



# A.P.L.A.N.

Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network  
818 SW 3<sup>rd</sup> Avenue PMB #354 Portland OR 97204 USA



The Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network (APLAN) is a prisoner-guided initiative, formed to provide legal aid and outside support for imprisoned anarchists. We believe that anarchists need to support those who are arrested and already in jail. This isn't always easy, yet is a challenge our movement needs to take on.



There are dozens of anarchists in prison, many of whom face abuses by the prison authorities. Some are held in segregation units with violent white supremacists, who are a threat to their lives. We can fight repressive action taken against anarchist prisoners, but it will take effort from inside *and* outside the prisons to do this.

Anarchist prisoners can contribute to struggles on the outside, but need outside contact to do this. APLAN aims to facilitate these efforts and thus strengthen anarchist practice as a whole.

We hope to provide sound legal advice and aid for anarchist prisoners. This support for imprisoned comrades is not based upon respect for the judicial apparatus, but is provided in the spirit of mutual aid and solidarity in struggle. The sharing of research material and resources will be an immediate goal. We welcome contact with those who have specific knowledge of legal matters.

We hope for broad involvement, in multiform ways, from throughout the anarchist movement. Write for information about current activities and how to get involved.



"THE CRIMINALIZATION AND ARREST OF A COMRADE MUST BE SEEN AS PART OF THE ONGOING SOCIAL STRUGGLE, PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY ARE THE HARSH MATERIAL MEANS USED BY THE STATE TO DISCOURAGE ALL RADICALISM, ALWAYS AND IN WHATEVER WAY"

- from Revolutionary Solidarity by Pierleone Porcu



## FREE MATT, FREE PETEY

Animal liberation activists Matt Whyte and Peter Schnell were arrested last January in Santa Cruz, CA for the alleged possession of materials that could be made into "destructive devices". Both were released last February on bail and federal charges were filed against them. As of October 15 the two pled guilty to possession of incendiary devices (consisting of empty gallon jugs, candles, gasoline and matches). They confessed their intention to use the devices to disable trucks in a dairy distributors parking lot. Both took plea bargains and are looking at a minimum of 12-14 months for Matt and 33 for Petey.

They face a maximum of 10 years and a \$250,00 fine. Matt and Petey will be sentenced on January 28 of this year. Funds are needed as well as wide spread support. For more info please contact [SC2fund@hotmail.com](mailto:SC2fund@hotmail.com). Remember these are our brothers, our comrades, our friends. Their freedom depends on our ability to act. If not now, when? If not you, who?

# Free Sentenced to 23 Years!

June 11th, Jeff "Free" Luers was sentenced to nearly 23 years on 11 charges ranging from Arson I to Attempted Criminal Mischief stemming from two incidents last year in Eugene, Oregon.

Free had admitted to criminal mischief regarding a truck fire at Romania Chevrolet last summer. At the sentencing he read a statement taking accountability for the Romania fire, and emphasizing the care he took to ensure no one would be injured. He said:

"It cannot be said that I am unfeeling or uncaring. My heart is filled with love and compassion. I fight to protect life— all life— not to take it.

It's not an exaggeration to say that we're experiencing a period of extinction equal to that of the dinosaurs. 40,000 species go extinct each year, yet we continue to pollute and exploit the natural world...I will not ask this court to grant me leniency. All I ask is that you believe the sincerity of my words, and that you believe that my actions, whether or not you believe them to be misguided, stem from the love I have in my heart."

The judge responded by saying that he "never doubted Free's sincerity". He stated that Free's political beliefs would not influence the sentencing, that he would be sentenced "solely on the severity of the crimes". Yet Free recieved a sentence harsher than that of many murderers and rapists. We are not so naive as to say we're surprised with the sentence, but an analogy I shared with Free on the phone yesterday is that we've had someone with a clenched fist standing in front of us for a year saying "I'm going to punch you." Even though we were expecting it, it still took our breath away. The judge made many comments during the trial that indicated he'd already decided the outcome. He was often seen completely ignoring the testimony, typing on his laptop instead of listening. An appeal is already underway.

Frustratingly, throughout the past year, Free had been forced to remain silent about his actions at Romania Chevrolet, due to the fact that the State insisted on linking the two incidents, Romania and Tyree Oil Company, together. The judge denied many motions to separate the two. Free has stated and maintains that he had no involvement in the attempted arson at Tyree Oil.

The Legal Defense Committee asks for your continuing support of Free and Critter and other Prisoners of War. Make no mistake, a war is being waged on the Earth and all its creatures. Do not participate in the State's campaign to marginalize and incapacitate those who take radical action in defense of the Earth. Failure to support our political prisoners is tantamount to sanctioning repression by the State.

Free's new address is now available. Checks and money orders to assist with Free's appeal can still be sent to FCLDF, c/o OUR Credit Union, PO Box 11922, Eugene, OR 97440. Thanks to all our steadfast supporters. Your help has been inspiring and irreplaceable.

Howl for Free and Critter. Howl for all political prisoners. They will hear you.



FREE  
FREE!  
  
FREE  
CRITTER



Jeff "Free" Luers was sent to the Two Rivers Correctional Facility in Eastern Oregon to serve his nearly 23 year sentence. He has now been moved to Salem, OR at the address below. Craig "Critter" Marshall was moved to the Oregon State Prison in Salem last year and then moved to Eastern Oregon Correctional Institution in Pendleton, Oregon.(9/4/01). Now he has been moved yet again to the address below. (10/10/01 ish)

They would appreciate letters of support and publication subscriptions and other reading materials (direct from the publisher or amazon.com). These can be sent to:

Jeffrey Luers #13797671  
OSP  
2605 State St.  
Salem, OR 97310

Craig Marshall #13797662  
SRCI  
777 Stanton Blvd.  
Ontario, OR 97914

Please be aware that Free has been assigned "Threat Group" status. BE SMART about what you send either of them! Don't forget to include your name and return address on the envelope AND the letter, as they will only receive the letter. Letters must be written on clean paper with ball-point ink or typed. They are allowed to receive xeroxed material if it isn't copyrighted, color xerox art and photographs.

If you are unsure if what you want to send may be damaging to them, you can send it to the address below and their close friends will 'screen' it for them. Checks or money orders for commissary (envelopes, paper, stamps, fruit, etc.) may also be sent to:

Free & Critter Legal Defense Committee  
PO Box 50263  
Eugene, OR 97405

Free and Critter anxiously await correspondence from supporters! Thanks!

