May 13th performance only.)

Anarchist Theatre Festival Info: Tel: 514-981-5330 E mail: [anarchistefestival@yahoo.ca](mailto:anarchistefestival@yahoo.ca)

### Saturday, MAY 17th & Sunday May 18th - 10am to 6pm

MONTREAL'S 9th ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR

**Saturday, May 17th** - Introductory Workshops including: "Demanding the Impossible: Sharing Visions of Anarchism", "An Introduction to Anarchism and its Aspirations", "Vivre l'anarchie dans l'ici et le maintenant", "ABC de l'Anarchisme". Resistance 2010! Information Room; including: "No Olympics on Stolen Land," with indigenous anti-Olympics organizers Gord Hill and Angela Sterritt, AND "An Anarchist Attack on the G-8 and SPP," by members of the People's Global Action (PGA) Bloc-Montreal, Zine Room, Film Room, Kids Program by the Montreal Childcare Collective, Art Exhibition & more!

**Sunday, May 18th:** A Day of Anarchist Workshops, Presentations and Discussions: There will be more than 10 panels, workshops and discussions during the day; confirmed workshops and presenters will be announced shortly & Autonomous Media Room.

@ CEDA, 2515 rue Delisle, (near the Lionel-Groulx metro)

Free childcare. More Info e-mail [info@anarchistbookfair.ca](mailto:info@anarchistbookfair.ca) or phone 514-435-2385. More information about submissions is on our website: [www.anarchistbookfair.ca](http://www.anarchistbookfair.ca)