The Free and Critter Legal Defense Committee



## Support Anarchist Prisoners!



### James Rio Johnson

James Rio Johnson #8952263  
SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd.  
Ontario, OR 97914

James Rio Johnson has been active in anarchist projects since the early '80s - mostly in the squatting scenes in places like LA, DC and SF. He was kicked out of the '89 anarchist gathering in SF after the donation jar for the Left Socialist Revolutionary went missing immediately prior to Rio's distribution of vodka for the masses. This experience convinced him of the futility of working with activists and Rio became an illegalist. He's in prison because he killed a drug dealer.

Since he's an active anarchist prisoner, he's been repeatedly locked down with Aryan Brotherhood and other neo-nazis. These boneheads have harassed and assaulted Rio, resulting in permanent injuries. He's currently in the hole at Snake River Correctional Institution - where the most violent "gang" members are incarcerated.

Rio's classification as a "gang" member for his anarchist beliefs is being used by the Oregon Department of Corrections to isolate him from his friends outside and in facilities where he is known and respected by the general population. Need it be pointed out that this isolation is also putting Rio's life in danger?

Send donations for these prisoners to:

John Zerzan c/o AAA, PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440

### Rob los Ricos (Robert Thaxton)

Robert Thaxton #12112716  
SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd.  
Ontario, OR 97914

Rob los Ricos (AKA Robert Thaxton) is an anarchist with a long history of agitation. His writing have appeared in publications such as **Anarchy - a Journal of Desire Armed and Fifth Estate**.

On June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1999 protests against the global economy and corporate ecocide erupted throughout the world. In London, a mess was made of the financial district. In Eugene, Oregon, a Reclaim the Streets party turned to a riot with the help of the police, who fired tear gas at dispersing protesters.

Rob is currently serving a 88 month sentence for defending himself during the Eugene m  le   - as a cop charged towards him, Rob threw a rock at him in an effort to escape. Rob's two day trial was characterized by police lies and a heavy anti-anarchist bias. Rob was finally declared guilty of Assault II and Riot. His sentencing was equally dire, as Judge Bearden demanded that Rob serve the 70-month mandatory minimum sentence for Assault II before starting on the 18 months he received for Riot.

## UPDATE ON CHRIS PLUMMER

After more than eight years of imprisonment, Christopher Lee Plummer has been granted parole in Texas. Chris was placed in prison on a 15-year sentence for an anti-fascist action in Houston, Texas. While imprisoned he faced severe repression by both the state and nazi gangs in the prisons. Several attempts on his life were made, resulting in permanent injuries that will effect him forever. Much of his time in prison was spent in solitary confinement for his efforts to organize prisoners and fellow anarchists. During his 4-year stay in solitary the prisoners went so far as to accuse him of attempting to smuggle a pistol into the prison. The state went all out to stop him.

After more than ten times of being turned down for parole he has finally been approved for release on 1/2002, just a few months from now. He will be staying in Texas and working with the Austin ABC chapter. Chris has made firm commitments to his fellow anarchist political and social prisoners, stating that if he can't get them the support that they desperately need he will return to prison for trying. Chris will be facing huge difficulty when he is released, and will need all of our support and solidarity. While he has many friends and family it will take large amounts of money to secure an attorney to represent him while on parole. He feels if he doesn't have an attorney to stand by him, he will certainly be sent back to prison for any minor violation.

One of the conditions that he has had to comply with for release is "super intensive parole." This means that he will be placed on a monitor and will have to report in person twice a week. This type of parole is normally reserved for sex offenders and murderers. The fact that they are going to this extreme type of supervision implies that they fear his ability to continue solid anarchist agitation.

Chris asks that folks work to raise funds for his release over the next few months. The movement needs to support this dedicated anarchist political prisoner. This is the crucial time.

If you can offer any help, please contact

Rebecca Plummer  
PO BOX 101  
Austin, TX 78767  
512-476-3446

If you would like to contact Chris directly before his release you can write him directly until 1/2002 at:

Christopher Lee Plummer  
TDCJ #677345, PO BOX 4500  
TN Colony, TX 75886

Please consider doing benefit shows or other type of fund raisers...he's starting completely over, this means huge expenses.

He also wishes to express sincere love and gratitude to all of those dedicated anarchists that have given their support and love over the past very difficult 8 years.

Free all political prisoners!  
Please print this and spread it to all concerned ASAP.

### HOW TO SEND TDCJ INMATES MONEY

- 1) Use US Postal Money Orders if possible
- 2) Make out to INMATE TRUST FUND and add the inmates' TDJ#
- 3) Fill out deposit slip as best as you can (you can get these slips from the inmate) and place in the envelope with the money order
- 4) Do not send to the unit, send it to INMATE TRUST FUND  
PO BOX 60  
HUNSTVILLE, TX 77342.

Please send a copy of the money order to the inmate.

### HOW TO SEND BOOKS OR MAGAZINES

Inmates can receive books if they are sent from the publishers or a bookstore. Be sure that the store uses their return address. Often bookstores will send books you bring to them as a courtesy to regular customers.

Magazines are sent in the same manner as books but family members can also just order magazine subscriptions for the inmate.

You should notify the inmate when you send books, etc.

### OFFICE SUPPLIES

Many inmates also have family or friends send office supplies for their use. The best way to do this is to ask the inmate to make a list of things needed and then go to the local office depot and have the supplies sent from the store.

Some inmates are allowed to buy ART SUPPLIES but this must be done by the inmate so if you would like to help an inmate do this you should send funds to the INMATE TRUST FUND.

### WHAT YOU CAN SEND THROUGH THE MAIL

Inmates' mail is inspected by the mailroom employees and there are many things that they do not allow to be sent from an individual. Any books or publications must be sent from the publisher or store. Often people will send stamps, cash or checks directly to inmate. This causes them to be confiscated.

You can send pictures, news clippings and postcards.





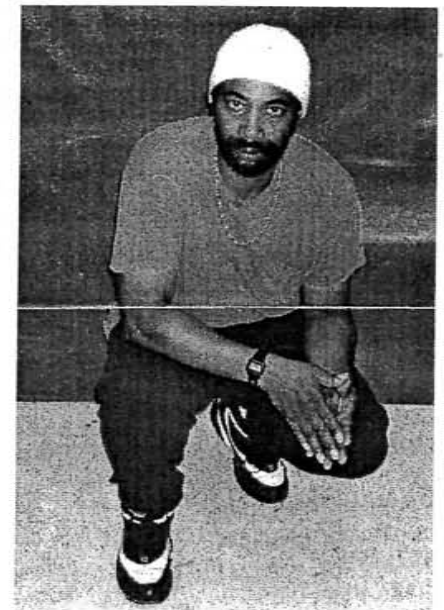
## Solidarity with Ali Khalid Abdullah!

Ali Khalid Abdullah is a New Afrikan (Black) man and an anarchist. He is the founder of the political organization Political Prisoners of War Coalition (PPWC) which he established in 1994/95 while sitting at the Charles Egeler Correctional Facility in Jackson, Michigan USA.

Ali is in prison for the charge of "Assault with Intent to Rob while Armed". He was convicted to 10 to 20 years for his involvement in trying to shut down a major drug dealer because one of the drug dealer's drug sellers sexually molested an 11-year-old girl as *payment* for the drug bill owed by the girl's mother. As a result of finding this out, Ali and three of his comrades went after the drug dealer and his companion, targeting their phony business where volumes of drugs were distributed and large stashes of money were held and transferred. For his actions the courts felt he acted a vigilante for taking the law into his own hands, rather than allowing the state to do nothing.

Since Ali has been incarcerated he has continued to fight for the people. He has continued to struggle for liberation and justice for all people. However, as a result of his political activities Ali has met much repression from prison authorities. This has ranged from being transferred from facility to facility, mail rejected and tampered with, property damaged by correctional officials and an attempt on his life by other prisoners. This was based on a bogus story put out by prison officials, hoping this would stop Ali's political attacks of them. Ali has been up for parole since 1996 with a recent parole hearing in February 2001 and each time they have denied him parole for unsubstantiated reasons.

Ali, through PPWC, has developed a powerful network where revolutionaries, activists and socially



conscious individuals have come together from all walks of life... bridging the barriers of language, distance and borders to defend truth and to fight for freedom.

Anyone wishing to write Ali must have a return address on the envelope. All donations sent to Ali personally must be sent in the form of money orders only with his name and prison number clearly printed on it, signed by the sender and mailed to:  
**Ali Khalid Abdullah #148130**  
Thumb Correctional Facility / 3225  
John Conley Drive / Lapeer, MI 48446

The Political Prisoners of War Coalition Info Center may be contacted at:  
**PPWC Info Center / PO Box 554 / Lincoln, MA 01773**

All letters to Ali should be sent separately from literature, and all literature must come directly from the publisher or bookstore with the address clearly indicated on the envelope.

Show your support for Ali and the PPWC!

An anarchist's perspective...

## WILL YOU REMEMBER THE PAST OR REPEAT IT?

*"The Americans en-masse have given up their citizenship in the real sense of the word; they act unconcerned about even the most alarming of political events, except when it hits them at home. Then they act indignant when the actions of their State has unwanted repercussions."*

— Laure Akai

There is no denying that the events of September 11, 2001 were tragic and horrifying, and acts of terrorism. But such actions come out of a particular context that many Americans don't know about. This context is the dark side of American foreign policy—the exploits of the military industrial complex and its allies.

Since the 1800's the U.S. has pursued foreign (and domestic) policy objectives that benefit large corporations. There are numerous examples—everything from Smedley Butler, the dissident Marine, fighting to keep the world safe for Standard Oil, to corporate-military coups backed by the CIA in places such as Iran and Guatemala (1953-54), among others. When elected governments are overthrown and replaced by dictators trained in repression and torture, there is anger at the U.S. Whether it is the Shah



of Iran and his notorious secret police keeping U.S. oil profits safe, or death-squad regimes working on behalf of the United Fruit Company, the pursuit of wealth and power took precedence over the quality of life. The American public was lied to, and continues to be lied to

about the policies and objectives of "hidden history." No one wants to be exposed as a world policeman with fingers in the till.

Amnesty International recognized in the 70's that the democratically elected socialist government of Chile was overthrown in 1973 by the combined efforts of the CIA and ITT/Anaconda Copper. The fascist

General Pinochet was installed and given CIA/US support for years as Chileans were kidnapped, tortured and killed by a US client regime. Such an event is not likely to have won the U.S. any friends.

Consider the legacy of Vietnam (which was really a massive covert/overt war in Southeast Asia), Reagan's covert wars in Central/South America and Africa, Bush's wars against Panama and Iraq (both of which involved former U.S./CIA allies who refused to do U.S. bidding), the continuing campaign against Cuba, the sanctions which kill Iraqi civilians, and the unquestioning support of Israel—Zionist land-stealers who have ironically employed fascist-like tactics against the displaced Palestinians. This doesn't even mention the bombing of Yugoslavia. There is a long list of countries and populations that have been manipulated or controlled in some way by the U.S. Some countries have practically been "bombed back to the Stone Age."

I make no apologies and have no sympathies for repressive fundamentalist Islam, but the U.S. must acknowledge its own role in creating terror worldwide. Arms sales to warring nationalist factions, selective support given to "client states" in their own domestic or foreign policies, and turning a blind eye to murder/torture by allies have all aggravated global opinion of the U.S. which is seen by some as "the Great Satan" or as "a Yankee Imperialist." Regardless of economic or religious differences, some powerful countries are predators, and this creates resentment amongst the powerless and exploited.

To the extent that the U.S. refuses to acknowledge its role in creating and sustaining terror, it is part of the problem that will only create more

problems, which it thinks it can solve with more violence.

Laure Akai writes, "...Air strikes and murder are nothing new... victims before these (9-11) have been dehumanized in the US media... people around the world have been suffering, often at the hands of the US military, for many years. The state will be calling for terrorist blood, but it will continue its murderous and socially irresponsible policies without accepting moral responsibility for their repercussions."

We must remember essential human solidarity, regardless of the actions of governments and militaries. The mass of humanity is NOT identical with its "rulers!" Many of us would rather get rid of that system entirely. First to go in our refusal must be the compulsion to obey. If people around the world refused to fight for their misleaders, then we might see some clarity and real justice. The elite would have no one to fight for them and they'd have to pack up their game-board, leaving the rest of us to work things out cooperatively, respecting our differences yet recognizing our common interests.

Don't support a war effort—it's adding fuel to an already explosive situation that didn't have to start in the first place. Facing up to reality is harder for the US war machine, however, than is escalating the body count. Now is the time for atonement and international solidarity, until we're no longer plagued by nation-states, business interests, religious repression, patriarchy, racism, sexism, and all the other ills that accompany an empire in decline.

Flyer issued by:

**Anarchists / 818 SW 3<sup>rd</sup> Ave PMB 354 /  
Portland, OR 97204 (USA)**

# Free Mumia

**BREAK  
THE  
CHAINS!**



**MUMIA ABU-JAMAL, FORMER BLACK PANTHER AND SUPPORTER OF THE MOVE ORGANIZATION, WAS FRAMED IN THE RACIST COURTS OF PENNSYLVANIA IN 1982. HE IS ON DEATH ROW FOR ALLEGEDLY KILLING A COP YET HIS CASE WAS A MOCKERY OF JUSTICE, WITH LYING WITNESSES, FABRICATED EVIDENCE, A BIASED JUDGE AND AN INEFFECTIVE DEFENSE ATTORNEY FOR MUMIA. THE STATE IS TRYING TO KILL HIM FOR HIS POLITICAL BELIEFS. USE YOUR POWER AND SET HIM FREE!**

## NEITHER THEIR WAR NOR THEIR PEACE

AGAINST THE MYTH OF UNITY

October 1, 2001

WHAT IS THIS?

DEFINING TERRORISM

If we are to believe what the mass media and the politicians tell us, all of the people of the United States are indeed now united in a common feeling and a common goal. We are all one in the desire to fight terrorism. Every difference is forgotten in the name of ridding the world of this scourge.

In fact, this unity that is proclaimed so loudly and praised so effusively is a fairy tale. It could not be otherwise. "Terrorism" is a buzzword that has not been adequately defined by the government or the media. While we may all recognize the attacks of September 11 as terrorist acts, there are too many doubts as to what else may fall under this definition. This raises the question of what role the U.S. has played in acts of terrorism through out the world or where the line between acts of terrorism and acts of war is. Is this a time for patriotism? Or maybe for some serious questioning of what those who rule us have done and will do?

Even the varieties of sorrow, fear and pain felt due to these attacks differs from person to person. I am sorry that thousands died in these attacks and that their loved ones are suffering from the loss. But I feel no sorrow for the damage to monstrous buildings symbolizing the economic and military power of America. And what I fear is the type of repression against dissent and revolt that we can expect in this country in the name of this "war on terrorism"—what I fear is the terrorism of the state against those who oppose it which of course will call itself the defense of freedom.

So what is this paper? A voice raised against the myth of unity, an expression of revolt against the call for war the American state has issued, because it will not be a war against terrorism, but against the struggle for freedom.

As the American state calls the world to a "war against terrorism", it carefully avoids explaining what it means by terrorism. What need is there? We all can see that the acts carried out on September 11 were terrorist acts. The indiscriminate killing of the passengers on the flights and of the workers and visitors at the World Trade Center most of whom could not be implicated in the making or executing of U.S. foreign policy and the political motivation behind these actions combine to leave no question of their nature. But here we begin to develop a definition for terrorism. It could be defined as the use of indiscriminate violence to achieve a political aim, generally through the spread of fear within a given population.

A brief look at the origin of the word could clarify things further. The word terrorism was first used to describe the policy put into practice by the newly formed republican state in France in 1793, also known as the Reign of Terror. The purpose of this policy was to eliminate all opposition to the new state through mass executions of everyone who might be considered a threat to the newly formed state, regardless of any proof or of the political or social positions of those killed. The aim was not so much to eliminate the old aristocrats, many of whom might easily be useful in the new regime as to suppress the continuing revolution that was threatening to bring down the new regime. The justification for this terror was that the new state was the rule of the people and so enemies of the state were enemies of the people. Thus the first recognized terrorist activity was an act of indiscriminate violence institutionalized by a state that justified its actions on democratic and humanistic grounds for the purpose of suppressing opposition and revolt. For approximately the next hundred years, terrorism was recognized as a policy of certain states by which they used indiscriminate violence to establish and enforce their power. It was only in the late 1800's, when widespread revolt began to express itself openly often in violent ways that the word came to be applied to revolutionary violence as well.

(continued on next page)



WHO IS OSAMA BIN LADEN?

Every American knows by now that Osama bin Laden is the current Devil of American foreign policy. He is the one who seems to be behind the attacks of September 11. We are informed that he is a Saudi Arabian from a wealthy family who holds to an extreme fundamentalist version of the Islamic faith. Hardly a likeable fellow. The only problem is, that like all devils, he is partly myth. Not that he doesn't exist or, for that matter, play a leading role within certain terrorist networks. He is such a power, but the various states now lining up to volunteer in the "war against terrorism" know quite well that he is not the lynchpin in world-wide terrorism. He is simply a major player specifically within the terrorist networks that have associations with Islamic fundamentalism. But another fact that has been mentioned, but not explained is that bin Laden was once a CIA operative. He learned what he knows from this intelligence agency of the U.S. government. What was he trained for? To carry out terrorist activities for the CIA, or so one would have to assume. Like so many of America's enemies of the past several years, bin Laden is also a former ally who has gone renegade. This is the sort of company the all states seek, the sort of allies every ruling class courts. Why then trust "our" leaders when they call us to fight these terrorists they trained?

## Anarchist Frequently Asked Questions

### What is anarchy?

The word itself comes from the Greek words that mean "no ruler". The basic idea is that no one should lead or rule another. Consequently no one should follow or be ruled. From such simple statements grows the philosophy of anarchism and anarchic practice.

While there are many types of anarchism - Syndicalist, Primitivist, green, social, libertarian, etc. - nearly all share common ground. Control or authority over another is seen as inherently wrong and undesirable. As each of us is an individual capable of making our own decisions, we should be able to make those decisions without another imposing their decisions on us.

"Anarchism can be understood as the generic social and political idea that expresses negation of all power, domination, and hierarchical division, and a will to their dissolution..."

Thus any attempt to assert that anarchy is purely anti-state is a misrepresentation of the word and the way it has been used by the anarchist movement. As Brian Morris argues, "when one examines the writing of classical anarchists... as well as the character of the anarchist movements... it is clearly evident that it has never had this limited vision (of only being against the state). It has always challenged all forms of authority and exploitation."

While there are many different types of anarchism, there have always been two common positions at the core of all of them - opposition to government and opposition to capitalism. In the words of the individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker, anarchism insists on "the abolition of the State and the abolition of usury; on no more government of man by man, and no more exploitation

of man by man." This exploitation includes most work as we know it - what Marx called "alienated labor".



Anarchists envision a world where capitalist bosses and the police that serve them do not exist because the social conditions that allow them to have power have been drastically changed or abolished. There is a long history of anarchist involvement in the militant labor movement, and in class struggle, but more and more anarchists are calling for the abolition of work, in favor of cooperative, creative human activity. Such a stance does not necessarily contradict class awareness, but tends to take an even broader perspective, while incorporating the idea of self-management where truly necessary and desired, and class war as a means to that end.

since all states would be implicated in such a definition, states will decide arbitrarily, based on their own needs, what constitutes terrorism, and we can be sure that this conception will be broadened to encompass any serious revolt. This war will be waged as strongly against the so-called "internal enemy" as any external enemies. This will definitely mean increased police spying, harassment, searches, detentions, based solely on the fact that the state has decided one is a terrorist threat. In other words, the nebulous nature of a war on terrorism guarantees that it will increase the atmosphere of psychological terror which is the greatest weapon of every ruling class and every state against those they rule. The most disturbing aspect of this situation is that most people will accept this. We are always more frightened of the terror we don't know than of the one we face every day. So repressive state terror will most likely go forward with the democratic support of those who are ruled in the name of a war against terrorism. But some of us have been fighting against terrorism for years. We have been doing so precisely by fighting against the ruling order and its police and military institutions that are the main source of terrorism world-wide. No state can lead a sincere battle against terrorism, because terrorism has been a strategy of state all along, a strategy to which every state will turn whenever it has need to do so. The only way to put an end to terrorism is to put an end to the state. And by this I mean every state in the world.

### THE FACE OF WORLD WAR THREE

Because I was born in 1955 and grew up in the 60's and 70's, my conception of World War 3 was that of nuclear annihilation, that unthinkable destruction of all life—or at least human life. It was so frightening that most people chose to put it out of their consciousness, but it nonetheless remained a subconscious fear in the back of our minds. The change in the past couple of decades in world power relations has largely put this possibility, rightly or not, out of our minds. But if we thought that World War 3 was no longer a possibility, recent events should change our minds about this.

Since the attacks of September 11, president Bush has called on all of the nations of the world to join in a war against terrorism. This is not a call to a metaphorical war, but to real battle involving arms and deaths. The enemy in this war is a nebulous practice (kept unclear intentionally since a clear definition of the enemy would undermine state aims) that can be seen everywhere—particularly if those in power are the one's making the determination. Such a phantasmic yet terrifying enemy meets a need that the U.S. government has had since the fall of the Soviet Union. It presents an ongoing threat to national security that justifies both increasing military and police powers. This enemy exists both externally and internally. In the name of defending the abstract freedom that the U.S. claims to represent, this enemy justifies the practical suppression of the freedom to rebel or act for oneself. Since, in spite of the use of Osama bin Laden as the face of this devil, it will, in fact, prove to be a faceless enemy—an omnipresent threat, this war and the emergency measures put into effect in its name need never come to an end. The newly formed Internal Security Council, the increased capacities for federal police agencies to spy on us, the increased policing of the borders, the erosion of 'rights' that many take for granted (but that have never been more than a grant from the state anyway) will have no reason to end, since this phantom will continue to haunt the shadows, and the state will be quick to point fingers whenever anyone forgets this. Even before the attacks the word terrorism was being flung around loosely to such an extent that even a computer geek who showed too much skill and imagination could be called a cyber-terrorist.

So this is the face of World War 3: an ongoing war against a faceless enemy defined by the state—thus, a war of the state against all who oppose or even seriously question it. Yet a war which most of those ruled and exploited by the social order of the state will support because they fear this faceless enemy the state has named. Only when we realize that the state is itself the terrorist will the real nature of this war become clear. It is the social war of the ruling class against those they rule, in which the ruled, as always, are the cannon-fodder.

*There will be no end to terrorism until we put an end to the state.*

### (Defining Terrorism' continued)

It is normal in the evolution of languages for the meanings of words to transform, but not to be turned on their heads. For this reason, terrorism can only be a meaningful term of it keeps some of its original characteristics. I would argue that terrorism is best understood as either the use of indiscriminate violence or the threat of indiscriminate violence in order to induce fear in a population with a political aim, or the use of the threat of violence by a state to enforce its power over its own or another population.

### Bush's false choice

A basic part of this definition is that terrorism is always an act of power intended to induce fear. If we look at this definition it becomes obvious that at one time or another all states use terrorist methods. It is inherent to their functioning. Since the United States is currently the most powerful state on the planet, it is clearly implicated in terrorist activities throughout the globe. But the false choice in Bush's ultimatum to the world is more immediate than this. In calling for a "war on terrorism" rather than on specific people or nations, Bush is calling the world to a war with a far more nebulous enemy than even the war on drugs. Such a war can only be carried out through a strategy of increasing the repressive power of the state. Because no state dares to define terrorism too precisely

All anarchists view the profit motive, interest and rent (how can one own the land for profit, to paraphrase Chief Seattle) as usury (i.e. as exploitation) and so oppose them and the conditions that created them just as much as they oppose government and the State.

More generally, in the words of L. Susan Brown, the "unifying link" within anarchism "is a universal condemnation of hierarchy and domination and a willingness to fight for the freedom of the human individual." (The Politics of Individualism, p. 108)

We must stress here that anarchists are opposed to *all* economic forms which are based on domination and exploitation, including feudalism, Soviet-style "socialism" and so on. We concentrate on capitalism because that is what is dominating the world right now.

Anarchistic tendencies and organizations in society have existed long before Proudhon put pen to paper in 1840 and declared himself an anarchist. While anarchism, as a specific political theory, was born with the rise of capitalism (Anarchism "emerged at the end of the eighteenth century...(and) took up the dual challenge of overthrowing both Capital and the State" (Peter Marshall)), many anarchist writers have analyzed history for libertarian tendencies. Kropotkin argued, for example, that "from all times there have been anarchists and statist." In Mutual Aid (and elsewhere) Kropotkin analyzed the libertarian aspects of previous societies and noted those that successfully implemented (to some degree) anarchist organization or aspects of anarchism. This was particularly the case with indigenous peoples; for example most Native American tribes organized themselves in a very anarchistic manner. Clifford Harper in his Anarchy: A Graphic Guide goes back to the Medieval heretics the Brethren of the Free Spirit

and the original Ranters and Diggers, as part of this historical exploration. Primitivist writer John Zerzan has been in the forefront of those utilizing "anarchist anthropology" to illustrate how pre-civilized life was egalitarian, healthy and free (more on that later).

Kropotkin recognized the tendency of actual examples of anarchistic ideas to predate the creation of the "official" anarchist movement and argued that:

"From the remotest, stone-age antiquity, men (and women) have realized the evils that resulted from letting some of them acquire personal authority...Consequently they developed in the primitive clan, the village community, the medieval guild...and finally in the free medieval city, such institutions as enabled them to resist the encroachments upon their life and fortunes both of those strangers who conquered them, and those clansmen of their own who endeavored to establish their personal authority." (Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets, p. 158-9)

*Isn't anarchy opposed to organization?*

No. Three people deciding to go swimming in a river is a form of organization. Anarchists are opposed to an *imposed* organization that is not agreed upon by everyone who is forced into the organization and coerced into acting within its limits. This type of controlled, hierarchical organization is exemplified today by the nation-state (the U.S., Great Britain, Zimbabwe, etc) and, to a growing extent, corporate organizations (Noam Chomsky has pointed out that most organizations resemble a fascist structure, with rigid rules, hierarchy and top-down control). These organizations are *imposed* upon people, not mutually decided upon by everyone. It seems simplistic, but each individual is born into a culture and/or nation state, having had no choice in the matter. We simply have to accept this "accident of birth" whether we

were born in the U.S. or Botswana. The point is that we had no choice in the matter. Right from birth, we are controlled by the nation or culture we were born into, whether we agree with it or not. We anarchists argue that we should have this choice, at the very least, and better, that we should never have the choice to be ruled. It almost seems silly, however true, but as living beings, we would be free were it not for the fact that we are born into hierarchical, controlled societies.

*But aren't anarchists a violent hate group?*

There can be no valid comparison between anarchists and groups like the Aryan Nations. The U.S. government, in fact, is more closely related to the Aryan Nations ideology, being based on hierarchy and force and founded upon white male superiority and the subjugation and extermination of native peoples. To be against the United States is to be against the very things neo-nazis

believe in: the rule of force based on white supremacy.

Anarchists worldwide have led the fight against fascism since its inception. For instance, the anarchists of Spain in the 1930's simultaneously fought the invasion of Franco's forces and tried to create an anarchist society after the government fell. Even today, especially in Europe, anarchists are often at the forefront in the fight against neo-nazis and their ilk. Anarchists are against any form of superiority: male, white, heterosexual, or any domination. As a philosophy of individual and collective freedom, anarchy stands opposed to racism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and any and all forms of privilege and domination. While anarchists themselves, having been brought up in cultures that propagate these dominations, may not be completely free of these attitudes, they are striving for a world where these attitudes will not exist.



The fundamentals of anarchy - individual and collective freedom and responsibility, mutual aid and cooperation, and opposition to domination - are sound. Viewed from a position within an unequal, hierarchical and exploitative world, anarchy seems impossible, even silly, and is often dismissed. We are arguing this is not the case. Anarchists are armed with the hope that humanity can once again exist in a cooperative, free manner. We are struggling, just like everyone else, to survive the best way we can. For anarchists, that means being free from hierarchical control, exploitation, and coercion - which means that we are opposed to the current reality we find ourselves in.

The current reality - exploitative, competitive, unequal - has been the result of only a few thousand years of increasing civilization. To combat this extreme evolution towards ecocide and humanicide, we need to understand that humans lived anarchically in the past, and that this way of life persisted even as the forces of control expanded. Anarchists believe that we can live this way again. Anarchy, no less than civilization, is a process: a movement towards being able to live peacefully, cooperatively, and in tune with what the planet can sustainably provide. Indeed, there are many anarchists (predominantly called Green or Primitivist) who advocate a complete "re-wilding" of living space and the abolition of civilization as we know it, in favor of decentralized autonomous villages and permaculture, with a strong focus on both human, animal and earth liberation. Syndicalist anarchists are more focused on workers' struggles and many are in favor of certain uses of technology, or

are at least less critical. Egoist / individualist anarchists make their immediate lives the most important and central focus in their anarchic efforts, striving to live in an insurrectionary and self-creating manner as much as possible, thus striving to embody the goal of revolution without waiting for others to rebel. Anarcho-communists stand for some combination of non-authoritarian, cooperative public life as well as for anarchist / anarchic existence. And many anarchists fall somewhere in between these positions as there is no anarchist uniformity, no ultimately "correct" line to follow other than that of being opposed to domination, exploitation and hierarchy, and in favor of people being able to create their lives as they desire.

This FAQ is necessarily brief and incomplete but I hope to have provided a basic overview of some aspects of anarchist theory and history.



*Text adapted from the Internet FAQ and from "Anarchists Are Going To Eat Your Children" along with additions by a member of the Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network, 11/00*

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## SOME POINTS REGARDING THE POLICE AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

This is not an attack upon those who've focused on police reform, but a proposal towards the abolition and irrelevance of the police. It would be foolish to dogmatically oppose ballot measures and petitions, because we support any measure that will save lives and prevent imprisonment. But that is not our particular project. The law is a weak shield. Everyone knows that the police will break their own laws if they want to. As a short-term strategy, police reform is a necessary gesture, but in the long term, it is not enough.

The first steps towards the abolition of the police as an institution must be a heightening of personal responsibility. Through personal and community self-defense, we can promote first of all a sense of safety from predators, without recourse to the law and punishment industry. Linked to this is a dismantling of the social relations that encourage predatory behavior, and which seek to justify the prison-industrial complex.

In cultivating non-hierarchical relationships, we hope to promote a vision and practice of cooperative equality. When there are no leaders and followers, but rather people undertaking the free and voluntary creation of their lives, the ethic of competition will be weakened. The patriarchal (male-dominated) attitudes that lead to domestic violence and the exploitation of people and the earth are part of a larger problem. When men cease to

regard women as objects to be used, but rather as co-creators of a new world, the urgency to call police on abusive men will stop. This goes without mentioning the patriarchal (force and coercion based) nature of the police in general.

If full awareness of the role of the police as being mainly protectors of capitalist property relations were to spread, neighborhoods could create "no-go" zones for the police, where basic non-cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid might prevail over arbitrary law and order. This would accompany a general strategy of subversion, rather than direct confrontation, in which the police could slowly, then more quickly, become irrelevant. When individuals resist the police, it often ends with their imprisonment or death, or their fugitive status. But mass action can be taken as in the riots and community

self-defense measures that we've seen all over the world, especially where police abuse is rampant. (For more on this topic, see the book *Unfinished Business* by the Class War Federation.)

Building true community solidarity will not happen overnight, but the sooner people are freed to engage in real communication with those who could be their allies, the sooner such a spirit will become contagious. The capitalist ownership of space and time is a major obstacle to basic freedom. Through work and rent strikes, and through gardening and



resource/skill sharing, we might create enough unrest to push this society past the point of no return, and be able to care for each other and ourselves in the process.

Until this is happening on a mass scale, the tactics we choose to promote involve solidarity for victims of "justice" as well as revolutionary solidarity. The former action fights against the abuse of those who are already imprisoned, while the latter is aimed at an attack upon the social system that made the prisons "necessary."

While some police are sadistic morons, thugs and "gang" members themselves, many are "just doing their job." The point is to remove the necessity of their "jobs" through widespread social transformation. In certain cases, cops can mutiny and desert just like any other wage-worker. The cops work for bosses, and those bosses are the peer group of those who are running the world, starting the wars, upholding white supremacy and the domination of women, and exploiting the environment unto death, while making money in order to secure more power and prestige. The police may think, or say, that they're actually serving the public, but more often than not, it is the "public" who winds up behind bars, where others may make a profit off of them. The police officer is the despised lackey of that predatory system.

The whole concept of justice needs to be re-evaluated to see who it's really serving, and what the overall social effect is. It is ridiculous to imagine that a particular punishment "fits" a particular "crime," especially when the context that creates 'crime' goes unquestioned. Meanwhile, the American Empire blunders towards catastrophe on all levels, and a complacent media whips up the mania to incarcerate. In the grand scale of even recorded history, what the U.S. and other capitalist/imperialist powers have done to the planet is unprecedented. The appearance of police, not to mention police brutality, is a particular event in this historical process that continues everyday, and that has definite causes. When people are free of material want, and have the means to help themselves

become independent of the capitalist and cops, we will see the disappearance of police brutality, and of police in general. This would not be until during and after the previously mentioned "point of no return."

Our own tendencies towards cop-like behavior must also be challenged. The world, and everything in it, is much larger than a legalistic formula based upon repressive ways of thinking and feeling. Rather, certain things happen for certain reasons, and until the reasons for those things disappear, no diversionary measure will stop "crime."



*These points are the result of discussion between a few individual anarchists involved in prison abolition organizing (in particular outside support work for the Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network). The perspectives we offer do not necessarily reflect those of any larger group or organization. Through this text - a preliminary draft - we hope to clarify some of our ideas and begin a dialogue about how to get the cops out of our lives. We encourage you to make contact with us and share your comments, criticism and feedback.*

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## Security Culture

What it is,  
why we need it  
and how we  
implement it



Revised Spring 1999

### Luddites; abolitionists; union organizers; revolutionaries...

from large uprisings challenging the entire political structure, to isolated battles over the working conditions of a single factory, people have struggled to create a better world. Governments have always responded by jailing activists and revolutionaries, using their courts and their police forces to maintain the status quo.

As our direct action movement becomes more effective, government surveillance and harassment will increase. To minimize the destructiveness of this political repression, it is imperative that we create a security culture within our movement.

This pamphlet is essential reading for anyone who is associated with groups that advocate and/or utilize sabotage, animal liberation, or more militant tactics. The advice herein also applies to anyone who is associated with groups that practice civil disobedience, especially since membership often overlaps and gossip travels freely between groups.

**Even if you have never picked up a monkeywrench or been arrested for civil disobedience, even if you think you have nothing to hide, these guidelines will enhance your personal safety as well as the movement's overall effectiveness.** Grand juries will go after activists from all portions of a movement.

And the government is not beyond fabricating evidence to convict mainstream organizers if given any kind of opportunity to build a case. The history of the FBI's COINTELPRO operations should never be forgotten. The U.S. government has targeted groups that have advocated sabotage and groups that have not, movements that have been militant and movements that have been markedly pacifist. The government's security machinery (FBI, ATF, DEA, U.S. Marshals, state police, local police, courts, prisons and parole officers) serves *political* objectives. There are more than 200 political prisoners in the U.S. who can testify to this from firsthand experience. By adopting a security culture, we can defeat various counterintelligence operations that would otherwise disrupt both mainstream organizing and underground resistance.

### SO WHAT IS SECURITY CULTURE?

It's a culture where the people know their rights and, more importantly, assert them. Those who belong to a security culture also know what behavior compromises security and they are quick to educate those people who, out of ignorance, forgetfulness, or personal weakness, partake in insecure behavior. This security consciousness becomes a *culture* when the group as a whole makes security violations socially and morally unacceptable in the group.

### WHAT NOT TO SAY

To begin with, there are certain things that are inappropriate to discuss. These things include:

- your involvement or someone else's involvement with an underground group;
- someone else's *desire* to get involved with such a group;
- asking others if they are a member of an underground group;
- your participation or someone else's participation in any action that was illegal;
- someone else's *advocacy* for such actions
- your plans or someone else's plans for a future action.

Can you see a pattern? It is wrong to speak about a specific individual's involvement (past, present or future) with illegal activities. These are unacceptable topics of discussion regardless of whether it is rumor, speculation or personal knowledge. **Please note: no one is claiming it is wrong to speak about direct action in general terms. It is perfectly legal, secure and desirable that people speak out in support of monkeywrenching and all forms of resistance. The danger lies in linking individual activists to specific actions or groups.**

### THREE EXCEPTIONS

There are only three times when it is acceptable to speak about this information. The first situation is when you are

planning an action with other members of your small group (your "cell" or "affinity group"). However, you should never discuss actions over the Internet (e-mail), or the phone, through the mail, or inside an activist's home or car because these places and forms of communication are frequently monitored. The only people who should hear this discussion are those individuals who are actively partaking in this particular action. **Anyone who is not involved does not need to know and therefore should not know.**

The second exception occurs after an activist has been arrested and brought to trial. If she is found guilty, this activist can freely speak of the actions for which she was convicted. However, she must never give information that would help the authorities determine who else participated in illegal activities.

The third exception is for anonymous letters and interviews with the media. This must be done very carefully and without compromising security. Advice on secure communication techniques can be found in other publications.

These are the only situations when it is appropriate to speak about your own or someone else's involvement in or intent to commit illegal direct action.

## SECURITY MEASURES

Veteran activists only allow a select few to know about their involvement with direct action groups. And those few

consist of individuals with whom they do the action and no one else!

The reason for this security precaution is quite obvious: if people don't know anything, they can't talk about it. The only people who know the secret are the ones who actually face jail time if the secret gets out. If other activists who do not share the same serious consequences know who did an illegal direct action, they are far more likely to talk if harassed and intimidated by the authorities, because they will not be jailed. Even those people who are trustworthy can often be tricked into revealing damaging and incriminating information.

— So it is safest for all cell members to keep their involvement in the group amongst themselves. The fewer people who know, the less evidence there is to bust them.

## SECURITY-VIOLATING BEHAVIORS

In an attempt to impress others, activists may behave in ways that compromise security. Some people do this frequently — they are habitually gossiping and bragging. Some activists say inappropriate things only when they consume alcohol. Many activists make occasional breaches of security because there was a momentary temptation to say something or hint at something that shouldn't have been said or implied. In most every situation, the desire to be accepted is the root cause.

Those activists who tend to be the greatest security risks are people who have low self-esteem and strongly desire the approval of their peers. Certainly it is natural to seek friendship and recognition for our efforts, but it is imperative that we keep these selfish desires in check so that we do not jeopardize the safety of other activists or ourselves. People who place their desire for friendship over the importance of the cause can do serious damage to our security.

The following are examples of security-violating behaviors:

**LYING:** To impress others, liars claim to have done illegal actions. Such lies not only compromise the person's security — as cops will not take what is said as a lie — but these claims also hinder movement solidarity and trust.

**GOSSIPING:** Some weak characters think they can win friends by displaying that they are privy to special information. These gossips will tell others about who did what action. If they don't know anything about a particular action, gossips may talk about who they guess might be involved or they will just spread rumors about who did it. This sort of talk is very damaging. People need to remember that mere rumors are sufficient to initiate a grand jury.

**BRAGGING:** Some people who partake in illegal direct action might be tempted to brag about it to their friends. If someone

did such a thing, it would not only jeopardize the security of the bragger and the other people involved with the action, but it places the people who he or she told at risk. They can become accessories after the fact. They can also be subpoenaed by a grand jury and forced to choose between lying to the grand jury (a serious crime), refusing to cooperate (potentially resulting in months of imprisonment), or betraying the movement by repeating the information that they were needlessly told. An activist who brags also sets a horrible example for other activists.

**INDIRECT-BRAGGING:** Indirect-braggers are people who make a big production on how they want to remain anonymous, avoid protests, and stay "underground." They might not come out and say they do illegal direct action, but they make sure everyone within earshot knows they are up to something. They are no better than braggers, but they try to be more sophisticated about it by pretending to maintain "security." However, if they were serious about security, they would just make up a good excuse as to why they are not as active, or why they can't make it to the protest (that kind of lying is definitely acceptable).

## EDUCATE TO LIBERATE

With what we now know about security, it is easy to spot those activists who compromise our movement's security.

So what do we do with people who exhibit these behaviors? Do we excommunicate them from our movement? Actually, no — at least not for their first mistake.

The unfortunate truth is that there are numerous security-ignorant people in the movement and others who have been raised in a "scene" that thrives on bragging and gossiping. It doesn't mean these people are bad, but it does mean they need to be educated. Even seasoned activists can make mistakes when there is a general lack of security consciousness in our groups. And that's where those of you who are reading this can help. **We must never allow a breach of security to occur without acting to correct it.** If an acquaintance of yours is bragging about doing an action or is spreading security-compromising gossip, it is your responsibility to explain to her or him why that sort of talk violates security and is inappropriate within our movement.

You should strive to educate this person in a manner that encourages him to listen and to change his behavior. It should be done without damaging his pride. You should be humble and sincerely interested in helping him to become a better person and a more effective activist. Do not maintain a "holier-than-thou" attitude. This attitude will inevitably raise his defenses and prevent him from absorbing or using any of the advice you offer. Remember that the goal of educating him is to change his behavior, not boost your ego by showing him how much more security-conscious you are.

If possible the educational session should be conducted

in private, so the person doesn't feel humiliated by a public reprimand. The educational session should occur as soon as possible after the mistake to increase its effectiveness.

If each of us takes on the responsibility of educating those who slip up, we can dramatically improve movement security. Once we recognize lying, gossiping, bragging and indirect bragging as the damaging character flaws that they are, they will soon end. When we develop a culture where all breaches of security result in an immediate response, all sincere activists will quickly get with the program.

## DEALING WITH CHRONIC SECURITY PROBLEMS

So what do we do with activists who repeatedly violate security precautions even after multiple educational sessions? It's unfortunate but necessary to cut them loose and kick them out of our meetings, basecamps and organizations. With the FBI doubling in size and with courts handing down stiff sentences, the stakes are too high to allow chronic security-offenders to work among us.

By creating a security culture, we have an effective defense against informers and agents who try to infiltrate groups. Imagine an informer who, every time she asked another activist about that person's involvement with some group or action, received a reprimand and an education on security. That informer would quickly get frustrated. Once activists discovered that she continued to violate security

precautions after being repeatedly reprimanded, they would have grounds for her dismissal. That would be one less informer for us to deal with!

## DON'T STOP HERE

It is also imperative that each of us understands our rights. Make it a priority that everyone in your group learns about the following topics:

- Grand Juries and how to deal with them;
- COINTELPRO tactics for destroying movements and how to protect ourselves;
- What to do if the cops knock on your door;
- What to do if the cops stop you on the street;
- What to do if you are arrested.

The following are indispensable resources:

- *War at Home* by Brian Glick (South End Press)
- *If an Agent Knocks*, a pamphlet by The Center for Constitutional Rights

## ADOPT A SECURITY CULTURE NOW

Activists are restless and resistance is on the rise. People are adopting more and more effective tactics. Now, more than ever, resistance poses a serious threat to the status quo

~~in this country.~~ Our increased activity and effectiveness mean that the FBI, ATF, and local police will continue to escalate their COINTELPRO activities against activists. If we ~~want our direct action to continue,~~ it is imperative we start ~~tightening~~ our security and taking ourselves more seriously. Good security is certainly the strongest defense we have. ■



"There is a taste of revenge for a struggling  
people who count their pennies  
in this sudden explosion. The wildflowers who  
have gathered up the flags of  
their fathers' ancient battles and are claiming  
the right to be called  
'comrade' and are fighting like tigers in a sea of  
gas for the honour of  
their minds and the courage of their dreams"

Angelo Quattrocchi

